Do Immigration Raids Deter Head Start Enrollment?

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Motivation: Varying Raid Intensity

Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE) over time:

- ▶ 2003: ICE adopts National Fugitive Operations Program

- ▶ 2006: ICE adopts new Interior Enforcement Strategy

- ▶ 2009: Focus switches to "criminals"

- ▶ 2017: Raids strategy broadly expanded

Motivation: Head Start

Importance of Head Start for Hispanic children

- ▶ Largest early childhood education (ECE) program

- ▶ Lower than expected enrollment

- ▶ Strong benefits for English learners

Motivation: Head Start

Importance of Head Start for Hispanic children

- ▶ Largest early childhood education (ECE) program

- ▶ Lower than expected enrollment

- ▶ Strong benefits for English learners

- ▶ 85% of mixed-status families are Hispanic

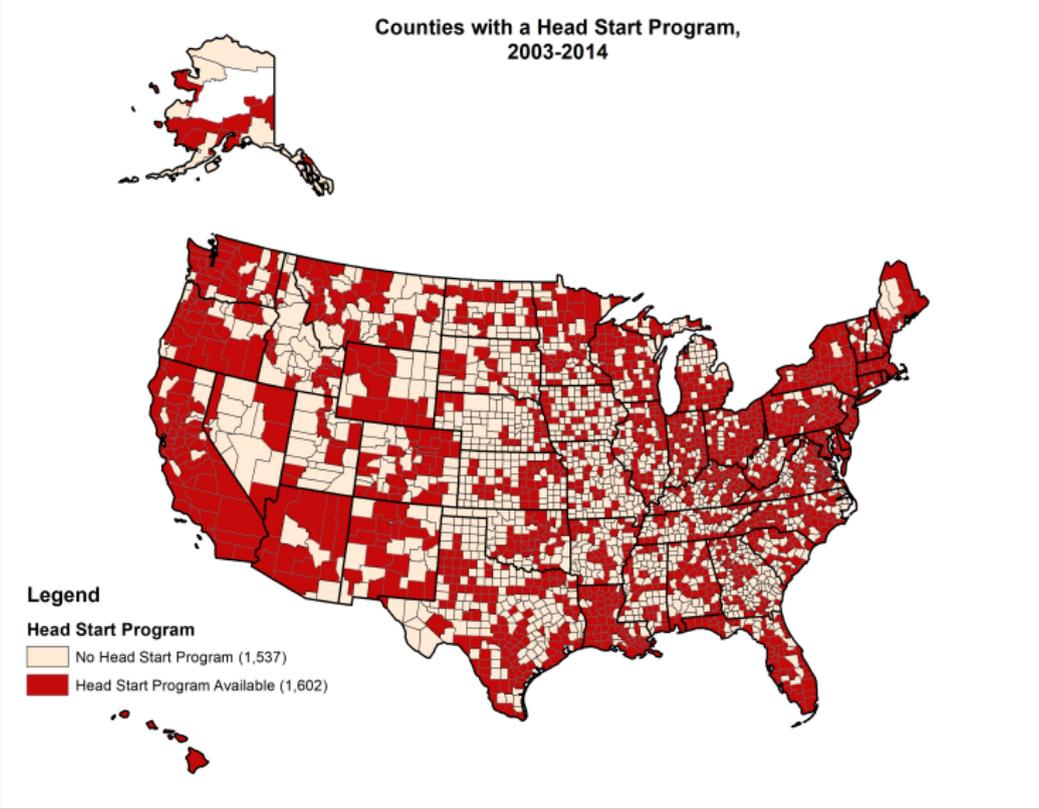- ▶ 25% of Hispanic children in mixed-status family

Contributions

1. First large-scale evidence on impact of raids (not place based)

2. Raids ↓ Hispanic Head Start enrollment over 10%

3. Strategy to disentangle mobility from deterrence

4. Decreased enrollment driven by deterrence ($\sim 2/3$)
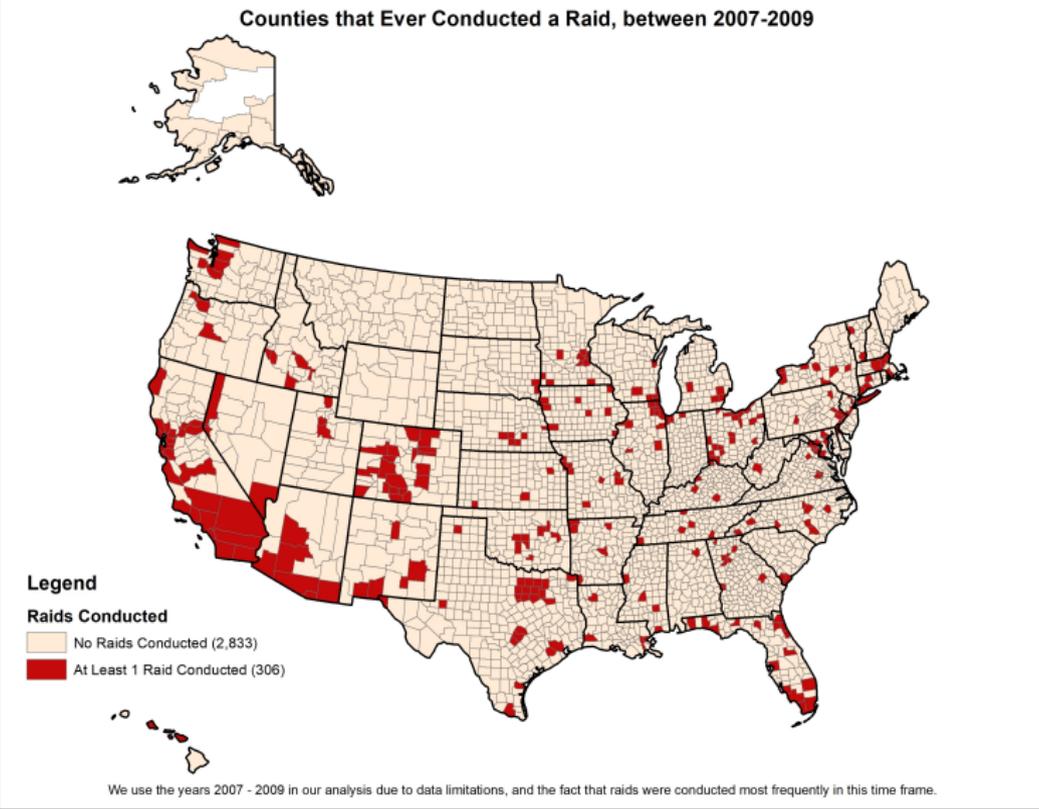
Data Sources

- Raids by county: (2006-2008)
  - Centro Latino
  - Detention Watch Network
  - Catholic Legal Immigration Network

- Enrollment for 6 years: 2003-04 to 2008-09
  - Head Start
  - Grade 1

- 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census

Map: Head Start Counties

Counties with a Head Start Program,
2003-2014

Legend

Head Start Program

No Head Start Program (1,537)

Head Start Program Available (1,602)

Map: Immigration Raids

Counties that Ever Conducted a Raid, between 2007-2009

Legend

Raids Conducted

No Raids Conducted (2,833)

At Least 1 Raid Conducted (306)

We use the years 2007 - 2009 in our analysis due to data limitations, and the fact that raids were conducted most frequently in this time frame.

Head Start Counties

Table 1: County characteristics: Full/unbalanced sample

	Raided	Never-raided
Panel A: Pre-raid 3-year average (2003-2005)		
Head Start: Hispanics	806	106[†††]
Grade 01: Hispanics	2,593	212[†††]
Panel B: County demographics		
2000 Population (1,000s)	632	115[†††]
Hispanics in 1990 (%)	9.4	5.3[†††]
Counties	207	699

Identification Strategy

- ▶ Triple-difference: Stacked difference-in-difference
  - ▶ Head Start: Voluntary (out-migration and deterrence)
  - ▶ Grade 1: Compulsory (out-migration)

- ▶ Flexible county-level matching $\implies$ pre-raid balance

- ▶ Robustness checks:
  - ▶ Analysis sample selection
  - ▶ Exclude 287(g)

Identification Strategy: DD and DDD

For now, assume parallel trend assumption holds:

$$\ln(y_{ct}) = \alpha_c + \beta \times \mathrm{PostRaid}_{ct} + \pi_t + \varepsilon_{ct} \tag{1}$$

- ▶ Fully interact by grade and stack models
- ▶ β^{HS}: Head Start impact (mobility + deterrence)
- ▶ β^{G01}: Grade 1 impact (mobility)
- ▶ $\beta^{\mathrm{DDD}} = \beta^{\mathrm{HS}} - \beta^{\mathrm{G01}}$ (deterrence)

Identification Strategy: Flexible matching

► Inspiration from synthetic control (Abadie et al., 2009)

   1. Create balanced panels (174 raided, 418 donors)
   2. Focus on one raided county at a time
   3. Create distance to each donor and rank them

      ► HS enrollment (RMSD)
      ► G01 enrollment (RMSD)
      ► Demographic differences (Mahalanobis)

► Result: 418 donor-county distances for each raided county

Analysis Samples

- **Exclude** raided counties with "worst" matches
  1. Los Angeles, CA
  2. Cook County, IL (Chicago)
  3. Harris County, TX (Houston)
  4. Maricopa County, AZ (Phoenix)
  5. Orange County, CA
- **Match** multiple donors based on distance
  - Match with replacement
  - Comparison weights normalized: average weight $= 1$

Unbalanced panel

Table 2: County characteristics: Full sample

	Raided	Never-raided
Panel A: Pre-raid 3-year average (2003-2005)		
Head Start: Hispanics	806	106[†††]
Grade 01: Hispanics	2,593	212[†††]
Panel B: County demographics		
2000 Population (1,000s)	632	115[†††]
Hispanics in 1990 (%)	9.4	5.3[†††]
Counties	207	699

Matched Counties

Table 3: County characteristics: Exclude 0, Match 1

	Raided	Never-raided
Panel A: Pre-raid 3-year average (2003-2005)		
Head Start: Hispanics	920	581
Grade 01: Hispanics	2,976	1,781
Panel B: County demographics		
2000 Population (1,000s)	680	559
Hispanics in 1990 (%)	10.0	6.4[††]
Counties	174	91

Matched Counties

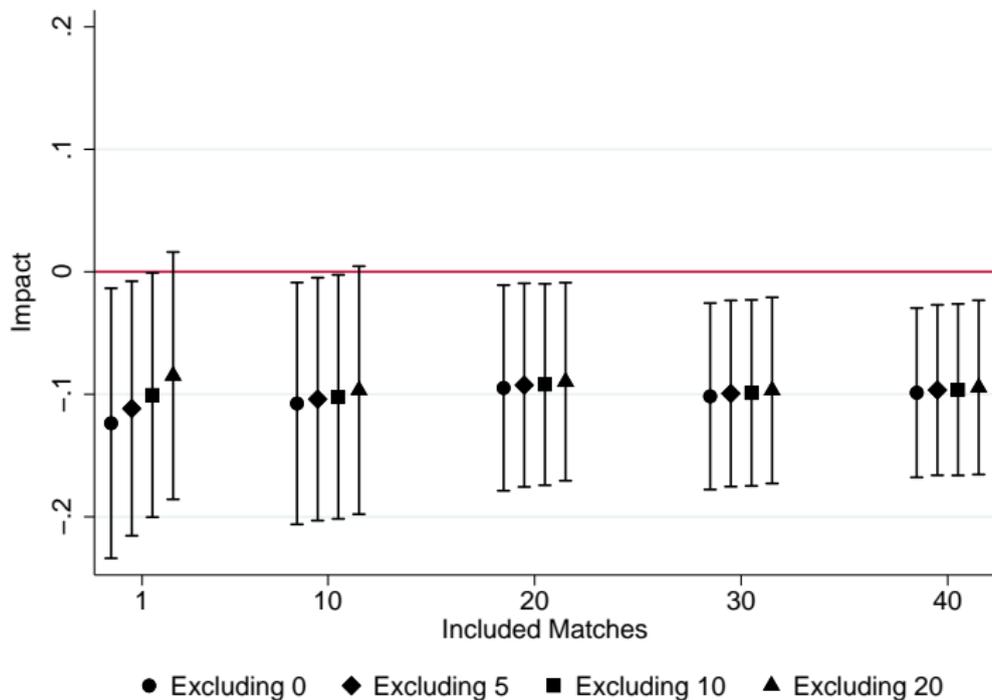Table 4: County characteristics: Exclude 5, Match 3

	Raided	Never-raided
Panel A: Pre-raid 3-year average (2003-2005)		
Head Start: Hispanics	644	555
Grade 01: Hispanics	2,006	1,450
Panel B: County demographics		
2000 Population (1,000s)	557	505
Hispanics in 1990 (%)	9.6	6.7[††]
Counties	169	178

Impacts: Hispanics

Table 5: Impacts of raids on ln(Hispanic enrollment)

	Head Start	Grade 1	
	DD	DD	DDD
	mobility + deterrence	mobility	deterrence
Exclude 0, Match 1	-0.124***	-0.037	-0.086
Exclude 5, Match 3	-0.127***	-0.033*	-0.094**

Head Start impacts robust to sample selection

Figure with x-axis "Included Matches" (values 1, 10, 20, 30, 40) and y-axis "Impact" (values -.2, -.1, 0, .1, .2). Legend: ● Excluding 0 ◆ Excluding 5 ■ Excluding 10 ▲ Excluding 20

Impacts robust to excluding 287(g)

Table 6: Impacts of raids on ln(Hispanic enrollment), excluding 287(g)

	Head Start	Grade 1	
	DD	DD	DDD
	mobility +		
	deterrence	mobility	deterrence
Exclude 0, Match 1	-0.086*	-0.044**	-0.042
Exclude 5, Match 3	-0.122**	-0.037*	-0.086*

Conclusion

▶ We find robust evidence: Raids cause Hispanic Head Start enrollment ↓ over 10%

▶ Suggestive evidence this is driven by deterrence effect: unlike 287(g), raids aren't place based

▶ Builds on research (health access) that expanded interior enforcement harms a vulnerable population

Extensions

- ▶ Spanish speakers
- ▶ White children
  - ▶ Co-locate with Hispanic children
  - ▶ Administrative change to Hispanic and Race in 2005
- ▶ "New Destinations" and other heterogeneous impacts
- ▶ Raid intensity/patterns

Impacts: White children

Table 7: Impacts of raids on ln(white enrollment)

	Head Start	Grade 1	
	DD	DD	DDD
	mobility +		
	substitution	mobility	substitution
Unbalanced panel:	0.172***	-0.001	0.172***
Exclude 0, Match 1	-0.071	0.025	-0.096
Exclude 5, Match 3	-0.010	0.018*	-0.028