

HOW INTERIOR IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AFFECTS TRUST IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

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Abstract

Previous research shows that the day-to-day behaviors of undocumented immigrants are significantly affected when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement. One such behavior, which has been widely discussed in debates over so-called sanctuary policies, is that undocumented immigrants are less likely to report crimes to the police when local law enforcement officials work with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) on federal immigration enforcement. However, the mechanism that explains this relationship, which is decreased trust in law enforcement, has not yet been systematically tested. Do undocumented immigrants become less trusting of police officers and sheriffs when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement? To answer this question, we embedded an experiment that varied the interior immigration enforcement context in a survey ($n = 512$) drawn from a probability-based sample of undocumented immigrants. When local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, respondents are statistically significantly less likely to say that they trust that police officers and sheriffs will keep them, their families, and their communities safe, protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented, protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally, and protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination.

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Introduction

Previous research shows that when local law enforcement officials work with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) on federal immigration enforcement, undocumented immigrants are significantly less likely to report crimes to the police (for example, see Wong et al., 2019; see also Menjívar et al. 2018). These findings complement existing research that shows how interior immigration enforcement affects the day-to-day behaviors of undocumented immigrants, including decreased use of and access to public health services (Asch, Leake, and Gelberg 1995; Beniflah et al., 2013; Berk et al. 2000; Fenton, Catalano, and Hargreaves 1996; Hardy et al., 2012; Wang and Kaushal 2018; White et al., 2014a; White et al., 2014b), decreased school attendance (Capps et al., 2007; Chaudry et al., 2010) and diminished academic performance (Amuedo-Dorantes and Lopez, 2015) among undocumented students, as well as the U.S. citizen children of undocumented parents, and locking undocumented workers into exploitative workplace conditions (Gleeson 2010; Harrison and Lloyd 2011).¹

Despite these empirical findings, the posited mechanism that explains this relationship, which is decreased trust in law enforcement, has not yet been systematically tested. Whereas some local law enforcement executives have welcomed closer cooperation with ICE on federal immigration enforcement,² others have argued against this, as doing so can potentially drive a wedge between local law enforcement officials and the communities they serve. For example, according to the Major Cities Chiefs Association (MCCA), “Immigration enforcement by local police would likely negatively effect and undermine the level of trust and cooperation between local police and immigrant communities [...] Without assurances that contact with the police would not result in purely civil immigration action, the hard won trust, communication and cooperation from the immigrant community would disappear.”³ While decreased trust makes intuitive sense as the mechanism that explains why undocumented immigrants are less likely to report crimes to the police when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, this relationship has not yet been systematically tested. This study addresses this gap.

We embedded an experiment that varied the interior immigration enforcement context in a survey ($n = 512$) drawn from a probability-based sample of undocumented immigrants in order to answer the question of whether undocumented immigrants are less trusting of police officers and sheriffs when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. This study is the second in the Undocumented in America project based at the U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. We find that when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, respondents are statistically significantly less likely to say that they trust that police officers and sheriffs will keep them, their families, and their communities safe, protect the rights of all people, including

¹We review this literature more fully in Wong et al. 2019.

²For example, in 2017, ICE announced new 287(g) agreements with eighteen Texas counties. See here: <https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/ice-announces-18-new-287g-agreements-texas>.

³For full text, see here: https://www.majorcitieschiefs.com/pdf/MCC_Position_Statement.pdf.

undocumented immigrants, equally, protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented, and protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination.

We begin by examining what the existing literature says about how interior immigration enforcement can affect the trust that undocumented immigrants, and immigrants more generally, have in public institutions, focusing on law enforcement. We then derive a set of hypotheses about how the trust that undocumented immigrants have in police officers and sheriffs might be affected when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement. After this, we describe the survey vehicle used to test our hypotheses and our survey experiment, wherein respondents were randomly assigned to conditions that vary the interior immigration enforcement context. We then discuss the findings of our survey experiment and the implications of our results.

Blurred Lines Between Policing and Federal Immigration Enforcement

When local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, this can exacerbate baseline levels of distrust in law enforcement and make undocumented immigrants who are already hesitant to contact the police even more hesitant to do so. Menjívar and Bejarano (2004) identify three reasons for why this may be the case: negative home country experiences with law enforcement, which creates baseline levels of distrust; concerns about immigration enforcement, which can exacerbate baseline levels of distrust; and social networks, which further shape perceptions of law enforcement. Concerns about immigration enforcement are of particular interest for our purposes here. As the authors write, “Many Latin American-origin immigrants (particularly the Mexicans and Central Americans who came in or are still undocumented) have had encounters with the Border Patrol and fear coming in contact with immigration officials [...] Thus, often Central Americans and Mexicans go to great lengths to avoid any contacts with the justice system, so as to evade detection by immigration officials” (p. 134).⁴ As the mechanism they highlight is fear of coming into contact with the machinery of immigration enforcement, it makes strong intuitive sense that when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, this can validate concerns among undocumented immigrants that interacting with police officers or sheriffs effectively means interacting with immigration officials.

The blurring of lines between local law enforcement officials and federal immigration enforcement has, indeed, been found to be a consequence of increased interior

⁴Alternatively, Kirk et al. (2012) found that foreign-born residents in New York tended to be less cynical about law enforcement and were more likely to cooperate with them compared to native-born residents. However, the survey the authors analyze did not include immigration enforcement measures. More to the point, it is unclear whether foreign-born respondents who were less concerned about immigration enforcement tended to be less cynical and more cooperative compared to foreign-born respondents who were more concerned about immigration enforcement.

immigration enforcement. In studying the effects of local law enforcement cooperation with federal immigration enforcement officials, Varsanyi et al. (2012) found, “Latino residents do not necessarily distinguish between enforcement agencies [...] The situation has led many in the Hispanic community to become fearful of *all* law enforcement agencies and government officials” (p. 21).⁵ Provine et al. (2016) explain this blurring of lines as a function of the discretion that local law enforcement officials have when they do the work of federal immigration enforcement. The authors write, “Partnering with local law enforcement cedes most control over enforcement [from the federal] to the local level and in a nontransparent way [...] life changing decisions are occurring daily at the local level at the hands of local law-enforcement officers” (p. 5). These “life changing decisions” include the arrest of undocumented immigrants, which can be a precursor for deportation. The authors further cite Motomura (2011), who states succinctly that, as a matter of immigration enforcement, “the discretion to arrest has been the discretion that matters” (p. 1819). Indeed, for undocumented immigrants, to the extent that interactions with local law enforcement officials can potentially lead to deportation, police officers and sheriffs become indistinguishable from immigration enforcement officials.

There is also evidence that the blurring of lines between local law enforcement officials and federal immigration enforcement negatively affects attitudes toward policing. Before delving into this literature, it is instructive to recall that the landscape of interior immigration enforcement in the U.S. has changed significantly since the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRaIRA) in 1996 (Wong 2017). IIRaIRA helped reshape the landscape of interior immigration enforcement by establishing a process whereby state and local governments could enter into formal agreements with federal immigration enforcement agencies. These agreements, known as 287(g) agreements, authorize police officers and sheriffs to enforce federal immigration laws, including identifying, apprehending, and detaining undocumented immigrants. These agreements further render local law enforcement officials indistinguishable from federal immigration enforcement officials. Consequently, in studying the effects of 287(g) agreements, and as it relates to distrust in the police, Armenta and Alvarez (2017) conclude, “as long as discretionary arrests funnel removable immigrants into the deportation system, some immigrant communities will perceive policing as fundamentally unfair and discriminatory” (p. e12453).⁶ The landscape of interior immigration enforcement in the U.S. also includes an increasing number

⁵Emphasis added. Moreover, as immigration enforcement can sow such fear in immigrant communities, Menjivar and Abrego (2012) appropriately argue that immigration laws must be considered as significant a factor as other factors when analyzing immigrant integration in the U.S. (p. 1414).

⁶Empirical evidence drawing from undocumented immigrants is scarce. However, Barrick (2014) found that Hispanics/Latinos who had been questioned about their immigration status had less confidence in the police. Moreover, Cruz Nichols, LeBrón, and Pedraza (2018) concluded in their study of the relationship between the Secure Communities program and trust in government as a source of health information that “collaboration between local law and immigration enforcement agencies, spurs mistrust among Latinos, but not non-Latinos” (p. 432). We also note that surveys of law enforcement personnel make clear that law enforcement officers tend often to rate establishing strong and positive relationships with the communities they serve as being highly important (Lewis and Ramakrishnan 2007).

of state laws and local ordinances, some of which are designed to tighten enforcement, while others are designed to delimit the extent to which local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement.⁷ Research on policies that tighten enforcement provide more evidence that blurring the lines between local law enforcement officials and federal immigration enforcement negatively affects attitudes toward policing. For example, in examining the impact of SB 1070 in Arizona, which requires state and local police to check the immigration status of a person if a law enforcement officer has a reasonable suspicion that the person is undocumented,⁸ among other provisions, Becerra (2016) found that the law not only increased fears of deportation, but it also decreased the confidence that Hispanic/Latino immigrants have that the police, as well as the courts, will treat them fairly.⁹

Conversely, there is evidence that policies that delimit the extent to which local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement have positive implications for policing. For example, Menjívar et al. (2018) conclude in their analysis of survey data across four cities that “sanctuary city policies *promote* community policing,” as Hispanic/Latino respondents in the two sanctuary cities they studied were more likely to report crimes to the police (even despite prior negative interactions with the police and knowing someone who has been deported) than the Hispanic/Latino respondents in the two non-sanctuary cities they studied.¹⁰

Altogether, we argue that when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, this further blurs what are already opaque lines between policing and federal immigration enforcement, which then significantly decreases the trust that undocumented immigrants have in police officers and sheriffs. Accordingly, we hypothesize that when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, undocumented immigrants will be significantly less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs will keep them and their families safe (H_1) and will also be significantly less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs will keep their communities safe (H_2). We further hypothesize that when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, undocumented immigrants will be significantly less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs will protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes, even if they are undocumented (H_3).

⁷We discuss interior immigration enforcement policies in more detail elsewhere (see Wong et al. 2019; see also Varsanyi 2010; Varsanyi et al. 2012; Provine et al. 2016; Hopkins 2010; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2010; Wong 2012; Wong 2017; Coleman 2007; and Farris and Holman 2017).

⁸The reasonable suspicion criterion has raised serious concerns about racial profiling.

⁹We note here that the impact of interior immigration enforcement policies on the broader day-to-day behaviors of undocumented immigrants is the subject of our other article (see Wong et al. 2019).

¹⁰Emphasis in original. Although undocumented immigrants are included in their study, the effects are most pronounced for documented (i.e., foreign-born with legal status) respondents.

Hispanics/Latinos, Law Enforcement, and Trust

The research above builds on scholarship examining the relationship between Hispanics/Latinos and the police. Early studies sought to address shortcomings in research on how race and ethnicity, more specifically, how being Hispanic/Latino, affected perceptions of the police and attitudes toward policing (Menjívar 2018). For example, Mirande (1980) fielded a survey in order to compare the attitudes of Hispanics/Latinos to those of Whites and African-Americans across several indicators. Research along this vein, with some exceptions, generally found that Hispanics/Latinos had more negative attitudes toward the police when compared to Whites, but more positive attitudes when compared to African-Americans (for a review, see Brown and Benedict 2002; c.f., Cao, Frank, and Cullen 1996).¹¹

As research in this area grew, more work analyzed the determinants of attitudes among Hispanics/Latinos.¹² Whereas characteristics such as age, gender, education, prior interactions with the police, and neighborhood contextual factors had been researched thoroughly to explain attitudes toward the police among Whites and African-Americans, missing from this research, as Correia (2010) writes, “was a more thorough understanding of the attitudes Latinos have of police [...] The lack of research on Latinos was not limited to attitudes toward the police, but to the existing body of criminological research” (p. 100). In addressing this gap, research quickly pushed past basic demographic characteristics, for example, by distinguishing between those who primarily speak Spanish versus English.¹³ Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch (1999) found that Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in Texas were more likely than English-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in the state to agree with statements such as, “a police force that is racially and ethnically similar to its citizens would be more effective,” among other findings. Moreover, Skogan (2005) found that Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in Chicago were less likely than English-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in the city to report that “Police paid careful attention to what they had to say” during citizen-initiated encounters (i.e., when they needed the police).¹⁴

¹¹Mirande actually found that Hispanic/Latino respondents had more negative attitudes toward the police than African-Americans, but the study compared results from a survey of Hispanics/Latinos in Southern California to the results of a nationally representative survey of Whites and African-Americans. Studies also found that Hispanics/Latinos are more likely than Whites to believe that excessive use of force by the police has happened in their neighborhoods (Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch 1999).

¹²The comparison of Hispanics/Latinos to other groups also became accompanied by work that differentiated the very category of “Hispanic/Latino,” for example, comparing Cubans, Salvadorans, Hondurans, and Mexicans (Menjívar and Bejarano 2004).

¹³Other studies on trust in government more generally also focused on immigration-specific characteristics, such as age at immigration. For example, in her study of political trust among Hispanic/Latino immigrants, Michelson (2007) writes, “Among those who immigrated as adults, a clear connection emerges [...] Respondents who said that they trusted the government only a little or not all were much more likely to mention racism or immigration issues” (p. 35).

¹⁴The regressions in the article include all survey respondents while controlling for Latino and being a Spanish speaker. Because there is not a separate set of regressions for only Hispanics/Latinos that include language spoken, it is unclear whether the differences between Spanish- and English-speaking Hispanics/Latinos are statistically significant when controlling for other factors.

Importantly, although public opinion polling on undocumented immigrants remains scarce, some research in this area has also examined attitudes toward the police by immigration status. For example, in a large survey of Hispanics/Latinos, Theodore (2013) found that majorities of native born, foreign born, and undocumented respondents felt that “police officers stop Latinos and Hispanics on the streets in your city without good reason or cause” either somewhat often or very often, which contributed to many feeling “isolated from the law enforcement officers who are sworn to protect them” (p. 17). In a separate study, Theodore and Habans (2016) found that “Both documented and undocumented immigration statuses were associated with negative attitudes towards police” (p. 983).

Altogether, empirical findings showing that Hispanics/Latinos are generally more mistrusting of law enforcement than Whites and African-Americans are, coupled with research showing that Spanish-speaking and undocumented Hispanics/Latinos are more likely to have experienced, or have concerns about, inequitable treatment by law enforcement, leads us to two additional hypotheses. We further hypothesize that when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, undocumented immigrants will be significantly less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs will protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally (H_4) and will also be significantly less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs will protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination (H_5).

Data and Method

To test our hypotheses, we embedded an experiment in a probability-based sample of undocumented immigrants in San Diego. The survey vehicle used in this study is the Undocumented in America project based out of the U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego.

Through a partnership between the USIPC and the Mexican Consulate in San Diego (the Consulate), Wong created a sample frame of undocumented Mexican nationals in San Diego County. The sample frame is comprised of individuals who receive consular services unique to those living in the U.S. without authorization. Consulates provide a broad range of services to their nationals abroad. The sample frame, which includes approximately 73,000 people, accounts for nearly the entire universe of undocumented Mexican nationals who currently live in San Diego County. The Center for Migration Studies (CMS), for example, estimates that there are currently 82,406 undocumented immigrants who were born in Mexico who live in San Diego County (CMS 2016). Working with staff at the Consulate, Wong assigned random ID numbers to each record and then cut the sample frame into random draws of approximately 5,000 records for each survey module in the Undocumented in America project. Call sheets with limited information about each respondent—the random ID number assigned to each record, first name, and phone number—are then printed out. Phone numbers are manually dialed by enumerators trained by Wong. Phone numbers are dialed once with no additional follow up. After each paper call sheet is completed, it is immediately reviewed and then destroyed. All surveys are conducted

in Spanish, unless the respondent prefers to speak in English. In this study, 96.5 percent of surveys were conducted in Spanish. This study is IRB approved (UCSD IRB 180131).

This study represents the second in the Undocumented in America series. The survey was fielded between June 2018 and July 2018 and includes 512 respondents. In the survey, we embedded an experiment in order to better understand how interior immigration enforcement affects the trust that undocumented immigrants have in local law enforcement officials. In the experiment, respondents were randomly assigned to one of two groups. In one group ($n = 267$ respondents), questions were prefaced with, “If the San Diego Police Department and the San Diego County Sheriff’s Department WERE NOT working together with ICE on immigration enforcement, how much trust would you have that...” In the second group ($n = 245$ respondents), questions were prefaced with, “If the San Diego Police Department and the San Diego County Sheriff’s Department WERE working together with ICE on immigration enforcement, how much trust would you have that...” Respondents were then asked how much trust they had that police officers and sheriffs would: keep them and their families safe; keep their communities safe; protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally; protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented; and protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination.

The table below provides the exact text. An experiment such as this is superior to analyzing observational survey data (i.e., survey data that is not based on an experimental design) because asking respondents about one scenario is insufficient for determining how their behavior may or may not change based on the second scenario; asking respondents about one scenario and then the second scenario would likely produce biased results because responses related to the first scenario would likely influence responses to the second scenario (e.g., “I said I would be more trusting in the first scenario, so maybe I should say I would be less trusting in the second scenario”); random assignment to one of the two groups balances the two groups across the broad range of covariates (e.g., age, gender, etc.) that need to be controlled for in observational analyses; and random assignment to one of the two groups means that differences in responses can be causally attributed to the variation in the two scenarios (i.e., the treatment effect that results when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement).

Table 1

<p>“If the San Diego Police Department and the San Diego County Sheriff’s Department [WERE]/[WERE NOT] working together with ICE on immigration enforcement, how much trust would you have that police officers and sheriffs would...”?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep you and your family safe? - Keep your community safe? - Protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they were undocumented? - Protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally? - Protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination?

Results

When local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, respondents are statistically significantly less trusting that police officers and sheriffs would keep them, their families, and their communities safe. More specifically, when respondents are told that local law enforcement officials are not working with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, 44.6 percent trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe. When respondents are told that local law enforcement officials are working with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, just 9.8 percent trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe. In other words, 34.8 percent of respondents are less likely to say that they trust that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. This result is statistically significant ($p < .001$). Moreover, 33.8 percent are less likely to trust that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities safe when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. This result is also statistically significant ($p < .001$).

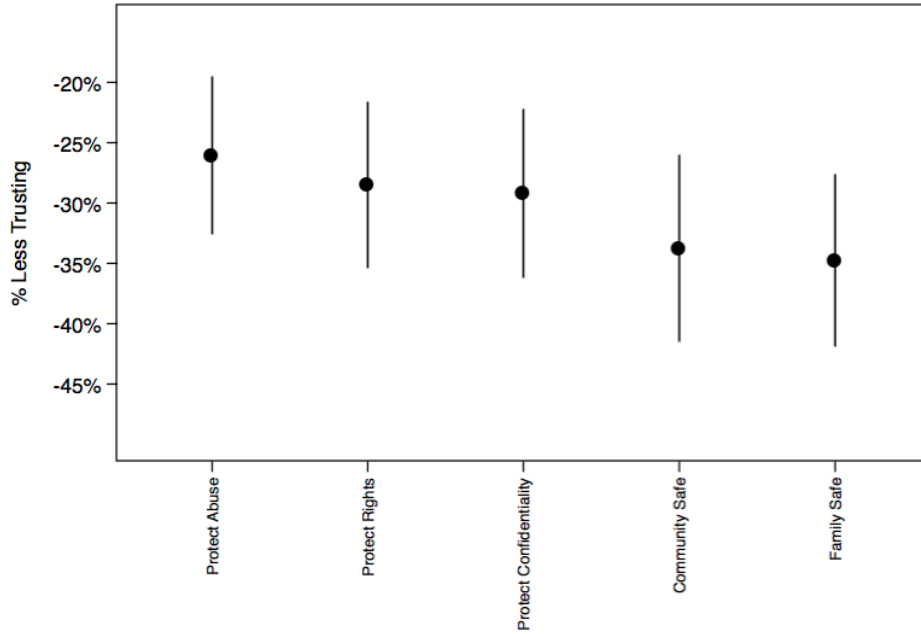
Respondents are also less likely to say that they trust that police officers and sheriffs would protect their rights, protect their confidentiality, and protect them from abuse or discrimination when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. When respondents are told that local law enforcement officials are not working with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, 36.7 percent trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally. When respondents are told that local law enforcement officials are working with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, just 8.1 percent trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally. In other words, 28.5 percent of respondents are less likely to say that they trust that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. This result is statistically significant ($p < .001$). Similarly, 29.2 percent are less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on immigration enforcement. This result is also statistically significant ($p < .001$). Last, 26.1 percent are less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on immigration enforcement. This result is highly statistically significant ($p < .001$).

Table 2 summarizes the results. Figure 1 graphically depicts the results. Two sample t-tests are used to calculate average treatment effects (ATE) and 95 percent confidence intervals. In the figure, trust items are sorted along the x-axis by effect size.

Table 2

	w/o ICE % trust (<i>n</i> =267)	w/ICE % trust (<i>n</i> =245)	Diff	<i>p</i> -value
Keep you and your family safe	44.6%	9.8%	-34.8%	<.001
Keep your community safe	50.9%	17.1%	-33.8%	<.001
Protect rights	36.7%	8.1%	-28.5%	<.001
Protect confidentiality	38.2%	8.9%	-29.2%	<.001
Protect from abuse or discrimination	32.2%	6.1%	-26.1%	<.001

Figure 1



Multivariate Results

The differences-in-means make clear that trust declines significantly when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, but do the results hold when accounting for other factors? In particular, do the results hold when accounting for factors that might decrease the trust that undocumented immigrants have in police officers and sheriffs independent of whether local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement? Here, we estimate a series of logistic regression models that estimate the effect of the “working together with ICE” condition while also accounting for whether respondents have been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months either because of their

race/ethnicity, where they were born, the language they speak, or their immigration status. *Discrimination* is collapsed into a dichotomous variable equal to one if the respondent says “yes” to any one of the discrimination items (i.e., “yes” to discrimination because of the language they speak, but not because of the other characteristics we asked about) and zero otherwise. Moreover, we account for whether respondents know what their rights are if ICE shows up at their door, as not knowing one’s rights can potentially result in more generalized concerns about law enforcement. *Know Rights* is a dichotomous variable equal to one if respondents “strongly agree” or “agree” that they know what their rights are if ICE shows up at their door and zero otherwise. We note here that we are limited in the time that we have and are thus limited in the number of items we can include in each questionnaire.¹⁵ We also estimate models (see Appendix 1) that control for whether respondents have children and whether respondents have immediate family members who are U.S. citizens (these are demographic items that are asked across all of the surveys in the Undocumented in America series).¹⁶

Table 3 reports the results. Model 1 examines the likelihood that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe. Model 2 examines the likelihood that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities safe. Model 3 examines the likelihood that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally. Model 4 examines the likelihood that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented. Model 5 examines the likelihood that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination.

As the table shows, the effects of the “working together with ICE” condition remain statistically significant across all of the trust items analyzed (see Models 1 to 5). The effect of discrimination, however, is mixed. Respondents who have experienced discrimination in the past twelve months are significantly less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe ($p < .049$). Respondents who have experienced discrimination in the past twelve months are also significantly less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities safe ($p < .004$). However, the effect of discrimination is statistically insignificant when it comes to trust that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally, protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented, and protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination.

¹⁵The first half of the questionnaire is research. The second half of the questionnaire is outreach. The outreach includes providing respondents with “know your rights” information, providing them with information about how to contact the Consulate in the event of an emergency, and referring them to immigration attorneys for free immigration legal screenings. The research questions come before the outreach portion of the questionnaire so as not to bias the results.

¹⁶As the appendix shows, the results are substantively unchanged when controlling for whether respondents have children and immediate family members who are U.S. citizens.

Table 3

	Model 1 Keep Them and Family Safe	Model 2 Keep Communities Safe	Model 3 Protect Rights	Model 4 Protect Confidentiality	Model 5 Protect Abuse or Discrimination
Treatment	-2.016*** (.249)	-1.639*** (.212)	-1.899*** (.266)	-1.839*** (.258)	-2.004*** (.297)
Discrimination	-.625* (.317)	-.855** (.299)	-.390 (.323)	-.259 (.311)	-.232 (.334)
Know Rights	.203 (.219)	.135 (.205)	.061 (.228)	.310 (.223)	.180 (.239)
Constant	-.191 (.162)	.135 (.158)	-.483*** (.167)	-.559*** (.167)	-.758*** (.175)
Observations	507	507	507	507	507

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

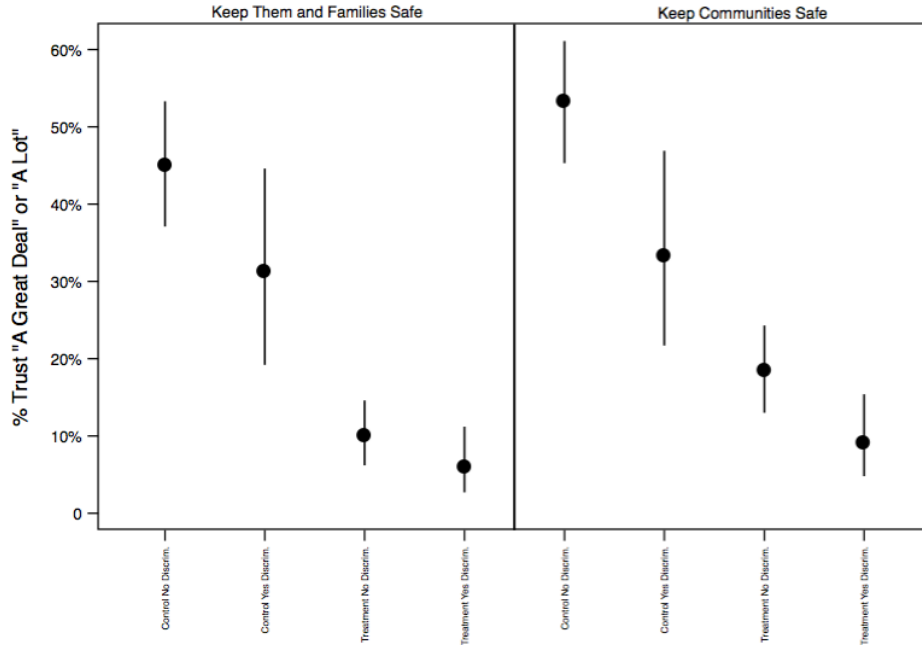
Last, while the direction of the coefficient is consistently positive, whether respondents know what their rights are if ICE shows up at their door is not statistically significantly related to trust in local law enforcement. However, the effect of discrimination is statistically insignificant when it comes to trust that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally, protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented, and protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination. Last, while the direction of the coefficient is consistently positive, whether respondents know what their rights are if ICE shows up at their door is not statistically significantly related to trust in local law enforcement.

Figure 2 makes vivid how having experienced discrimination can compound the negative effect on trust that results when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. The left panel plots the predicted probability that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe and shows how trust declines when moving from the control condition and not having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months, to the control condition and having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months, to the treatment condition and not having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months, to the treatment condition and having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months. The right panel repeats these steps, but focuses on the predicted probability that respondents trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities safe. To be clear, the treatment condition, that is, whether local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, has the most significant effect on trust. However, as the figure shows, an estimated 44.9 percent would trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe in the control condition and not having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months. This percentage decreases to an estimated 31.2 percent in the control condition and having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months. This percentage decreases even further to an estimated 9.9 percent in the treatment condition and not having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months. And then this percentage plummets to an estimated 5.9 percent in the treatment condition and having been discriminated against or treated differently in the past twelve months. The commensurate percentages for trust that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities safe are 53.2 percent, 33.3 percent, 18.4 percent, and 9.1 percent, respectively.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, we use a survey experiment to show that when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement, undocumented immigrants are 34.8 percent less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep them and their families safe, 33.8 percent less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would keep their communities

Figure 2



safe, 28.5 percent less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the rights of all people, including undocumented immigrants, equally, 29.2 percent less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crimes even if they are undocumented, and 26.1 percent less likely to trust “a great deal” or “a lot” that police officers and sheriffs would protect undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination. Our findings provide evidence to support the mechanism that connects local law enforcement cooperation with ICE to a broad range of “chilling effects,” particularly as they relate to the extent to which undocumented immigrants interact with police officers and sheriffs when local law enforcement officials work with ICE on federal immigration enforcement. We also find evidence that these effects are magnified when undocumented immigrants have been discriminated against or treated differently because of their race/ethnicity, where they were born, the language they speak, or their immigration status.

There is a growing literature on the adverse behavioral effects that result when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement. Our results add to this literature by uncovering important attitudinal changes. These attitudinal changes are consequential because, as Kirk et al. (2012) write, “while strict immigration laws are often touted politically as ways to ensure public safety, the enactment and enforcement of harsh immigration laws may actually undercut

public safety by creating a cynicism of the law in immigrant communities” (p. 81).¹⁷

Whereas this study focuses on trust in law enforcement, we also look forward to more research that examines how interior immigration enforcement affects the trust that undocumented immigrants have in government, as well as in public institutions more generally (for example, see Michelson 2007; Cruz Nichols, LeBrón, and Pedraza 2018). For example, when local law enforcement officials do the work of federal immigration enforcement, is decreased trust in police officers and sheriffs collinear with decreased trust in state and local governments? Other public agencies? Bureaucrats and other public employees? Our findings, as well as future work in this area, have strong implications for states and localities that are already, or are considering, working with ICE on federal immigration enforcement.

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¹⁷More specifically, the authors point to research that shows that cynicism of the police is associated with increased neighborhood crime and violence, decreased willingness to cooperate with the police, and a decreased desire to “engage in the collective actions necessary to socially control crime (Kirk et al. 2012: 79).

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Appendix Table A1

	A1 Keep Them and Family Safe	A2 Keep Communities Safe	A3 Protect Rights	A4 Protect Confidentiality	A5 Protect Abuse or Discrimination
Treatment	-2.034*** (.252)	-1.656*** (.215)	-1.952*** (.270)	-1.867*** (.260)	-2.073*** (.303)
Discrimination	-.610* (.318)	-.845** (.301)	-.375 (.326)	-.257 (.313)	-.213 (.338)
Know Rights	.187 (.220)	.119 (.206)	.082 (.229)	.326 (.225)	.213 (.241)
Children	-.376 (.310)	-.382 (.287)	-.609 (.314)	-.363 (.316)	-.736* (.327)
Citizen Relative	.067 (.223)	.266 (.208)	.132 (.231)	.279 (.227)	.303 (.243)
Constant	.116 (.321)	.373 (.303)	-.000 (.325)	-.348 (.326)	-.245 (.335)
Observations	503	503	503	503	503

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$



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