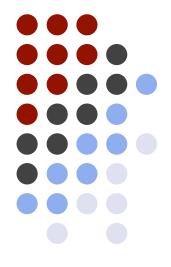
Immigration Policies Go Local

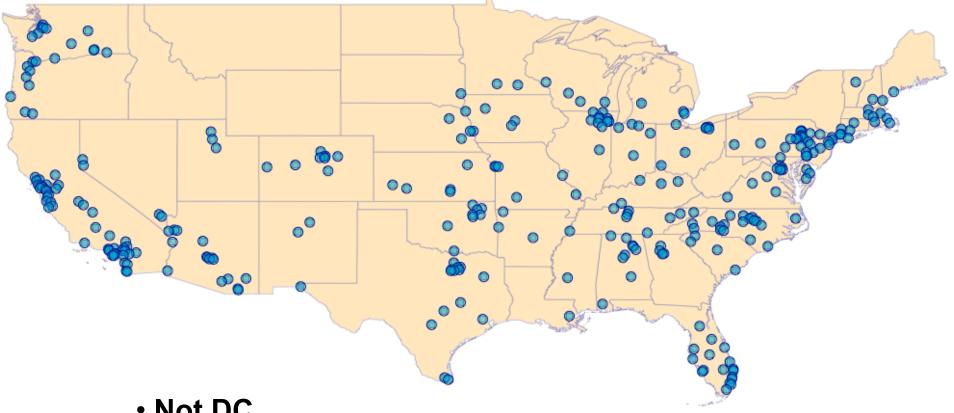
Local Ordinances and Beyond

Karthick Ramakrishnan

Department of Political Science University of California, Riverside karthick@ucr.edu



Since 2003... Immigration Politics Definitely Local



- Not DC
- Protests, Anti-immigrant groups
- Policies: Restrictionist as well as permissive
- Contrast with 2003

Local Government Policies and Practices

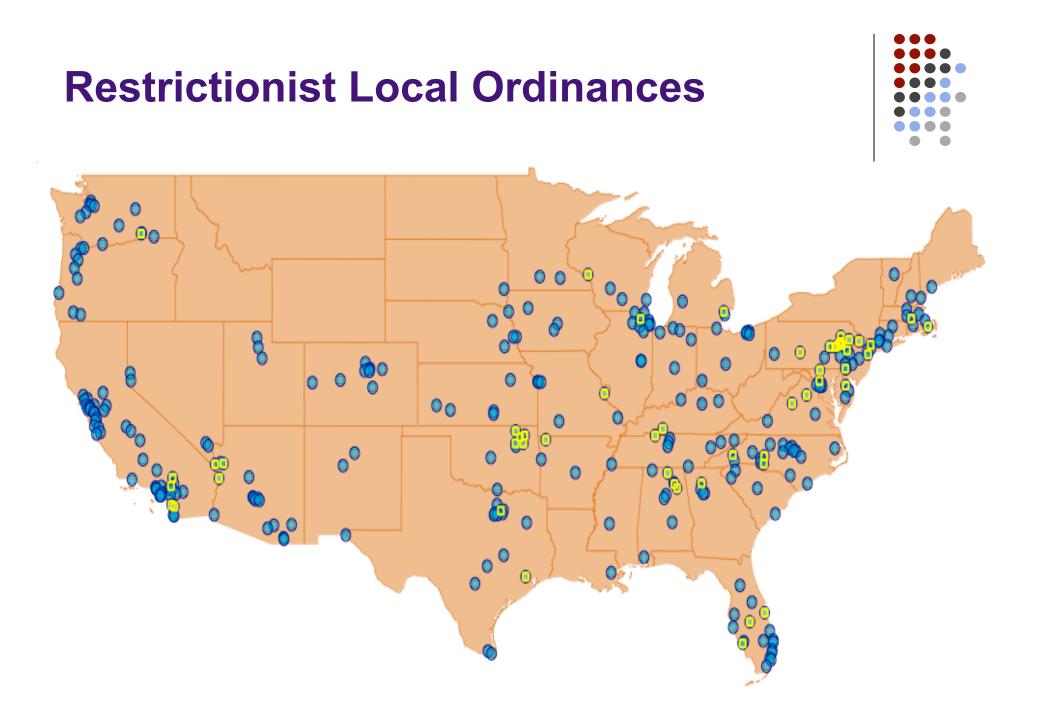


- Language access
 - Translated documents
 - Interpreters
- Knowledge about immigrant community
 - Needs and issue priorities
 - Community organizations
- Leadership development
 - Appointment to boards and commissions
- Services and regulation
 - Housing, law enforcement, education, health

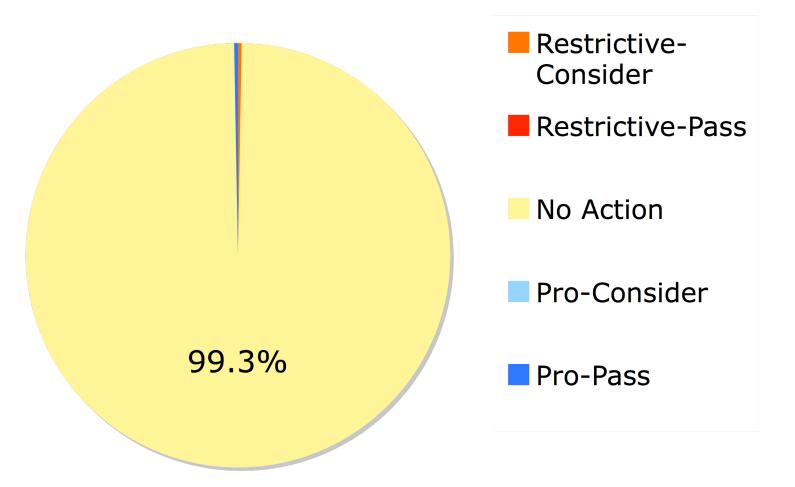
Examples of Ordinances



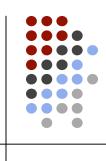
- Landlords (Hazelton and copycats)
- Business contracts with city (Elsemere, DE)
- Business licenses denied (Hazelton et al.)
- Local police to facilitate deportations
- English as official language
- City IDs for all residents (New Haven, CT)
- "Sanctuary" ordinances (St. Louis, MO)
- Construction / funding of day labor centers

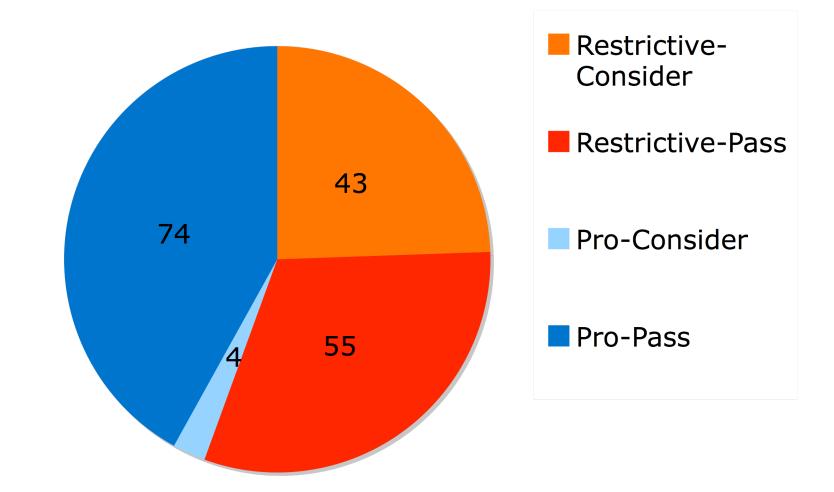


Descriptive Findings: Pro or Con?



Descriptive Findings: Pro or Con?





What Explains It?



• Negative externalities from rapid demographic change

- Spanish language dominance
- Wage competition
- Overcrowding
- Group political power
 - Protests and politicization, possible backlash
 - Electoral power of Latino citizens
- Partisanship / Ideology of electorate

Merging Data & Hypothesis Testing



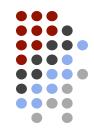
- Various databases, confirmation via phone calls
- Immigrant Protests
- Census data
 - Recency of migration, growth of Latinos
 - Relative poverty rates
 - Linguistic isolation
 - Overcrowded housing
 - Jobs in agriculture, construction
- Presidential vote choice
- State-level factors

Descriptive Stats: Politics and Power



	Restrictionist	No Proposal	"Pro"
% with Republican majority in county***	69	70	26
Latino share of population***	10.8	6.6	21.1
Latino share of citizens***	7.9	5.7	18.0
Any pro-immigration protest*** (% likelihood)	12	1	54
% employed in agriculture	0.9	3.1	0.9

Demographic Disruptions



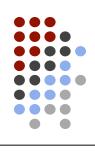
	Restrictionist	No Proposal	"Pro"
Growth in Latino population (%), 1990- 2000*	258.2	177.7	59.4
% of immigrants arrived since 1995	26.1	16.6	29.5
% of Spanish linguistic- isolated households***	2.4	1.3	5.3
% of households overcrowded***	2.0	1.6	5.9

Poverty, Economic Competition

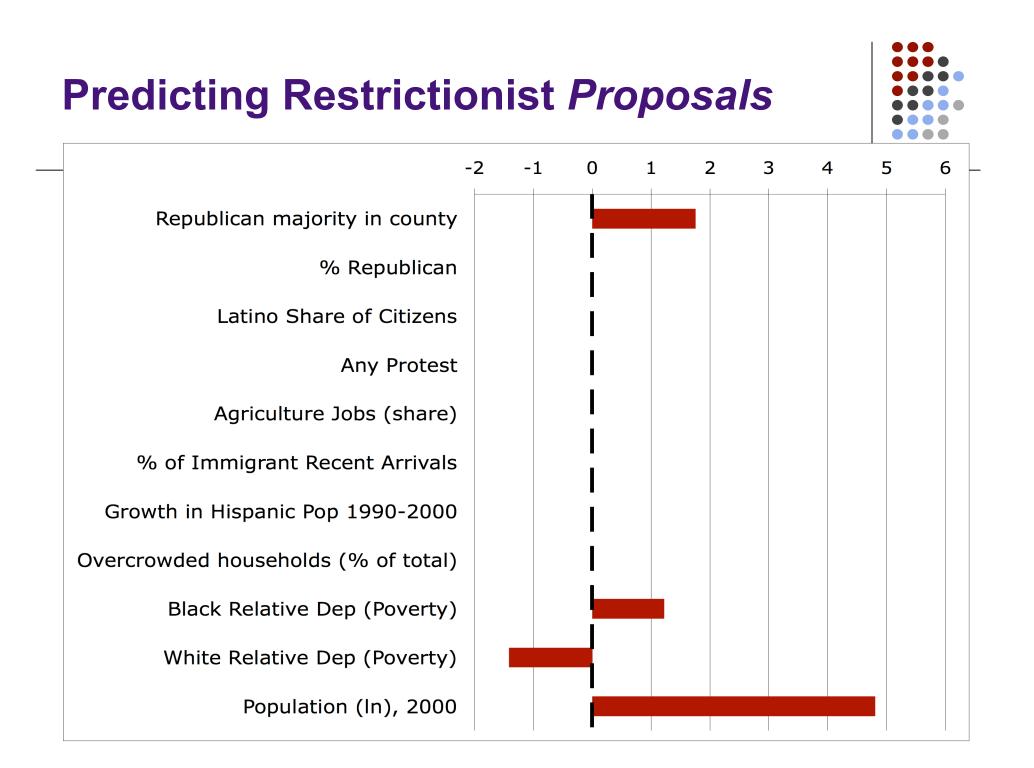


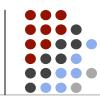
	Restrictionist	No Proposal	"Pro"
Black poverty rate	23.0	13.2	23.5
White poverty rate	9.4	10.7	10.7
Latino poverty rate	21.0	15.1	22.8
Population***	71,939.3	7,015.5	807,151.7

Which Factors Most Important?

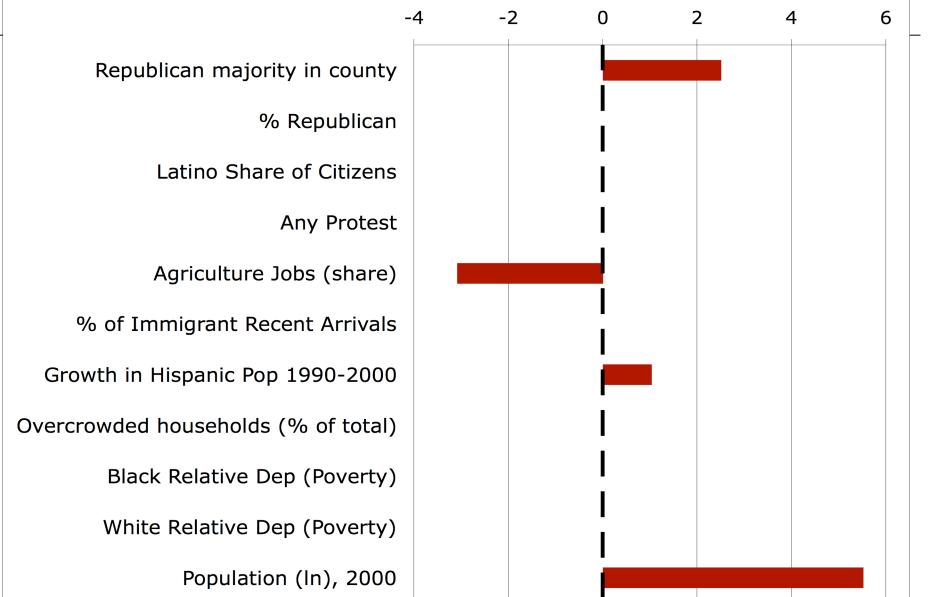


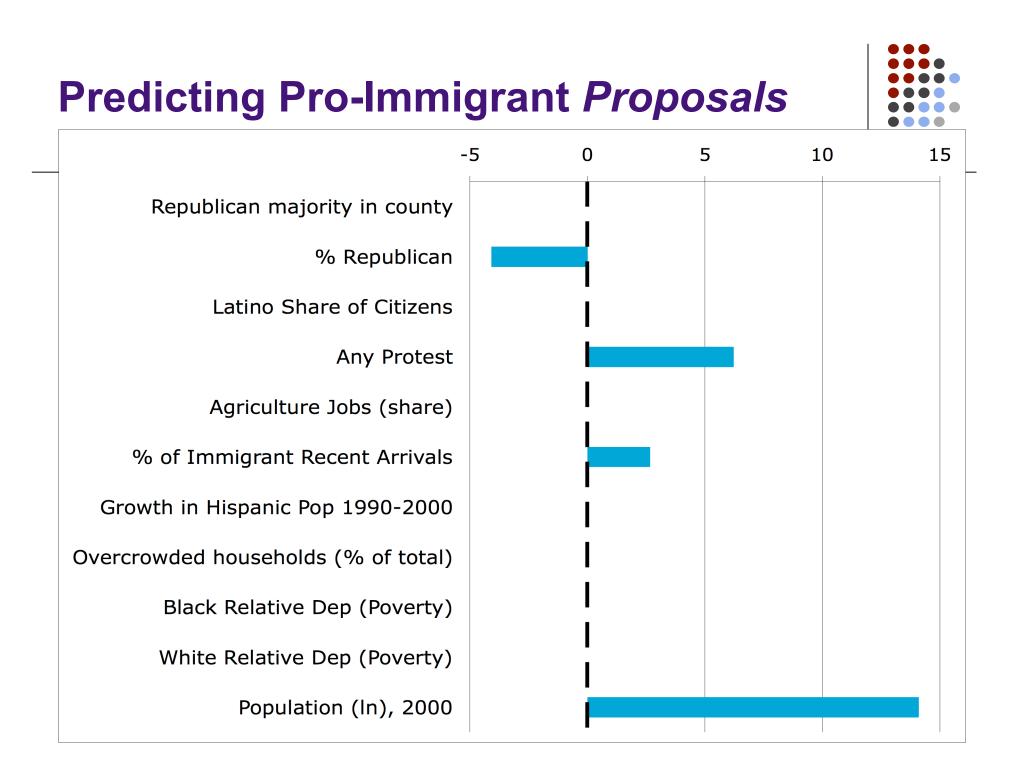
- Need for regression analysis
 - Corrections
 - Rare events modeling
 - County data on partisanship

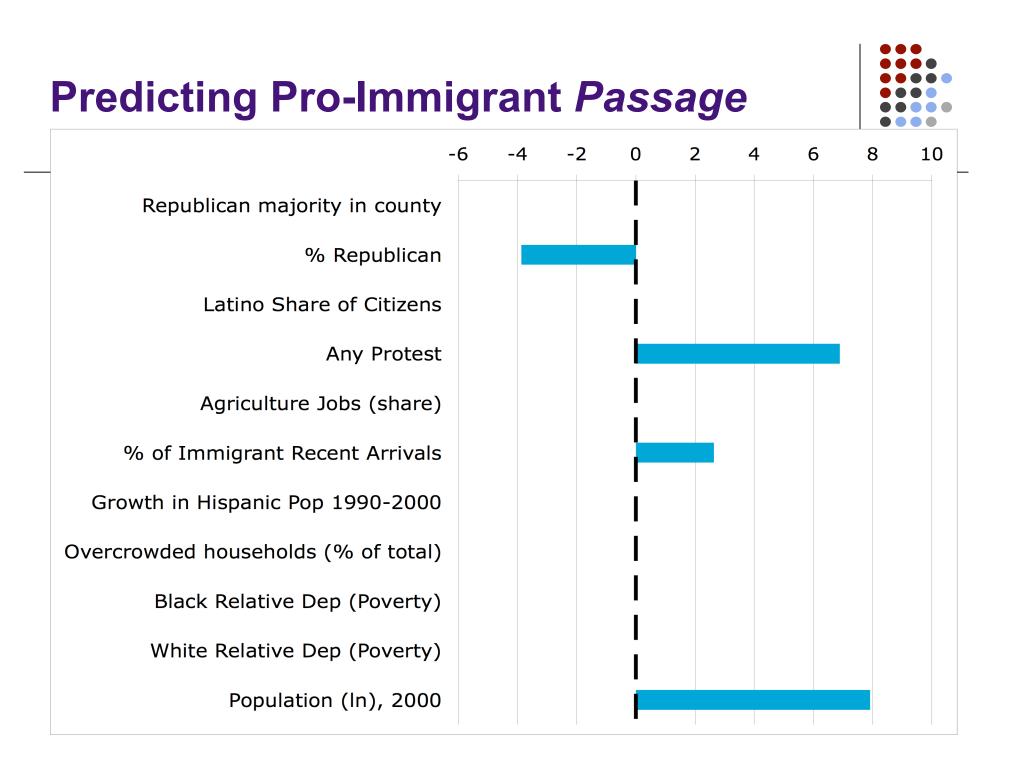




Predicting Restrictionist *Passage*





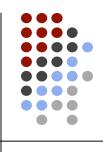


What Explains It?



- Partisanship / Ideology of electorate
- Group political power
 - Protests
 - Interest groups (agriculture)
 - Latino citizens
- Local Demographic Change
 - Language/Culture
 - Economic Competition / Poverty

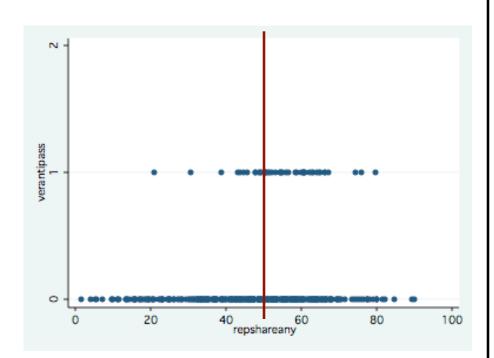
Caveats and Concerns

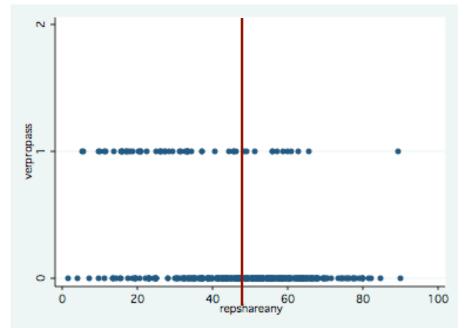


- State policies controlled with dummy variables
 - More systematic classification pending MPI report
 - But, seems to hold even with particular states such as Pennsylvania
- How to model state policy process and local policy process?
- What about city-level party data?

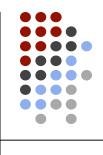
City level party data







Next Steps



- In-depth studies of *representative* and atypical cases
- Beyond ordinances to daily practices
- Survey of municipal governments
 - California in 2003 (www.ppic.org)
 - Nationwide in 2007 (500-1000 cities)