

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

Francisco I. Pedraza

October 29, 2018



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Help me  
get Latinos  
enrolled



Mr. President,  
many Latinos are  
nervous about  
enrolling...

# “Don't be afraid”

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

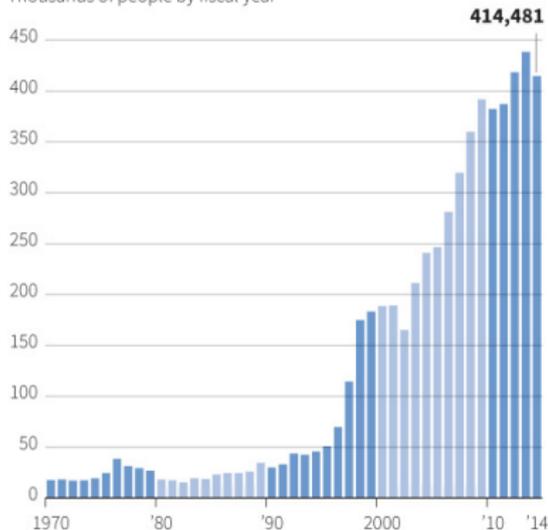
Ports of entry → interior operations

## 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

- 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 LOK

## 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...

A dark blue rectangular banner with white text. At the top, it says "HOUSTON★CHRONICLE". Below that, it says "As low as \$1 per week / Unlimited Digital Access". Underneath, in smaller text, it says "HoustonChronicle.com | App for iPhone and iPad | eEdition". At the bottom center, there is an orange button with the word "SUBSCRIBE" in white capital letters.

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## **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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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 Detering  
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

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

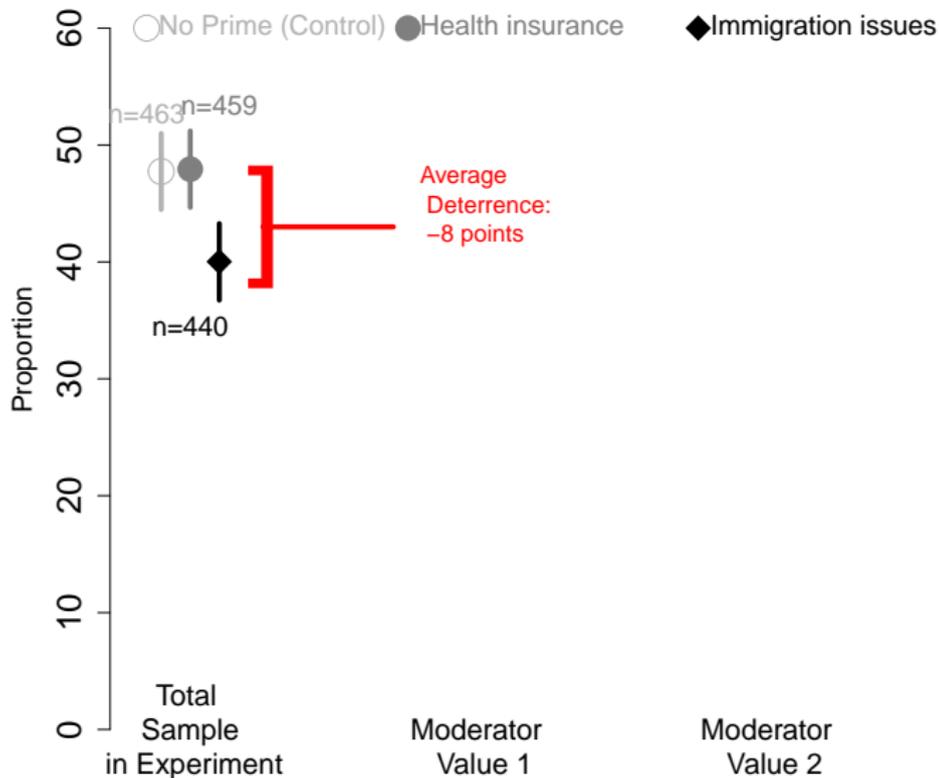
- **CONTROL, no prime:**
- **health care issues:** PSA on enrollment
- **immigration issues:** welcoming OR unwelcoming

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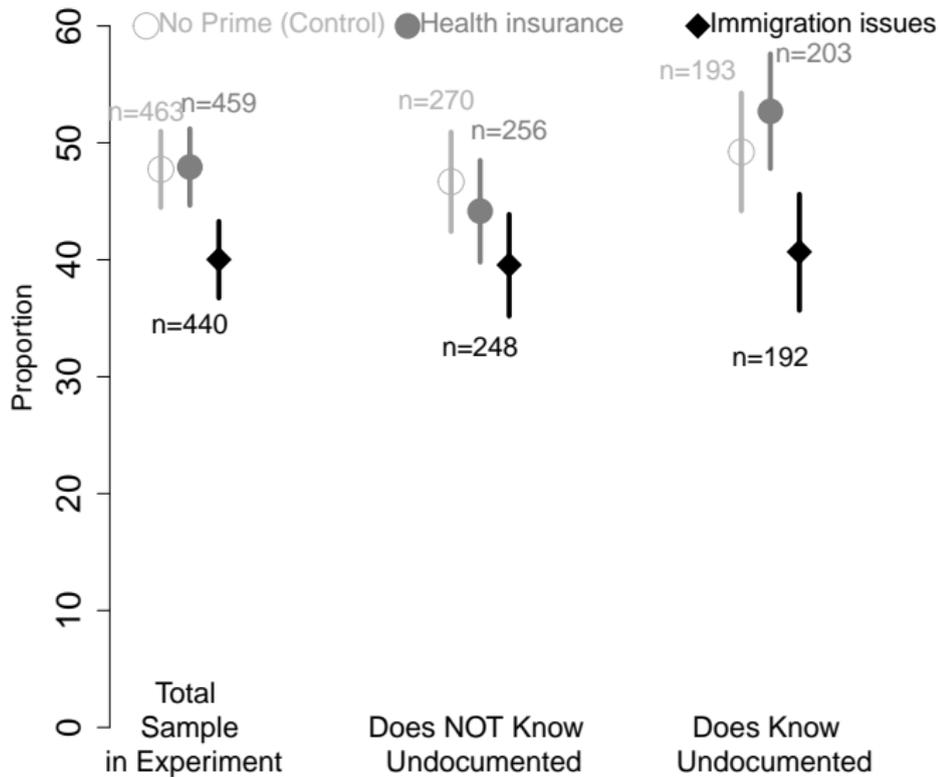
- **CONTROL, no prime:**
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- **immigration issues:** welcoming OR unwelcoming

*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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- 1 **Talking with police or reporting crimes (16%)**

## 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?

- 1 **Talking with police or reporting crimes (16%)**
- 2 Driving a car (14%)

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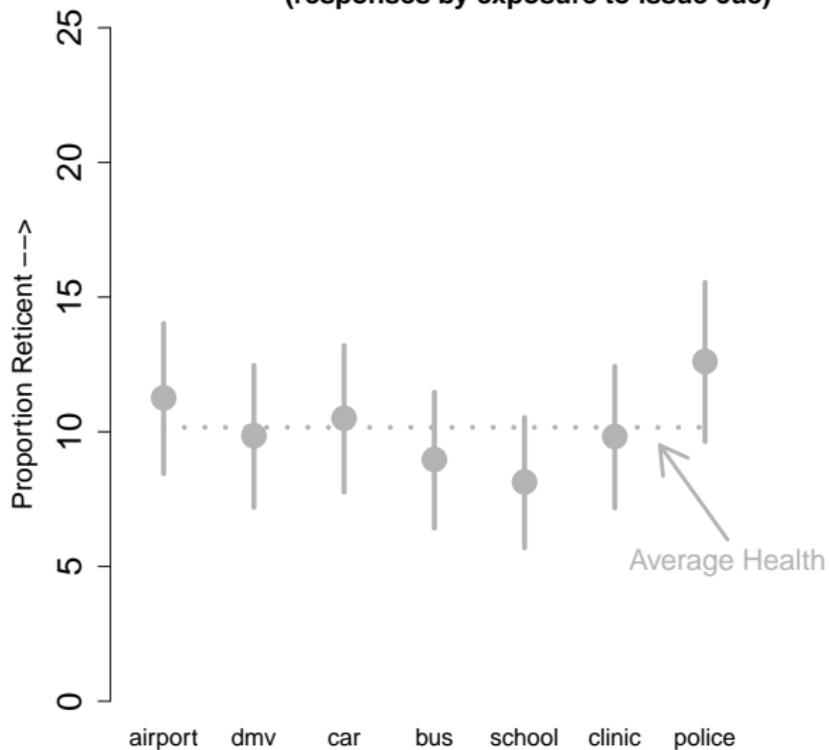
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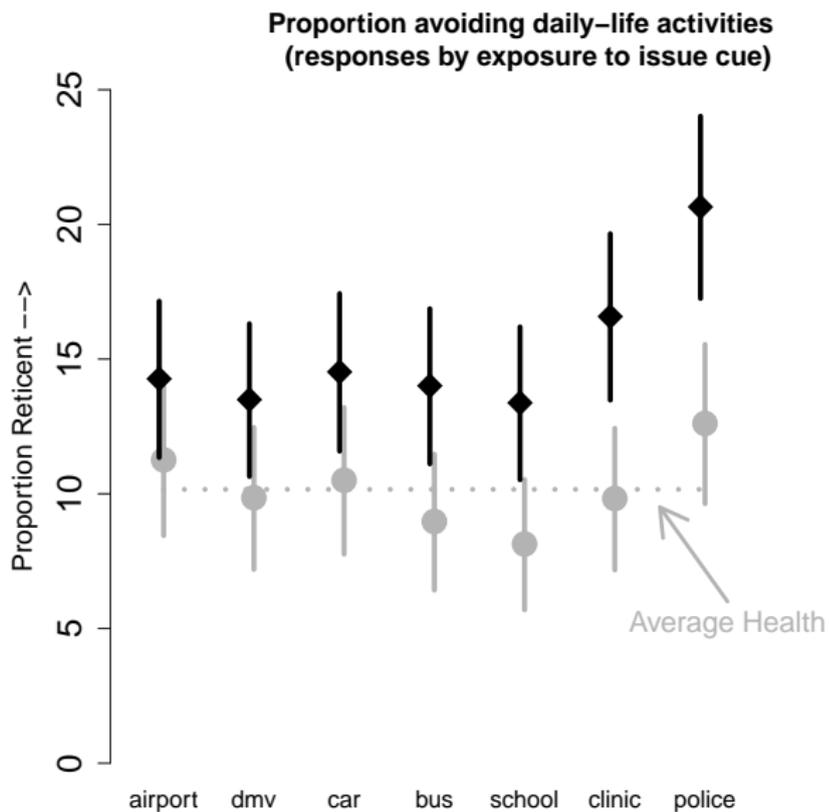
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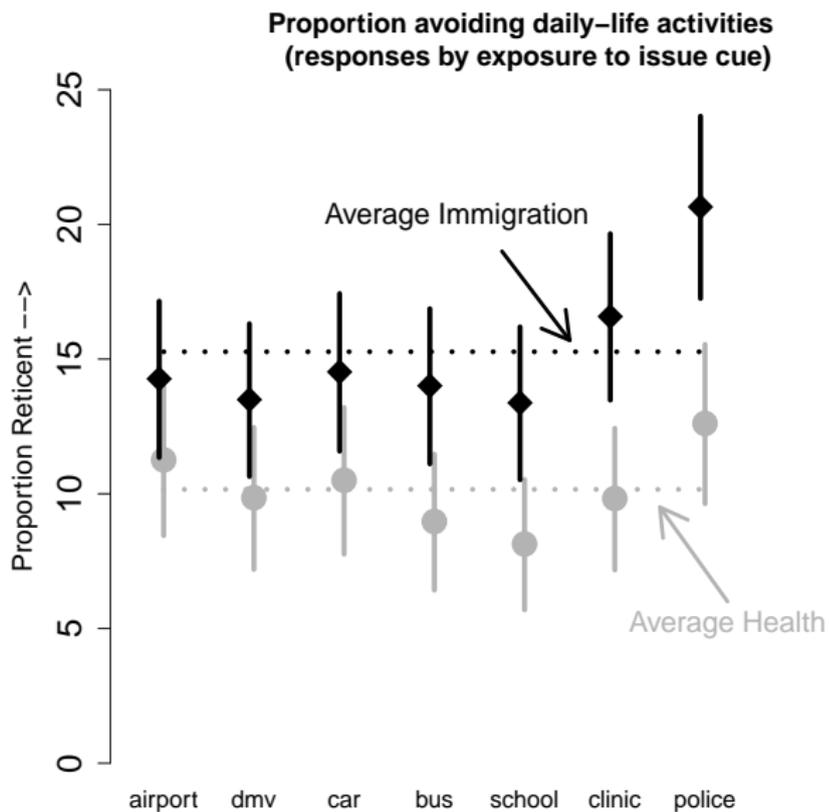
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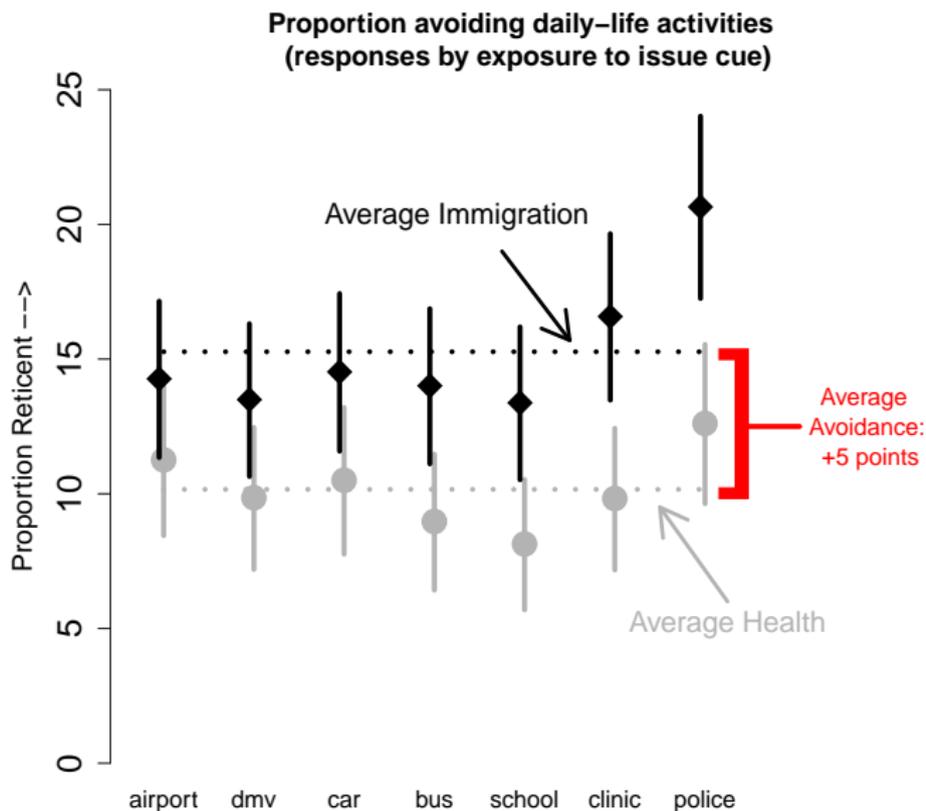
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### Proportion avoiding daily-life activities (responses by exposure to issue cue)

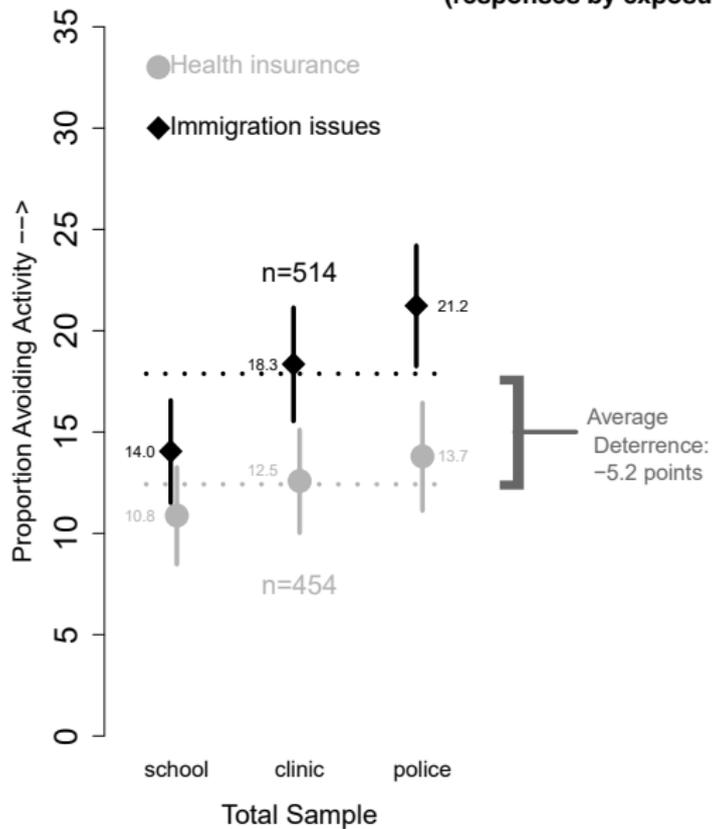




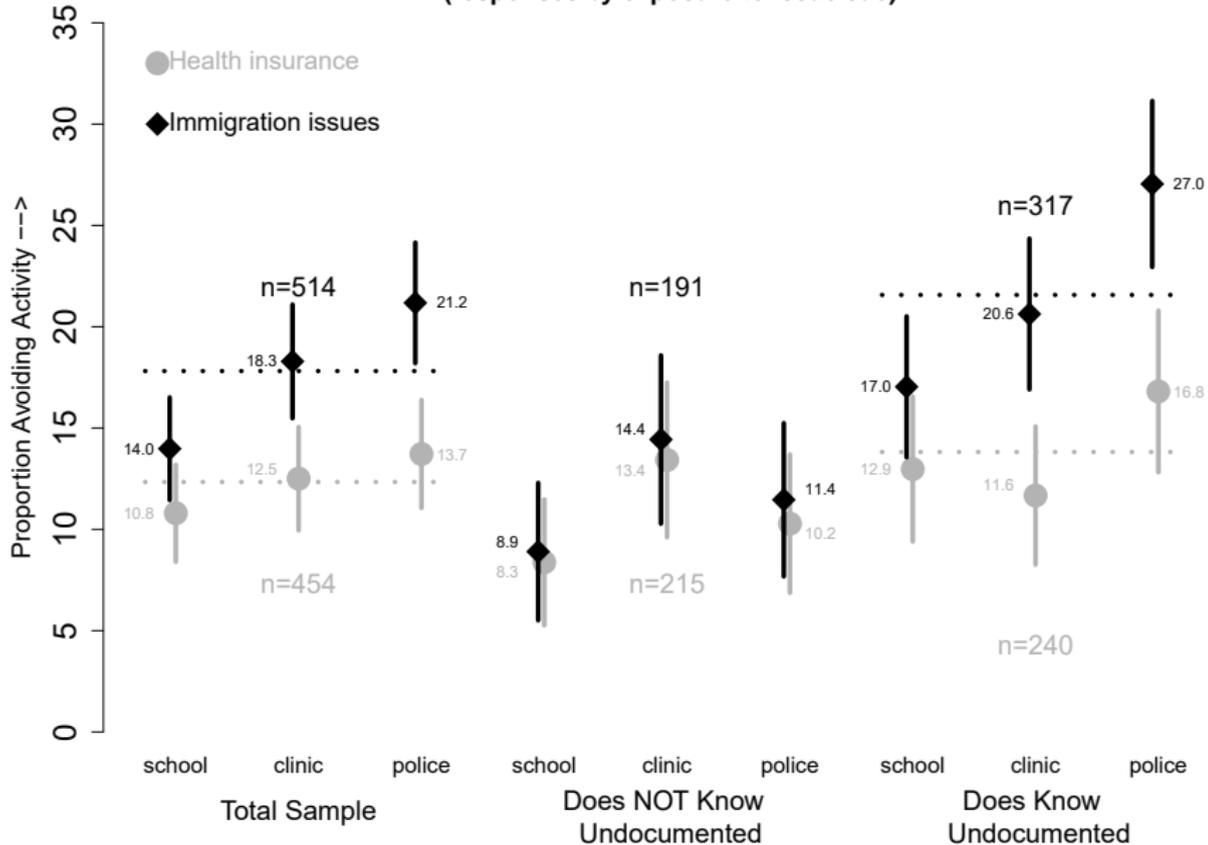




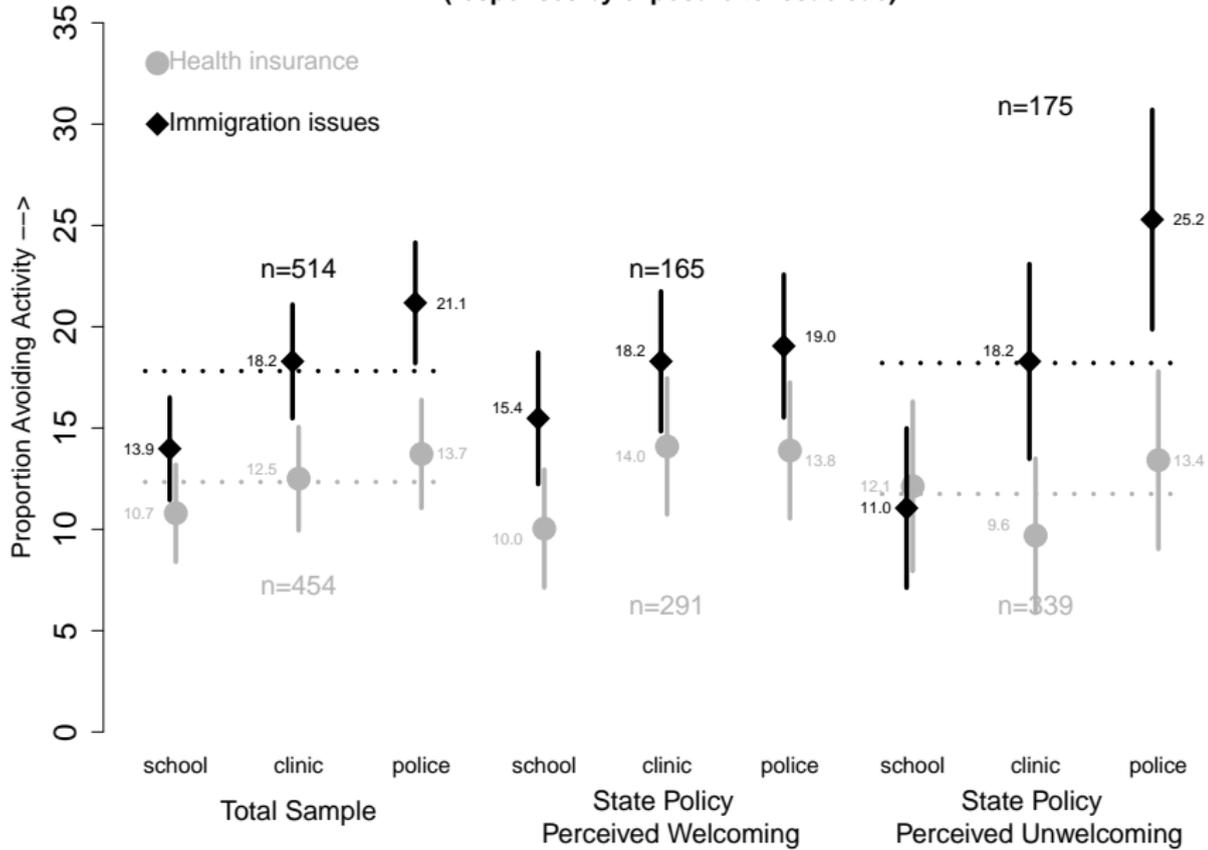
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**Proportion avoiding daily-life activities  
(responses by exposure to issue cue)**



## 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**  
2024  
SOCIETY FOR  
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**Vanessa Cruz Nichols**

Indiana University

**Alana M. W. LeBrón**

University of California, Irvine

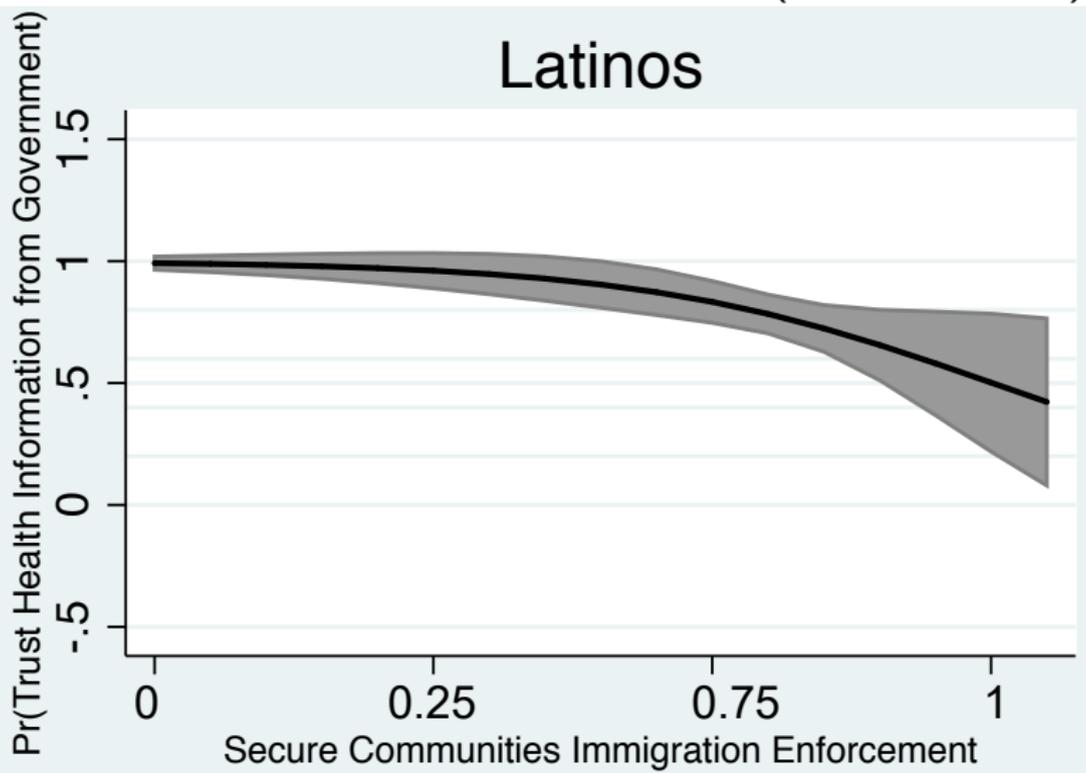
**Francisco I. Pedraza**

University of California, Riverside

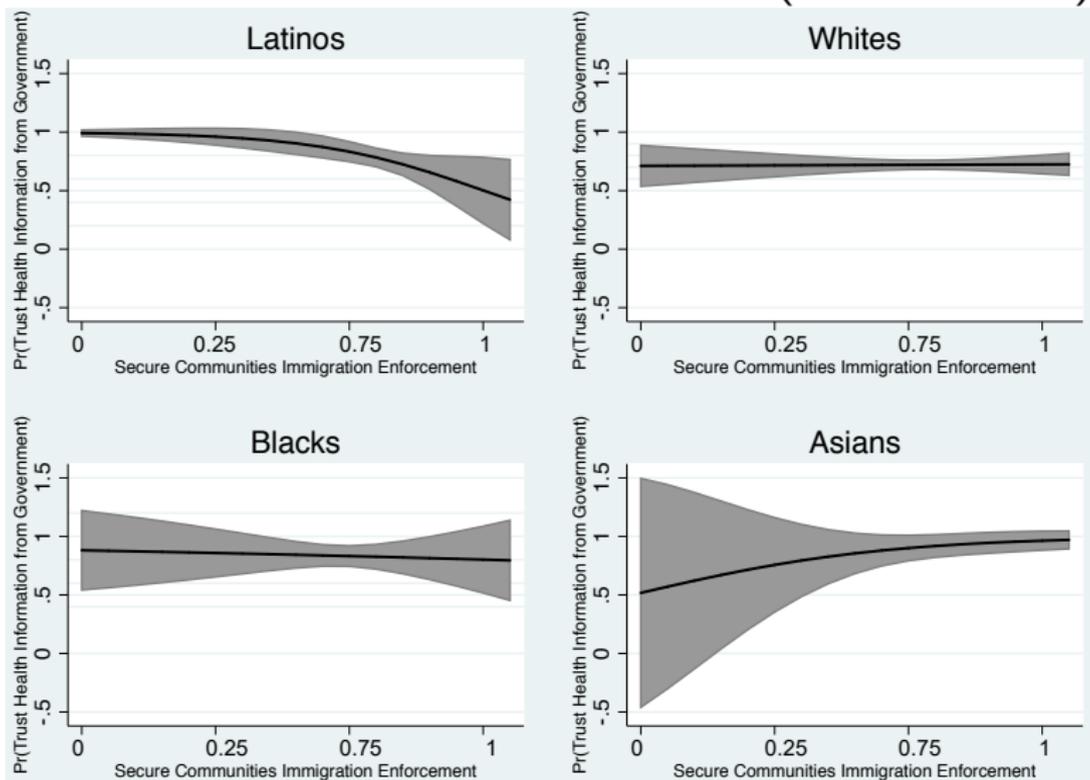
Research Article

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

## 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

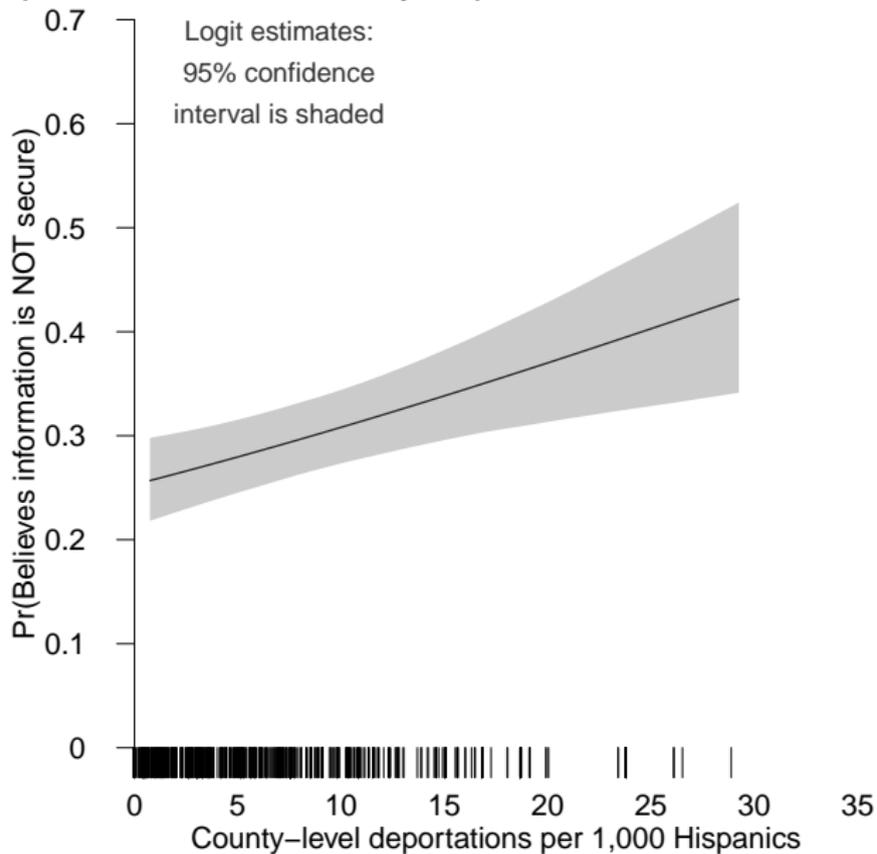
50% live where 6+ deportations per 1,000

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?**

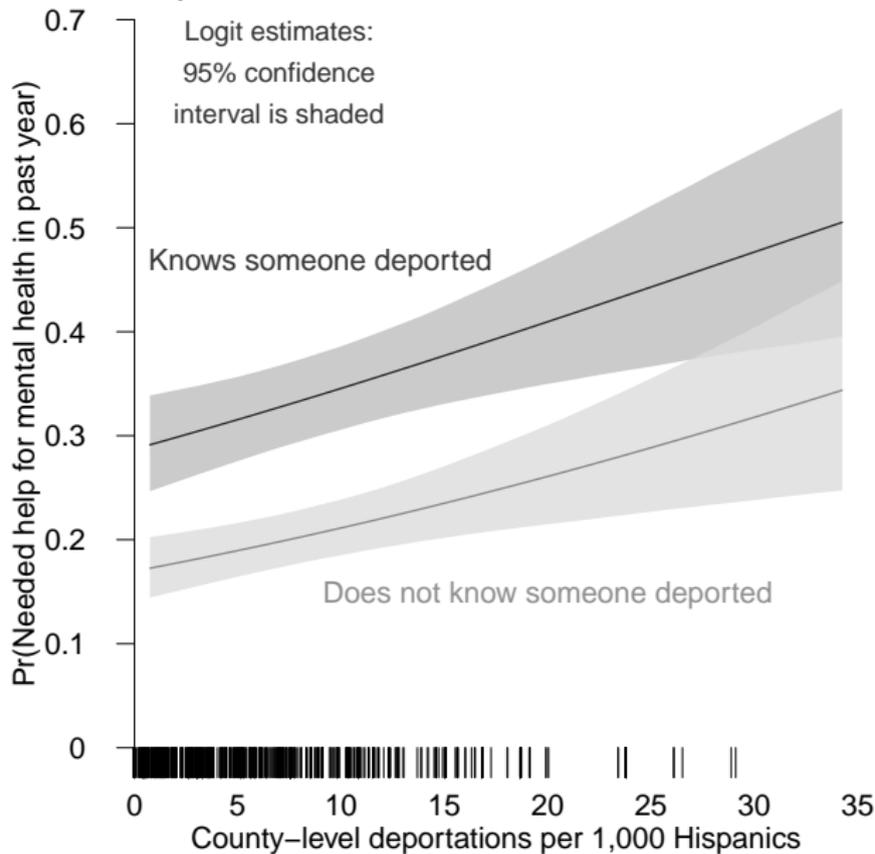
2015 LNHIS, n=1,490, Jan/Feb 2015

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

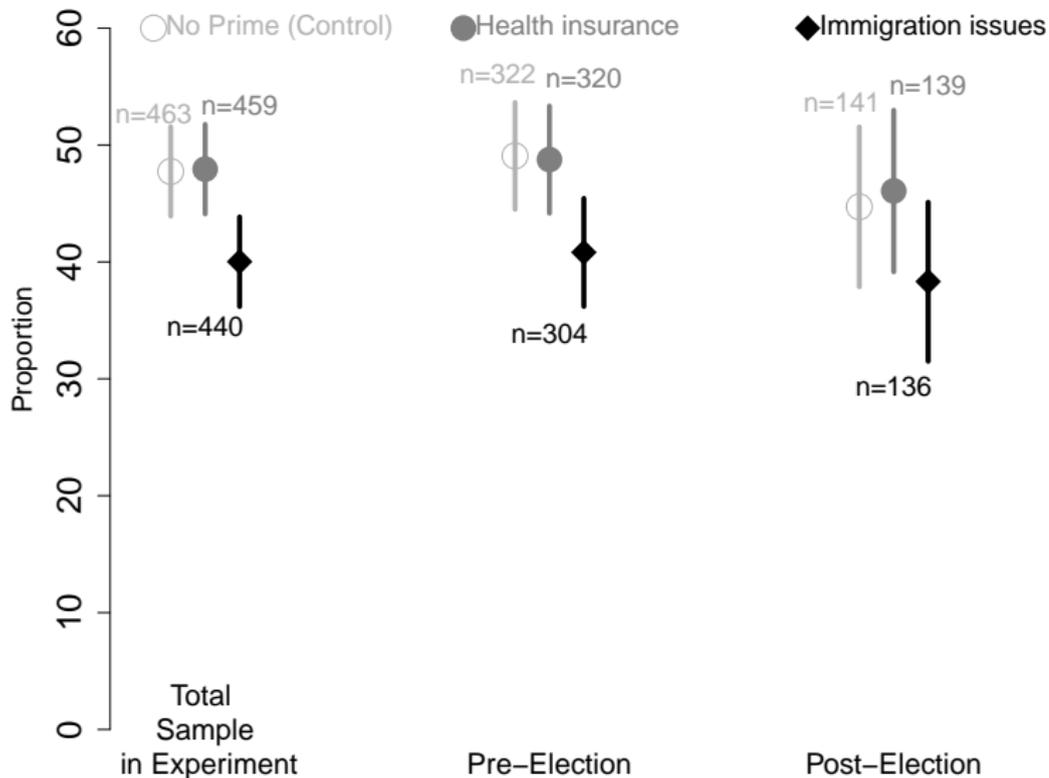
- Vulnerabilities are rooted in public policy
- Policy effects spills over to non-policy targets
- Quintessential definition of politics: “Who gets what?”
- deep irony: Latinos help reduce health cost, but ICE may create inefficiencies for law enforcement, but introduces new costs in health care provision

# 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             |

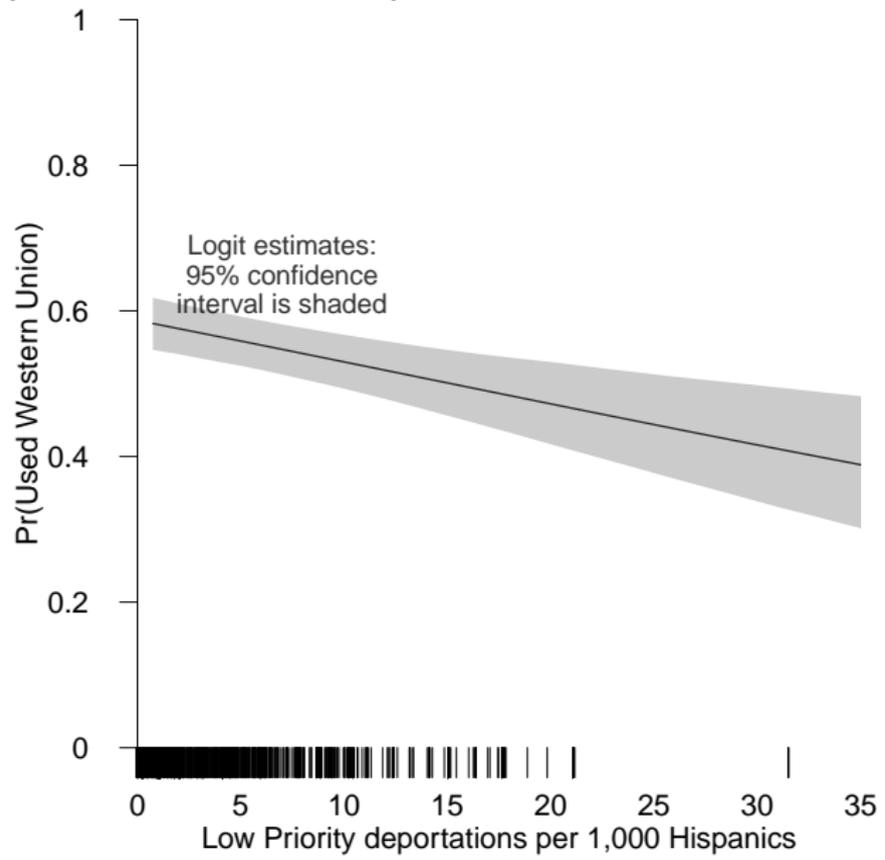
## Pre- and Post-Election Experiment

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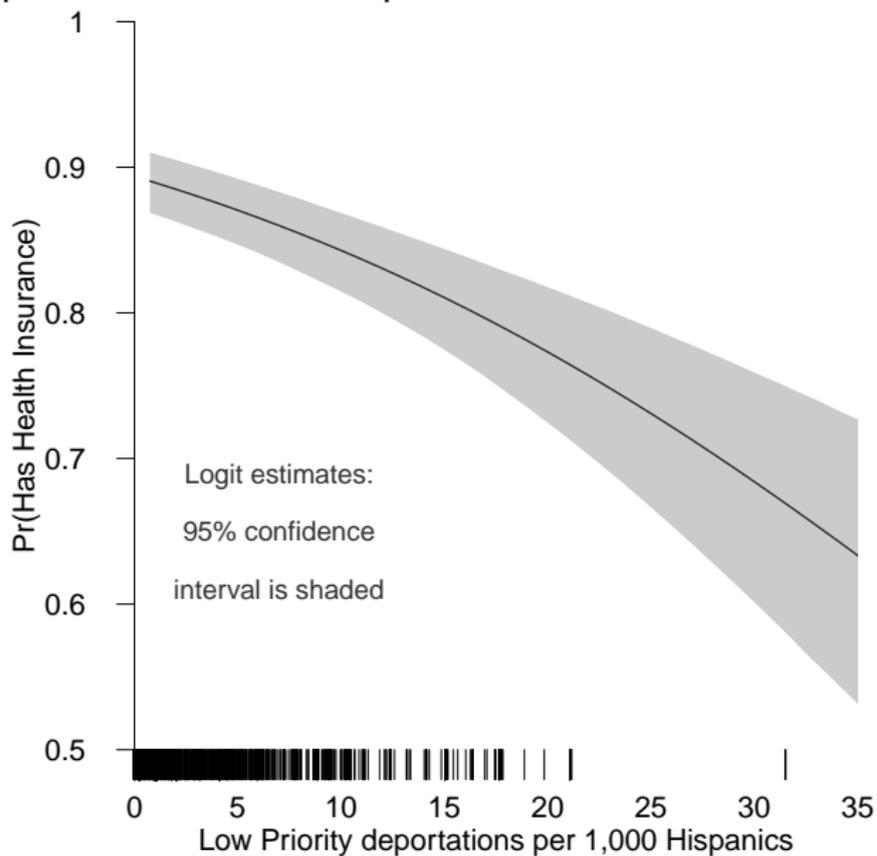
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| Response              | Pre All | Post All | Pre Dark Skin | Post Dark Skin |
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| Is Shared, not Secure | 26      | 34       | 29            | 36             |

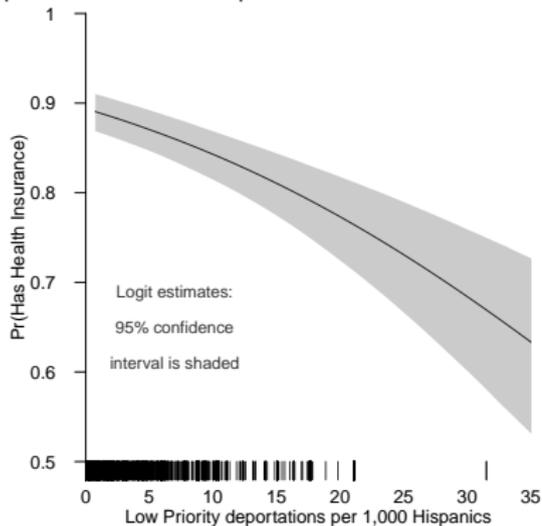
# Deportations and self-reported use Western Union



## Deportations and self-reported use health insurance



Deportations and self-reported use health insurance



Deportations and self-reported health insurance

