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- **Project Title**

Illegal Immigration, Immigration Enforcement Policies, and American Citizens' Victimization Risk

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Section 1: Summary of the project

○ Major goals and objectives

The overarching goal of the project was to advance understanding of the links between undocumented immigration, immigration policy adoption and enforcement, and exposure to non-fatal victimization.

As noted in the project proposal, there is theoretical and empirical uncertainty about the impact of undocumented immigration and immigration law enforcement policies on crime exposure. Classical criminological theories and some contemporary scholars suggest that undocumented immigration increases Americans' risk of crime, a position that often is referenced to justify more stringent immigration enforcement policies (see Chavez, 2013; Qui, 2019). At the same time, others argue that there is little evidence that immigration—legal or undocumented—increases crime and that it may even reduce crime (Martinez-Schuldt and Martinez, 2017; Flagg, 2018; Light and Miller, 2018). There is also theoretical disagreement about the effectiveness of different policy approaches to immigration (Suro, 2009; Boushey and Luedtke, 2011). Our project was motivated by the reality of this theoretical diversity of views on how differences in immigration and immigration policies may impact crime, coupled with an empirical knowledge base that had yielded uncertain answers.

Although many studies had examined the relationship between community immigrant concentration and crime (see Ousey and Kubrin, 2018), the extant research rarely considered the impact of *undocumented immigrants* on crime due to difficulties collecting data on them. This is a significant limitation given that much of the debate about immigration and crime focuses on undocumented immigration. In our judgement, it is important to provide policymakers with empirical evidence that more closely matches the central questions that define contemporary debates, and in this instance one critical question that had been neglected is whether *community differences in undocumented immigration* affect the likelihood of being criminally victimized. As highlighted below, this served as one of the core questions addressed in the proposed project.

Another critical question, and one that has even more direct bearing to policymakers, is how contemporary immigration policies affect victimization. After a careful review of the relevant empirical literature, we noted in our project proposal that while previous studies had carefully examined how selected immigration policies implemented in local communities (e.g., Secure Communities and 287g) affect crime rates (e.g., Lyons, Vélez, and Santoro, 2013; Miles and Cox, 2014; Treyger, Chalfin, and Loeffler, 2014; Males, 2017; Martinez-Schuldt and Martinez, 2017; Wong, 2017; Forrester and Nowrasteh, 2018; O'Brien, Collingwood, and El-Khatib, 2019), there were two potentially significant limitations of that body of research: (1) it relied exclusively on police-recorded crime data; (2) it focused on community differences in immigration policy implementation, with little attention to community differences in actual immigration enforcement actions; and (3) it assumed homogeneity in policy impacts across racial-ethnic groups. Collectively, these limitations reveal major uncertainties about the role of local immigration policies in promoting public safety.

Crime data gathered by the police often serves many useful roles and can be valuable for assessing selected policy interventions, but some studies suggested that contemporary immigration policies may decrease the probability that the foreign born and other racial-ethnic minorities will report crimes to the police (Zatz and Smith, 2012), a speculation that was subsequently supported by systematic research published during the data collection phase of our study (Martinez-Schuldt and Martinez, 2021). This led us to reason that focusing exclusively on police-based crime data could yield an incomplete picture of the impact of local immigration

policy on crime, and at the least, that using alternative data on crime, such as victim self-reports, would offer a valuable addition to the empirical evidence base. Beyond this fundamental matter, the strong emphasis in prior research on immigration adoption and relative inattention to immigration enforcement actions (e.g., the issuance of immigration detainers, immigrant removals) is potentially limiting because of evidence that local jurisdictions that have implemented relevant policies vary in their enforcement of those policies (e.g., Varsanyi et al., 2012; Coon, 2017; Arthur, 2018; Moinester, 2018). Equally important, previous studies had focused on the impact of local immigration policies on overall crime, which could yield misleading evidence given that the policies were designed largely to reduce crime among Hispanic immigrants. All these considerations motivated us to develop our proposal to examine more directly how local immigration policy implementation and enforcement actions affect crime among persons of different racial-ethnic backgrounds, as measured in a nationally representative survey of victimization.

○ **Research questions**

The project was designed to achieve the overarching goal of advancing understanding of the links between undocumented immigration, immigration policy adoption and enforcement, and exposure to non-fatal victimization by examining two broad research questions: (RQ1) Does living in a county with a larger or growing share of undocumented immigrants increase US-born citizens' personal non-fatal victimization risk?; and (RQ2) Does the presence of selected immigration policies within U.S. communities—the implementation of 287(g) program or a “sanctuary” anti-detainer policy—and the actual immigration enforcement applied impact US-born citizens' personal non-fatal victimization risk? The project aimed to address these research questions using restricted-use data from 2016-2020 the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), capitalizing on the introduction of a new item on citizenship status integrated for the first time in the NCVS in 2016. However, the research team experienced a significant delay in acquiring the restricted NCVS data for 2016-2020. During the first year of the project, the research team responded to this delay by analyzing publicly available NCVS data that incorporated citizenship status (but not geographic identifiers, producing findings that illuminate important dimensions of this new measure and its relationship with victimization risk. In section I of the main body of the report, we describe the research design, methods, and key results of this analysis.

As described in greater detail in the Scope Change grant award modification (GAM-551680, approved by NIJ on 12/1/2021), the restricted NCVS data remained unavailable as the second year of the project ended, which necessitated a slight modification to the overarching research objectives. Specifically, the approved modification altered the study period for the project (changed from the proposed 2016-2020 to the modified 2005-2015). Additionally, while the overarching goal of the project remained intact, the two research questions were modified slightly, broadening the focus beyond impacts on U.S. citizens to encompass all persons: (RQ1) Does living in a county with a larger or growing share of undocumented immigrants increase personal non-fatal victimization risk?; and (RQ2) Does the presence of selected immigration policies within U.S. communities—the implementation of 287(g) program or a “sanctuary” anti-detainer policy—and the actual immigration enforcement applied impact personal non-fatal victimization risk? In sections 2-5 of the main body of the report, we describe the research design, methods, and key results of analyses relevant to these questions.

Section 2. Citizenship status and victimization risk

One of the original goals of the project (eventually revised, as described above) was to increase knowledge about victimization experiences in the U.S., disaggregated by citizenship status, with a specific focus on immigration policy impacts. Relatively little knowledge exists about how citizenship influences victimization risk, largely because until 2016, the nation's largest victimization survey—the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)—did not measure citizenship for respondents. To facilitate the original goals of the project, we analyzed new data from the 2017-2018 NCVS to better understand the association between citizenship and victimization risk. Xie and Baumer (2021) describe the motivation and results of this assessment in full, which can be accessed here: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8849556/>. A summary of the core arguments and findings are summarized below.

Introduction

Despite substantial research on immigration and crime (e.g., for reviews, see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Xie & Baumer, 2018), the influence of citizenship status on one's risk of criminal victimization remains uncertain. Advancing understanding of how citizenship status affects victimization is foundational to understanding how undocumented immigration and immigration policy may affect US-born citizens' personal non-fatal victimization risk. This motivated an analysis of new data from the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) conducted in 2017–2018, which are unique due to the addition of a question on respondents' citizenship status. Using panel data from the 2017–2018 NCVS, this analysis considers how people of four different citizenship statuses — U.S.-born citizens, naturalized citizens, noncitizens, and those with ambiguous citizenship status (a group with uncertain citizenship status but which resembles known attributes of unauthorized immigrants) — compare with respect to violent and property victimization, net of other household and personal characteristics the survey measures.

As summarized in Figure 1, the interdisciplinary literatures on citizenship and immigration and crime lead us to expect the foreign born to experience lower levels of victimization compared to native-born citizens (H1). Additionally, this synthesis leads us to anticipate that naturalized citizens will have a lower risk of victimization compared to noncitizens (H2), and that respondents with ambiguous citizenship status (those who do not answer the NCVS question on citizenship and who exhibit attributes that mirror some of the known characteristics of the undocumented immigrant population) will experience a higher risk of victimization than noncitizens and naturalized citizens (H3).

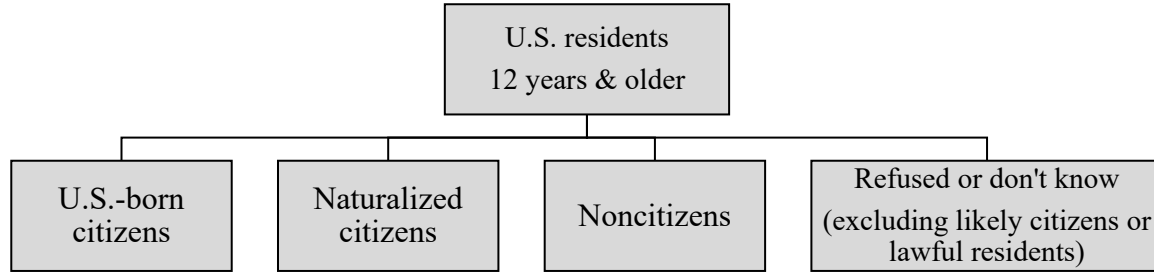
Research Design

Methods

Data

The analysis was based on NCSV data from 2017-2018, which represent the first full years of data collection that incorporated a self-reported item on respondent citizenship status. Response rates for the period were comparable to those observed in the year prior to the addition of this item.

Figure 1. Summary of citizenship status categories and hypotheses



- H1: The foreign born as a whole may experience lower levels of victimization compared to native-born citizens, net of the effects of other personal and household characteristics.
- H2: Naturalized citizens may have a lower risk of victimization than their noncitizen peers, net of the effects of other personal and household characteristics.
- H3: The ambiguous-status group identified in our study may experience a higher estimated risk of victimization compared to respondents who self-identify as naturalized citizens or noncitizens, net of the effects of other personal and household characteristics.

Measures

Dependent variable

The two dependent variables examined in the project represent dichotomous measures of reported victimization during the six months preceding the interview. One captured experiences of violent victimization, defined as whether (1=yes, 0=no) a respondent experienced a violent victimization (rape, sexual assault, robbery, assault) and the other captured property crime victimization, defined as whether the household has experienced one or more incidents of burglary, motor vehicle theft, or other theft (1=yes, 0=no).

Independent variables & Control Variables

Table 1 shows the coding of the control variables and the core independent variables in the study, which reflect the citizenship status reported by respondents. The options include being a U.S.-born citizen (i.e., persons born in the U.S., U.S. territory, or abroad to U.S. parents) or a foreign-born person, which is further sub-divided into naturalized citizens, noncitizens, and a “residue” value for those who refused to answer or answered “don’t know” to the question. We kept the first three codes as recorded in the data and applied multiple approaches for excluding responses from the “residue” group that likely represent authorized citizens, leaving behind a group of respondents with an ambiguous citizenship status that we suspected may contain a large share of unauthorized immigrants. To probe that suspicion, we first examined descriptive statistics for the control variable across the four NCVS citizenship categories considered, which are shown in Table 2, and then compared how the ambiguous citizenship group compares with the characteristics of undocumented immigrants based on analyses conducted by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) (Gelatt & Zong, 2018; MPI Data Hub, 2020), which his summarized in Table 3. Table 2 suggests that the NCVS respondents who do not respond to the citizenship item or who respond with “don’t know” (i.e., ambiguous citizenship status) are more likely to be noncitizens than to be citizens after excluding from this group persons who are likely to be citizens or have a legal residency status. Further, as summarized in Table 2 and elaborated in Xie and Baumer (2021), the distributions for selected demographic and socioeconomic attributes

are similar for the NCVS ambiguous citizenship status group and the MPI estimates for undocumented immigrant characteristics. Thus, as elaborated in Xie and Baumer (2021), while the study cannot identify the specific citizenship status of those who do not answer the NCVS citizenship question, this group exhibits attributes that are similar to the profile of noncitizens, including the characteristics of undocumented noncitizens.

Table 1. Coding of Independent and Control Variables

Independent variables	
<i>Citizenship status</i>	
Born U.S. citizen	1=yes; 0=no
Foreign born	1=yes; 0=no
Naturalized citizen	1=yes; 0=no
Noncitizen	1=yes; 0=no
Ambiguous	1=yes; 0=no
 Control variables	
Household income	Level of household income (1 to 14). To address the issue of missing income, the BJS used a hot deck imputation method to impute income (Berzofsky et al. 2014). As a sensitivity analysis, we also re-estimated all models with the income variable removed and used the victims' employment status and education to measure the victims' income-earning abilities. The results were the same across these model specifications.
Homeowner	1=respondent/family owned the home; 0=no
Education	Level of education (0 to 22)
Employed	1=employed during the last 6 months; 0=no. We coded a person as employed only if the job lasted "two consecutive weeks or more," which was the majority of employed persons, although the results were not sensitive to this requirement.
Age	In years
Male	1=yes; 0=no
Latino	1=Latino; 0=no
Asian, non-Latino	1=Asian, non-Latino; 0=no
Black, non-Latino	1=Black, non-Latino; 0=no
White, non-Latino	1=White, non-Latino; 0=no
Other race, non-Latino	1=Other race, non-Latino; 0=no
Divorced	1=yes; 0=no
Separated	1=yes; 0=no
Never married	1=yes; 0=no
Married	1=yes; 0=no
Household size	Number of people in household
Years of residence	In years
Central city neighborhood	1=yes; 0=no
South	1=yes; 0=no
Midwest	1=yes; 0=no
West	1=yes; 0=no
Northeast	1=yes; 0=no
Time in sample	1=first interview, 2=second interview, ..., 7=7th interview

Table 2. Characteristics of residents aged 12 and older by citizenship status, 2017–2018

Characteristics	U.S.-born citizen		Naturalized citizen		Noncitizen		Refused or don't know	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Latino	.12	(.30)	.37	(.41)	.54	(.42)	.58	(.39)
Asian, non-Latino	.02	(.14)	.32	(.39)	.26	(.37)	.22	(.33)
White, non-Latino	.70	(.42)	.20	(.34)	.12	(.27)	.13	(.27)
Black, non-Latino	.13	(.31)	.09	(.24)	.06	(.20)	.05	(.17)
Other race, non-Latino	.02	(.14)	.02	(.11)	.01	(.09)	.02	(.10)
Age	44.27	(18.77)	50.68	(14.35)	39.00	(12.27)	40.53	(12.02)
Male	.49	(.46)	.47	(.42)	.51	(.42)	.51	(.40)
Married	.45	(.46)	.66	(.40)	.57	(.41)	.58	(.39)
Divorced	.11	(.28)	.08	(.23)	.05	(.17)	.05	(.17)
Separated	.02	(.12)	.03	(.14)	.03	(.15)	.03	(.14)
Widowed	.06	(.21)	.06	(.20)	.03	(.13)	.02	(.10)
Never married	.37	(.45)	.18	(.32)	.32	(.39)	.32	(.37)
Education in years	13.20	(2.83)	13.16	(3.31)	11.90	(3.73)	11.87	(3.13)
Employed	.61	(.45)	.61	(.41)	.65	(.40)	.67	(.38)
Household income	12.12	(3.84)	12.14	(3.37)	10.82	(3.61)	10.79	(3.40)
Household size	2.76	(1.38)	3.08	(1.34)	3.45	(1.46)	3.05	(1.32)
Homeowner	.68	(.43)	.66	(.40)	.34	(.40)	.34	(.38)
Years of residence	11.24	(11.23)	10.47	(8.48)	4.71	(4.78)	5.04	(4.28)
Central city neighborhood	.31	(.43)	.43	(.42)	.48	(.42)	.48	(.40)
South	.39	(.45)	.31	(.39)	.36	(.40)	.29	(.36)
West	.22	(.38)	.35	(.40)	.34	(.40)	.30	(.36)
Midwest	.23	(.39)	.10	(.26)	.11	(.26)	.13	(.27)
Northeast	.17	(.34)	.24	(.36)	.19	(.33)	.27	(.35)
Time in sample	3.99	(1.85)	4.11	(1.66)	3.82	(1.68)	4.11	(1.62)
Number of person interviews	422,500		33,728		23,533		1,393	

Table 3. Comparing persons of unknown citizenship status in the NCVS with undocumented immigrants in another data source

Refused or don't know NCVS estimates (2017–2018)		Undocumented immigrants Migration Policy Institute (MPI) estimates (2014–2018)	
Gender		Gender	
Male	51%	Male ^a	54%
Age (16 years & over)		Age (16 years & over)	
16 to 24	11%	16 to 24	16%
25 to 34	26%	25 to 34	32%
35 to 44	27%	35 to 44	30%
45 to 54	18%	45 to 54	14%
55 and over	17%	55 and over	8%
Family structure (ages 15 & over)		Family structure (ages 15 & over)	
Married & living with a partner	46%	Married & living with a partner	45%
Reside with no children	66%	Reside with no children	58%
Employment (ages 16 & over)		Employment (ages 16 & over)	
Employed	65%	Employed	66%
Homeownership		Homeownership	
Homeowner	34%	Homeowner	29%
Education (ages 25 & over)		Education (ages 25 & over)	
Less than high school	35%	Less than high school	48%
High school diploma or GED	26%	High school diploma or GED	24%
Some college or associate's degree	15%	Some college or associate's degree	13%
Bachelor's, graduate, or professional degree	24%	Bachelor's, graduate, or professional degree	19%
Race/ethnicity		Region of birth (Not directly comparable to race/ethnicity)	
Latino	58%	Mexico, Central, & South America ^a	75%
Asian, non-Latino	22%	Asia ^a	14%
Black, non-Latino	5%	Africa & Caribbean ^a	6%
White, non-Latino	13%	Europe, Canada, & Oceania ^a	6%
Other race, non-Latino	2%		

Note: MPI estimates (MPI Data Hub, 2020) are based on data from the 2014–2018 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2008 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP).

^a Including people younger than 12 years.

Analytical and data analysis techniques

We test the hypotheses summarized in Figure 1 by estimating survey logistic regression models that account for the stratified multistage cluster design of the NCVS. The full regression results may be found in Xie and Baumer (2021). We summarize the key patterns here in Figure 2, which shows odds ratio plots (with 95% confidence intervals) for the influence of citizenship status on violent victimization (2a) and property victimization (2b).

Results

The patterns summarized in Figure 2 provide support for the hypothesis that the foreign born as a whole experience lower levels of victimization compared to native-born citizens, net of the effects of other personal and household characteristics (H1). Naturalized citizens and known noncitizens have similarly lower risk of victimization for both violent and property crimes compared to U.S.-born citizens, after adjusting for control variables, which is inconsistent with the expectation that naturalized citizens would have a lower risk of victimization than their noncitizen peers (H2). Thus, the results reveal that the hypothesized protective role of being awarded citizenship is small and statistically insignificant after considering group differences in the control variables.

Finally, the results shown in Figure 2 reveal mixed support for the hypothesis that the ambiguous citizenship status group identified in our study, many of whom are suspected to be unauthorized immigrants, would experience a higher estimated risk of victimization compared to respondents who self-identify as naturalized citizens or noncitizens, net of the effects of other personal and household characteristics (H3). The results show that, compared to naturalized citizens and known noncitizens, the ambiguous citizenship status group has a significantly higher risk of victimization by violence (2a), which is consistent with H3, but not property crimes, which is inconsistent with H3. It is also noteworthy that there is no significant difference in victimization risk between the U.S.-born citizens and the ambiguous status group in either of the crime types. Parallel findings were observed after excluding non-Latino Whites from the ambiguous status group, which suggests that the observed patterns are not due merely to the possible presence of non-respondents who are White U.S.-born citizens. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the confidence intervals for the ambiguous status group are relatively large, so it would be useful to reconsider these comparisons when additional years of data from the NCVS become available.

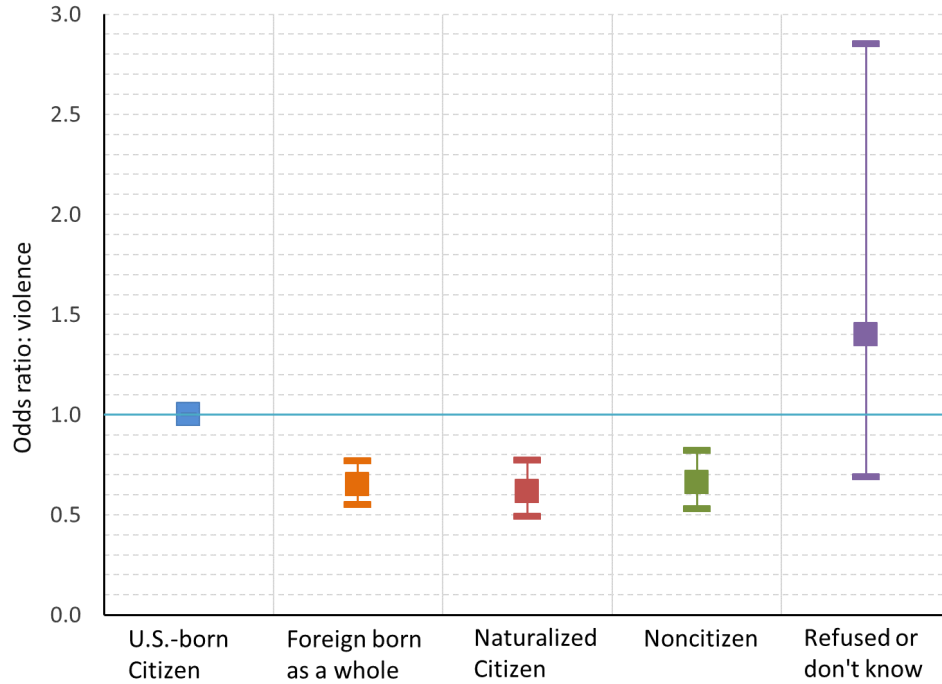
Discussion

The findings presented in this study underscore the importance of exploring how patterns of victimization vary between U.S.-born citizens and different groups of immigrants. The results show that the majority of immigrants (i.e., naturalized citizens and known noncitizens) are protected from victimization by their foreign-born status, which challenges claims that crime is more prevalent within immigrant communities and raises questions about the potential crime control benefits of immigration control measures such as 287(g) and Secure Communities (see also Forrester & Nowrasteh, 2018; Kubrin, 2014; Miles & Cox, 2014; Treyger, Chalfin, & Loeffler, 2014). Additional research is needed to better understand the mechanisms that protect the foreign born and how those mechanisms might be replicated to reduce victimization experienced by U.S.-born citizens. Also, by exploring the factors that make some groups of immigrants such as the group with ambiguous citizenship status to experience considerably

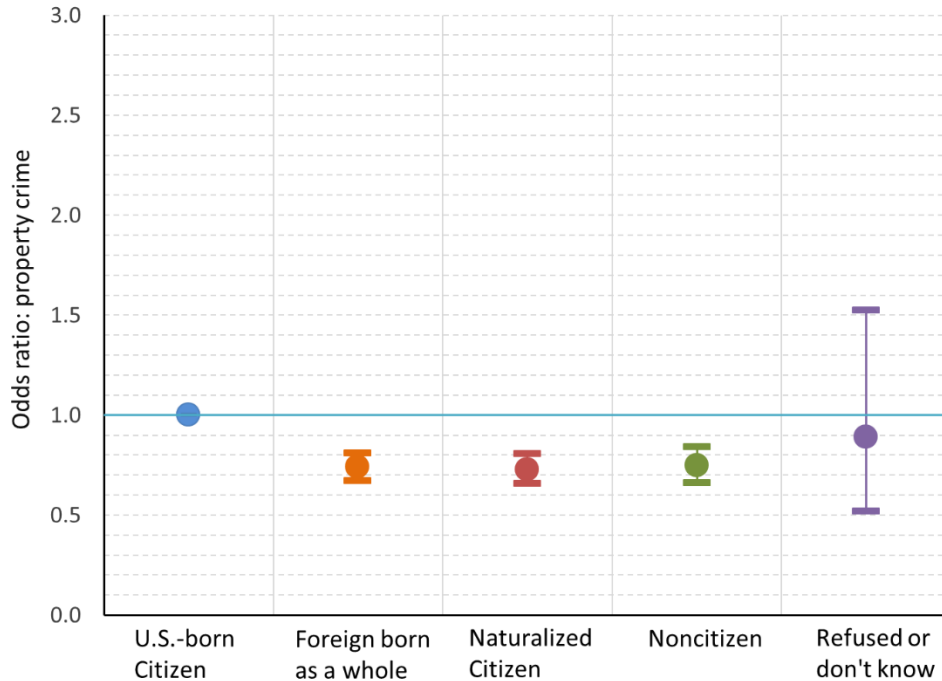
higher risk of violent victimization, we may begin to identify the individual or structural factors contributing to the life conditions of these individuals and build a safe environment for all.

Figure 2. Odds ratio of victimization with 95% confidence intervals, controlling for measured confounding variables, 2017–2018

2a. Violent victimization



2b. Property victimization



Note: The horizontal lines represent the reference group, U.S.-born citizens.

Section 3. County differences in 287(g) adoption

An important focus of the project was to increase knowledge about the impact of county differences in immigration policy adoption on victimization risk, with an emphasis on Secure Communities, 287(g), and anti-detainer policies. An important foundation of that assessment is to better understand the local conditions associated with the adoption of these policies. Previous research had considered the community conditions associated with the roll out of Secure Communities (Martinez-Schuldt and Martinez 2017; Miles and Cox 2014), but much less was known about the forces that led some communities to adopt 287(g) when most did not. Thus, the project team explored the community factors associated with 287(g) adoption. Wirth and Baumer (2024) describe the motivation and results of this assessment in full, which can be accessed here: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2024.2304335>. A summary of the core arguments and findings are summarized below.

Introduction

During the early 2000s, the U.S. government began to partner with local law enforcement agencies for assistance with the enforcement of immigration laws. Participation in the voluntary 287(g) program by law enforcement agencies was an important early iteration of this new strategy. Although relatively few agencies adopted 287(g), its implementation was a critical turning point in the nation's approach to immigration enforcement and has been linked to a wide range of negative consequences for Latinos, including higher levels of violent victimization and decreases in police trust (Baumer and Xie 2023; Lacayo 2010). This study explores the relationship between community and law enforcement context and 287(g) uptake. Drawing on multiple theoretical perspectives, including theories that emphasize perceived minority group, immigrant, and economic threats, theories that highlight political power and partisanship, and organizational theories that highlight features of law enforcement agencies, the study considered the impact of several potentially relevant demographic, economic, political, and institutional factors on 287(g) program adoption.

Research Design

A cross-sectional multilevel design (i.e., police agencies nested within counties) was implemented to assess how police agency decisions about 287(g) may have been influenced by both county- and agency-level factors. The multilevel design permits an assessment of both city police agency and county-level forces that may shape 287(g) adoption. The study focuses on the critical period of the late 2000s (i.e., 2007-2009), which encompasses the first wave of growth in 287(g) implementation. The analysis sample consisted of 880 police agencies nested within 233 counties, which represents the maximum sample for which key potential sources of 287(g) adoption (e.g., % undocumented immigrants, police agency racial-ethnic composition) could be estimated.

Methods

Data

Multiple data sources were used, including records on 287(g) agreements from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) records, data on local police agency characteristics from the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey, county-level data on social, economic, and demographic conditions from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey and 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, homicide data from the National

Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), data on political partisanship from the MIT Election Data and Science Lab (MIT Lab), and estimates of the undocumented immigrant population from the Migration Policy Institute (MPI).

Measures

The dependent variable examined in the study was a binary indicator of whether sampled police agencies had a 287(g) agreement in place between 2007 and 2009. The study incorporated several other institutional attributes of police agencies, indicators of county immigrant threat and political context, and a variety of county control variables. The specific variables are listed and defined in Table 1. Wirth and Baumer (2024) provide an elaborated discussion of the measures considered.

Table 1. Variable Descriptions and Sources

Variable Name	Variable Description	Source
Outcome		
287(g)	Binary indicator for if a department had a 287(g) agreement in place between 2007 and 2009	ICE Records
Controls		
Population Composition	Standardized index that combines the total population (logged) and population density per square mile (logged) by county ($\alpha=.67$)	ACS 5-Year Estimates
Logged NB Homicide Rate	US native-born homicide victims per 100,000 population (logged)	NCHS
Logged FB Homicide Rate	Foreign-born homicide victims per 100,000 population (logged)	NCHS
Gini Index	Measure of the dispersion of income inequality by county	ACS 5-Year Estimates
Distance to the S Border	Distance from the southern U.S. border, divided by 100 miles	2000 Census County File
Agency Percent Black	Percent full-time Black officers within a police agency in 2007	LEMAS
Institutional Characteristics		
Agency Percent Asian	Percent full-time Asian officers within a police agency in 2007	LEMAS
Agency Percent Hispanic	Percent full-time Hispanic officers within a police agency in 2007	LEMAS
Agency Budget	Police agency budget in dollars per year, divided by 100,000	LEMAS
Bilingual Incentive Pay	Binary indicator for if an agency offers a bilingual pay incentive	LEMAS
Immigrant Threat & Political Context		
Estimated Percent Undoc Immigrants	Estimated percent of undocumented immigrants by county in 2007	MPI
Estimated Percent Legal Immigrants	Estimated percent of legal immigrants by county in 2007	MPI
Immigrant Acculturation	Standardized index that combines the percentage of the foreign-born population that arrived in 2000 or later, the percentage of the foreign-born population that speaks English less than very well or not at all, and the percent of foreign-born who are non-citizens ($\alpha=0.64$)	ACS 5-Year Estimates
Percent Change Foreign-Born	Change in percent foreign-born by county from 1980 to 2000	1980/2000 Decennial Census
FB:NB Dissimilarity	Segregation of foreign-born and native-born residents across census tracts within counties	ACS 5-Year Estimates & 1980/2000 Decennial Census
Asian:White Unemp Ratio	Ratio of county Asian to White unemployment rates	ACS 5-Year Estimates
Hisp:White Unemp Ratio	Ratio of county Hispanic to White unemployment rates	ACS 5-Year Estimates
Percent Republican	Percent of Republican voters divided the total voters by county	MIT Lab

Note: ACS 5-Year Estimates use the pooled 2005-2009 data.

Note: To improve legibility of results, FB:NB Dissimilarity, Asian:White Unemp Ratio, Hisp:White Unemp Ratio, and Gini Index multiplied by 100. Agency Budget is expressed in millions of dollars. Distance to the S Border is expressed in 100s of miles.

Analytical and data analysis techniques

Because adoption of 287(g) was relatively rare among sampled law enforcement agencies during the period, the study applied the rare events logistic regression model developed by King and Zeng (2001a, 2001b). To account for the non-independence of sampled police agencies clustered within counties, the estimated standard errors were clustered at the county level (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002).

Results

Table 2 shows that about three percent of the law enforcement agencies in the sample adopted 287(g) between 2007 and 2009, which serves as motivation for the rare-events modeling approach applied in the analysis. The table also shows that law enforcement agencies exhibit considerable variation in terms of institutional features, such as budget and racial-ethnic composition, and that they are situated in counties that have widely divergent characteristics. This study examines whether that variation is associated with 287(g) adoption.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for variables included in analysis of 287(g) adoption by U.S. police agencies (n=880)

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dependent Variable		
287(g) Agreement	0.03	
Explanatory Variables^a		
Controls		
Population Composition	1.26	0.69
Logged NB Homicide Rate	3.16	0.87
Logged FB Homicide Rate	3.20	0.88
Gini Index	45.62	3.35
Distance to the S Border	9.02	5.10
Agency Percent Black	7.61	10.95
Institutional Characteristics		
Agency Percent Asian	1.34	2.16
Agency Percent Hispanic	9.21	13.01
Agency Budget	5.68	18.09
Bilingual Incentive Pay	0.30	
Immigrant Threat & Political Context		
Estimated Percent Undoc Immigrants	4.60	3.15
Estimated Percent Legal Immigrants	11.61	7.10
Immigrant Acculturation	0.00	0.76
Percent Change Foreign-Born	105.46	105.36
FB:NB Dissimilarity	30.53	6.51
Asian:White Unemp Ratio	8.38	9.54
Hisp:White Unemp Ratio	35.50	28.56
Percent Republican	46.34	11.71

^a The explanatory and control variables represent characteristics of the counties in which law enforcement agencies are located.

Note: Standard deviations presented for continuous variables. FB:NB Dissimilarity, Asian:White Unemp Ratio, Hisp:White Unemp Ratio, and Gini Index multiplied by 100 to improve legibility of results. Agency Budget divided by 100,000, Distance to the S Border divided by 100 to improve legibility of results.

Table 3 shows estimated coefficients and standard errors from two rare events logistic regression models. The first model includes the control variables and indicators of law enforcement agency context. The second model incorporates the measures of immigrant demographic and economic threat and the percent of the population who voted for the Republican Presidential candidate. We highlight three main results from the multivariable analysis, emphasizing the patterns that emerge in the most complete empirical specification (model 2).

Table 3. Rare Events Logistic Regression Models Predicting 287(g) Implementation for Law Enforcement Agencies, n=880

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
Controls				
Population Composition	-0.135	(0.314)	-0.424	(0.434)
Logged NB Homicide Rate	-0.220	(0.333)	0.956	(0.580)
Logged FB Homicide Rate	0.783*	(0.346)	0.186	(0.388)
Gini Index	-0.191	(0.123)	-0.214	(0.169)
Distance to the S Border	-0.144*	(0.061)	-0.050	(0.072)
Agency Percent Black	0.008	(0.017)	0.019	(0.030)
Institutional Context				
Agency Percent Asian	-0.181	(0.097)	-0.119	(0.125)
Agency Percent Hispanic	-0.020	(0.017)	0.004	(0.022)
Agency Budget	0.024***	(0.007)	0.030**	(0.009)
Bilingual Incentive Pay	0.707	(0.505)	0.494	(0.520)
Immigrant Threat				
Estimated Percent Undoc Immigrants			0.404**	(0.130)
Estimated Percent Legal Immigrants			0.032	(0.098)
Immigrant Acculturation			-0.056	(0.504)
Percent Change Foreign-Born			0.001	(0.002)
FB:NB Dissimilarity			-0.092	(0.054)
Asian:White Unemp Ratio			-0.015	(0.049)
Hisp:White Unemp Ratio			-0.042*	(0.019)
Political Context				
Percent Republican			0.069*	(0.035)
Constant	4.342	(5.001)	1.459	(6.760)

Note: Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses;

*** p<.001; ** p<.01; * p<.05

First, both models suggest mixed results about the importance of agency characteristics for 287(g) adoption. On one hand, the ethnoracial composition of the sworn police force was not significantly associated with program adoption. This finding is inconsistent with predictions derived from representative bureaucracy theory, but the null effect could reflect the limited diversity in sampled police agencies during the period. On the other hand, agencies with larger budgets were significantly more likely to adopt 287(g). This is consistent with expectations that agency budget was a relevant consideration in 287(g) participation, though further examination

revealed that its impact was relatively weak. Assuming mean values for the other predictors, the probability of 287(g) adoption was estimated to be .016 in agencies with relatively large budgets (90th percentile), compared to .011 in agencies with relatively small budgets (10th percentile). Thus, while agency budget emerges as a statistically significant predictor of 287(g) adoption, its substantive importance was relatively small.

Second, the evidence is also mixed for arguments derived from a social threat theoretical perspective. Neither the percent change in the foreign-born population nor the indicator of immigrant acculturation (i.e., percent with limited English language proficiency, percent non-citizens, and percent who arrived after 2000) was significantly associated with 287(g) adoption. Conversely, the results underscore the importance of disaggregating the foreign-born population by legal status. While county differences in the legal foreign-born population were unrelated to 287(g) adoption, the relative size of the county undocumented immigrant population was a significant driver of police agency decisions to participate in the program. We computed predicted probabilities of 287(g) adoption at low (i.e., 10th percentile) and high (90th percentile) levels of undocumented immigration, ranging from low (1.1%) to high (9.6%). As summarized in Table 4, 287(g) adoption was considerably more likely among agencies situated within counties where undocumented immigrant populations were larger.

Table 4. Estimated Impact of Selected County-Level Variables on 287(g) Adoption

Predicted Probabilities of 287(g) Adoption, with 95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI)*			
		Probability	95% CI
% Undocumented immigrants	Low	0.003	[.001 - .018]
	High	0.094	[.028 - .275]
Hisp:White unemp ratio	Low	0.044	[.012 - .147]
	High	0.002	[.001 - .021]
% Republican votes	Low	0.004	[.001 - .025]
	High	0.033	[.009 - .125]

Note: Low=10th percentile, High=90th percentile.

*Predictions based on model estimates from Table 3.

The data also indicate a statistically significant relationship between the Hispanic to White unemployment rate ratio and 287(g) adoption, and the direction of the relationship is consistent with predictions derived from an economic threat perspective on immigration. As illuminated in terms of predicted probabilities in Table 4, 287(g) was more likely in counties where the Hispanic unemployment rate was closer to the White unemployment rate, and much less likely where Hispanic unemployment surpassed White unemployment.

Third, net of all other predictors, police agencies within counties that cast a larger share of votes for the 2004 Republican presidential election were significantly more likely to enter into a 287(g) agreement during the 2007-2009 period. Translating our regression results into predicted probabilities shows that Republican areas were, on average, much more likely to adopt 287(g), though 287(g) implementation was rare in absolute terms.

Discussion

This study reaffirms the importance of political context in shaping local immigration policy (e.g., Chand and Schreckhise 2015; Lewis et al. 2013), as we found that 287(g) adoption was more likely among agencies situated in counties with substantial Republican support among the electorate (see also Wong 2012). This finding emerged in our study net of a wide range of agency and county attributes, including that 287(g) implementation was more likely in counties with larger undocumented populations and economic competition from Hispanics. We found no evidence that limited assimilation of foreign-born residents or greater growth in the foreign-born population were significantly related to 287(g) enforcement. These findings could be a function of the relative rarity of 287(g) adoption, but it also may be because, by the late 2000s, the issue of *undocumented* immigration was becoming more salient, rather than immigration more generally. Consistent with this claim, several other studies also report no significant relationship between immigration policy adoption and growth in the foreign-born (Lewis et al. 2013) or Hispanic populations (Cox and Miles 2012; Wong 2012). Further, our findings show that agencies located in counties that had a larger estimated share of undocumented immigrants were significantly more likely to implement 287(g), which is consistent with the stated aims of federal immigration enforcement objectives to identify and remove undocumented migrants. However, there is no evidence of which we are aware that the share of undocumented immigrants is associated with higher crime rates or that the adoption of 287(g) yields reductions in crime (Adelman et al. 2021; Baumer and Xie 2023; Light and Miller 2018), which challenges the wisdom of the crime prevention and reduction rationalization for 287(g).

Because 287(g) participation is the choice of local police agencies, we also considered attributes of law enforcement agencies that may be relevant to that decision. Agencies with larger budgets were slightly more likely to adopt 287(g), but the presence of bilingual officer pay incentives and greater racial/ethnic diversity among police forces did not emerge as significant predictors. The latter finding is contrary to the predictions derived from representative bureaucracy theory, but it is possible that this reflects the realities of limited diversity within U.S. police agencies. Advancements in representative bureaucracy theory suggest the importance of the “critical mass” concept, arguing that diversity must reach a threshold of approximately 30 to 35 percent for minority institutional members to affect positive changes that benefit minorities (Nicholson-Crotty, Nicholson-Crotty, and Fernandez 2017). Unfortunately, this prediction could not be tested adequately in the present study because very few of the law enforcement agencies sampled reach a critical mass of officers from racial-ethnic minority groups. The maximum share of Asian officers was 16.3 percent across the agencies studied. While Hispanics were represented to a greater degree in the law enforcement agencies, the average share of Hispanic officers during the period was 9.2 percent and the critical mass threshold of 30 percent Hispanic officers was reached in just five percent of agencies. Thus, it is not surprising that in supplementary analyses we found no evidence of a non-linear relationship between 287(g) adoption and the percentage of officers who are Hispanic.

The conclusions that emerged from our study should be viewed in the context of two important limitations. First, while 287(g) adoption was an important impetus for a new direction in contemporary U.S. immigration policy, participation among local law enforcement agencies was rare, which presents challenges to statistical inference. We employed statistical procedures designed to minimize potential bias when studying rare events with logistic regression models, but we cannot rule out that the rarity of 287(g) adoption limits our capacity to gain a more nuanced understanding of the factors pertinent to local adoption decisions. Second, the

theoretical arguments most germane to explaining geographic differences in immigrant social control highlight the importance of *perceptions* of immigrants as a potential threat to public safety, economic vitality, and political status of the native-born. Like other aggregate-level studies of social control, we did not incorporate measures of perceptions because doing so was not viable based on the data structure. We encourage additional investigation that integrates indicators of public sentiment, which offer new opportunities to examine how measures of perceptions of immigrants, alongside objective measures of the composition, distribution, and change in the immigrant population, may affect social control processes. Additionally, we encourage future research on local immigration policy that further explores the impact of police institutional characteristics and broader community conditions on the immigration policies adopted by law enforcement agencies. Integrating information about the race/ethnicity and political partisanship of local law enforcement leaders would be an especially important extension of our research.

Finally, although we study the pivotal first major wave of 287(g) adoption, it would be valuable for future studies to examine the more recent expansion of the program following the 2016 Presidential election (ICE 2023). From January 2017 to mid-year 2023, 137 law enforcement agencies across 23 states entered into 287(g) agreements, raising further questions about how community and institutional context may have influenced 287(g) participation for law enforcement agencies upon its reinstatement. Given the continued debates about immigration, crime, immigration policy, and the significant fiscal and human costs associated with different policy approaches, it is important for research to further examine the various forces driving contemporary immigration enforcement efforts.

Section 4. Immigration policy and victimization risk

An important focus of the project was to increase knowledge about the impact of county differences in immigration policy adoption on victimization risk, with an emphasis on Secure Communities, 287(g), and anti-detainer policies. Baumer and Xie (2024) describe the motivation and results of this assessment in full, which can be accessed here: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1745-9133.12595>. A summary of the core arguments and findings are summarized below.

Introduction

Under the new federal guidelines, the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency, a division of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) created in 2003, has actively pursued partnerships with local officials to enforce immigration laws through, most notably, the Section 287(g) and Secure Communities programs (Rosenblum and Kandel, 2012). These programs were designed to remove serious criminal aliens from the United States (American Immigration Council, 2014; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), but they have created many controversies and debates about the legality and impact of local involvement in immigration law enforcement, often because the vast majority of individuals affected by the programs are not serious criminals (Coleman, 2012; Kubrin, 2014; Lacayo, 2010; Martinez and Iwama, 2014; TRAC, 2014; Zatz and Smith, 2012). A substantial number of local jurisdictions have optioned, amid the debates, to decline cooperation with federal authorities or have enacted immigrant protective anti-detainer or so-called “sanctuary” policies to limit the role of local officials in immigration enforcement (Grabner and Marquez, 2016; Rice, 2017; Ridgley, 2013).

In managing the varied immigration enforcement approaches, the federal and local governments have spent significant amounts of resources and taxpayer money. Since its inception, the overall budget of ICE has increased from \$3.3 billion in 2003 to \$8.3 billion in 2021 (American Immigration Council, 2021a). The appropriations for the Secure Communities program alone totaled \$1.1 billion from 2008-2014 (Cantor, Noferi, and Martinez, 2015), prior to the reactivation of the program in 2017. Though smaller in scope, the 287(g) program has been estimated to cost Americans an additional \$500 million in federal funding since 2006 (American Immigration Council, 2021b). A major rationale for these investments is that policies such as 287(g) and Secure Communities programs and the enforcement actions they facilitate (e.g., immigration detainers, arrests, and removals) will reduce crime (e.g., OLC, 2002; Vaughan and Edwards, 2009). Given the substantial investments that have been made toward that end, it is important to assess whether these immigration law enforcement programs have, in fact, made America safer. The present research addresses this question.

Our study complements prior research on whether the adoption of 287(g) (Forrester and Nowrasteh, 2018), the Secure Communities program (Miles and Cox, 2014; Treyger et al., 2014), and anti-detainer policies (Ascherio, 2022; Gonzalez O'Brien, Collingwood, and El-Khatib, 2019; Hausman, 2020; Kubrin and Bartos, 2020; Martinez-Schuldt and Martinez, 2017; Wong, 2017) are associated with local crime rates in two significant ways. First, previous studies have generally examined local immigration enforcement policies in isolation when in practice the different policies (e.g., Section 287(g), Secure Communities, and sanctuary anti-detainer policies) have frequently been implemented side-by-side in one jurisdiction and their effects should be considered simultaneously. Secure Communities and Section 287(g) use data sharing and/or partnerships between ICE and local jurisdictions to ensure a faster and purportedly more efficient identification and removal of immigrants (Meissner, Kerwin, Chishti, and Bergeron, 2013). Sanctuary anti-detainer policies, in contrast, may counter these efforts by limiting cooperation with federal immigration officials (Martínez, Martínez-Schuldt, and Cantor, 2018). Many law review articles compare and address the legal and policy justifications of these policies (e.g., Lasch et al., 2018; Pham, 2018; Stumpf, 2015). It is, however, much harder to test the empirical relationship of these policies with crime, given that many jurisdictions are governed by multiple—and sometimes contradictory—federal and local policies. A city, for example, may pass ordinances to try to limit cooperation with federal detainers, but Secure Communities may still be operational in the city because local communities cannot opt out of the program (Dixon, 2020). A comprehensive examination of these policies requires a careful tracking of their implementation dates and factors related to implementation status for different jurisdictions, which is what the present study aims to do.

Second, previous studies have relied on crime data from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program to assess the relationship between local immigration policies and crime, which may provide an incomplete assessment due to known limitations of the UCR data. The UCR crime data are valuable for many purposes, but some features of the data raise significant questions about its utility for assessing the efficacy of local (e.g., city and county) immigration policies. Specifically, prior research has documented that the UCR omits a substantial amount of crime due to underreporting by citizens (Lynch and Addington, 2007) and non-reporting or partial reporting of crime data by law enforcement agencies (Maltz and Targonski, 2002; Targonski, 2011). There is evidence that these forms of missing data have changed over time and are correlated with community attributes relevant to variation in the activation of contemporary immigration policies (Baumer and Lauritsen, 2010; DeLang, Taheri, Hutchison, and Hawke,

2022; Martínez-Schuldt and Martínez, 2021; Xie, 2014; Xie and Baumer, 2019). Additionally, although Latinos have been the primary target of contemporary immigration policies (Martinez 2022) and, as delineated below, could be impacted by those policies uniquely, the UCR does not permit the analysis of crime exposure among distinct racial-ethnic groups. Thus, by restricting attention to UCR crime data, prior research has not been able to examine whether Latinos experience less, or more, crime after the activation of 287(g), Secure Communities, and anti-detainer policies.

The present study contributes to knowledge about the effects of 287(g), Secure Communities, and anti-detainer policies by examining their influence on victimization risk overall and among Latinos, non-Latino Whites, and non-Latino Blacks specifically. We go beyond previous research by considering all three policies in the same study and by using data on crime exposure from the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Although the NCVS has documented limitations as well (Lynch and Addington, 2007), it can provide a useful complement to the UCR for assessing the impact of local immigration policies because it includes crimes unknown to the police, is not affected by changes in local law enforcement practices, and permits analyses for different race-ethnic groups.

Research Design

A multilevel, longitudinal, research design was used to address the core research questions examined in the project. As described in greater detail below, this approach encompassed individual-level panel survey data on victimization from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and community-level time-varying indicators of undocumented immigration, immigration policy presence and enforcement, and socioeconomic and demographic conditions. The primary analytical strategy applied was a hybrid longitudinal fixed-effects assessment, which yielded both between-person and within-person assessments of the relationship between individual victimization risk and county measures of undocumented immigration and immigration policy variation. To assess the robustness of the within-person regression results, we also estimated alternative models, including fixed-effects difference-in-differences (DID) logistic regression models and propensity score matching.

Methods

Data

The project integrated information on neighborhood and county conditions from a variety of sources to individual-level survey data on victimization from the restricted-use National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The NCVS is the primary source of information on non-lethal victimization in the United States (Lynch and Addington, 2007). The NCVS data are drawn annually from a nationally representative sample of approximately 90,000 households comprising about 160,000 individuals aged 12 years or older. Survey response rates were above 85% for the years under study (Planty, 2014). The resulting sample is relatively large and is well-suited for the project because it includes victimizations not reported to the police, permits analysis of victimization by race-ethnicity, and contains geographic codes that enable linkages to community-level data that describe how respondents experience different socioeconomic, demographic, and policy environments, including but not limited to variation in the relative size of undocumented immigrant populations and exposure to differential immigrant policy conditions. The data assembled for the project describe victimization experiences from 2005-

2014 (with surveys conducted through 2015), which encompasses a critical period of immigration policy development and concerns about undocumented immigration.

To examine the core research questions, we linked data on geographic differences in immigration policy implementation, undocumented immigration population size, and indicators of socio-economic and demographic conditions to the NCVS records using restricted geographic codes that identify respondents' residential counties and census tracts. More specifically, we addressed research question #1 (RQ1, Does living in a county with a larger or growing share of undocumented immigrants increase personal non-fatal victimization risk?) by integrating county-level estimates of the size of the undocumented immigrant population using methods described below and linking these to NCVS respondents using Federal Information Processing Standards (FIPS) codes that identify their counties of residence. To examine research question #2 (RQ2, Does the presence of selected immigration policies within U.S. communities—the implementation of 287(g) program or a “sanctuary” anti-detainer policy—and the actual immigration enforcement applied impact personal non-fatal victimization risk?), we merged county-level data from several publicly available data sources to the NCVS records. This policy data integration included information about the activation of Secure Communities from the ICE's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) library (ICE, 2021), data on the presence of 287(g) agreements from the ICE FOIA library and other published sources (Capps et al., 2011; Gelatt, Bernstein, and Koball, 2017), and data on the presence of anti-detainer policies from multiple sources, including ICE's “Weekly Declined Detainer Outcome Report” (ICE, 2017), the House Appropriations Committee's reports on the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Bill for fiscal years 2007 through 2018 (U.S. House Committee on Appropriations, 2006-2017), the Catholic Immigration Legal Network's (CLINIC, 2014) list of anti-detainer policies, and the interactive map data from the Center for Immigration Studies (Griffith and Vaughan, 2017). To assess the potential impact of immigration policy enforcement on victimization, we merged data on county estimates of the number of immigrant detainees issued and immigrant removals to the individual NCVS records. The county estimates for detainees and removals were extracted from data assembled by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC) at Syracuse University through a series of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests submitted to ICE.

The data used from the project also encompassed information on the social, economic, and demographic conditions of NCVS respondent's neighborhoods and counties, which was drawn from multiple sources, including the American Community Survey (ACS), Decennial Census, Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), and Census of Governments (see Baumer & Xie, 2023).

Measures

Dependent variable

The dependent variable examined in the project was a dichotomous measure of whether a respondent experienced a violent victimization (including rape, sexual assault, robbery, and assault) during the six months preceding the interview. We used a binary outcome variable (1=yes, 0=no) rather than victimization counts because few respondents reported multiple victimizations within the six-month reference period.

Independent variables

The core independent variables in the study were county-level variables that describe the share of residents who were undocumented immigrants, the implementation of selected

immigration policies (i.e., Secure Communities, 287(g), and anti-detainer), and the volume of law enforcement actions (i.e., detainer and removal requests) applied.

County Immigration Enforcement Policies

The project included time-varying measures of the presence of the three most common local immigration law enforcement policies: the Secure Communities Program, the 287(g) program, and anti-detainer policies (see Baumer & Xie, 2023). These variables were linked to NCVS individual-level records by matching on FIPS county codes. A time-varying dummy variable identified whether Secure Communities was active in the respondent's county (*Secure Communities Activated*) during the six-month reference period (1=yes, 0=no). Two dummy variables were incorporated to capture whether a 287(g) agreement was in place within a respondents' county during the reference period used to measure victimization, which distinguishes between the presence of jail enforcement programs (1=yes, 0=no) and task force models (1=yes, 0=no). A small number of U.S. counties implemented hybrid models of the 287(g), which included both the jail enforcement and task force models; in these instances, we assigned a value of 1 for both variables. Finally, we included an indicator of whether the NCVS respondent's county had implemented anti-detainer policies (1=yes, 0=no), which represent a heterogeneous mix of policymaking aimed at limiting the degree to which local officials cooperate or comply with the enforcement of Federal immigration directives (CLINIC, 2014).

Control Variables

Prior studies have shown that a variety of survey-, individual- and community-level factors influence victimization risk (for a review, see Baumer & Xie, 2023). As described more fully in Table 1, we included a wide range of control variables from the NCVS that measure differences in individual attributes and survey administration. Additionally, we included several census tract and county control variables, which are described in Table 1. The corresponding measures were derived from the 2000 Decennial Census and multiple installments of the ACS (5-year estimates from 2006–2010 through 2009–2013). We applied linear interpolation to estimate annual values and integrated them with NCVS records, lagging the measures by one year to capture prevailing conditions during the period leading up to and encompassing the reference period for measuring violent victimization.

Table 1. Coding of control variables (Restricted-Use NCVS, 2005-2014).

Individual characteristics	
Age	In years
Male	1=yes; 0=no
White (as reference)	1=Non-Latino White; 0=no
Latino	1=Latino (any race); 0=no
Black	1=Non-Latino Black; 0=no
Other nonwhite	1=Non-Latino other nonwhite group; 0=no
Divorced	1=yes; 0=no
Separated	1=yes; 0=no
Never married	1=yes; 0=no
Education	Level of education (0 to 22)
Employed	1=employed during the last 6 months; 0=no. We coded a person as employed only if the job lasted “two consecutive weeks or more,” which was the majority of employed persons, although the results were not sensitive to this requirement.
Household income	Level of household income (1 to 14).
Homeowner	1=respondent/family owned the home; 0=no
Length of residence	In years
Neighborhood characteristics	
Population density	Logged population per square mile
Central city neighborhood	1=yes; 0=no
SES disadvantage	Composite disadvantage index
% Black	Percentage of tract population that is non-Latino Black
% Latino	Percentage of tract population that is Latino
% Asian and Pacific Islander	Percentage of tract population that is non-Latino Asian and Pacific Islander
% other race/ethnicity	Percentage of tract population that is non-Latino other race
Race entropy score	A tract’s entropy score is $E = \sum_{i=1}^5 (\Pi_i) \ln[1/\Pi_i]$ where Π_i refers to a particular racial/ethnic group’s proportion of the tract population. The five racial/ethnic groups are Latinos, non-Latino Whites, Blacks, Asians and Pacific Islanders, and other race
% foreign born	Percentage of tract population that is foreign born
% ages 18-34	Percentage of tract population aged 18-34 years
% divorced/separated	Percentage of tract population that is divorced or separated
% moved into units <10 years	Percentage of households that moved into units less than 10 years ago
% vacant housing	Percentage of vacant housing units
County context	
% unemployed	Percentage of county population that is unemployed
Southern border with Mexico	1=yes; 0=no
Northern border with Canada	1=yes; 0=no
Traditional immigrant county	1=yes; 0=no
New immigrant county	1=yes; 0=no
Police force size	Number of full-time sworn police officers per 1,000 population
Police expenditures	Police expenditures per capita (inflation-adjusted 2010 dollars)
South	1=yes; 0=no
Midwest	1=yes; 0=no
West	1=yes; 0=no
Survey administration variables	
Survey reference time	Reference period (1=1 month, 2=2 months, ..., 6=6 months)
Time in sample	1=first interview, 2=second interview, ..., 7=7th interview
Year of interview	Year dummies (2006 through 2014; 2005 as the reference group)

Analytical and data analysis techniques

The primary analytical strategy adopted for the project was motivated by the dual objectives of producing answers to the core two research questions that could be meaningfully situated within prior research on immigration and crime (most of which has been cross-sectional) and provide a rigorous assessment that accounted for the implied causal order and logic of how local undocumented immigrant concentration and immigration policies in a manner that minimized potential biases due to unmeasured attributes. Capitalizing on the rotating panel design of the NCVS, wherein sample members are interviewed at intervals of six months for up to seven interviews, we addressed the core questions by estimating a longitudinal “hybrid” (i.e., the “between-within”) model (Allison, 2009; Neuhaus and Kalbfleisch, 1998; Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). This model used repeated interviews with the same respondents and group-mean centering to partition the effects of key explanatory variables into two components: *between-person* difference and *within-person* change. The model took the following general form, which specifies the log odds of victimization as a function of the key county-level immigration variables (i.e., “*County.Immigration.Variables*”), representing county measures of % undocumented immigrants, the presence of Secure Communities, 287(g), and anti-detainer policies, and rates of immigration detainers and removal orders), while controlling for a variety of other factors:

$$\begin{aligned} \log \left(\frac{\Pr(Y_{wijk}=1)}{1-\Pr(Y_{wijk}=1)} \right) = & \beta_{0000} + \beta_{11} \overline{\text{Immigration Enforcement Policies}}_i \\ & + \beta_{12} \Delta \text{Immigration Enforcement Policies}_{wi} \\ & + \beta_{21} \overline{\text{Individual Attributes}}_i + \beta_{22} \Delta \text{Individual Attributes}_{wi} \\ & + \beta_{31} \overline{\text{Neighborhood Attributes}}_i + \beta_{32} \Delta \text{Neighborhood Attributes}_{wi} \\ & + \beta_{41} \overline{\text{Other County Attributes}}_i + \beta_{42} \Delta \text{Other County Attributes}_{wi} \\ & + \beta_5 \text{Year}_D + r_{0ijk} + U_{00jk} + V_{000k} \end{aligned} \quad (\text{eq. 1})$$

As the notation reveals, equation 1 includes many time-varying individual, neighborhood, and county explanatory variables, along with a few time-invariant attributes (e.g., sex, race-ethnicity, region, and residence in a county adjacent to the U.S. borders), which are listed in Table 1, along with a person-specific error term (r_{0ijk}) that is assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and variance σ_r^2 to allow for persistent heterogeneity in the average level of victimization across persons in the sample. The key parameters of the model are β_{11} (estimates of between-person associations between immigration policies and victimization) and β_{12} (estimates of within-person associations between change in immigration policies with change in victimization risk over time). The estimation of both parameters makes the hybrid (between- and within-person) approach attractive for our research purposes, as it provides estimates that parallel the outputs of previous cross-sectional and longitudinal research on immigration policy and crime as measured from police data. Nonetheless, our conclusions about the impact of county immigration policies on victimization risk focus on the within-person estimates, which account for unobserved time-invariant predictors and provide a more rigorous assessment of causal impacts (Firebaugh, Warner, and Massoglia, 2013). Additionally, we applied a variety of alternative estimation strategies to assess the robustness of our results for the impact of immigration policy implementation on victimization risk, including fixed-effects difference-in-

differences (DID) logistic regression models under different lead/lag assumptions (Wooldridge, 2013) and using propensity score matching (Stuart & Rubin, 2008) (see Baumer & Xie, 2023).

Results

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the sample of persons aged 12 and older who were surveyed about experiences with violence from 2005 to 2014. On average, by pooling the data of all the years together, about 7 in 1,000 persons reported experiencing violent victimizations in their own counties within the preceding 6-months. About 43% of respondents were from counties in which the Secure Communities program was operational at the time. The other policies were active for a much smaller proportion of the sample, but since the sample is large the data enable us to make meaningful comparisons among those who did or did not experience the activation of these policies in their communities. The 287(g) “jail enforcement” and “task force” programs were affecting about 11% and 3% of respondents, respectively. Additionally, about 3% of respondents had anti-detainer policies in their counties.

Table 2 presents results from the longitudinal “hybrid” logistic regression model. The between-person results confirm previous studies that have identified person-level and neighborhood-related factors as major sources of variation in violent victimizations (Lauritsen and Rezey, 2018). A person’s victimization risk, for example, is found to be significantly higher among males, younger residents, divorced, separated or other unmarried people, lower-income residents, and residents who reside in densely populated, central city, and more socioeconomically disadvantaged areas (for similar findings, see Lauritsen and White, 2001; Schreck and Fisher, 2004; Wright and Benson, 2011). The results also show a regional difference, with counties in the West showing a higher risk of victimization than those in the Northeast. Survey administration variables are important as well, reaffirming findings in other studies about the effects of “survey reference time” and “time in sample” on victimization risk and, as expected in light of national crime trends observed during the period, the “year of interview” slopes generally show a decline in victimization risk in later years of the survey (2009-2014) compared with 2005.

The within-person level portion of the model, in which each respondent serves as their own control, reveals that the activation of Secure Communities is associated with a significant *increase* in violent victimization ($b = .151$, two-tailed $p < .05$). For the 287(g) jail enforcement and task force policies, the within-person slopes ($b = .339$ and $b = .305$) also are positive and relatively large, but the standard errors are large as well, so the estimates are not statistically significant (two-tailed $p = .185$ and $p = .158$, respectively). Therefore, in the pooled sample of all racial/ethnic groups, there is no sufficient evidence to say that these policies are associated with adverse victimization outcomes. The evidence, however, is sufficient for rejecting the position that these policies are important for reducing crime. In comparison, the within-person slope for anti-detainer policies ($b = .049$) is smallest in magnitude among all the policy variables examined, and the estimate is statistically insignificant (two-tailed $p = .806$). Thus, there is no evidence that the activation of anti-detainer policies has any evident effect on violent victimization risk. The results from the two-way fixed effects specification (not shown) support the same conclusions, indicating that the activation of Secure Communities increased personal victimization risk, while the activation of 287(g) and anti-detainer policies did not have a significant effect on whether NCVS respondents experienced a victimization.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of study variables, 2005-2014

Characteristics	Mean	(SD)
Dependent variable		
Violent victimization	.007	(.074)
County policy variables		
Secure Communities activated	.426	(.433)
287(g) jail enforcement agreement	.106	(.273)
287(g) task force agreement	.026	(.140)
Anti-detainer policy activated	.031	(.147)
Control variables		
<i>Individual-level variables</i>		
Age	45.330	(16.580)
Male	.488	(.446)
Latino	.135	(.304)
Black	.110	(.280)
Other nonwhite	.055	(.203)
Divorced	.106	(.274)
Separated	.021	(.127)
Never married	.297	(.407)
Education	13.060	(2.591)
Employed	.626	(.432)
Household income	10.790	(3.245)
Homeowner	.692	(.412)
Length of residence	11.550	(11.020)
<i>Neighborhood-level variables</i>		
Population density	7.083	(1.783)
Central city neighborhood	.306	(.411)
SES disadvantage	-.010	(.661)
% Black	12.090	(17.270)
% Latino	14.270	(17.950)
% Asian and Pacific Islander	4.717	(7.040)
% other race/ethnicity	1.374	(2.760)
Race entropy	.672	(.300)
% foreign born	11.500	(11.570)
% ages 18-34	23.090	(8.491)
% divorced/separated	12.870	(4.077)
% moved into units <10 years	59.190	(11.850)
% vacant housing	9.736	(6.958)
<i>County context</i>		
% unemployed	7.269	(2.472)
Southern border with Mexico	.037	(.168)
Northern border with Canada	.031	(.154)
Traditional immigrant county	.329	(.419)
New immigrant county	.372	(.431)
Police force size	2.009	(.686)
Police expenditures	152	(75.880)
South	.362	(.429)
Midwest	.245	(.384)
West	.221	(.370)

Table 2. Estimated Effects of County Immigration Enforcement Policies on Violent Victimization, 2005-2014

Characteristics	Longitudinal hybrid model			
	Between-person difference		Within-person change	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
County policy variables				
Secure Communities activated	.076	(.076)	.151 *	(.069)
287(g) jail enforcement agreement	-.072	(.078)	.339	(.256)
287(g) task force agreement	.226	(.131)	.305	(.217)
Anti-detainer policy activated	.017	(.129)	.049	(.199)
Control variables				
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Age	-.025 ***	(.001)	.032	(.033)
Male	.173 ***	(.028)	--	--
Latino	-.326 ***	(.059)	--	--
Black	-.291 ***	(.053)	--	--
Other nonwhite	-.137	(.079)	--	--
Divorced	.850 ***	(.040)	.068	(.241)
Separated	1.129 ***	(.063)	1.061 ***	(.296)
Never married	.338 ***	(.038)	-.179	(.197)
Education	-.004	(.006)	.014	(.035)
Employed	-.070 *	(.033)	.096	(.068)
Household income	-.060 ***	(.005)	.009	(.008)
Homeowner	-.126 ***	(.035)	.009	(.203)
Length of residence	-.011 ***	(.002)	.008	(.008)
<i>Neighborhood-level variables</i>				
Population density	.034 *	(.014)	.497	(.580)
Central city neighborhood	.087 *	(.040)	--	--
SES disadvantage	.160 ***	(.036)	-.247	(.231)
% Black	.001	(.001)	-.015	(.055)
% Latino	.001	(.002)	-.028	(.048)
% Asian and Pacific Islander	-.014 **	(.005)	.138	(.128)
% other race/ethnicity	.008 *	(.004)	-.061	(.248)
Race entropy	.152 *	(.066)	-.209	(.666)
% foreign born	-.004	(.003)	-.024	(.018)
% ages 18-34	-.006	(.004)	.021	(.015)
% divorced/separated	.011 **	(.004)	-.014	(.019)
% moved into units <10 years	.003	(.002)	-.008	(.011)

% vacant housing	.006	*	(.002)	.015	(.013)
<i>County context</i>					
% unemployed	-.010		(.011)	.003	(.018)
Southern border with Mexico	-.250		(.135)	--	--
Northern border with Canada	.058		(.109)	--	--
Traditional immigrant county	-.048		(.068)	--	--
New immigrant county	-.024		(.056)	--	--
Police force size	.013		(.039)	.687	(.422)
Police expenditures	.000		(.000)	-.002	(.003)
South	-.159		(.082)	--	--
Midwest	.012		(.069)	--	--
West	.224	**	(.078)	--	--
<i>Survey administration variables</i>					
Survey reference time	.209	***	(.015)	--	--
Time in sample	-.229	***	(.015)	--	--
Year of interview					
2006	-.071		(.074)	--	--
2007	-.093		(.069)	--	--
2008	-.081		(.067)	--	--
2009	-.205	**	(.074)	--	--
2010	-.224	**	(.086)	--	--
2011	-.192	*	(.092)	--	--
2012	-.179		(.098)	--	--
2013	-.343	***	(.102)	--	--
2014	-.254	*	(.104)	--	--
Number of persons				354,000	
Number of person-interviews				1,006,000	

Note. SE = standard error. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$ (2-tailed test).

The immigration enforcement policies assessed in the study may have different effects on victimization risk among Latinos, non-Latino Whites, and non-Latino Blacks. To evaluate this, we re-estimated the models reported in Tables 2 separately for these three racial-ethnic groups. The results are displayed in Table 3. We again see that the two modeling strategies yielded remarkably equivalent results and support the same conclusions.

Table 3. Race/Ethnicity-Specific Analyses of the Relationships Between County Immigration Enforcement Policies and Violent Victimization, 2005-2014

Characteristics	Model 1: Longitudinal hybrid model				Model 2: Fixed effects model	
	Between-person difference		Within-person change		<i>b</i>	(SE)
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Panel A: Latinos						
Secure Communities activated	-.063	(.183)	.536 *	(.257)	.629 ***	(.136)
287(g) jail enforcement agreement	.158	(.129)	.323	(.521)	-.297	(.250)
287(g) task force agreement	.267	(.233)	.826 *	(.415)	.754 **	(.265)
Anti-detainer policy activated	.029	(.209)	.134	(.450)	.368	(.195)
Number of persons		49,500			550	
Number of person-interviews		131,000			2,100	
Panel B: Non-Latino Whites						
Secure Communities activated	.070	(.087)	.136	(.114)	.142	(.094)
287(g) jail enforcement agreement	-.171	(.178)	.548	(.391)	.291	(.177)
287(g) task force agreement	.259	(.137)	.047	(.355)	.027	(.179)
Anti-detainer policy activated	.224	(.130)	-.085	(.265)	-.044	(.148)
Number of persons		237,000			2,600	
Number of person-interviews		725,000			10,500	
Panel B: Non-Latino Blacks						
Secure Communities activated	.184	(.166)	.013	(.216)	-.058	(.130)
287(g) jail enforcement agreement	.043	(.154)	-.575	(.470)	-.578	(.330)
287(g) task force agreement	.368	(.291)	.551	(.473)	.261	(.421)
Anti-detainer policy activated	-.062	(.282)	.333	(.313)	.656	(.581)
Number of persons		36,500			500	
Number of person-interviews		97,500			2,000	

Note. SE = standard error. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$ (2-tailed test). All models included the control variables used in the full-sample analyses (coefficients omitted from the table).

Focusing on the fixed effects models in Table 3, the findings indicate that the activation of the studied policies were not significantly related to victimization risk for non-Latino White and Black respondents. However, the activation of the Secure Communities program and 287(g) task force agreements was found to significantly increase the risk of violent victimization among Latinos. The estimated fixed effects slope of the Secure Communities program ($b = .629$, two-tailed $p < .001$) indicates that the program increased violent victimization for Latinos substantially. For a hypothetical “average” Latino respondent (i.e., someone with the mean characteristics of the Latino sample), the probability of experiencing violent victimization in a 6-month window is estimated to have increased by approximately 86% (5.2 per 1,000 to 9.6 per 1,000) when the Secure Communities program was active compared to when it was not active. Meanwhile, the impact of the activation of 287(g) task force agreements on violent victimization among Latinos also was substantial ($b = .754$, two-tailed $p < .01$). For a hypothetical “average” Latino respondent, the probability of experiencing violent victimization in a 6-month window is estimated to have increased by approximately 111% (from 5.2 per 1,000 to 10.9 per 1,000) when a 287(g) task force agreement was in place. In contrast to these patterns, the 287(g) jail agreement and anti-detainer policies were found to be inconsequential for Latinos’ experiences with violent victimization: their fixed effects coefficients were relatively small in size and statistically insignificant at the 5% level.

Discussion

Our use of victimization survey data replicated the null findings reported in most previous studies of anti-detainer policies. In doing so, our findings strengthen the observation by Gonzales O’Brien et al. (2019) and Kubrin and Barto (2020) that the idea that anti-detainer policies contribute to crime has no empirical basis (also see Lyons et al., 2013; Males, 2017; Miles and Cox, 2014; Treyger et al., 2014). Nonetheless, the prevalence of anti-detainer programs was modest during our study period, and in the timeframe used in most other studies. It is possible that different patterns would emerge during the more recent period of substantial growth in the activation of anti-detainer policies that occurred after 2016 (Center for Migration Studies, 2022). Researchers should continue to monitor that possibility.

Our research illuminates the importance of considering the different forms in which 287(g) activation manifested during the first decade of its existence. Consistent with previous research (Forrester and Nowrasteh, 2018), our results for 287(g) jail programs showed no significant association with violent victimization risk, a pattern that is evident for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks. However, our findings revealed that 287(g) task force programs significantly increased violent victimization among Latinos, whereas they had no discernible impact among the other groups studied. We observed a similar pattern for the activation of Secure Communities. Thus, our study offers crucial evidence that intensified interior immigration enforcement policies, in the form of 287(g) task force agreements and the Secure Communities program, not only fail to reduce violent victimization, as proponents claim, but they also increased violent victimization among Latinos.

The configuration of findings that emerge from the NCVS data—that Secure Communities and 287(g) task force programs increase violence risk among Latinos, but not other groups—support the plausibility of arguments advanced by many legal scholars and social scientists who have anticipated that 287(g) and Secure Communities programs provide no discernible crime-protective benefits while also bringing adverse consequences for Latinos. The findings lend support to the notion that these programs fostered a “devolution of discretion”

(Stumpf, 2015) and net-widening that eroded trust of police in the communities they targeted, putting Latino residents at a higher risk for victimization (Martínez-Schuldt and Martínez, 2021; Nguyen and Gill, 2016). Yet, from a theoretical vantage point the activation of Secure Communities and 287(g) task force programs could increase crime for other reasons as well. For example, by facilitating the detention and deportation of large numbers of immigrants from mixed families, these programs may promote significant economic hardships and family disruption that can increase the risk of violence. The data assembled for our study cannot discern between these potential explanations. Although we account for changes in respondent employment status and annual household income, these measures may not be sufficiently precise to capture changes in economic hardships that could increase violent victimizations among minorities (e.g., Lauritsen and Heimer, 2010). Additionally, while the NCVS contains a time-varying measure of respondent marital status, this indicator is unlikely to capture dynamic family separations that frequently occur amid removals facilitated by 287(g) and Secure Communities (Capps et al., 2015). Finally, while the NCVS data used in our study can shed some light on how local immigration policies impact victim crime reporting, the absence of indicators of immigrant status limit the utility of that assessment, and the data do not contain the measures of respondent perceptions of law enforcement or other dimensions of the criminal justice system that would be needed to assess whether 287(g) task force agreements and Secure Communities increased violent victimization risk among Latinos due to changes in legal cynicism. An important need for future research is to explore the mechanisms that may account for the impact of variation in local immigration policies on individual differences in violence risk.

Whatever the underlying mechanisms, the results of our study support the decision of the Obama administration to discontinue 287(g) task force programs on December 31, 2012 (Kolker, 2021) and President Biden's executive order that effectively ended the Secure Communities program on January 20, 2021. It is important to recognize, however, that we have seen Secure Communities ended before (November 2014) to only be reinstated a few years later (January 2017). Further, new forms of the 287(g) program emerged to replace the task force model, and participation by local law enforcement agencies has grown considerably over the past several years (Kolker, 2021; Pham, 2018). While these new iterations of 287(g) address some of the earlier concerns emphasized by critics, the program continues to be justified in part on grounds that it is "a tremendous benefit to public safety" (ICE, 2022b) without systematic evidence that this is the case. As we elaborate below, additional research is needed that assesses the impact of newer Federal-local immigration enforcement partnerships and policies on crime. Absent such evidence, we encourage policymakers to consider (1) that the research findings to date provide no evidence that contemporary Federal-local immigration enforcement partnerships have reduced Americans' exposure to crime, and (2) that our results indicate that such programs may increase violent victimization risk among Latinos.

Section 5. Undocumented immigration and victimization risk

Introduction

Previous research has examined the association between community immigrant concentration and crime, but most of it relies on police-based crime data that omits crimes not reported to the police, which tends to be more common in immigrant communities (Xie and Baumer, 2019). Additionally, few studies have distinguished between undocumented and documented immigrant concentration, which is a potentially critical limitation because some theoretical arguments highlight how undocumented immigration may be most germane to crime. Few studies have explicitly considered how the relative size of the undocumented immigrant population may affect crime. None of the studies highlighted in the comprehensive review by Ousey and Kubrin (2018) do so. A few studies have done so since then (Greene, 2016; Light and Miller, 2018), but like other research they focus on police-based crime data and they are limited to illuminating state-level patterns, which may yield an incomplete picture given the high degree of within-state heterogeneity in crime and settlement among undocumented immigrants. Our project adds new insights by (a) developing county-level estimates of the undocumented immigrant population, (b) examining the association between the county % of undocumented immigrations and individual victimization risk from the NCVS, which incorporates crimes not reported to the police, and (c) by examining whether county differences in undocumented immigrant concentration affects victimization risk differently for Latinos, non-Latino Whites, and non-Latino Blacks.

Methods

Data

The project integrated information on neighborhood and county conditions from a variety of sources to individual-level survey data on victimization from the restricted-use National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The NCVS is the primary source of information on non-lethal victimization in the United States (Lynch and Addington, 2007). The data assembled for the project describe victimization experiences from 2005-2014 (with surveys conducted through 2015), which encompasses a critical period of immigration policy development and concerns about undocumented immigration. To examine the core research questions, we linked data on geographic differences in immigration policy implementation, undocumented immigration population size, and indicators of socio-economic and demographic conditions to the NCVS records using restricted geographic codes that identify respondents' residential counties and census tracts. We drew data about the activation of Secure Communities from the ICE's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) library (ICE, 2021), data on the presence of 287(g) agreements from the ICE FOIA library and other published sources (Capps et al., 2011; Gelatt, Bernstein, and Koball, 2017), and data on the presence of anti-detainer policies from multiple sources, including ICE's "Weekly Declined Detainer Outcome Report" (ICE, 2017), the House Appropriations Committee's reports on the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Bill for fiscal years 2007 through 2018 (U.S. House Committee on Appropriations, 2006-2017), the Catholic Immigration Legal Network's (CLINIC, 2014) list of anti-detainer policies, and the interactive map data from the Center for Immigration Studies (Griffith and Vaughan, 2017). Data on undocumented immigration was drawn from estimates generated by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) using procedures described below. Finally, data used from the project also encompassed information on the social, economic, and demographic conditions of NCVS

respondent's neighborhoods and counties, which was drawn from multiple sources, including the American Community Survey (ACS), Decennial Census, Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), and Census of Governments.

Measures

Dependent variable

The dependent variable examined in the project was a dichotomous measure of whether a respondent experienced a violent victimization (including rape, sexual assault, robbery, and assault) during the six months preceding the interview. We used a binary outcome variable (1=yes, 0=no) rather than victimization counts because few respondents reported multiple victimizations within the six-month reference period.

Independent variables

Undocumented & Documented Immigration

While numerous studies of immigration and crime have considered community patterns of overall immigrant concentration (e.g., % foreign born), an innovative feature of this project is that it also integrated data on the share of population estimated to be undocumented immigrants. We accomplished this by indirectly estimating the number of undocumented immigrants in U.S. counties, as described next.

The U.S. Census Bureau routinely gathers data on noncitizens residing in counties and other local areas, but it does not collect information on their legal status and thus cannot provide direct estimates of the undocumented immigrant population. Given this, to assess whether undocumented immigration is associated with victimization risk, we partnered with the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) to obtain imputed estimates of the size of the undocumented immigrant population for U.S. counties. The methodology used by the MPI integrates elements of survey-based prediction methods and logic-based assignment algorithms (Heer and Passel, 1987; Marcelli and Heer, 2002). Building on a multiple imputation approach outlined by Rendall et al. (2011), the initial step pools two nationally representative individual-level surveys: the U.S. Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), which collects information on immigrants' visa entry status (e.g., whether they entered as lawful permanent residents) and subsequent adjustments of status for noncitizens (the "donor" sample), and the American Community Survey (ACS), which does not collect such information (the "recipient" sample). While the ACS lacks information on immigrant legal status, it contains many other variables included in the SIPP that tend to be strongly associated with immigrant legal status and which can be used to link cases across the two datasets. Using these measures, multiple imputation techniques are applied on the pooled dataset to impute the immigration status of noncitizens in the ACS, based on immigration status models estimated in the SIPP.

We applied the procedures just described to ACS pooled samples for 2005-2009 and 2010-2014, respectively, and aggregated the resulting imputed variable for undocumented status across FIPS county codes to estimate county-level counts of undocumented immigrants for these two periods. For each period, we then subtracted the county-level undocumented counts from the total county-level foreign-born counts in the ACS to also obtain an estimate of the number of documented immigrants in each county. Finally, we divided these estimated population counts (i.e., undocumented and documented immigrants) by the total county population to construct the two variables included in our analysis: county % undocumented immigrants, and county % documented immigrants. The 2005-2009 measures were linked to NCVS respondents

interviewed between 2005 and 2009, and the 2010-2014 measures were linked to respondents interviewed between 2010 and 2014.

The absence of an objective alternative source of data for county patterns of undocumented immigration makes it unfeasible to assess the validity of these estimates in a comprehensive manner, but research at the national level shows that MPI's methodology yields estimates that closely match those published by the Pew Research Center, which are based on slightly different procedures (Passel and Cohn, 2018). Additionally, the county-level estimates of undocumented immigrants included in our study converge with those obtained from an alternative approach based on linking restricted-use micro-level data from ACS with micro-level data from the Social Security Administrative (SSA). This alternative approach facilitates the identification of foreign-born ACS respondents who do not have Social Security Numbers (SSN), a group that has a high probability of being undocumented immigrants. Comparing the county-level counts of undocumented immigrants that result from this alternative approach to the MPI model-based county-level estimates used in our study yields a very strong statistical association ($r > .95$).

County Immigration Enforcement Policies

The project included time-varying measures of the presence of the three most common local immigration law enforcement policies: the Secure Communities Program, the 287(g) program, and anti-detainer policies (see Baumer & Xie, 2023). These variables were linked to NCVS individual-level records by matching on FIPS county codes. A time-varying dummy variable identified whether Secure Communities was active in the respondent's county (*Secure Communities Activated*) during the six-month reference period (1=yes, 0=no). Two dummy variables were incorporated to capture whether a 287(g) agreement was in place within a respondents' county during the reference period used to measure victimization, which distinguishes between the presence of jail enforcement programs (1=yes, 0=no) and task force models (1=yes, 0=no). A small number of U.S. counties implemented hybrid models of the 287(g), which included both the jail enforcement and task force models; in these instances, we assigned a value of 1 for both variables. Finally, we included an indicator of whether the NCVS respondent's county had implemented anti-detainer policies (1=yes, 0=no), which represent a heterogeneous mix of policymaking aimed at limiting the degree to which local officials cooperate or comply with the enforcement of Federal immigration directives (CLINIC, 2014).

Control Variables

Prior studies have shown that a variety of survey-, individual- and community-level factors influence victimization risk (for a review, see Baumer & Xie, 2023). As described more fully in Table 1, we included a wide range of control variables from the NCVS that measure differences in individual attributes and survey administration. Additionally, we included several census tract and county control variables, which are described in Table 1. The corresponding measures were derived from the 2000 Decennial Census and multiple installments of the ACS (5-year estimates from 2006–2010 through 2009–2013). We applied linear interpolation to estimate annual values and integrated them with NCVS records, lagging the measures by one year to capture prevailing conditions during the period leading up to and encompassing the reference period for measuring violent victimization.

$$\begin{aligned}
\log \left(\frac{\Pr(\text{Victimization}_{wijk=1})}{1-\Pr(\text{Victimization}_{wijk=1})} \right) = & \beta_{0000} \\
& + \beta_{11} \overline{\text{County Immigration Variables}_i} + \beta_{12} \Delta \text{County Immigration Variables}_{wi} \\
& + \beta_{21} \overline{\text{Individual Attributes}_i} + \beta_{22} \Delta \text{Individual Attributes}_{wi} \\
& + \beta_{31} \overline{\text{Neighborhood Attributes}_i} + \beta_{32} \Delta \text{Neighborhood Attributes}_{wi} \\
& + \beta_{41} \overline{\text{Other County Attributes}_i} + \beta_{42} \Delta \text{Other County Attributes}_{wi} \\
& + \beta_5 \text{Year}_D + r_{0ijk} + U_{00jk} + V_{000k}
\end{aligned} \tag{eq. 1}$$

Results

The full results of our analysis of this question are ongoing and require disclosure review by the Census Bureau, as specified by federal law, but we have received approval to share results that provide a definitive overall answer to the question of whether living in a county with a larger or growing share of undocumented immigrants increases personal non-fatal victimization risk.¹ Results relevant to this question are summarized in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 summarizes results for survey-weighted logistic regressions of violent victimization on county estimates of the share of documented and undocumented immigrant concentration, net of a wide-variety of individual-level, census tract, and county control variables (see Table 1). The results reveal that the share of documented immigrants (county % documented immigrants) exhibits a significant negative association with individual violent victimization, while the share of undocumented immigrants (county % undocumented immigrants) is not significantly related to violent victimization. These patterns are invariant across individual race-ethnicity.

Table 3 extends the analysis by considering whether these estimated associations are moderated by county immigrant destination type, contrasting traditional and newer immigrant destinations. The results indicate no evidence of that the county share of documented or undocumented immigrant exhibits differential associations with violent victimization across destination types, either overall or for specific racial-ethnic groups.

¹ Any views expressed are those of the authors and not those of the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau has reviewed this data product to ensure appropriate access, use, and disclosure avoidance protection of the confidential source data used to produce this product. This research was performed at a Federal Statistical Research Data Center under FSRDC Project Number 2452. (CBDRB-FY24-P2452-R11232).

Table 2. Survey-weighted logistic regression estimates of the relationship between the county-level immigrant concentration and the residents' risk of violent victimization (Restricted NCVS, 2005-2014).

	All residents	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Independent variables				
County % documented immigrants	_ ***	_ ***	_ **	_ **
County % undocumented immigrants	+ (n.s.)	- (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)
Sample counts – person interviews (rounded)	623000	386000	69500	121000
Sample counts – persons (rounded)	219000	129000	27000	45500

Table 3: Survey-weighted logistic estimates of whether the relationship between the county-level immigrant concentration and the residents' risk of violent victimization is moderated by county immigrant destination type (Restricted NCVS, 2005-2014).

	All residents	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Independent variables				
County % documented immigrants	_ ***	_ ***	_ **	_ **
County % undocumented immigrants	- (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)	- (n.s.)
County % undocumented immigrants X Traditional immigrant destination	+ (n.s.)	- (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)	+ (n.s.)
Sample counts – person interviews (rounded)	623000	386000	69500	121000
Sample counts – persons (rounded)	219000	129000	27000	45500

Abbreviation: n.s.=not significant

* p<0.5; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Conclusion

The NCVS offers a unique opportunity to assess the impact of immigrant concentration on victimization risk with data that incorporate crimes not reported to the police. This is an important consideration given that crime reporting to the police tends to be suppressed in areas where immigrants comprise a larger share of the population (Xie and Baumer, 2019; Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017). Nonetheless, the empirical evidence that emerges from the NCVS is consistent with research that has relied on data gathered by the police. Specifically, our analysis of the NCVS reinforces findings showing that a larger share of documented immigrants is associated with less crime (c.f., Ousey and Kubrin, 2018; Xie and Baumer, 2018). Additionally, the NCVS data we analyzed shows that a relatively larger share of undocumented immigrants in a county does not translate into higher levels of crime, which is consistent with other recent analyses based on data gathered by the police (Adelman et al., 2021; Light and Miller, 2018). Collectively, these studies challenge claims that undocumented immigration contributes to elevated crime in the United States.

- **Participants and other collaborating organizations**

- The project included two collaborating organizations: the University of Maryland and the Migration Policy Institute. Dr. Min Xie, Professor of Criminology and Criminal justice at the University of Maryland was a co-investigator on the project, contributing to all phases of the study. The primary role of the Migration Policy Institute was to estimate the size of the undocumented immigrant population for U.S. counties, implementing methods that they previously had applied for purposes of national- and state-level estimation.
- The project included one graduate student from the Pennsylvania State University Department of Sociology and Criminology (Ms. Bianca Wirth) worked as a research assistant for the duration of the project. During the first year of the project, Ms. Wirth devoted considerable time to becoming immersed in the extant literature on immigration, crime, and immigration policy. During the remainder of the project, Ms. Wirth contributed to the project in the following ways: (1) assisted with data collection and cleaning for several variables needed to achieve the project goals; (2) completed a Master's thesis under supervision of the principal investigator for the project (Dr. Eric Baumer) that was organized around a question of importance for better understanding the impact of local immigration policies (i.e., What community conditions were associated with the implementation of 287g programs); (3) published a co-authored peer-reviewed manuscript that highlights the community; and (4) delivered three presentations focused on project-related themes at national conferences.

- **Changes in approach from original design and reason for change, if applicable**

A scope change grant award modification was approved by NIJ on 12/1/2021 (GAM-551680). The change in scope altered the study period for the project (from the proposed 2016-2020 to the modified 2005-2014) and the target sample for which the core questions will be addressed (from U.S.-born citizens to all persons sampled, irrespective of citizenship status). With this scope change, the project maintained its dual focus described in the original proposal of (1) estimating the effects of county-level undocumented immigration on victimization risk, and (2) estimating the effects of county- and city-level immigration policy adoption and enforcement on victimization risk. All dependent and independent variables incorporated to address these two issues will be identical to those described in the proposal.

- **Outcomes**

- Activities/accomplishments

To date, the project has yielded three papers published in peer-reviewed scientific journals, one Master's Thesis, one conference paper draft, multiple working papers under development, five conference presentations to national scientific and policy audiences, one presentation to an international audience, and an archived dataset that encompasses newly developed county-level data on undocumented immigrant concentration and other indicators, and program code to integrate the archived county data with restricted individual-level records from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and to reproduce the results produced from the project.

o Limitations

While the project has considered issues that had previously been underexplored and has produced new insights about immigration, immigration policy, and crime, there are several limitations associated with the data available for the study.

With regard to research question #1 (RQ1: Does living in a county with a larger or growing share of undocumented immigrants increase personal non-fatal victimization risk?), the measurement of undocumented immigrant concentration for NCVS respondents' counties represents a novel approach but is limited in uncertain ways because of the need to impute undocumented status rather than measuring it directly. Additionally, although the underlying data used to indirectly estimate the size of the undocumented immigrant population was based on relatively large samples of the American Community Survey (ACS), multiple years of data were required to yield samples sizes within counties that were sufficient to support the imputation. This means that we were able to estimate county undocumented immigrant concentration for just two five-year periods, which may miss important shifts within and across those periods that are relevant to victimization risk. Further, while our study assesses the potential link between undocumented immigration and crime and a smaller geographic scale than existing efforts, counties are still quite heterogeneous, and our approach does not attend to the potential for uneven distribution of undocumented immigrants within counties. Since crime risk also tends to be unevenly distributed within counties, the approach adopted in our project could mask important relationships that might be detected with other types of strategies, such as considering whether neighborhood-level patterns of undocumented immigration are linked to individual victimization risk. Finally, because the post-2016 NCVS data was not made available as expected, the project was unable to consider whether the relationship between undocumented immigrant concentration and victimization differed depending on the citizenship status of NCVS respondents.

With regard to research question #2 (RQ2: Does the presence of selected immigration policies within U.S. communities—the implementation of 287(g) program or a “sanctuary” anti-detainer policy—and the actual immigration enforcement applied impact personal non-fatal victimization risk?), the project charts new ground by considering an alternative measure of crime exposure, as measured in the NCVS. Other studies relied exclusively on police-based crime data, which may be limiting because of evidence that local immigration policies affect whether people report crimes to the police. The use of NCVS data also is a valuable contribution because it permits an assessment of whether immigration policy impacts differ by race-ethnicity, and indeed our results suggest that two of the prominent policies adopted during the study period—287(g) and Secure Communities—increase victimization among Latino people, while having no association with victimization for non-Latino White people and non-Latino Black people. Within the context of these study strengths, the project's assessment of policy impacts on victimization was limited in four important ways.

First, because the post-2016 NCVS data was not made available for the study, the project was unable to test for possible policy impacts during a period of rapid growth and change in the 287(g) program and anti-detainer policies. Subsequent to the period reviewed in our study, for example, the number of local agencies participating in the 287(g) programs has nearly doubled, increasing to 140 agencies in 24 states. During the same time, the number of jurisdictions that have adopted anti-detainer policies also has grown rapidly, prompting more states and localities to pass legislation or local policies to either support or curtail anti-detainer efforts. Because of

the ongoing intensity of the immigration enforcement debate, it is important to consider evidence from the NCVS and other sources for these continued policies as newer data become available.

Second, while our findings indicate that 287(g) and Secure Communities increase violence risk among Latino persons, the data do not offer insights about the mechanisms that may account for these relationships. Unfortunately, the NCVS does not contain the measures of respondent perceptions of law enforcement or other dimensions of the criminal justice system that would be needed to assess whether 287(g) task force agreements and Secure Communities increased violent victimization risk among Latinos due to changes in legal cynicism, which is a leading theoretical argument. An important need for future research is to explore the mechanisms that may account for the impact of variation in local immigration policies on individual differences in violence risk.

Third, the project did not consider the role of spatial dynamics. The existing research on immigration enforcement (the present study included) has had a local focus: investigating policy effects for people who live in the locality without exploring potential biases associated with the spatial dependence of crime or potential policy spillover effects (e.g., whether effects of an immigration enforcement policy are mainly bounded locally, or whether one locality's adoption of a certain policy may affect crime risks in another neighboring locality). There is some evidence that neglecting spatial dynamics in DID designs may lead to underestimates of treatment effects, and some emerging research suggests that there may be reasons to expect spillover effects for local immigration policies. This possibility underscores the importance of considering spatial dynamics in future studies of the impact of immigration (and other) policies on crime.

- **Artifacts**

- List of products (e.g., publications, conference papers, technologies, websites, databases), including locations of these products on the Internet or in other archives or databases

Publications

Wirth, Bianca, and Eric P. Baumer (2024). "Immigrant Threat or Institutional Context? Examining Police Agency and County Context and the Implementation of the 287(g) Program." Forthcoming in *The Sociological Quarterly*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2024.2304335>

Baumer, Eric P., and Min Xie. (2023). "Federal-Local Partnerships on Immigration Law Enforcement: Are the Policies Effective in Reducing Violent Victimization?" *Criminology & Public Policy* 22: 417-455. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12619>

Xie, Min, & Eric P. Baumer (2021). "Immigrant Status, Citizenship, and Victimization Risk in the United States: New Findings from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)." *Criminology* 59: 610-644. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2F1745-9125.12278>

Presentations

Wirth, Bianca. (2023). "An Examination of the Push and Pull Factors Driving Migrant Settlement in the Continental US from 2010-2019." American Society of Criminology Annual Conference. Philadelphia, PA.

Wirth, Bianca, and Eric P. Baumer. (2022). “Exploring the Spatial Dynamics of U.S. Immigration Enforcement Actions: A County-Level Analysis of Immigration Detainers and Removals.” American Society of Criminology Annual Conference. Atlanta, GA.

Baumer, Eric P., and Min Xie. (2022). “Undocumented immigration, Immigration Enforcement Policies, and Victimization Risk in America.” Presented at the National Institute of Justice Mini Symposium on Immigration and Crime.

Baumer, Eric P., and Min Xie. (2022). “Immigrant Concentration, Immigration Policy, and Public Safety in the U.S.” Presented to the Population Health Research Group, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, UK.

Presentations (Cont.)

Baumer, Eric P., and Min Xie. (2022). “Federal-Local Partnerships on Immigration Law Enforcement: Are the Policies Effective in Reducing Violent Victimization?” Presented at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Atlanta, GA.

Wirth, Bianca. (2021). “287(g) Program – Does the Ethnoracial Composition of Agencies Influence the Likelihood of Implementation?” Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology. Chicago, IL.

Master Thesis

Wirth, Bianca. (2021). “Do Institutions Matter? Examining Police Agency and County Context and the Implementation of the 287(g) Program.” Master Thesis, Pennsylvania State University. <https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/27252bqw5342>

Conference Paper

Wirth, Bianca, and Eric P. Baumer (2022). “Exploring the Spatial Dynamics of U.S. Immigration Enforcement Actions: A County-Level Analysis of Immigration Detainers.” American Society of Criminology annual conference, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

o Data sets generated (broad descriptions will suffice)

The project generated a county-level database that includes (a) estimates of the undocumented immigrant population for two periods (2005-2009, 2010-2014), (b) the month and year of adoption for 287(g) and anti-detainer policies between 2005 and 2014, (c) counts and rates of immigrant detainers issued and removals procured by ICE between 2005 and 2014, and (d) counts and rates for a wide range of social, economic, and demographic attributes gathered from the 2005-2009 and 2010-2014 American Community Survey (ACS); and (e) a census tract database that includes counts and rates for a wide range of social, economic, and demographic attributes gathered from the 2005-2009 and 2010-2014 ACS.

Additionally, while Federal law prohibits the public distribution or archiving of restricted-use NCVS data, the project generated Stata programs that reproduce the individual-level NCVS data developed and used for the project, and which may be accessed within Federal Statistical Research Data Centers.

○ Dissemination activities

The results of the project have been disseminated to the scientific community and others through publications in peer-reviewed journals (*Criminology*, *Criminology & Public Policy*, *The Sociological Quarterly*) and four presentations to national conferences (the American Society of Criminology), one international presentation (St. Andrews University).

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