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Breaking Down the Wall: The Effect of Immigration Enforcement and Nonprofit Services on Undocumented Student Academic Performance

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Abstract: Much of public administration and nonprofit research centers on issues of race and gender, but citizenship remains underdeveloped for a variety of reasons, especially due to a lack of data on the undocumented community. The first research aim of this study is to identify how immigration enforcement affects undocumented student performance. The second contribution is to understand the effect of how legal service provision by immigrant-serving nonprofits comes into play. Theoretically, these services work toward helping buffer the negative implications of community arrests and deportations on student performance. We test our theoretical arguments using a unique dataset comprised of student-level performance metrics of 2 million Latino students – including nearly 225,000 undocumented students – in Texas public schools. These data are merged with county and district-level data that reflect the level of immigrant deportations and the presence of immigrant-serving nonprofits (ISOs) in their communities. This research finds that immigration enforcement negatively impacts undocumented student performance. Furthermore, ISOs can help limit these effects and improve educational performance.

Keywords: nonprofits; immigration policy; education policy; undocumented students

The *Plyler vs. Doe* Supreme Court decision in 1982 ruled that all children, regardless of immigration status, have a right to a public education (*Plyler v. Doe 1982*). Although this landmark case helped ensure the education of undocumented children, it created "blind" bureaucratic procedures of not requiring legal status documentation during the registration process. These procedures act as both a safeguard to ensure

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the registration of undocumented students and a pitfall to measurement issues that leave schools and states unable to track performance data based on citizenship or legal status. Without tracking mechanisms tied to objective performance measures, it remains a challenge to see how undocumented students fare within intersecting systems of racism. Unlike traditional students with citizenship, undocumented students and students in mixed-status households live with ever-present insecurity about the possible deportation of their families. This insecurity has been fueled by the deportation of nearly three million people during the Obama Administration, with almost 2.4 million deportations between 2009 and 2014 alone (Gonzalez-Barrera and Krogstad 2016). Whether it be raids or community removals, deportations have profound holistic effects on communities especially on the children left behind (Juby and Kaplan 2011; Langhout et al. 2018; Nichols, LeBrón, and Pedraza 2018; Vargas 2015; Watson 2014; Zayas and Cook Heffron 2016). These children barely remain an afterthought to enforcement agencies. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) states that they are "not a social services agency" (Bowden 2019) leaving the community to respond with its own efforts. The Urban Institute reports that "community leaders and institutions initiated intensive and broad response efforts to assist immigrant families" after immigration raids (Capps et al. 2007).

Our research is two-fold. First, this paper examines the role that immigration enforcement plays in the academic performance of Latino students-and particularly undocumented students – in Texas. Our second goal is to examine how immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) can help improve the academic performance of undocumented students. We test this by using a unique dataset, which tracks the student-level performance of over 2 million Latino students, including over 200,000 undocumented students, in Texas public schools in 2014. These data are merged with county and district-level data that measure the political and social context as well as the intensity of immigration enforcement at the county level. Our analysis finds evidence that immigration enforcement does negatively affect the academic performance of undocumented students. These negative effects are further exacerbated and compounded by agreements with local law enforcement to perform immigration enforcement tasks. However, legal service provision by immigrant-serving nonprofits appears to affect academic performance positively and may limit the negative effects of immigration enforcement.

1 Educational Performance and Immigration Enforcement

Scholars have studied the undocumented community's resilience, educational journeys, and persistence in higher education through in-depth interviews (Abrego &

Gonazales 2010; Enriquez 2011; Gallo 2014; Gonzales 2009, 2010; Gonzales 2015; Perez et al. 2009), but quantitative work is limited. Except for Hill and Hawes (2011), we primarily rely on the literature examining the larger Latino student population. From second-generation discrimination to under-resourced schools, scholars examine several explanations for the educational attainment gap of Latino students (Arias 1986; Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Gibson and Carrasco 2009; Meier and Stewart 1991). Research finds that migrant students tend to perform less well academically than non-migrant students (Amuedo-Dorantes and Lopez 2015; Bean et al. 2011; Menchaca 1996). Latino migrant students have lower graduation rates, higher dropout rates (twice as high) and are more likely to be held back a grade level (Menchaca 2003). This is partially due to migrant students missing parts of the school year due to seasonal travel but also because many schools do not have teachers with cultural knowledge and teaching techniques that are necessary for this student demographic (Menchaca 2003).

Outside the classroom, home life is a crucial component of student success. Research has consistently found a student's home life to be a strong and significant determinant of academic performance across a wide range of contexts (Griffith 1996; Parcel and Dufur 2001). The effects of home life on school performance extend beyond the immediate home. For immigrant students, especially undocumented students, violence within a student's community can also hurt their academic performance (Bowen and Bowen 1999; Sharkey et al. 2014). The American Psychological Association (APA) notes that immigration enforcement undoubtedly has a destabilizing effect on the communities and homes of immigrants (APA 2018), and that detention and deportation policies impact the psychological well-being of children of immigrants (Zayas and Cook Heffron 2016). Thus, educational psychologists posit that immigration enforcement policies must influence student performance (Sulkowski 2017).

For students and parents who live in fear of deportation, increased immigration efforts heighten fear and anxiety in their community, schools, and homes. Filindra, Blanding, and Coll (2011) find that inclusionary and multicultural policies have a strong positive effect on graduation rates of immigrant children. Alternatively, Dee and Murphy (2018) find that local ICE immigration enforcement partnerships (e.g., 287(g) programs[1]), have led to the displacement of more than 300,000 Latino students. Based on scholarly research and local reports, in both the Postville, Iowa and the

1 287(g) is a cooperative-federalism program that ICE defines as "[p]rogram enhances the safety and security of communities by creating partnerships with state and local law enforcement agencies to identify and remove aliens who are amenable to removal from the United States." In essence, ICE trains state and local law enforcement officers to enforce federal immigration policy. See: https://www.ice.gov/identify-and-arrest/287g#:~:text=U.S.%20Immigration%20and%20Customs%20Enforcement%20(ICE)%20287(g),removal%20from%20the%20United%20States.

recent Morton, Mississippi raid, the effects of detention caused many students to remain absent from school in the following days (Crowder & Elmer 2018, Crowder and MacKenzie 2018; Fowler 2019; Juby 2011, pp. 148–52). The Postville, Iowa raid affected all 220 Latino students who were from immigrant families resulting in about "150 Latino students … missing … school" the day after the raid (Zehr 2008). As immigration enforcement increases, communities living in the shadows are forced to further retreat from doing things such as taking their children to school for fear they might be detained, being afraid to visit the local hospital, to reducing the use of Medicaid (Dozier 1993; Vargas and Pirog 2016). Furthermore, Garcia (2001) also contends that the absence of social resources can have a deleterious effect on school performance and may be one of the indicators to account for educational inequalities among Latinos and non- Latinos, a result of living in the shadows. Undocumented youth, already, live with fear of deportation (Dozier 1993); with increased immigration enforcement, it is more likely undocumented students will perform lower on standardized tests. Due to the ubiquity of mixed family status among immigrant families (i.e. household members hold differing immigration statuses), we expect the negative effects of enforcement to extend to Latino students broadly; however, these effects will be particularly pronounced for undocumented students. Thus, we expect differences in performance between documented and undocumented students (H1a) as well as undocumented students in communities with differing levels of enforcement (H1b).

Hypothesis 1a: Undocumented students who attend schools in communities with higher levels of immigration enforcement will perform more poorly on academic tests than other Latino students, ceteris paribus.

Hypothesis 1b: Undocumented students who attend schools in communities with higher levels of immigration enforcement will perform more poorly on academic tests than undocumented students in communities with lower levels of immigration enforcement, ceteris paribus.

2 ISOs as an Intervention for Immigration Enforcement

A neutral bureaucracy is unable to help redress the factors that lead to lower educational attainment, especially for a segment of the student population that has limited political rights. External support systems can serve as a mechanism to help

buffer the negative effects of immigration policy enforcement on the academic performance of undocumented students. Organizations and their bureaucratic norms and rules can sustain and entrench discrimination and inequities (Breslin, Pandey, and Riccucci 2017; Dill and Zambrana 2009). External services provided by social service organizations may be able to counter this by working against the current harmful norms and rules. Immigration proceedings are a civil administrative matter. Unlike in criminal proceedings, individuals facing deportation are not required to be provided representation. Thus, to fight against a deportation order or appeal any rejection during an adjustment of status, immigrants must find their own legal representation. Scholars note that undocumented students with protective networks, social capital, and cultural-capital-rich environments have higher academic attainment (Enriquez 2011; Perez et al. 2009; Yosso 2005). Discussing how academic resilience is formed, Perez et al. (2009) identify that environmental protective factors are external resources such as "parental support, adult mentoring, or community organizations that promote positive youth development" (154).

Along with academic resilience, students who can access a patchwork of social capital, despite being fearful of making close personal relationships due to the vulnerability of their status (Dozier 1993), can achieve higher educational success. Patchworking social capital (Enriquez 2011) can be made easier by going to community organizations where undocumented students do not have to live in fear of their status placing them in jeopardy or excluding them from participating in programs or scholarships for educational success. In this manner, local community organizations can help provide undocumented students with a variety of programs that are not just educationally related but that can provide resources for undocumented communities to remain in the country. Indeed, recently published research finds that the presence of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) predicts lower local deportation rates of immigrants (Chand et al. 2021). Providing basic resources and programs can help offset factors that decrease or increase the obstacles to educational attainment. In the context of immigration enforcement and deportation, we posit that ISOs offering legal assistance (and in most cases access to other social services as well) to immigrants provide undocumented students with a social justice safety net. First, these ISOs contribute to what Yosso (2005) identifies as navigational capital. By helping provide the family with access to legal recourse from adjustment of status to deportation defense, ISOs help challenge the "illegality" and "meritocracy" narrative applied to immigrants and additionally provide families of undocumented students with assistance navigating the administrative burden (Herd and Moynihan 2019) that is the American immigration system.

While no outcome can truly be guaranteed, the presence of ISOs offers an added layer of protection for undocumented students and their families. This process-oriented intervention focuses on ensuring social justice for immigrants facing

deportation or an adjustment of status. Thus, undocumented students who attend schools in communities with higher levels of immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations will perform better on academic tests.

Hypothesis 2: Undocumented students who attend schools in communities with increased ISOs will perform better on academic tests, ceteris paribus.

With ISOs providing legal assistance to challenge the enforcement of immigration policy, undocumented students receive social justice advocates who seek to challenge the bureaucratic immigration rules. When this is present, undocumented students find themselves in an environment with a stronger safety net leading to improved educational performance. As such, undocumented students who attend schools with a larger network of ISOs within the county will be less susceptible to the negative impacts of immigration enforcement.

Hypothesis 3: The negative effects of immigration enforcement on the performance of undocumented students will be less severe for students who attend schools in communities with a larger network of ISOs within the county, ceteris paribus.

3 Data and Methods

This study utilizes 2014 data from five primary sources: 1) district-level accountability data from the Texas Education Agency (TEA), 2) a unique student-level dataset identifying the number of undocumented students, 3) student-level TEA state test performance data, 4) county-level S-Comm immigration enforcement data, and (5) county-level data on the presence of immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations.

Texas school districts do not directly collect data on the presence of undocumented students; thus, the only measures available are rough proxies. To identify undocumented students, we adopt a method developed by Hill and Hawes (2011) that estimates the undocumented student population in Texas public schools. Similar to other states since 1982, students in Texas public schools are not required to report their immigration or legal status during registration. However, Texas has implemented a tracking system for students called the Person Identification Database (PID) that assigns a unique identifier for each student based on several forms of documentation including social security numbers. When students register, they must provide a social security number; however, if they do not provide one, they are assigned an alternative number in its place. Thus, students are either assigned a PID number or an Alternative PID number. These identifying data are available by race

and ethnicity, which provides us a list of Latino students within each district who did not provide a social security number during school registration.

We obtained data from the Texas Education Agency for *student-level* performance data on all students in Texas public schools, including those who were assigned alternative PID numbers broken down by race and ethnicity.[2] We limit our analysis to Latino students. As Hawes and Hill note, while not all students with alternative PIDs are undocumented, most undocumented students enrolled in public schools (provided they do not provide a falsified social security card) should be included in these data.[3] At the very least, this measure should be highly correlated with true undocumented student enrollments. Since there is no objective measure that captures the undocumented population in the United States, the Hill and Hawes (2011) approach provides a measure that is best fit to capture the undocumented student population using the registration requirements within the Texas Public Education System. In addition to race and ethnicity, our analysis also includes identifiers on whether the student was categorized as 1) economically disadvantaged (qualified for free/reduced lunch), and 2) had Limited English Proficiency (LEP) status. These data, then, include student-level performance of documented and "undocumented" Latino students as well as a district identifier, which allows us to merge these student-level data with district characteristics.

Figure 1 presents the district aggregates of an adjusted measure[4] of Latino undocumented students as a percentage of total enrollments. We see here that, as a percentage of total student enrollments, the figures tend to be highest in more heavily populated areas, along the border, and in the panhandle – an area with high agriculture and livestock production.

We examine the student-level performance on the State of Texas Assessments of Academic Readiness (STARR) exam for over 2 million Latino students, including nearly 225,000 with alternative PID numbers (which we refer to as undocumented students) for the 2014 school year. The student-level data were merged with school

2 To prevent the identification of individual students, the Federal Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FEPRA) requires that masking of data with low student counts. Specifically, school districts with student counts of five or below based in the criteria specified are not provided by the TEA. Therefore, the more criteria requested, the greater the chance that there will be fewer than five students who meet that combined criteria and, hence, will be masked. As such, there is a tradeoff between requesting more student-level characteristics and the risk of losing data due to masking.

3 Approximately 72 percent of students with alternative PID numbers are Latino.

4 This measure is the percent of Latino students with alternative PID numbers minus the percent of non-Latino students who had alternative PID numbers; that is: Adjusted Undocumented Measure = (count of undocumented Latino students/total Latino students) – (count of undocumented non-Latino students/total non-Latino students). Negative values (i.e., districts with higher non-Latino undocumented percentages than Latino undocumented percentages are recoded as 0.

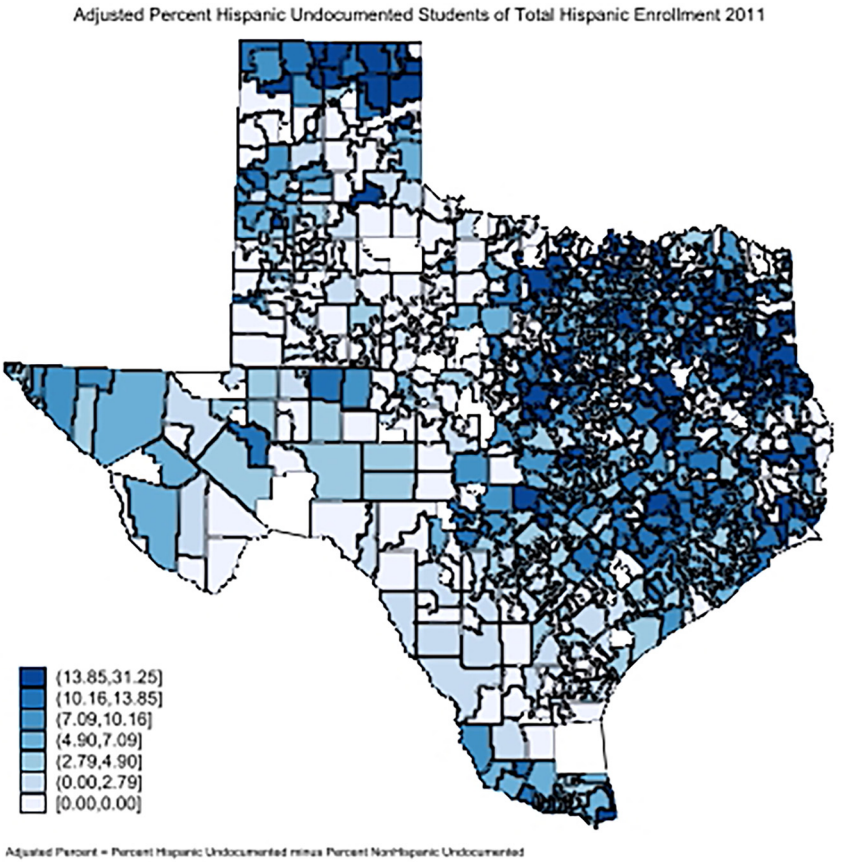

Figure 1: Adjusted measure of percent latino undocumented students.

district data and county-level demographic and immigration enforcement data. Below is a discussion of the variables used in our analysis.

3.1 Student-Level Variables

To measure the dependent variable, student performance, we rely on scaled STARR test scores, the state exam all students are required to take.[5] The exams include

5 The scaled scores covert the total number of correct questions (raw score) into a comparable score based on question difficulty. The TAKS exam also includes tests on science, writing and social studies; however, only the math and reading/ELA tests are given to every grade level, which is why we limit our analysis to these performance measures. http://tea.texas.gov/student.assessment/taks/convtables/

various subjects (e.g., math, reading, history, science, biology, etc.) that vary by grade level.[6] Since students take different tests in different grades, and tests are scored on differing scales, we create a measure for the average standardized score across all tests taken for each student.[7] The standardized test scores have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one, which simplifies the interpretation of values. The result is a variable, *Average Standardized Test Score*, that is comparable across individuals and accounts for how many tests a student took, and the scale used by each test. Higher scores indicate better average performance across all tests taken.

We also include several student-level control variables. First, we control for whether a student is categorized as *Economically Disadvantaged*. This variable is coded 1 for students who qualify for free or reduced school lunches (based on household income). Second, students with Limited English Proficiency (*LEP*) primarily consist of students whose first language is not English, and, as such, they tend to not perform as well on standardized state tests as native English-speaking students. We control for LEP students with a dichotomous variable. Finally, we control for whether the student is in high school.

3.2 County-Level Variables

Hypothesis 1: posits that, due to the stress on immigrants caused by immigration enforcement, undocumented students who live in communities with higher levels of immigration enforcement will perform less well on academic tests than

6 Specifically, the subjects include the following: math, reading, writing, history, science, algebra 1, biology, English 1, English 2, and US history. Tests are grade-specific in that certain tests are taken at different grade levels. Math and Reading, for example, are taken between 3rd and 7th grade, while algebra, biology, English and US history are taken from 8th grade and beyond.

7 To create this variable, we first standardize each test score, which represents how well each student performed on each test they took. Then we take the average of the standardized scores for each student. Formally, for each test j taken by student i, we have the test score X_{ij}. We calculate the standardized score (Z_{ij}) as:

$$Z_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij} - \mu_j}{\sigma_j}$$

We then calculate the average standardized score (Z_{ij}) where n_i is the number of tests taken by student i.

$$\overline{Z}_i = \frac{1}{n_i} \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} Z_{ij}$$

1) documented students (H1a) as well as 2) undocumented students (H1b) who live in areas with lower levels of enforcement. We use two variables to measure enforcement. One measure focuses on actual enforcement level influence on educational attainment and the second captures how the threat of enforcement influences educational attainment. First, we use county-level data on the total number of removals reported to the Secure Communities (S-Comm) program, ICE's largest program for identifying removable immigrants.[8] Established in 2008, S-Comm coordinates deportation screening between local law enforcement and the Department of Homeland Security including ICE and the FBI. ICE reports both screening and removal statistics at the county level. We use the number of total removals (*Total Removals*) at the county level as our measure of immigration enforcement. Since this variable is heavily skewed, we use the natural log.[9]

Secondly, we include a dichotomous variable indicating the county sheriff has a *287(g)* MOA with local law enforcement agencies. These programs are designed to enhance coordination and cooperation between local law enforcement and federal immigration agencies. For example, *287(g)* deputizes local law enforcement authorizing them to carry out a number of immigration-related tasks including interviewing individuals about their immigration status, accessing DHS' immigration databases, and, in some instances, arrest undocumented immigrants (see Capps et al. 2011, pp. 58–59 for our *287(g)* variable). IGSAs reimburse state and county jails for detaining immigrants.[10] We hypothesize that undocumented students located in counties with these agreements will have lower performance since these programs are likely to intensify immigration enforcement efforts. Specifically, we believe that the 287(g) program will have a multiplier effect by expanding the number of law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement as well as localizing immigration withing local communities. Thus, the effects of enforcement should be magnified in counties that participate in 287(g) programs.

Hypothesis 2 assesses how immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) may affect the academic performance of undocumented students. We use a county-level measures of nonprofits: the number ISOs registered with the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) or the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA), (*EOIR/BIA Organizations*). When individuals are issued removal orders by ICE, an administrative immigration judge often hears and adjudicates their case in immigration

8 The S-Comm program was suspended in 2014 under President Obama. Thus, our analysis is limited to 2014.

9 To account for zero values in the variable, we add a small constant (1) to all values before taking the natural log.

10 List of ICE contracted detention facilities (IGSAs): https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/detention/exit.shtml. Accessed March 13, 2019.

court.[11] We collected information on every organization in the U.S. DOJ's EOIR's "List of Pro Bono Legal Service Providers" and the BIA's list of "BIA Recognized Organizations." Organizations with attorneys who have committed to providing at least 50 h per year of pro bono legal services in immigration court appear in the EOIR list. The BIA, also located within the DOJ, is the highest administrative body for the interpretation and application of immigration laws and handles all appeals from immigration court (Chand and Schreckhise 2020). Using the EOIR and BIA lists, we identified whether nonprofit organizations were registered as an EOIR or BIA organization and created a variable that is a count of the number of organizations who meet these criteria and were active in the years observed.

We also control for several other county-level variables. We use a dichotomous variable to indicate if the school district is located in a county that shares a border with Mexico (*Border County*). We control for the size of the *Latino Population* as well as the percent change in the Latino population in the preceding decade (*Latino Population Change 2000–2010*). Finally, we capture the political climate with a measure of the percent of the 2012 presidential vote won by the Republican Party (*Presidential Republican Vote* 2012).

3.3 District-Level Variables

We include several school-district-level control variables that educational research finds may be related to student performance. We use *Total Students* control for the size of the school district. We also control for the percent of students who are Latino (*% Latino Students*) and the percent of students who are in bilingual or English as a second language (ESL) curriculum (% Bilingual/ESL Education). We also control for the percentage of teachers who are Latino, since a large literature on representative bureaucracy finds that co-ethnic representation between bureaucrats and clients is linked to improved performance outcomes for the represented clientele (Meier 1975, 1993). This has also been found in an educational context (e.g., Keiser et al. 2002) and for undocumented students (Hawes 2021, 2022). Finally, we control for the percentage of Latino students who passed all TAKS tests (*% Latino Passing TAKS*).

We use several variables to capture institutional and teacher characteristics. We control for financial resources using two variables: *Total Revenue per Pupil* and the percent of total expenditures that are spent on instruction (*% Instructional Expenditures*). We use several variables to control for teacher and classroom characteristics. First, *Class Size* measures the number of students per teacher. Larger classes will inhibit the time and quality of instruction teachers can spend with

11 Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC). 2018. https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/tools/

individual students. We control for the *Average Teacher Years of Experience*, the percentage of *Teachers with Advanced Degrees,* and the *Teacher Turnover Rate*.

Table 1 presents summary statistics for all the variables in the models. We use an OLS regression with standard errors clustered by county. The unit of analysis is students with district-level and county-level data matched to each student based on the district of enrollment. The result is an analysis of 2 million individual Latino

Table 1: Descriptive statistics.

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Dependent variable				
Average of raw scaled scores (10 exams)	3,386.657	534.766	773.3	6,094.6
Average standardized test score	−0.142	0.770	−5.026	4.621
County-level variables				
Total removals per capita	63.244	172.242	0	5,149.892
ln (Total removals per capita)	3.632	0.994	0	8.547
287(g)	0.303	0.460	0	1
EOIR/BIA orgs	5.687	5.085	0	14.000
Border county	0.116	0.321	0	1.000
Percent change in latino pop	0.364	1.058	−9.775	9.828
Latino population (10,000s)	43.007	24.606	2.0	96.0
Presidential republican vote (2012)	50.902	15.707	13.00	93.000
District-level variables				
Total enrollment (1000s)	48.875	52.087	0.062	210.716
% Latino students	66.398	23.742	2.50	100.000
% Bilingual/ESL students	21.586	12.884	0	96.200
% Latino teachers	38.850	29.921	0	100.000
% Latino students passing STARR	71.794	6.937	0	97.000
Students per teacher	15.868	1.505	5.40	30.300
Average teacher experience (Years)	10.932	2.008	0	19.300
% teachers with advanced degrees	24.425	7.309	0	72.700
Teacher turnover rate	15.748	6.713	0	83.800
% Instructional expenditures	57.110	3.840	17	76.400
Total revenue per pupil ($1000s)	9.878	1.176	5.366	64.422
Student-level variables				
Undocumented student	0.112	0.315	0	1
Economically disadvantaged	0.783	0.412	0	1
LEP	0.232	0.422	0	1
High school = 1	0.553	0.497	0	1

students including 224,665 Latino undocumented students (i.e. those with alternative PIDs).[12]

4 Findings

Table 2 presents a preliminary analysis. Here, we include a dichotomous variable to test the baseline difference in performance between undocumented and documented Latino students as well as to test whether enforcement has an effect on overall performance without considering the legal status of the student. Table 2 suggests there is no statistical difference in test performance between documented and undocumented students. Furthermore, immigration enforcement has mixed results where total removals are not significant but there is a negative effect for the presence of a 287(g) MOA. The effect is modest where students in districts with a 287(g) agreement, on average, score about 0.03 standard deviations lower on their exams. Several other relationships are worth noting. Among the county-level variables, students attending schools in a border county had significantly higher scores than those who were not on the border (nearly twice the effect size of 287(g) programs). Those who lived in counties that with higher Republican vote share performed slightly worse on these exams than those who did not (a 10 percent increase in vote share is associated with about a 0.001 standard deviation decrease in test scores). Among the district-level variables, students in larger districts, districts with more bilingual/ESL programs, districts with higher Latino TAKS pass rates, and districts with more teachers with advanced degrees and higher turnover rate all performed better, all else equal. Students in districts with more Latino students and higher instructional expenditures performed worse. All of the student-level variables (economically disadvantaged, LEP, and high school students) were statistically significant negative predictors of student performance.

Table 3 tests Hypothesis 1 by examining whether the effects of immigration enforcement have a differential effect between documented students and undocumented students (H1a). We do this by running the model separately for documented and undocumented students. H1a predicts that the effects of immigration should be more negative for undocumented students than other Latino students. The results are mixed. On the one hand, we see that total removals have a negative and

12 We performed a number of diagnostic tests on the model, including for heteroskedasticity, multicollinearity and outliers. The variance inflation factor (VIF) is only high for Latino teachers (13.25). We use robust standard errors clustered by county (the unit of common source immigration enforcement for students) to correct for heteroskedasticity. We also excluded extreme outliers (standardized residual >5), which eliminated nearly 17,000 observations. The results, however, are not sensitive to the exclusion of these cases.

Table 2: Student test performance: documented versus undocumented latino students.

	DV: Average standardized test score	
	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE
Undocumented (1 = Y)	0.00376	(0.00526)
ln (Total removals per capita)	0.00330	(0.00417)
287(g)	−0.0279	(0.0147)
EOIR/BIA orgs	0.00192	(0.00167)
Control Variables		
Border county	0.0474**	(0.0177)
Percent change in latino pop	−0.00109	(0.00130)
% Latino population	−0.000344	(0.000317)
Presidential republican vote (2012)	−0.000640*	(0.000316)
Total enrollment (1000s)	0.000119*	(5.41e-05)
% Latino students	−0.000985**	(0.000291)
% Bilingual/ESL students	0.00471**	(0.000299)
% Latino teachers	−0.000354	(0.000273)
% Latino students passing STARR	0.0175**	(0.000630)
Student per teacher	−0.00325	(0.00201)
Average teacher experience (Years)	−0.000582	(0.00188)
% Teachers with advanced degrees	0.000756*	(0.000319)
Teacher turnover rate	0.00176**	(0.000601)
% Instructional expenditures	−0.00223**	(0.000664)
Total revenue per pupil ($1000s)	0.00236	(0.00246)
Economically disadvantaged	−0.211**	(0.0174)
LEP	−0.443**	(0.0180)
High school = 1	−0.109**	(0.0153)
Constant	−0.970**	(0.107)
Observations		2,007,132
R-squared		0.107

Robust standard errors clustered by county. **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05.

statistically significant effect on performance for undocumented students but not for other Latino students. The effect is nontrivial where a one standard deviation increase in removals is associated with a 0.039 standard deviation decline in test scores.[13] Moving across the full range of removals (from lowest to highest) would be associated with a about 1/3rd of a standard deviation decrease. Converted to raw

13 This is calculated via the standard formula for standardized coefficients:

$$\beta_k^* = \beta_k \times \frac{sX_k}{sY}$$

where $\frac{sX_k}{sY}$ is the ratio of the standard deviations of X and Y, respectively.

Table 3: Effects of enforcement: documented versus undocumented students.

	DV: Average standardized test score			
	Documented students		Undocumented students	
	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE
ln (Total removals per capita)	0.00462	(0.00405)	−0.0304**	(0.0110)
287(g)	−0.0269	(0.0145)	−0.0298	(0.0186)
EOIR/BIA orgs	0.00183	(0.00167)	0.00422	(0.00250)
Control variables				
Border county	0.0496**	(0.0175)	−0.0143	(0.0241)
Percent change in latino pop	−0.000854	(0.00118)	−0.00516	(0.00327)
% Latino population	−0.000374	(0.000320)	0.000440	(0.000430)
Presidential republican vote (2012)	−0.000667*	(0.000299)	−0.000623	(0.000599)
Total enrollment (1000s)	0.000160**	(5.92e−05)	−0.000105	(0.000188)
% Latino students	−0.000916**	(0.000294)	−0.000825	(0.000428)
% Bilingual/ESL students	0.00454**	(0.000301)	0.00401**	(0.000807)
% Latino teachers	−0.000355	(0.000276)	5.02e−05	(0.000558)
% Latino students passing STARR	0.0173**	(0.000599)	0.0191**	(0.00115)
Student per teacher	−0.00289	(0.00200)	−0.00967*	(0.00470)
Average teacher experience (Years)	−0.000655	(0.00208)	0.00200	(0.00300)
% Teachers with advanced degrees	0.000480	(0.000289)	0.00337**	(0.00109)
Teacher turnover rate	0.00150**	(0.000542)	0.00541**	(0.00134)
% Instructional expenditures	−0.00199*	(0.000768)	−0.00434**	(0.00134)
Total revenue per pupil ($1000s)	0.00283	(0.00258)	−0.00441	(0.00476)
Economically disadvantaged	−0.221**	(0.0160)	−0.121**	(0.0246)
LEP	−0.409**	(0.0161)	−0.604**	(0.0299)
High school = 1	−0.0952**	(0.0150)	−0.199**	(0.0127)
Constant	−0.976**	(0.112)	−0.798**	(0.151)
Observations		1,782,467		224,665
R-squared		0.096		0.183

Robust standard errors clustered by county. **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05.

scaled test scores, this would be nearly a 180-point decrease in test scores.[14] Interestingly, while negative, the relationship for 287(g) programs is not statistically significant for undocumented students (but is at the alpha = 0.10 level for documented students).

14 The average raw scaled test scores is about 3,400 (although they vary by test) and the average standard deviation is 534 across all tests. A 1/3rd of one standard deviation decrease in test scores corresponds with about a 178-point decrease in test scores (−0.33 × 534 = 177.822).

We find support for Hypothesis 2 in that the presence of EOIR/BIA-registered organizations is positively associated with student performance but only for undocumented students. A one-standard-deviation increase in the presence of these nonprofits is associated with a 0.028 standard deviation increase in performance or a 223-point increase in raw scaled scores, on average across the full range of the variable (0–14). As discussed above, while these organizations do not directly interact with students for daily educational purposes, their existence in the community may provide a comforting presence to undocumented immigrants and their families.

The mixed effects of enforcement in Table 3 suggest there may be a compounding effect where removals and the presence of 287(g) programs reinforce one another, as suggested above. That is, 287(g) programs deputize local law enforcement to act on behalf of federal immigration agencies in certain capacities. This may magnify the "presence" and effects of federal immigration enforcement efforts hence heightening fears and disruptions in immigrant communities. We can test this by interacting total removals with 287(g) programs, as presented in Table 4. Here we see that for both documented and undocumented students, there is a multiplicative effect as noted by the statistically significant interaction term. For example, the effect of a one-standard-deviation increase in total removals is associated with a −0.039 standard deviation decrease in test scores for undocumented students (identical to the effect in Table 3) who live in communities without a 287(g) program. However, in counties that do employ a 287(g) program, the negative effect is substantially larger. A one-unit increase in removals (i.e. one standard deviation) is associated with a −0.172 standard deviation decrease in test scores for undocumented students.[15] This translates to a roughly 92-point decrease in raw scaled test scores for a one-unit increase in removals or a 785-point reduction for the full range in the removal variable.

Interestingly, this effect is also present for documented students, although not as strong. That is, while the effect of removals is not statistically significant for documented students in communities without 287(g) programs, the effect is negative and statistically significant when such programs are present. However, the effect for undocumented students is about 2.4 times larger than for undocumented students (standardized β = −0.072 vs. −0.172). Figure 2 presents these effects differently by modeling the marginal effect of 287(g)s on performance across the range of enforcement levels (i.e. removals) for both documented and undocumented students. Here we see that, in both cases, the negative effect of 287(g)s on performance is conditional on overall enforcement levels. At low levels of removals (below the

15 The marginal effect of X_1 on Y, conditional on X_2 is $b_1 + b_2X_2$ (see Brambor, Clark and Golder 2006). Thus, the marginal effect of total removals (X_1) on standardized test scores (Y) if 287(g) = 1 is −0.0304 + −0.103(1) = −0.1334. The standardized effect (see endnote x) would be −0.1722.

Table 4: Compound effects of enforcement: federal x local.

	DV: Average standardized test score			
	Documented students		Undocumented students	
	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE
ln (Total removals per capita)	0.00440	(0.00409)	−0.0304**	(0.0105)
287(g)	0.210**	(0.0710)	0.361*	(0.145)
ln (Removals) x 287(g)	−0.0599**	(0.0180)	−0.103*	(0.0399)
EOIR/BIA orgs	0.00436**	(0.00157)	0.0106*	(0.00410)
Control variables				
Border county	0.0488**	(0.0146)	−0.0155	(0.0222)
Percent change in latino pop	−0.000989	(0.00109)	−0.00467	(0.00335)
% Latino population	−0.000402	(0.000317)	0.000407	(0.000442)
Presidential republican vote (2012)	−0.000415	(0.000304)	5.55e−05	(0.000623)
Total enrollment (1000s)	0.000154**	(5.66e−05)	−0.000132	(0.000180)
% Latino students	−0.000850**	(0.000256)	−0.000781	(0.000430)
% Bilingual/ESL students	0.00463**	(0.000304)	0.00431**	(0.000708)
% Latino teachers	−0.000375	(0.000237)	3.24e−05	(0.000598)
% Latino students passing STARR	0.0174**	(0.000581)	0.0192**	(0.00112)
Student per teacher	−0.00212	(0.00210)	−0.00814	(0.00488)
Average teacher experience (Years)	0.000652	(0.00218)	0.00441	(0.00270)
% teachers with advanced degrees	0.000193	(0.000312)	0.00286**	(0.000858)
Teacher turnover rate	0.00167**	(0.000491)	0.00572**	(0.00132)
% Instructional expenditures	−0.00217**	(0.000797)	−0.00474**	(0.00131)
Total revenue per pupil ($1000s)	0.00230	(0.00255)	−0.00640	(0.00439)
Economically disadvantaged	−0.222**	(0.0161)	−0.121**	(0.0248)
LEP	−0.409**	(0.0161)	−0.604**	(0.0299)
High school = 1	−0.0950**	(0.0151)	−0.198**	(0.0128)
Constant	−1.011**	(0.112)	−0.871**	(0.154)
Observations		1,782,467		224,665
R-squared		0.097		0.183

Robust standard errors clustered by county. **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05.

mean), 287(g) programs have little effect or even a positive effect. However, as enforcement levels increase above average levels, the presence of these programs has an increasingly large and negative effect. This effect is more than twice as large for undocumented students (right graph) than for other Latino students (left graph).

Also of interest is that the presence of ISOs is associated with a positive and statistically significant relationship with student scores for both documented and undocumented students. However, this effect is much stronger (2.43 times) for undocumented students than for documented students (standardized β = −0.07 vs. −0.029).

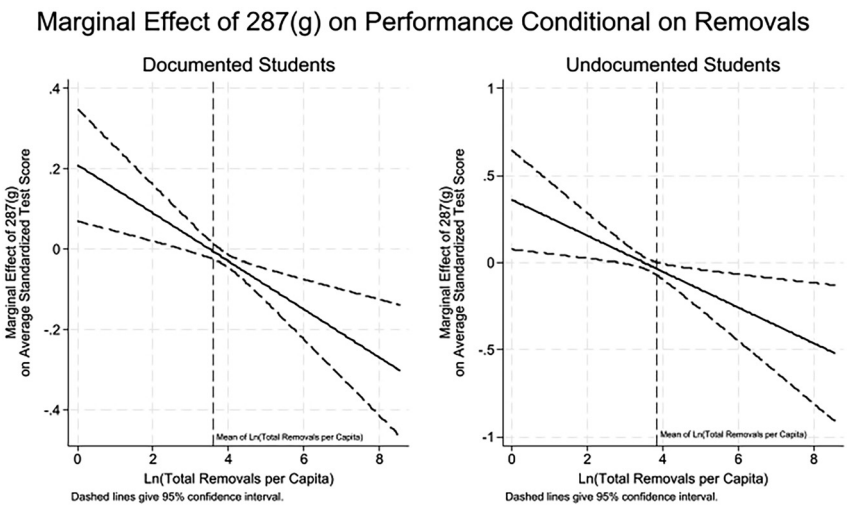

Figure 2: Conditional effects of enforcement by documented status.

This leads us to our final question, Hypothesis 3, which asks whether these negative effects of immigration enforcement are moderated by ISOs. That is, are the negative impacts of enforcement lessened in communities with a stronger presence of ISOs? To test this, we re-run the analysis for undocumented students and split the sample between those who live in areas with differing levels of ISO presence. Most counties in Texas do not have any ISOs, including about 27 percent of our sample. Indeed, in our data, 50 percent of students live in a county with 3 or fewer ISOs. Thus, we use this (the median) as our cutoff. Table 5 presents the results of two models that examine the effects of enforcement for "low" and "high" levels of ISOs. Here we see that the interactive effects of enforcement (removals × 287(g)) exist but only in cases where there are few ISOs (Model 1). Removals still have a negative effect in high ISO communities (Model 2) and it is nontrivial (standardized $\beta = -0.183$) when 287(g)s are not present. However, the compounding effect of 287(g)s is no longer significant. However, in low ISO communities, the interactive effects are large and statistically significant. The marginal effect of removals in the presence of 287(g) agreements in low ISO communities is –1.397 (standardized $\beta = -1.80$). This suggests that a one standard deviation increase in removals is associated with a 1.80 decrease in test scores or a 970-point decrease in average raw scaled test scores. Figure 3 presents the marginal effect of 287(g) programs on test performance conditional on removals for low ISO communities. Here we see that 287(g) programs have an increasingly large and negative effect on performance as the number of removals increases. This conditional effect is only present in communities with low ISO presence.

Table 5: Effects of enforcement by ISO presence (undocumented students).

	DV: Average standardized test score			
	Low ISO presence		High ISO presence	
	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE	$\widehat{\beta}$	SE
ln (total removals per capita)	0.00342	(0.00858)	−0.141*	(0.0453)
287(g)	4.433**	(1.528)	−0.0383	(0.0167)
ln (Removals) x 287(g)	−1.400**	(0.475)	−0.000289	(0.00445)
EOIR/BIA orgs	0.0177	(0.0101)	0.00183	(0.0210)
Control variables				
Border county	−0.0123	(0.0259)	−0.0769	(0.127)
Percent change in latino pop	−0.00147	(0.00323)	0.270	(0.363)
% Latino population	−0.00142	(0.000774)	−0.00138	(0.00395)
Presidential republican vote (2012)	−0.000479	(0.000881)	−0.00243	(0.00527)
Total enrollment (1000s)	−0.000274	(0.000343)	−0.000104	(0.000184)
% Latino students	−0.00126*	(0.000599)	−0.00105	(0.000703)
% Bilingual/ESL students	0.00467**	(0.000634)	0.00435**	(0.000384)
% Latino teachers	2.09e−05	(0.000647)	0.00105	(0.00183)
% Latino students passing STARR	0.0146**	(0.00149)	0.0210**	(0.00112)
Student per teacher	−0.0102	(0.00558)	−0.0100	(0.00839)
Average teacher experience (Years)	−0.00513	(0.00561)	0.0123*	(0.00361)
% Teachers with advanced degrees	0.00111	(0.00106)	0.000453	(0.00137)
Teacher turnover rate	3.39e−05	(0.00160)	0.00762**	(0.00170)
% Instructional expenditures	−0.000785	(0.00309)	−0.00552**	(0.00116)
Total revenue per pupil ($1000s)	−0.00734	(0.00550)	−0.00459	(0.00544)
Economically disadvantaged	−0.191**	(0.0405)	−0.0910*	(0.0271)
LEP	−0.564**	(0.0149)	−0.620**	(0.0391)
High school = 1	−0.165**	(0.0205)	−0.210**	(0.0140)
Constant	−0.450	(0.301)	−0.411	(0.338)
Observations		62,570		162,095
R-squared		0.172		0.190

5 Discussion and Conclusion

The United States is home to roughly 11 million undocumented Americans, of these about 55 % are parents to a child, both citizen and undocumented (Gelatt and Zong 2018). The effects of deportation are both short and long-term. As immigration policy and its enforcement continue to ramp up, immigrant communities have felt the effects of deportation. It is not hard to assume what social and economic effects occur to families, but little is known about the educational attainment of the children left

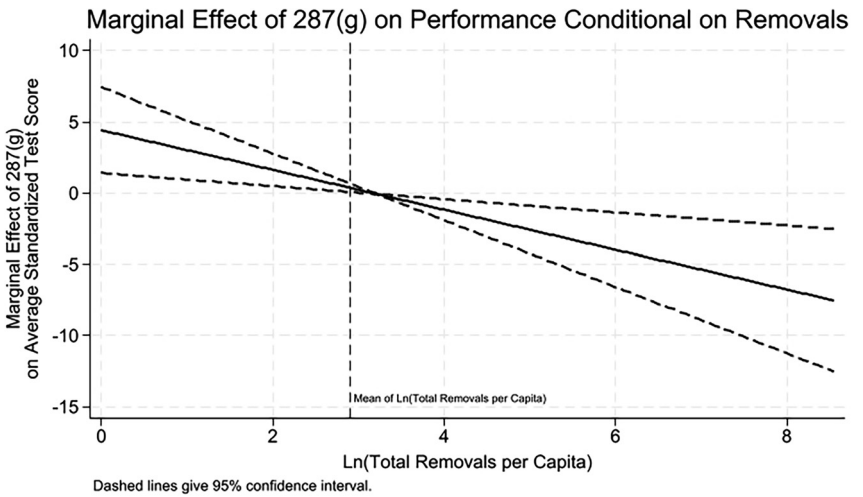

Figure 3: Conditional effects of enforcement by ISO presence.

behind and more so those who must live in the shadows, the undocumented youth. This paper provides an initial and unique examination of the effects of immigration enforcement on immigrant communities and the academic performance of Latino students, including undocumented students. Specifically, we examine how higher levels of removals affect the academic performance of undocumented students. We argue that more aggressive enforcement creates insecurity for immigrant communities and this insecurity produces fear and anxiety that hinders academic performance. A second and significant contribution to the field is the exploratory analysis of how this effect varies by the legal status of students as well as how ISOs can act to buffer these negative effects on the academic performance of undocumented students.

We argue that the presence of community organizations provides undocumented students a safety net of resources to help alleviate this anxiety and, thus, improve performance. Furthermore, the centering of marginalized voices is also found within the social justice component of immigration nonprofits. We focus, specifically, on ISOs that provide legal services. These ISOs provide cultural competency for the immigrant community. They allow immigrants to challenge the U.S. immigration system. This allows the undocumented community assistance not only as a final line of defense in deportation proceedings but also provides navigational assistance through adjustments of status. The world of bureaucrats and nonprofit organizations seem to operate parallel to each other, but as policy problems become more complex and inequitable, their interaction can help design a safety net for the

most marginalized. We argue the interaction of these interventions serve as a buffer to the negative effects of immigration enforcement.

Using multi-level data from Texas, our research finds mixed support. For our enforcement hypothesis, we find that higher levels of removals are associated with lower test scores for undocumented students living in those districts. These negative effects are magnified in counties that have an agreement between local law enforcement and federal immigration agencies (e.g., 287(g) agreements) for all Latino students, but especially undocumented students who experience more than twice the negative impact. However, we find that these effects are primarily connected to the absence of ISOs in the community. Those in communities with high ISO presence are safeguarded from these compounding effects.

This analysis has several caveats. First, the measure of "undocumented" students has limitations since it may include those who are not actually undocumented students but simply did not provide proper documentation when registering. That said, it is currently the best large-N measure available and should, in theory, be highly correlated with the true undocumented figures. Second, the ISOs in our models focus primarily, although not exclusively, on legal aid for immigrants. This is relevant in how it relates to immigration enforcement and removal proceedings, which can affect student performance. However, future researchers may choose to focus more on immigration nonprofits that specialize in other services. Finally, the time frame of the analysis is limited due to data availability. Future research should expand the time frame to include some of the more recent events in immigration policy and enforcement. Additionally, this research attempted to examine how interconnected sectors are working to help redress inequities in the system. This research even as an exploratory analysis helps provide insights into how to strengthen the safety net for marginalized community groups, especially for those with limited political rights.

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