

Cautious Citizenship: How immigration enforcement is deterrent, deteriorative, and deleterious in health care politics

Francisco I. Pedraza

October 29, 2018



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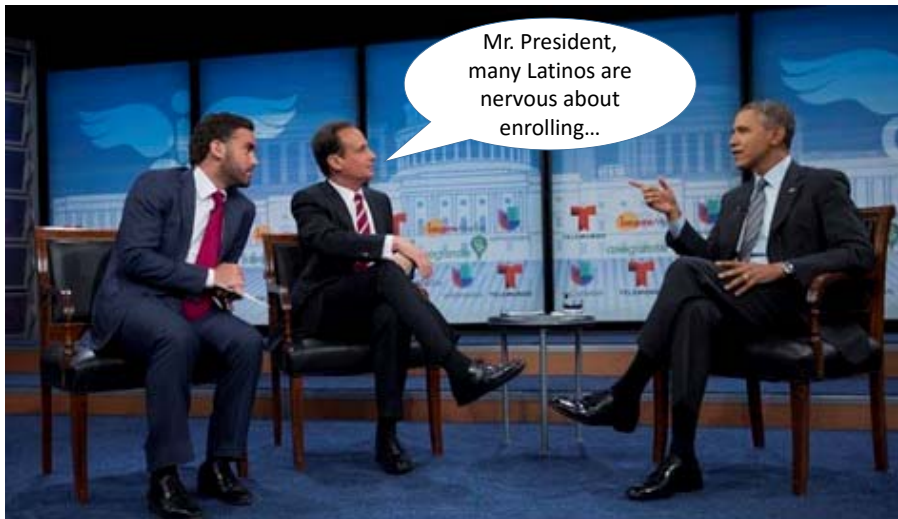
October 29, 2018







Help me
get Latinos
enrolled



“Don’t be afraid”

Funding 2000-16: \$7 billion → \$19 billion.

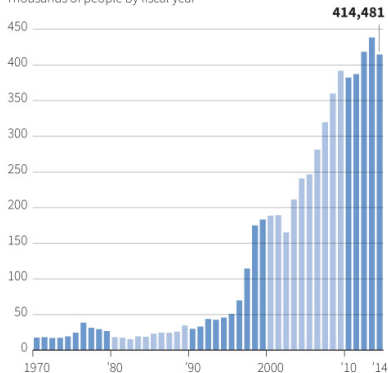
Ports of entry → interior operations

U.S. deportations

A U.S. district judge issued a court order last week to halt President Obama’s executive action on immigration, which would grant temporary relief from deportation for millions of people who are in the U.S. illegally.

TOTAL DEPORTATIONS

Thousands of people by fiscal year





“...we are getting them out of our country or we are going to incarcerate.”

-Nov 13, 2016 on 60 Minutes

Enforcement expansion

- Funding 2016-18: Increase for Customs and Border Patrol by 22%
- Customs and Border Patrol to hire 5,000 new agents
- Immigration and Customs Enforcement to hire 2,000 new agents
- Immigration arrests up 30% in 2017



"...we are getting them out of our country or we are going to incarcerate."

-Nov 13, 2016 on 60 Minutes

Enforcement expansion

- Muslim ban
- Military response to refugees
- Targeting legal permanent residents
- Public charge
- End birthright citizenship
- Family separation



"...we are getting them out of our country or we are going to incarcerate."

-Nov 13, 2016 on 60 Minutes

Research Question

In what way is immigration politics spilling over to health care matters?

- access and use resources?
- view towards officials and health care providers?
- harming people?

Summary of findings

In what way is immigration politics spilling over to health care matters?

- deters access and use
- deteriorates trust
- deleterious to health

Cautious Citizenship

A type of civic engagement in which individuals consider the costs, benefits, and risks associated with fully exercising their right to interact in daily life, including with service providing bureaucracies and democratic institutions.

Immigration enforcement targets service bureaucracies.



f t e LOC

Immigrant arrested by ICE after dropping daughter off at school, sending shockwaves through neighborhood



Immigrant mother arrested at gynecologist's office draws national attention

Activists fear immigrants won't seek care



NEW JERSEY POLITICS

Advocates say ICE courthouse arrests in N.J. are hurting immigrant crime victims

TIME | U.S.

IMMIGRATION

'Mom, Where Are You?' Girl With Cerebral Palsy Detained by Immigration Officials Cries for Help

Deputized enforcers and bureaucrats in cahoots.

The story of Blanca Borrego...



Immigrant mother arrested at gynecologist's office draws national attention

Activists fear immigrants won't seek care

Immigration enforcement provokes risk assessment.

The Washington Post

Wonkblog

Immigrants are going hungry so Trump won't deport them

STAT

Immigrants, fearing Trump's deportation policies, avoid doctor visits

By [Ike Swetlitz](#) @ikeswetlitz

February 24, 2017

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newsy
news with the why

TheDenverChannel.com

National News Partner

Fearing Deportation, Many Immigrants Are Avoiding Police And Courts

BY: Ben Schamisso

POSTED: 1:48 PM, Jun 12, 2018

THE
NEW YORKER

NEWS DESK

AFTER AN IMMIGRATION RAID, A CITY'S STUDENTS VANISH

Immigration enforcement gets under the skin.

Report: Immigration enforcement has students fearful and depressed

Schools are not safe from the fallout generated by the Trump administration's immigration enforcement, a UCLA survey finds.

How Crackdowns on Immigrants Leave a Psychological Toll

by Anna Núñez on February 20, 2018

Newsweek

U.S.

TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION CRACKDOWN CREATING A PUBLIC HEALTH CRISIS AMONG CHILDREN, ANALYSTS SAY

BY **NICOLE RODRIGUEZ** ON 1/4/18 AT 11:02 AM

What we know...

Restrictive immigration policy...

- “chills” program participation and use of resources
- deportation raids and feeling hunted; stressor “weathers” health

Critiques:

- Less known about less about role of local police interior operations
- Less theory or evidence of how policy effects are internalized

Policy feedback connects to mass behavior via...

- material effects of policy: resource distribution
- interpretive effects: attitudes about self and government
- **psychological and physical distress**

Argument

Immigration enforcement and restrictive immigration policy is pervasive and chronically salient for Latinos

- 40% Latino adults foreign-born, 85% all Latinos have one immigrant grandparent
- Gallup 1994–2016: 2-19% general public (mostly whites) say immigration most important problem
- Pew Hispanic Center 2007-2014: 27–37% Latinos say immigration most important problem
- since 2010 96% of all deportations Latin Americans
- Latino Decision registered voter polls consistent 2011–2016
35–40% know someone who is undocumented

Argument

Immigration enforcement and restrictive immigration policy is pervasive, personal, and chronically salient for Latinos

- Interpretive effects via saliency and social networks: **Latinos learn to be cautious citizens**
- Avoidance of resources means interpretive effects translate into material effects
- **Policy as a stressor**

Restrictive immigration policies

- deterrent of service and program use
- deteriorate trust in service-providing bureaucracies
- deleterious to well-being

Expectations

Restrictive immigration policies should...

deter service use:

- experimental prime reveals balance of considerations

deteriorate trust:

- Intensity of local immigration enforcement increases skepticism about security of personal information shared with doctors

deleterious of health:

- Intensity of local immigration enforcement increases need for mental health services

Evidence deters use of service providers

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law

How Immigration Policy Impacts Health Equity

Cautious Citizenship: The Deterring Effect of Immigration Issue Salience on Health Care Use and Bureaucratic Interactions among Latino US Citizens

Franciso I. Pedraza

University of California, Riverside

Vanessa Cruz Nichols

University of Michigan

Alana M. W. LeBrón

University of California, Irvine

Survey Experiment: 2016 CCES Latino Module

Thinking ahead to next year, with all the public attention to [Treatment]...

- **CONTROL, no prime:**
- **health care issues:** PSA on enrollment
- **immigration issues:** welcoming OR unwelcoming

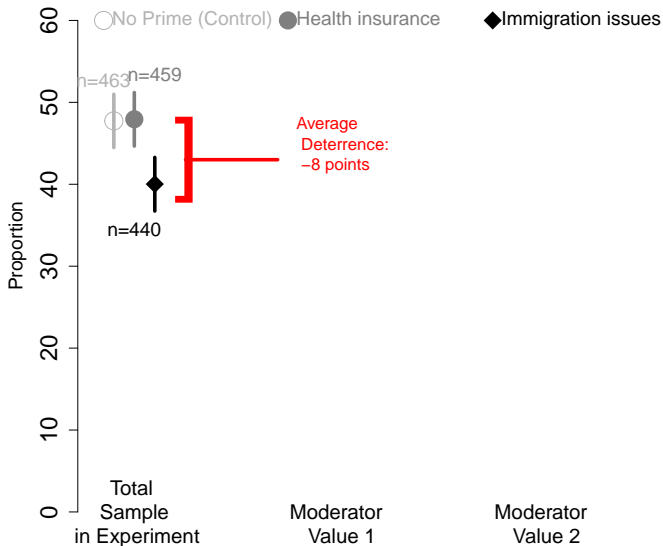
Survey Experiment: 2016 CCES Latino Module

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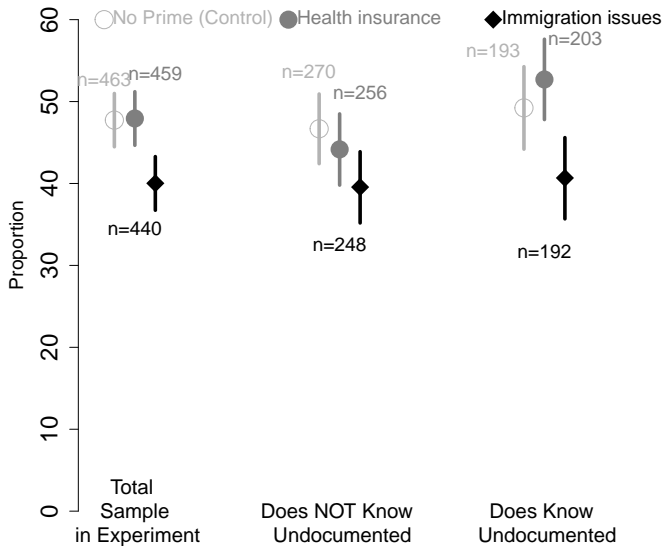
- **CONTROL, no prime:**
- **health care issues:** PSA on enrollment
- **immigration issues:** welcoming OR unwelcoming

how likely are you to make an appointment to see a doctor or a nurse, or go to a clinic for health care services?

Likelihood of Making an Appointment to See a Health Care Provider? (Response by Exposure to Issue Cue)



Likelihood of Making an Appointment to See a Health Care Provider? (Response by Exposure to Issue Cue)



Does “immigration issues” deter use of services?

Evidence from 2015 survey experiment of Latino citizens
Please tell me if you avoid this type of activity because you don't want to be bothered or asked about your citizenship status?

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Does “immigration issues” deter use of services?

Evidence from 2015 survey experiment of Latino citizens
Please tell me if you avoid this type of activity because you don't want to be bothered or asked about your citizenship status?

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- 2 Driving a car (14%)

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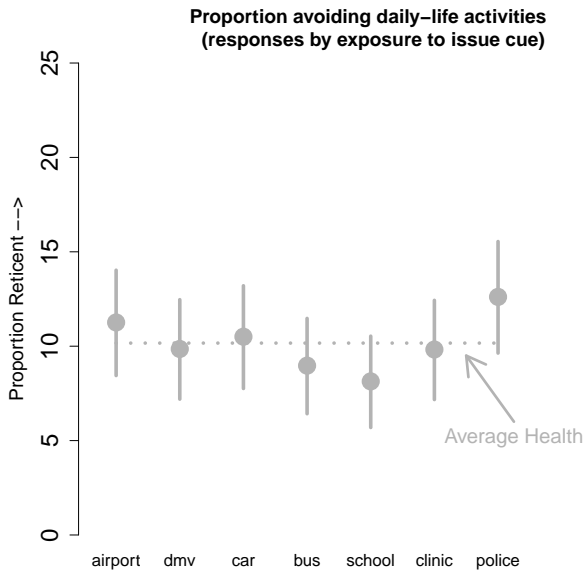
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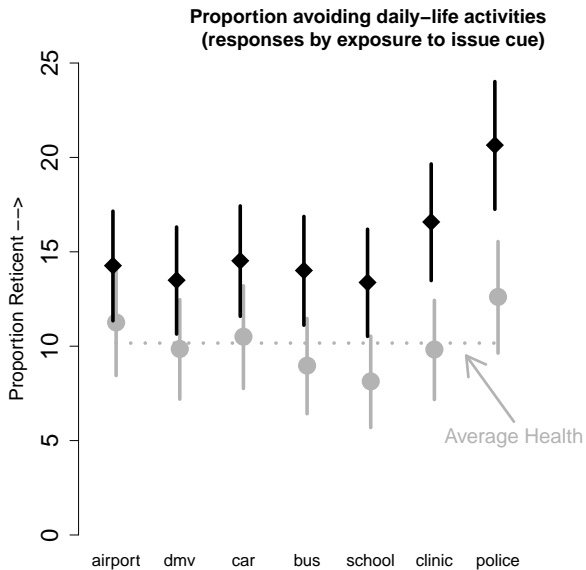
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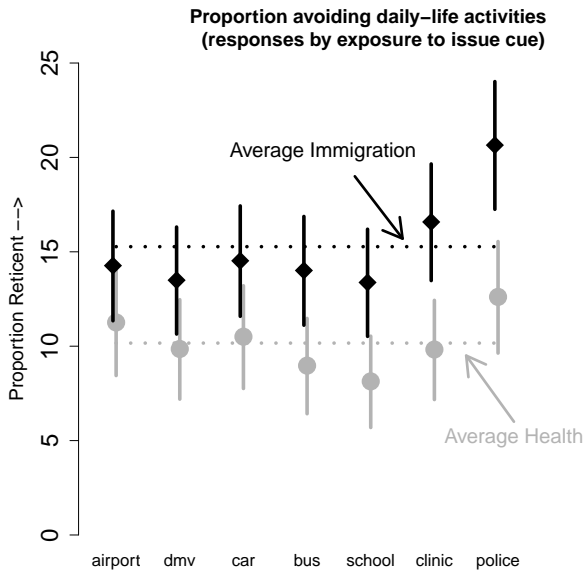
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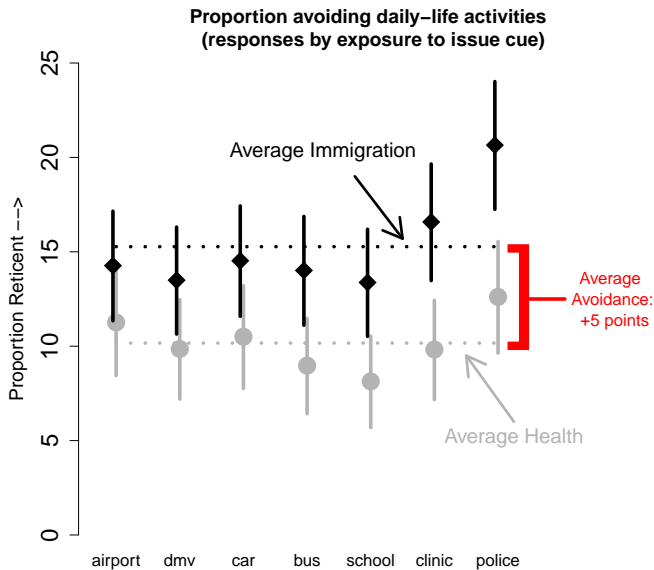
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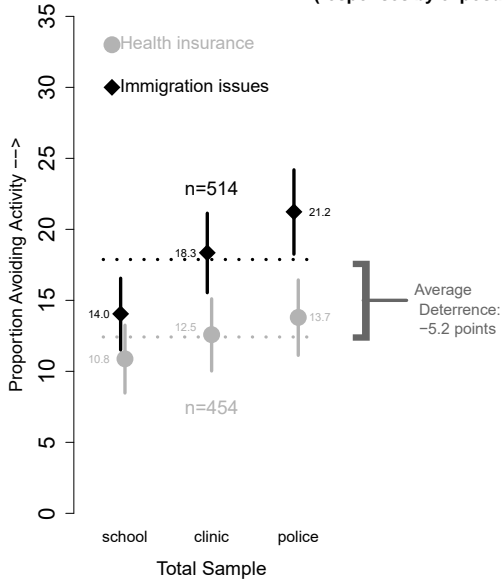




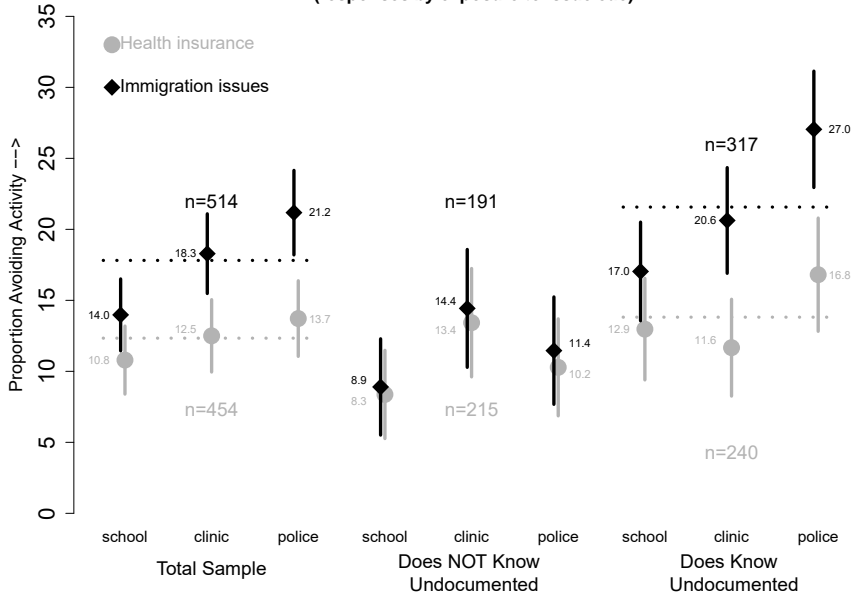




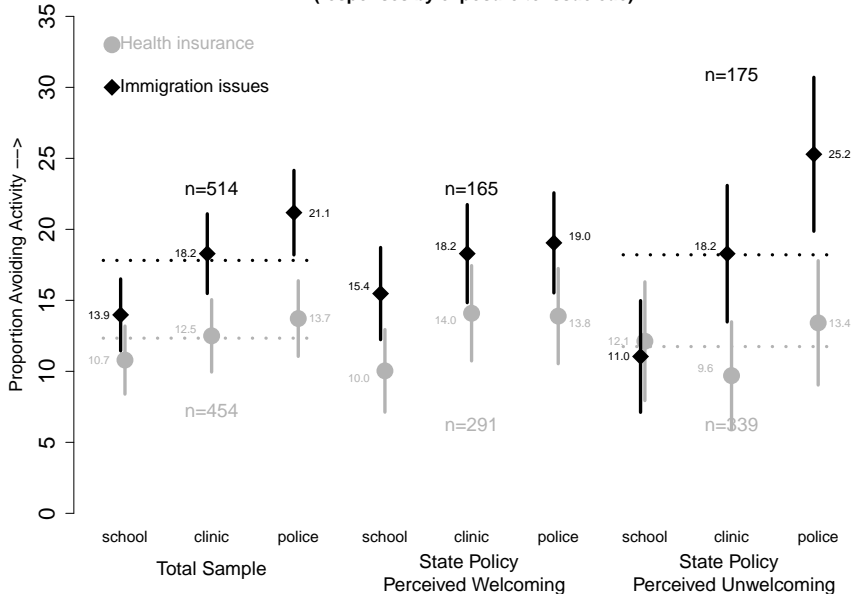
**Proportion avoiding daily-life activities
(responses by exposure to issue cue)**



Proportion avoiding daily-life activities (responses by exposure to issue cue)



Proportion avoiding daily-life activities (responses by exposure to issue cue)



Implication of avoidance

There are 47 million Latino citizens in America

- If 13% of Latino citizens in US “avoid” health care providers...
- and if \$200 is average cost of wellness visit for uninsured...
- and if \$1,233 is average cost of ER visit for uninsured...
- then \$6.3 billion is high end of cost of immigration enforcement

Evidence of deterioration of trust

Pressure Latinos feel to practice cautious citizenship varies because degree to which authorities target “Low Priority” immigrants varies across locales.

PAR PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION
REVIEW

ASPA
American Society for
Public Administration

Vanessa Cruz Nichols

Indiana University

Alana M. W. LeBrón

University of California, Irvine

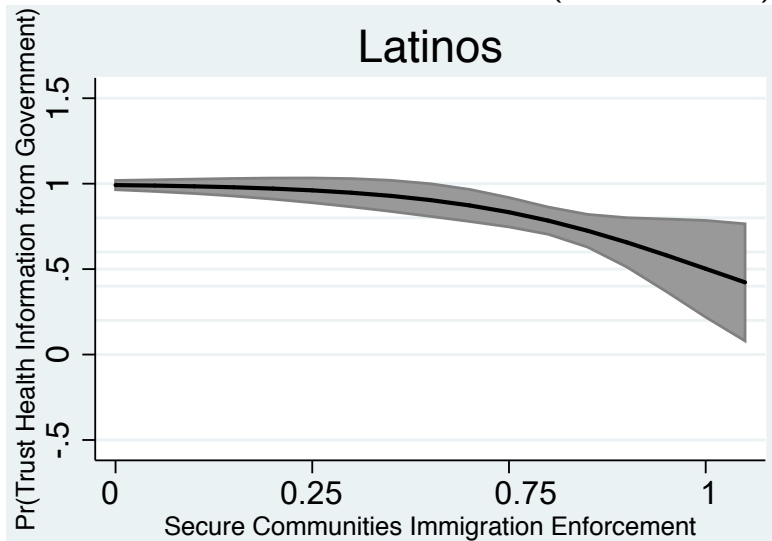
Francisco I. Pedraza

University of California, Riverside

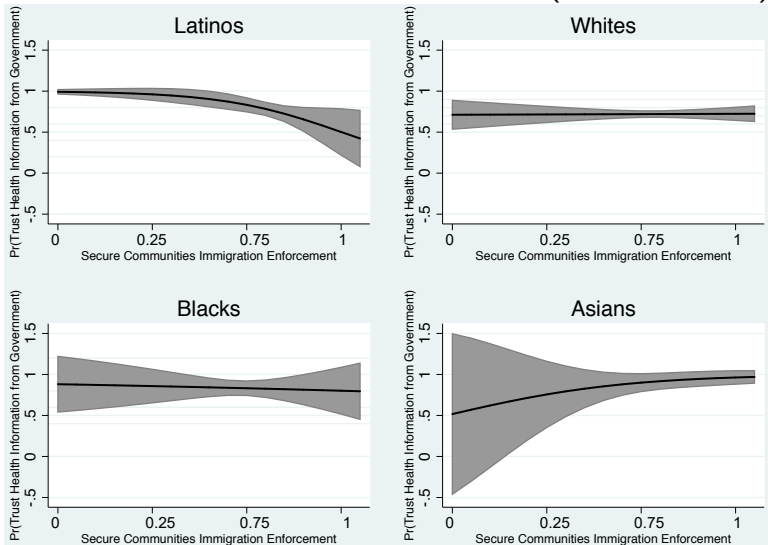
Research Article

Spillover Effects: Immigrant Policing and Government Skepticism in Matters of Health for Latinos

SComm reduces trust in government as a source of health information ... but only for Latinos, and no link to other sources of health info. (HINTS 2012)



SComm reduces trust in government as a source of health information ... but only for Latinos, and no link to other sources of health info. (HINTS 2012)



Implication of distrust in government

When CDC issues PSA for seasonal influenza or other outbreaks like zika...

- Undermines information transmission
- Costs kicked down road likely to increase

Information privacy

Is immigration enforcement intensity deteriorative of trust?

2015 LNHIS, n=1,490, Jan/Feb 2015

Which statement do you agree with most about personal information shared with doctors?

Is Safe & Secure: 73%

Is Shared, not Secure: 26



SECURE COMMUNITIES?

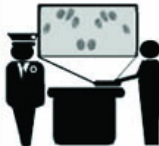
Secure Communities is a controversial federal program that sends booking information from local jails to a joint database shared by the FBI and the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (ICE). Since 2008, Congress has spent millions for the program to target "dangerous criminal aliens."

Deportations are at a record high, but most of those removed are innocent or low-level offenders who have served their time.

HOW IT WORKS



1. POLICE ARREST A PERSON.



2. POLICE SCAN THE PERSON'S PRINTS & SUBMIT THEM TO BE CHECKED AGAINST FBI & ICE RECORDS.



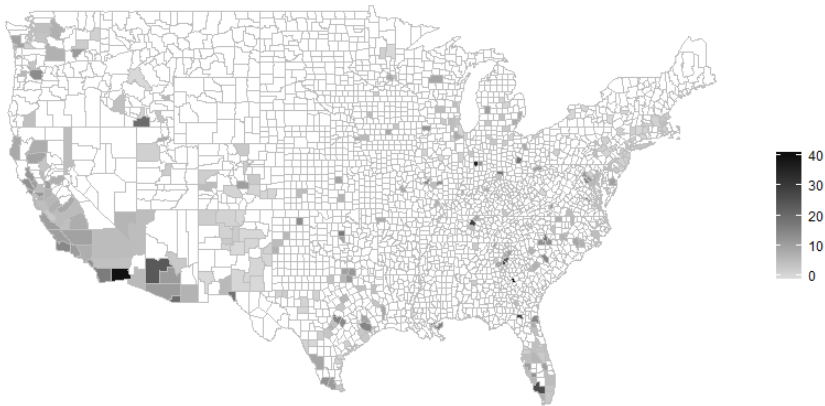
3. IF ICE AGENTS FIND A MATCH THEY CAN ASK POLICE TO DETAIN THE PERSON UNTIL THEY CAN PICK THEM UP.



4. POLICE CAN RELEASE THE PERSON OR DETAIN THEM FOR UP TO 48 HOURS.

County-level intensity of immigration enforcement

Secure Communities Deportations per 1,000 Hispanics, as of December 2014



County-level intensity of immigration enforcement

National Average: 7.2 per 1,000

- Oakland, CA

25th percentile: 2.9 per 1,000

- Miami, FL

75th percentile: 9.8 per 1,000

- Denton, TX

15% live where less than 1 in
1,000 deportations

- Cook County, IL

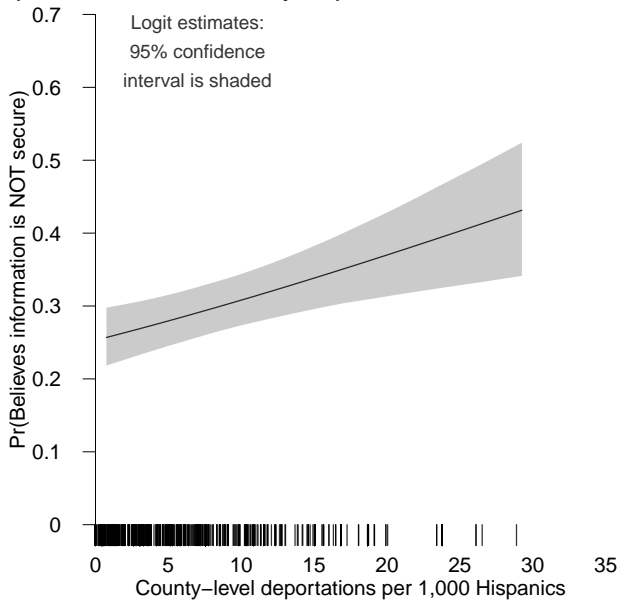
50% live where 6+ deportations per 1,000

1 respondent lives in Twiggs County, GA: 40+ per 1,000

Secure Communities Deportations per 1,000 Hispanics, as of December 2014



Deportations and security of personal information



Psychological distress

Is immigration enforcement intensity deleterious to health?

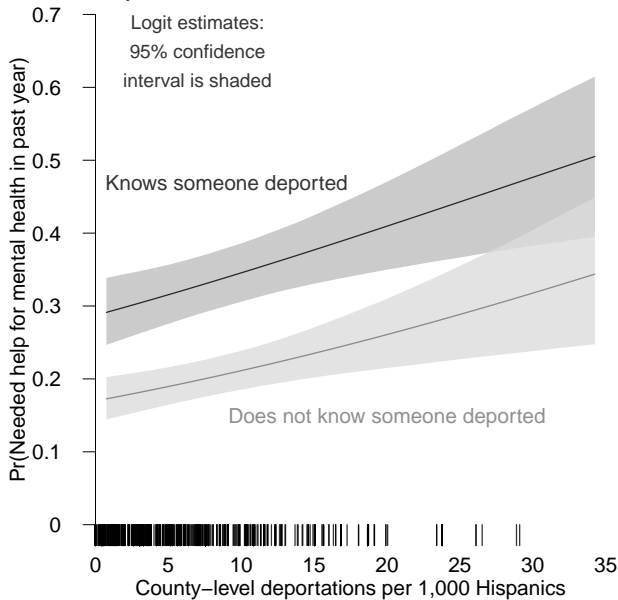
2015 LNHIS, $n=1,490$, Jan/Feb 2015

In the past 12 months did you think you needed help for emotional or mental health problems, such as feeling sad, anxious, or nervous?

No: 76%

Yes: 24

Deportations and mental health



Key Point 1

Immigration enforcement changes the calculus of engagement for Latinos and creates incentive to practice cautious citizenship.

- 1 deteriorates trust
- 2 deters engagement
- 3 deleterious to health

Immigration policy = health policy

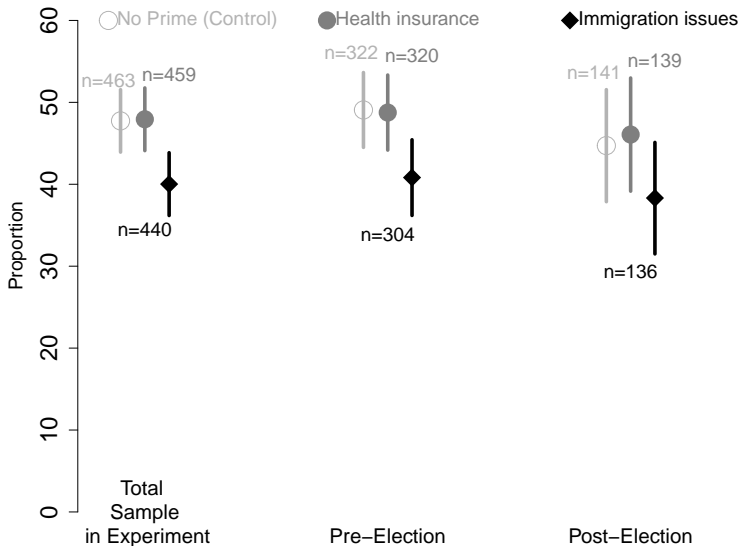
- Vulnerabilities are rooted in public policy
- Policy effects spills over to non-policy targets
- Quintessential definition of politics: “Who gets what?”
- deep irony: Latinos help reduce health cost, but ICE may create inefficiencies for law enforcement, but introduces new costs in health care provision

Thank you!

CHAS and Angela Garcia
Keith Brown

But wait, there's more...

Likelihood of Making an Appointment to See a Health Care Provider? (Response by Exposure to Issue Cue)



Pre- and Post-Election Experiment

Which statement do you agree with most about personal information shared with doctors?

Table: Attitudes about sharing personal information with doctors

Response	Pre All	Post All	Pre Dark Skin	Post Dark Skin
Is safe & Secure	73	65	71	64

2016 CCES Latino Module, n=2,000

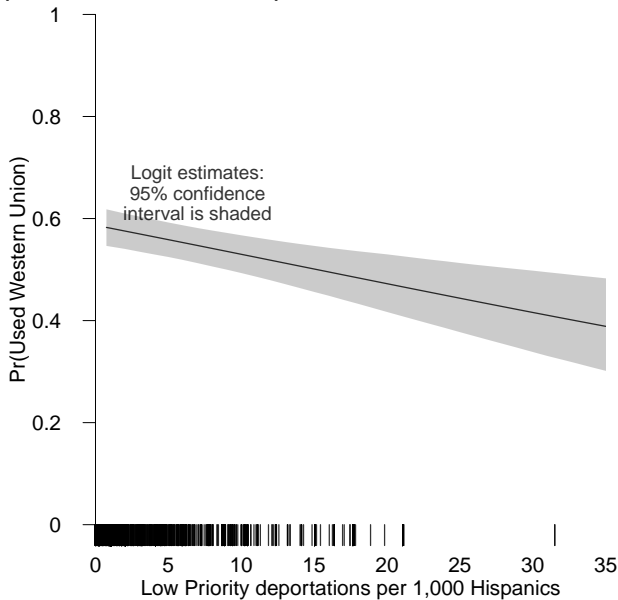
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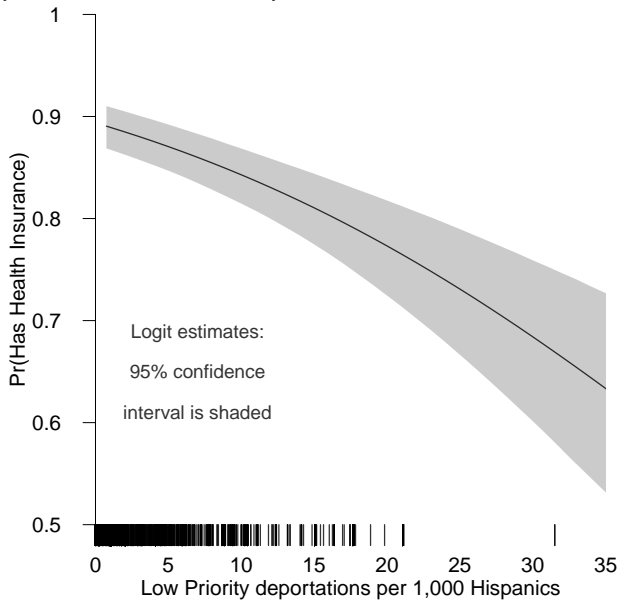
Table: Attitudes about sharing personal information with doctors

Response	Pre All	Post All	Pre Dark Skin	Post Dark Skin
Is safe & Secure	73	65	71	64
Is Shared, not Secure	26	34	29	36

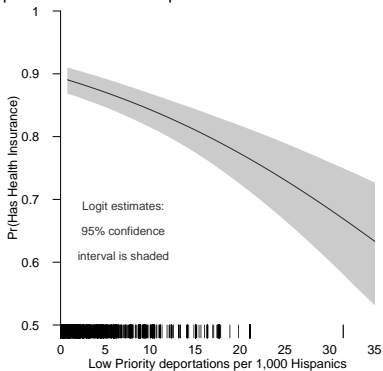
Deportations and self-reported use Western Union



Deportations and self-reported use health insurance



Deportations and self-reported use health insurance



Deportations and self-reported health insurance

