

An aerial photograph of a university campus, likely the University of Washington, featuring various academic buildings, a central green space with a pond, and surrounding urban areas. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green rectangle that serves as a background for the title and authors' names.

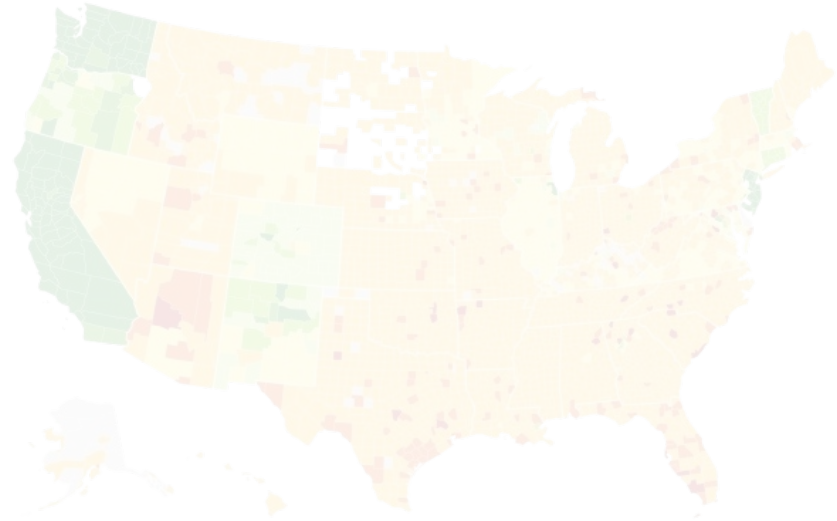
# Immigration Policy & Resistance

Kim Larson, Connor Warren

# Immigration & Policy

What underlying patterns are associated with counties and their immigration policies?

- ❖ Immigration Policies & the ILRC
- ❖ County Context:
  - Demographic
  - Economic
  - Political
- ❖ Policy Associations



# What is the ILRC?

The **Immigration Legal Resource Center (ILRC)** provides resources for lawyers navigating immigration policies.

The ILRC has evaluated each county in the United States for what degree local resources are used to subsidize **Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE)** efforts.

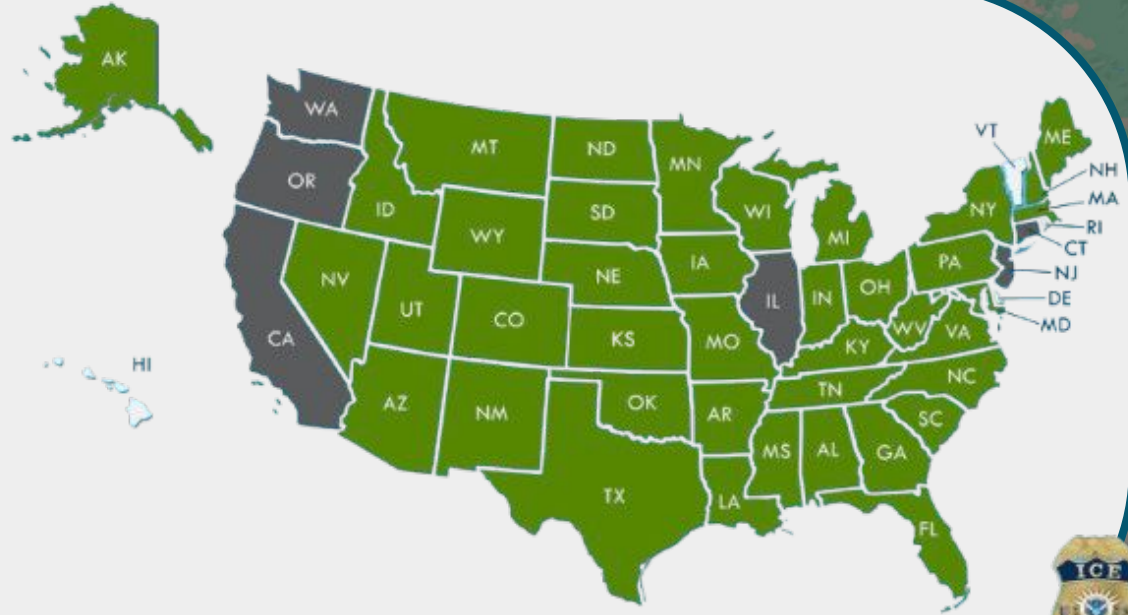
This results in each county receiving a score from 0 to 8. Counties with:

- Low scores are most cooperative with ICE
- High scores are least cooperative with ICE.



# What is 287(g)?

*“The **287(g)** program allows ICE through the **delegation of specified immigration officer duties** to enhance collaboration with state and local law enforcement partners to protect the homeland through the arrest and removal of aliens who undermine the safety of our nation’s communities and the integrity of U.S. immigration laws.” - ICE.gov*



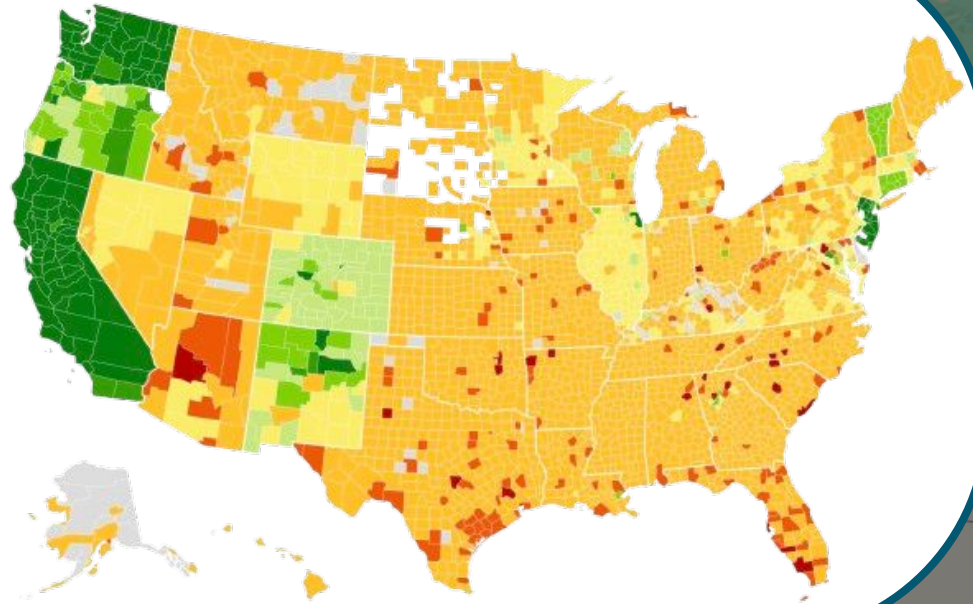
Current as of May 13, 2025

# What policies are behind the ILRC Scores?

## Policy Evaluation

1. *Declines 287(g)*
2. *Declines ICE Contract*
3. *Limits ICE Holds*
4. *Limits ICE Notification*
5. *Limits ICE Interrogation*
6. *Prohibits Asking Immigration Status*
7. *General Prohibition on ICE Assistance*

California **Green** = Most Resistant (ILRC Average score ~7)  
Florida **Orange** = Most Cooperative (ILRC Average score <2)



# Are policies associated with...

ACS

... where residents are from?

Population data from the US Census *American Community Survey*

BEA

... the economic conditions of the county?

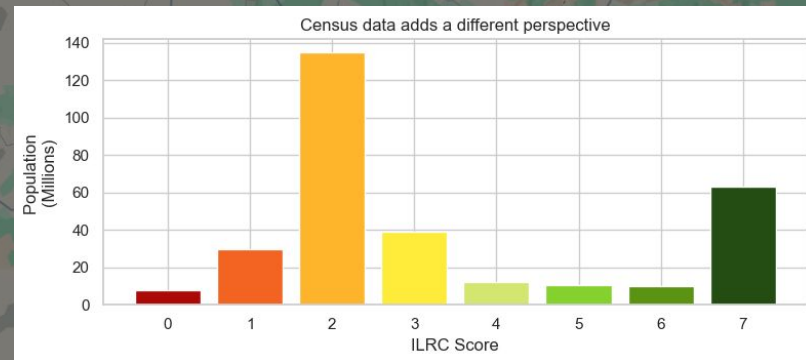
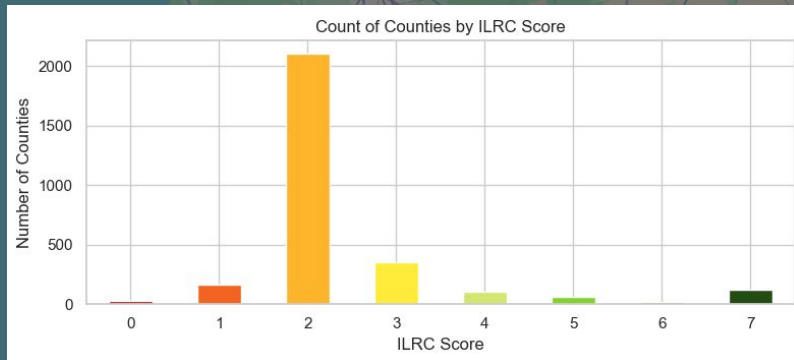
Economy data from *Bureau of Economic Analysis*

Voting

... voter behaviors and parties in elected offices?

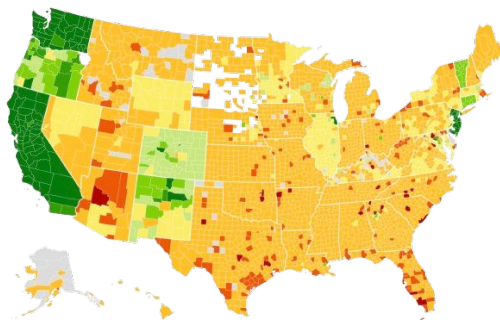
Election data from *Federal and State levels.*

# ILRC Score Distribution



## Most **Cooperative** States

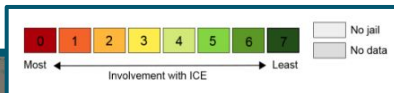
1. Florida
2. Arizona
3. West Virginia
4. Texas
5. South Carolina



## Most **Resistant** States

1. Washington
2. California
3. New Jersey
4. Oregon\*
5. Connecticut

\*South Dakota's high score was due to 44/60 counties lacking jails, not due to policy changes





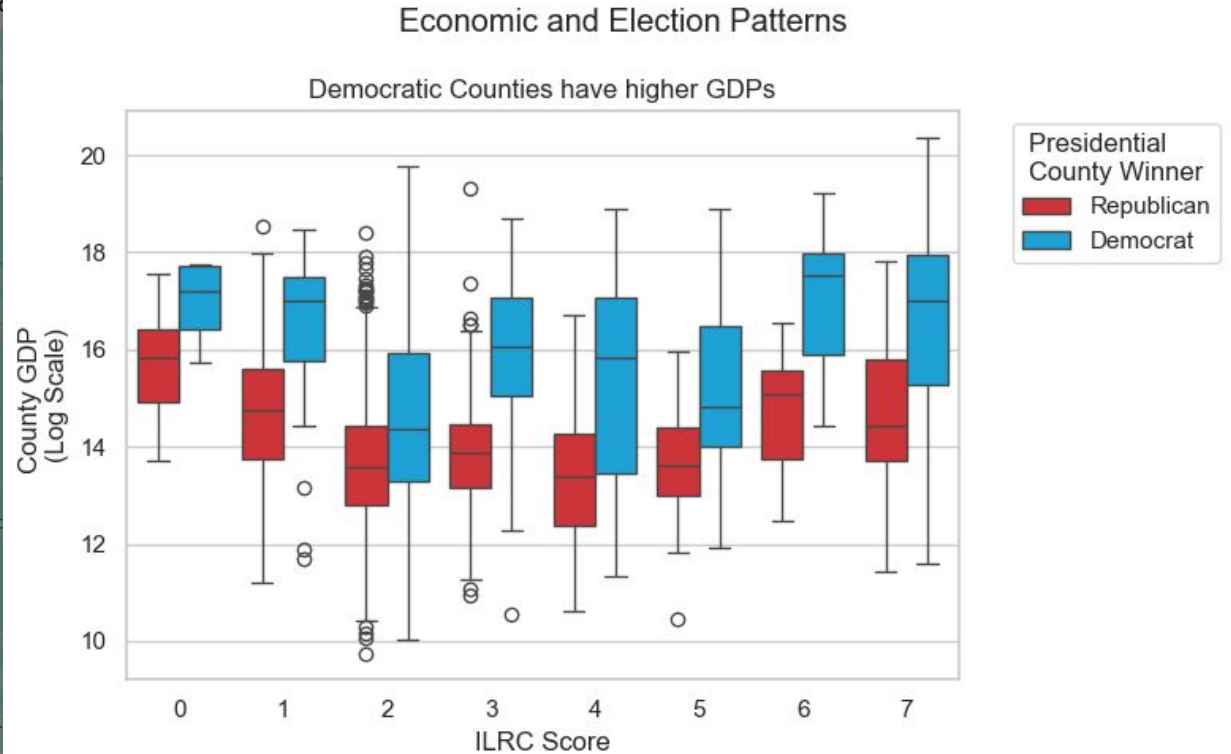
# ILRC Score Distribution

BEA

... **economic**  
**conditions** of  
the county?

Voting

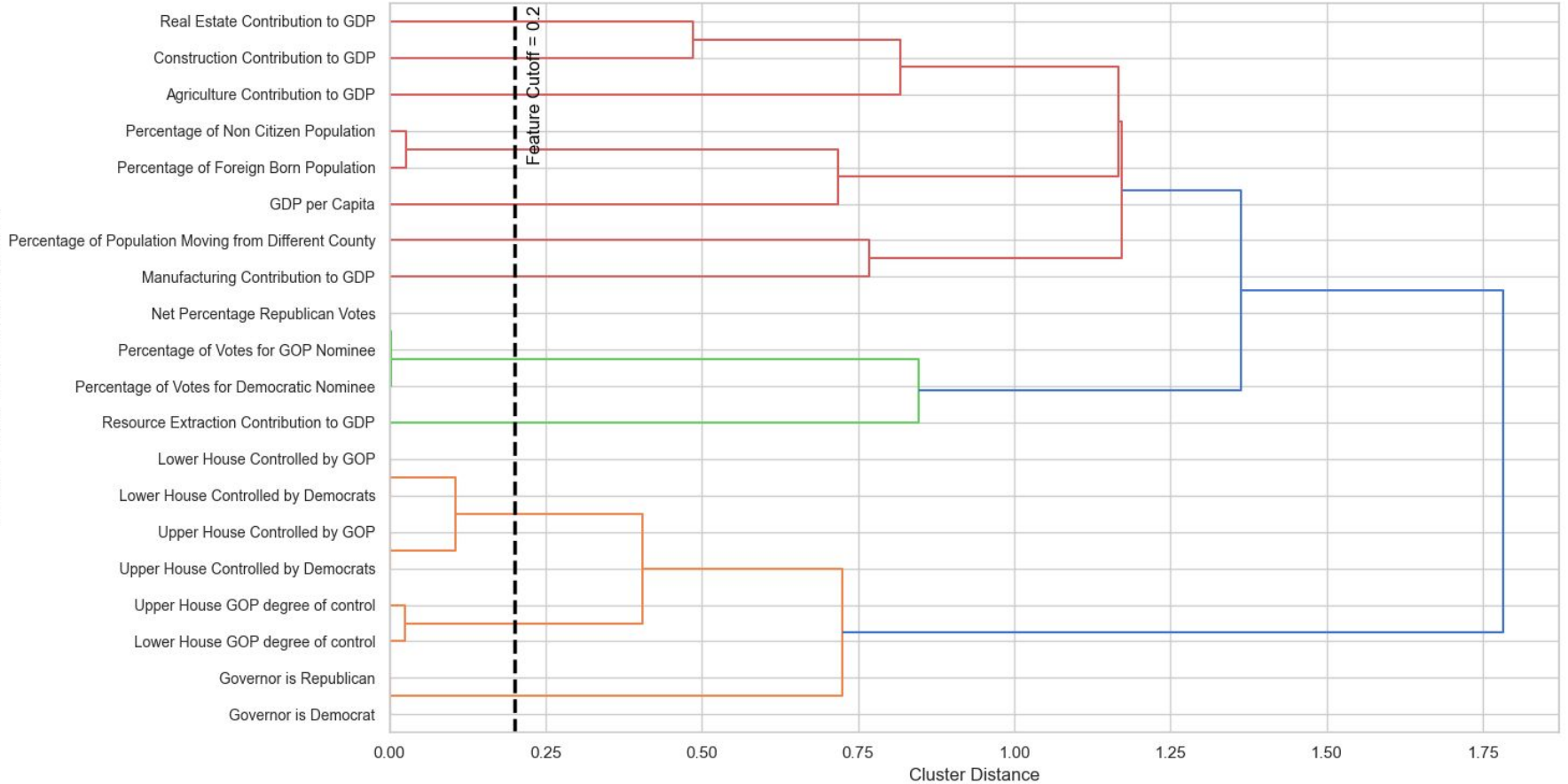
... voter behaviors  
and **political**  
**parties** of those  
in elected offices?





## Feature Elimination Brackets

Possible Model Features for Elimination



# Are policies associated with...

ACS

% of Population  
foreign born

% of Population  
moved from another county

BEA

% of GDP  
from construction

% of GDP  
from agriculture

% of GDP  
from manufacturing

% of GDP  
from real estate

% of GDP  
from resource extraction

Voting

% voted for the  
Democratic  
Presidential Nominee  
(2008-2024)

% voted for the  
Republican  
Presidential Nominee  
(2008-2024)

Governor is a  
Democrat

Governor is a  
Republican

Net Republican  
control over the  
State Legislature

# Control over Legislature Matters

**-100**

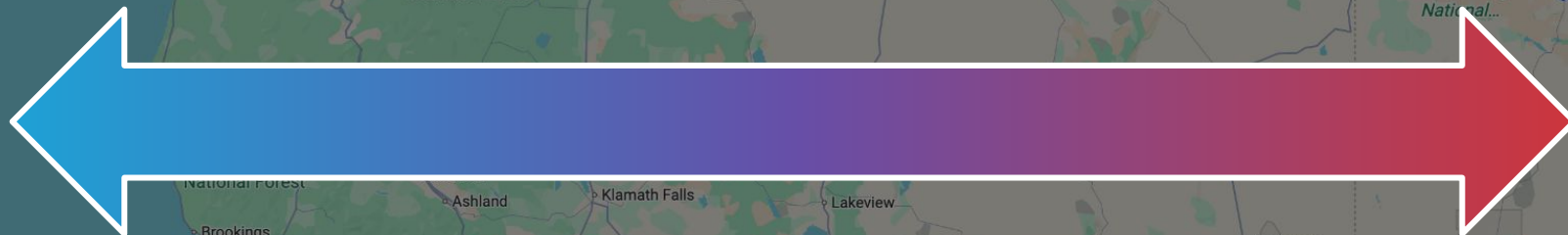
100% Democrats and  
Third Party Controlled  
Legislative House

**0**

Seats evenly split  
between Republicans  
and other parties

**+100**

100% Republican



# The Data Science

A **Gradient Boosting Classifier** (GBC) is an ensemble machine learning algorithm used for classification tasks.

It builds a strong predictive model by combining multiple "weak" prediction models, typically decision trees, in a sequential manner.

**Permutation Importance** shuffles features to see how the model is changed. Small adjustments to the lower house has a very powerful impact on the model.

*Net of the Upper House (Senate) was eliminated in the clustering because it was similar to the Net of the Lower House (House of Representatives).*





County Policies and the State's Legislative Control

County Features

Predictive strength of county features with F1 scores

|   | Declines 287(g) | Declines ICE Contract | Limits ICE Holds | Limits ICE Notification | Limits ICE Interrogation | Prohibits Asking Immigration Status | General Prohibition on ICE Assistance |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Percentage of Foreign Born Population                 | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.03             | -0.02                   | 0.00                     | 0.01                                | 0.00                                  |
| Percentage of Population Moving from Different County | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.03                    | -0.00                    | 0.01                                | 0.00                                  |
| Construction Contribution to GDP                      | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.01             | -0.00                   | 0.01                     | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |
| Agriculture Contribution to GDP                       | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.00                    | -0.00                    | 0.00                                | 0.01                                  |
| Manufacturing Contribution to GDP                     | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.00             | 0.01                    | 0.00                     | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |
| Real Estate Contribution to GDP                       | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.00             | 0.01                    | 0.01                     | 0.01                                | 0.00                                  |
| Resource Extraction Contribution to GDP               | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.01                    | 0.01                     | -0.00                               | 0.00                                  |
| GDP per Capita  | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.02             | 0.01                    | 0.02                     | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |
| Percentage of Votes for GOP Nominee                   | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.04                    | 0.31                     | 0.03                                | 0.00                                  |
| Percentage of Votes for Democratic Nominee            | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.02                    | 0.22                     | 0.01                                | 0.00                                  |
| Governor is Democrat                                  | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.00             | -0.00                   | -0.00                    | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |
| Governor is Republican                                | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.01             | 0.07                    | 0.01                     | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |
| Degree of GOP control over Lower House                | -0.00           | 0.00                  | 0.54             | 0.63                    | 0.73                     | 0.83                                | 0.91                                  |
| Lower House Controlled by Democrats                   | 0.00            | 0.00                  | 0.00             | 0.00                    | 0.00                     | 0.00                                | 0.00                                  |



0.0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 Least to Most Predictive Kim Larson Connor Warren

Why is control over  
the Lower House  
so important?



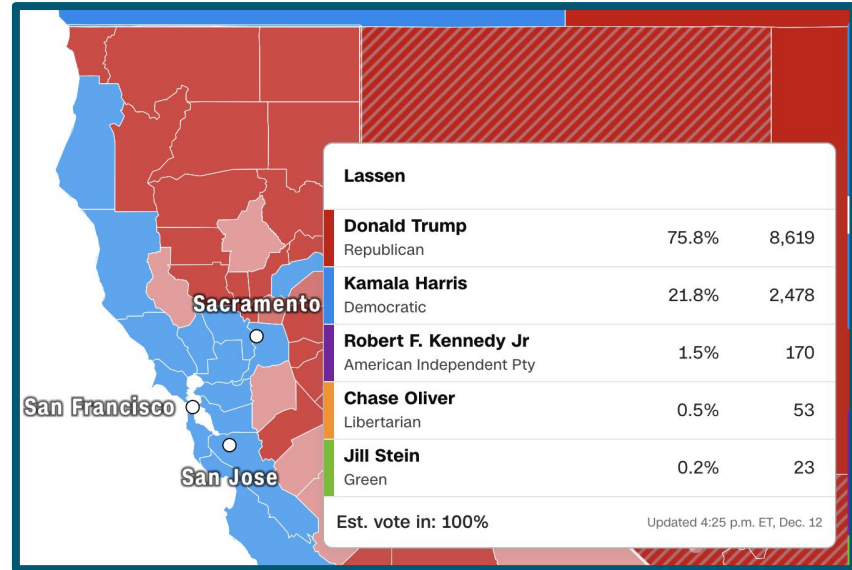
# Example Counties

## Lassen County, CA

Score: 7 (least cooperative)

Votes: Republican +58

*In 2016, Gov. Jerry said no cooperation.*



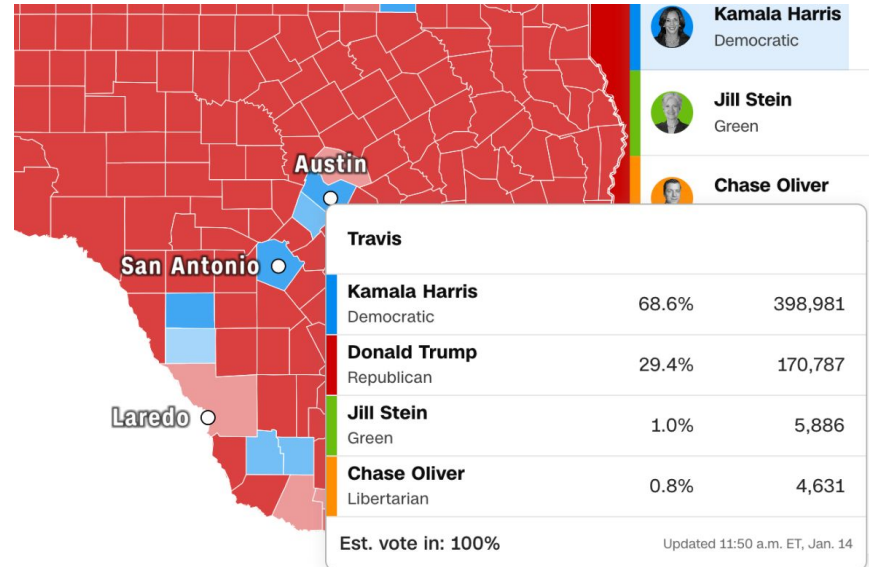
# Example Counties

## Travis County, TX

Score: 2 (default cooperative)

Votes: Democratic +38

*Texas requires cooperation.*





An aerial photograph of a university campus, likely the University of Washington, featuring various academic buildings, a large green lawn, and surrounding trees. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green rectangle. The word "Questions?" is written in white serif font in the upper center of the green area, and "Comments?" is written in the same font in the lower center.

# Questions?

Comments?



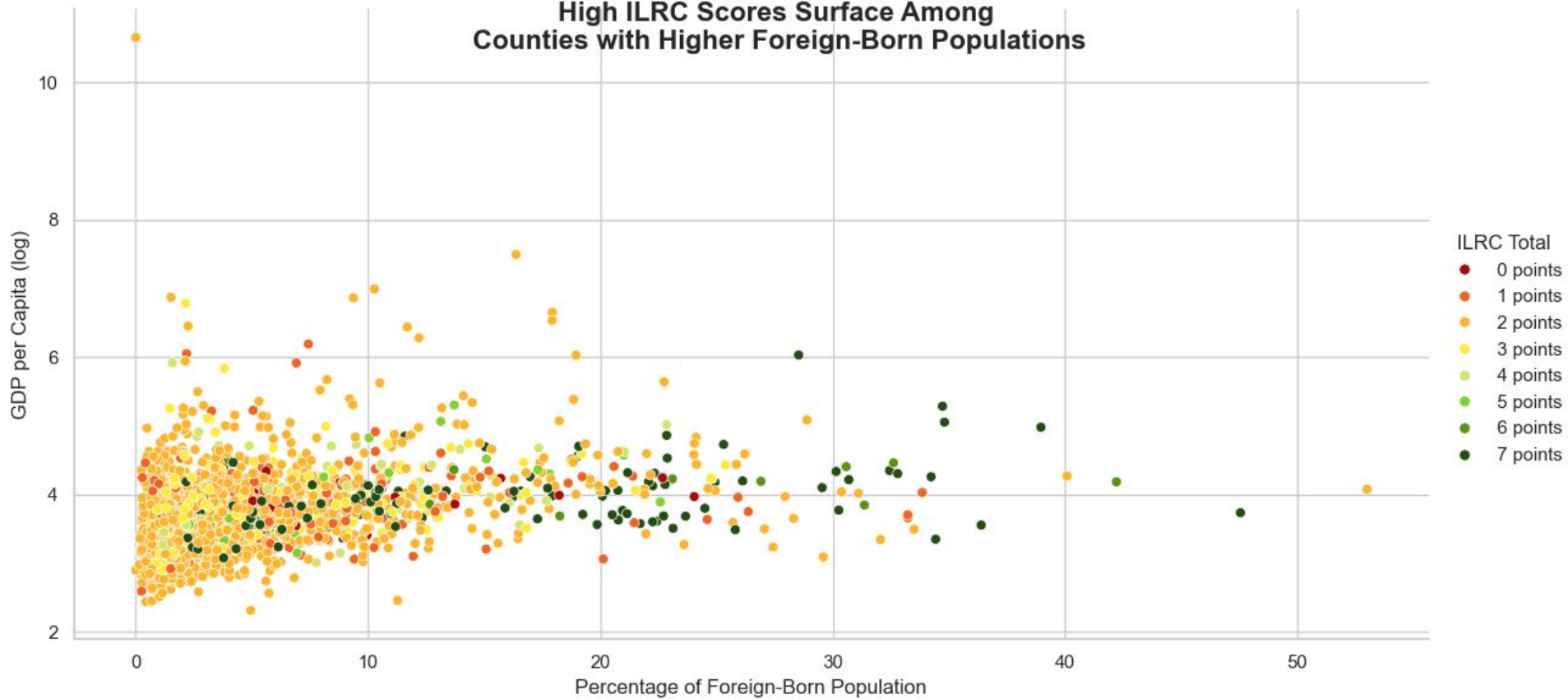
An aerial photograph of a university campus, likely the University of Washington, featuring various academic buildings, green spaces, and a prominent clock tower in the foreground. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green rectangle. The text "Ask us for one more plot." is centered in white serif font within this green area.

Ask us for one more plot.

Winner gets a cookie.



## High ILRC Scores Surface Among Counties with Higher Foreign-Born Populations





An aerial photograph of a university campus, likely the University of Washington, featuring various academic buildings, a large green lawn, and surrounding trees. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green rectangle. The text "Good Job." is centered in white serif font within the green area. Below it, the text "Please Clap." is also centered in white serif font.

# Good Job.

Please Clap.