

November 16, 2010

FINAL REPORT

Evaluation Study of Prince William County's Illegal Immigration Enforcement Policy



Project team

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Many thanks to:

- The Board of County Supervisors
- Chief Charlie T. Deane
- PWCPD senior staff
 - Tom Pulaski, Police Department Project Manager
- CXO and senior County staff
- PWCPD officers who responded to our questions and interviews
- Our respondents and informants in the community

Views expressed here are those of the authors.

Overview

- Background & history
- Goals & limitations of the evaluation
- Data sources
- The policy's goals
 - and possible consequences
- Have these goals been met?
 - Our findings, with summaries of key supportive data
- Overall summary of findings

Background and history

- July 2007: BOCS passes initial resolution regarding immigration
- October 2007: BOCS passes original Immigration Policy
 - BOCS determines outside evaluation of policy is needed
 - BOCS includes funding for outside evaluation
- BOCS modifies policy: April 2008
- Modified policy is implemented: July 2008
- Interim Report: August 2009
- Report on 2009 Citizen Survey: September 2009
- Report on 2010 Citizen Survey: September 2010
- Final report release date: November 16, 2010

The current policy:

“Officers *shall* investigate the citizenship or immigration status of all persons who are arrested for a violation of a state law or county ordinance when such arrest results in a physical custodial arrest.”

PWCPD General Order 45.01
Implementing BOCS resolution, April 2008

Our task

- “Assess the effectiveness of the implementation of the new general order with respect to community outcomes, enforcement data, workload and the prevention of racial profiling.”

--BOCS resolution, 10/16/2007

- “Provide a multi-faceted evaluation of the [County’s] Immigration Enforcement Policy and its effects during a two year monitoring period.”

--Final project specifications

Some limitations

- No solid baseline we can compare PWC with
 - But some police data can be examined from earlier years
 - Sharp breaks in trend lines are suggestive
- No “control group” or comparison County
 - Immigration policies vary across nearby localities
 - But we can compare patterns in PWC to other localities in the region, or to the rest of the metro area
- Immigration status not recorded in most police records
 - Not in other available data sources, either
 - Only known for those checked by PWC police after March 2008
- Direct surveys of illegal immigrants not feasible

More limitations

- Important and rapid changes in the environment
 - Changing demographics in PWC
 - Decline in new construction in PWC
 - The mortgage crisis
 - General economic slowdown
 - National immigration policy in flux
 - Shifts in public opinion
 - Strong media interest and attention
 - Including recent media surge in summer 2010
- Therefore: Due care must be observed in attributing changes in the community to the County policy itself
 - But some clear conclusions are possible when multiple data sources are used

Methods and data sources

Quantitative
&
Qualitative

Quantitative data sources

- Collection of data from departmental records and systems
 - Crime reports [PWCPD, UCR data, COG data, *Crime in Virginia*]
 - Calls for service data from PWCPD
 - Field interview/observation cards
 - RMS data on arrests by PWCPD
 - Neighborhood services, school data
- The annual PWC Citizen Survey, 1993-2010
 - Including questions about the policy added in 2008 and 2009
- Surveys of police officers in Fall of 2008, 2009
- A survey of police departments in 46 localities throughout the metropolitan region

more . . .

More quantitative sources

- U. S. Census Bureau data
 - Decennial census for all localities
 - American Community Survey
 - Yearly data for Prince William 2006 – 2009
 - No data for Manassas or Manassas Park
 - Public Use Micro Sample data from ACS
 - Allows custom analysis on our choice of variables
 - Home mortgage data from HMDA public files
 - Counts mortgage applications from Hispanics, by census tract

Varying geography

- The evaluation draws on data from many sources
- Some data sources combine PWC with Manassas and Manassas Park (“PWC + cities”)
 - Others treat them separately
- Some crime data are available only for Virginia localities
 - Others include DC, and Maryland localities in the metro DC data

We show whatever data are relevant, allowing geography to vary by data source.

Qualitative data sources

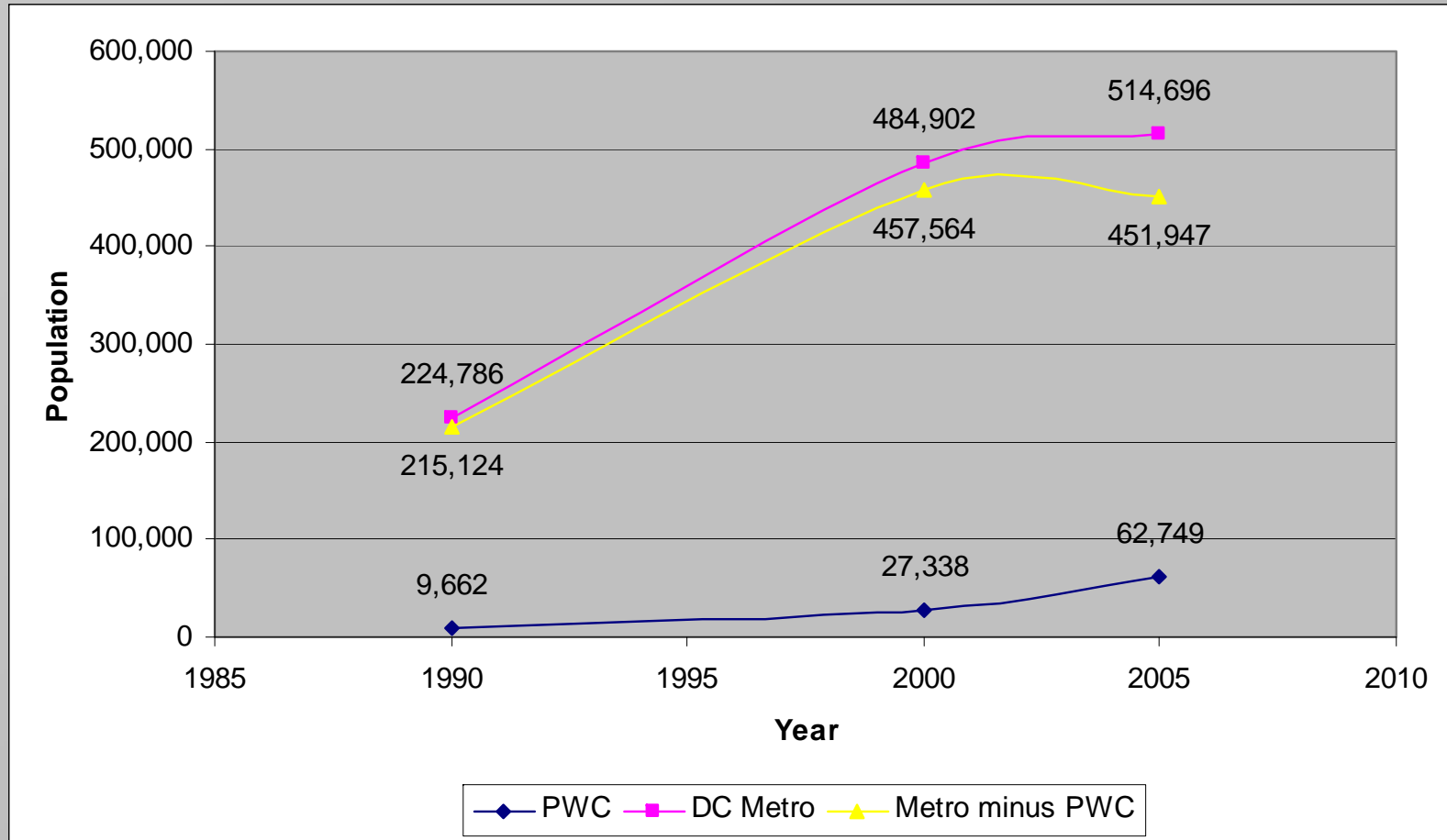
- Focus groups
 - Police officers at various levels
 - Criminal Alien Unit
 - Adult detention center
 - Focus groups with Hispanic residents (September 2010)
- “Key informant” and stakeholder interviews
 - County Board, County staff
 - Community groups on all sides
 - Immigrants (through churches)
 - Business leaders
 - Semi-structured interviews with random respondents to citizen survey
 - Hispanic respondents selected for follow-up, some in Spanish
- Observation
 - At the jail
 - “Ride-alongs” with patrol officers

Studying a “hidden” population

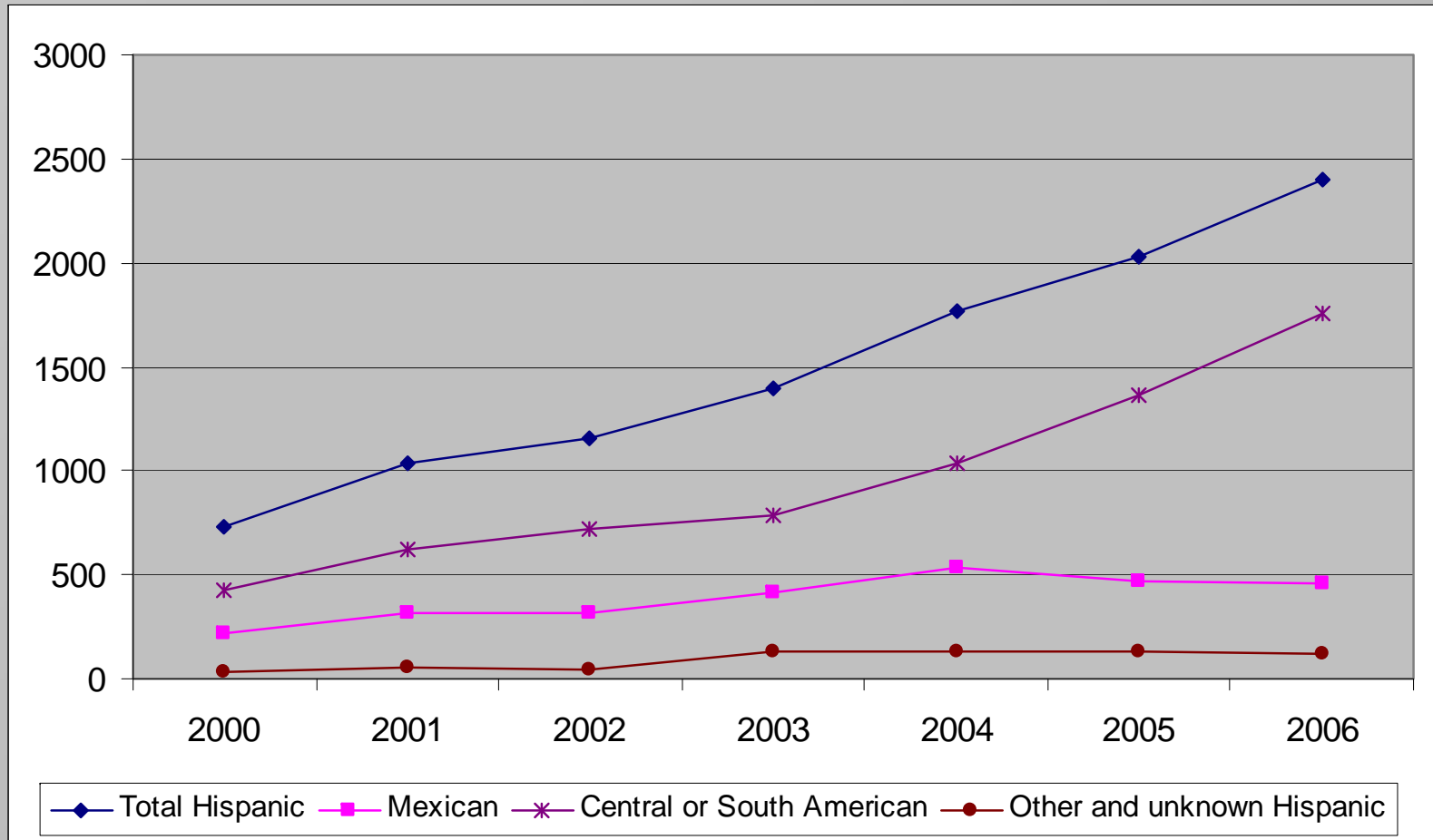
- We don't know which individuals are in the U.S. illegally
 - But we know quite a bit about illegals as a group
- PWC is a diverse county; many nationalities are represented
 - About 13% of all residents are non-citizens
 - About 20% of all residents are Hispanic
- 50% of PWC Hispanics are citizens; 50% are not
 - Non-citizens include those who are here illegally and legally
- 73% of PWC non-citizens are Hispanic
 - 26% of these from Mexico, 74% other countries
- Hispanic percent of PWC illegal immigrants is: ???
 - But: most Hispanics in PWC are in the U.S. legally

Background trends

Growth in Hispanic population 1990-2005



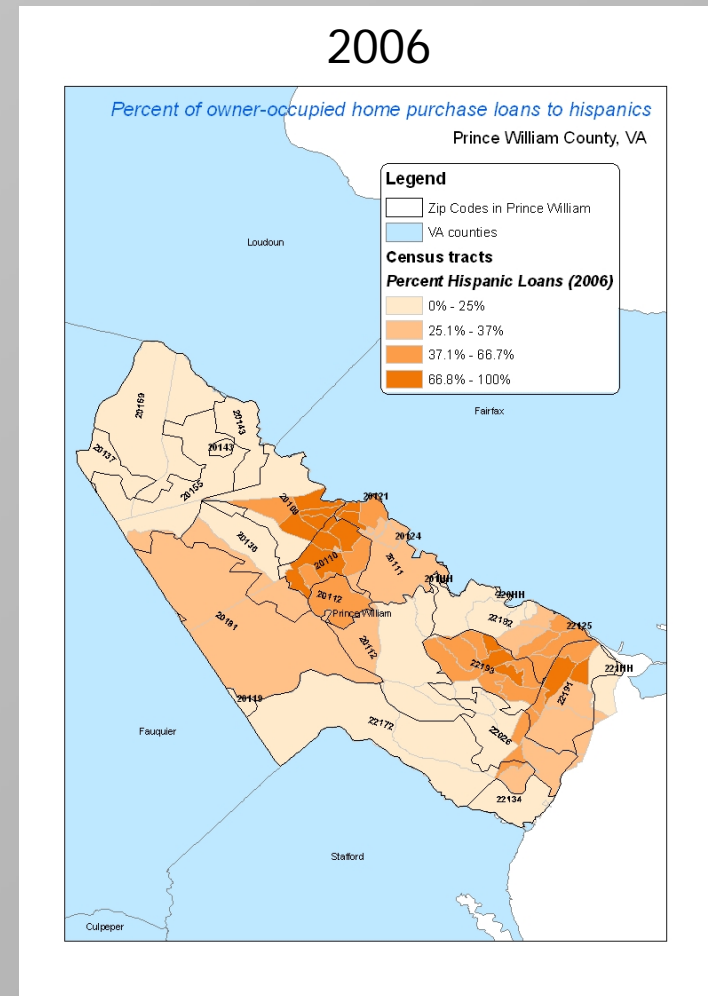
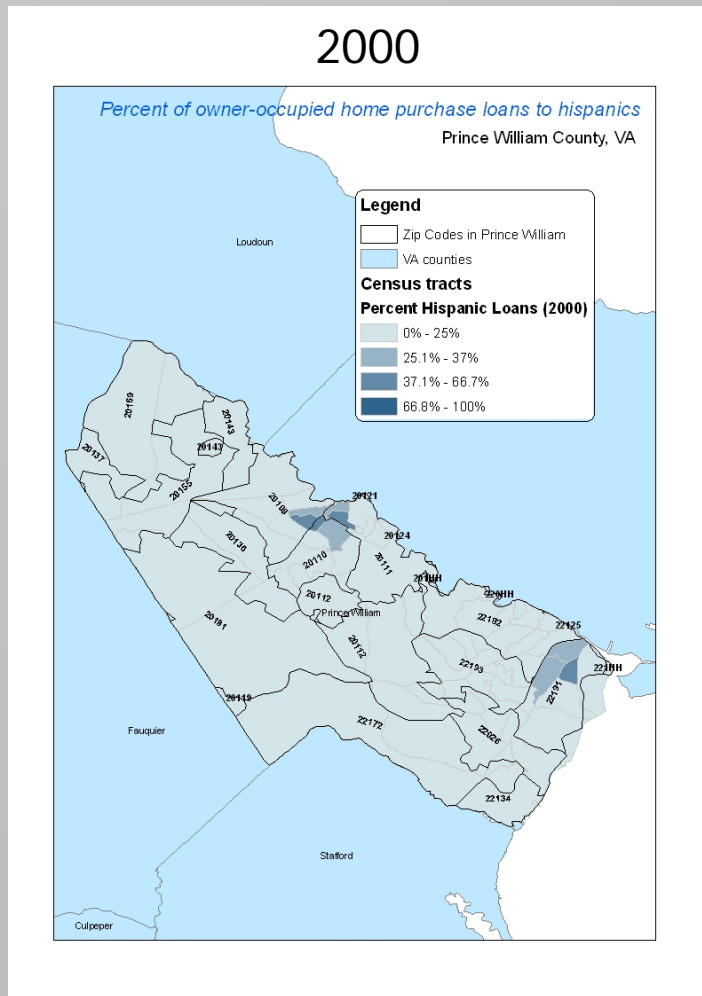
Births to Hispanic Mothers in PWC by Mother's Country of Origin



UVa CSR & PERF

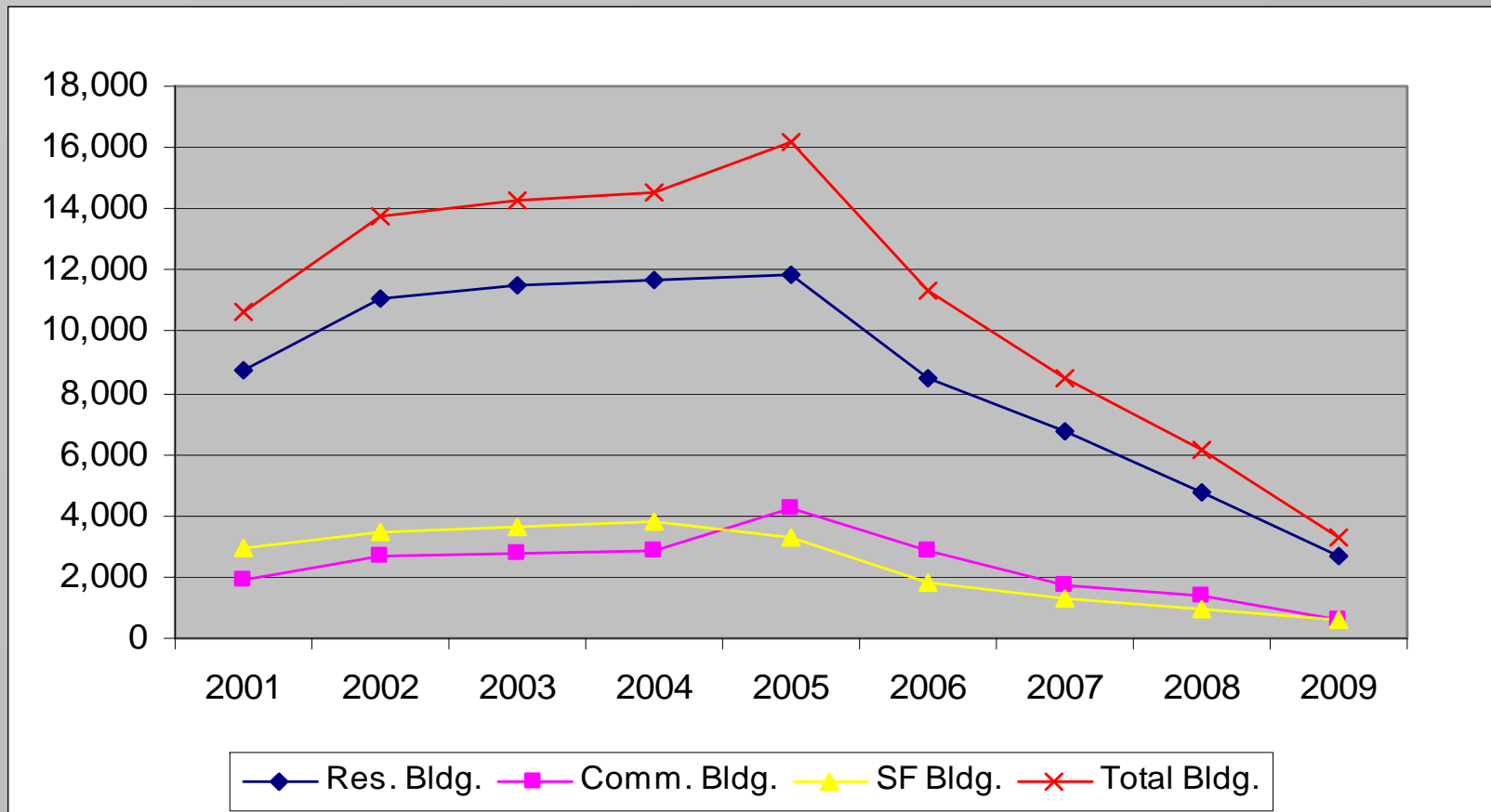
Source: Virginia Dept. of Health

Home Purchase Loans to Hispanics: Change Between 2000-2006



Source: CSR analysis of HMDA data files

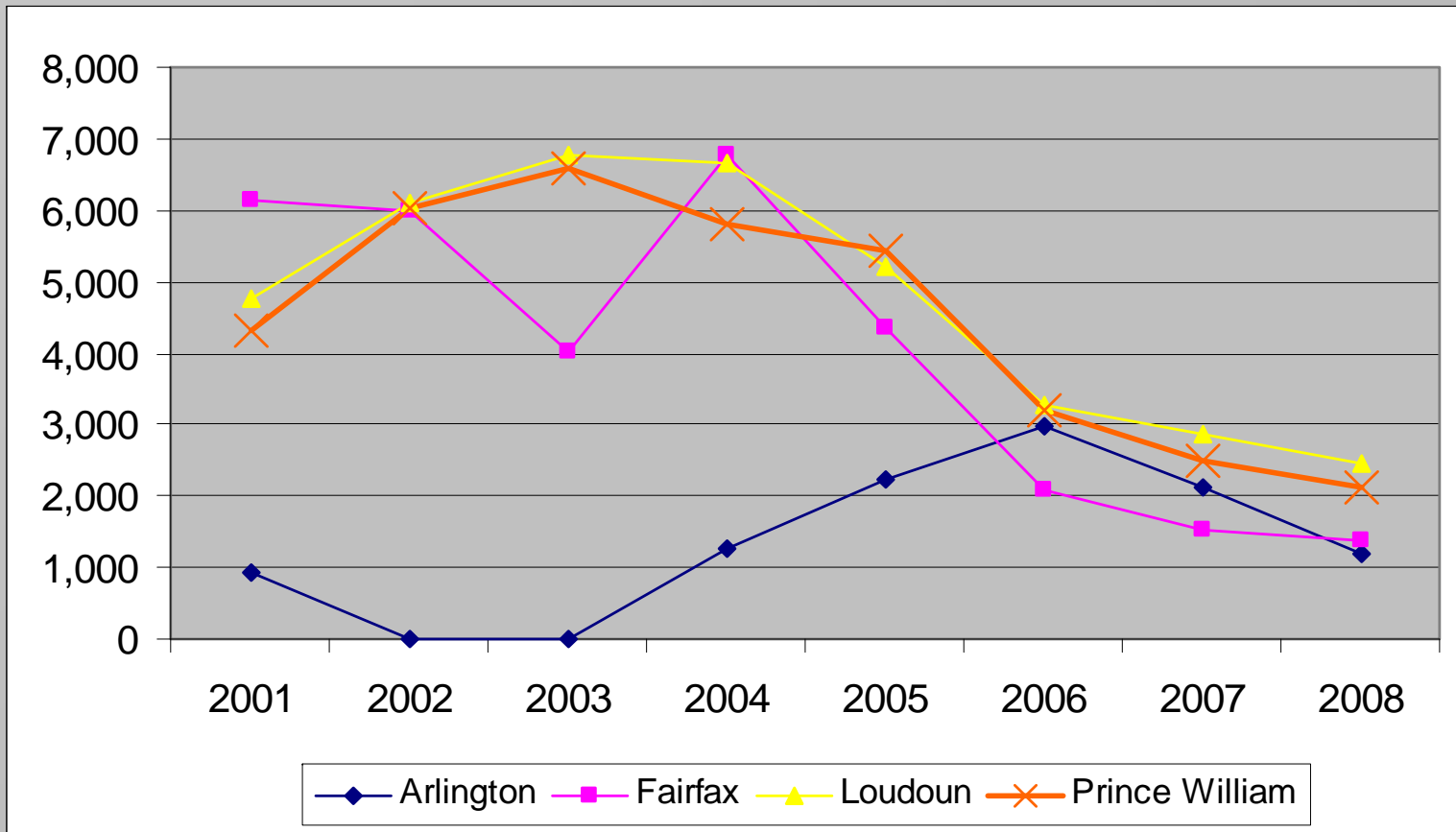
Building Permits in PWC 2001-2009



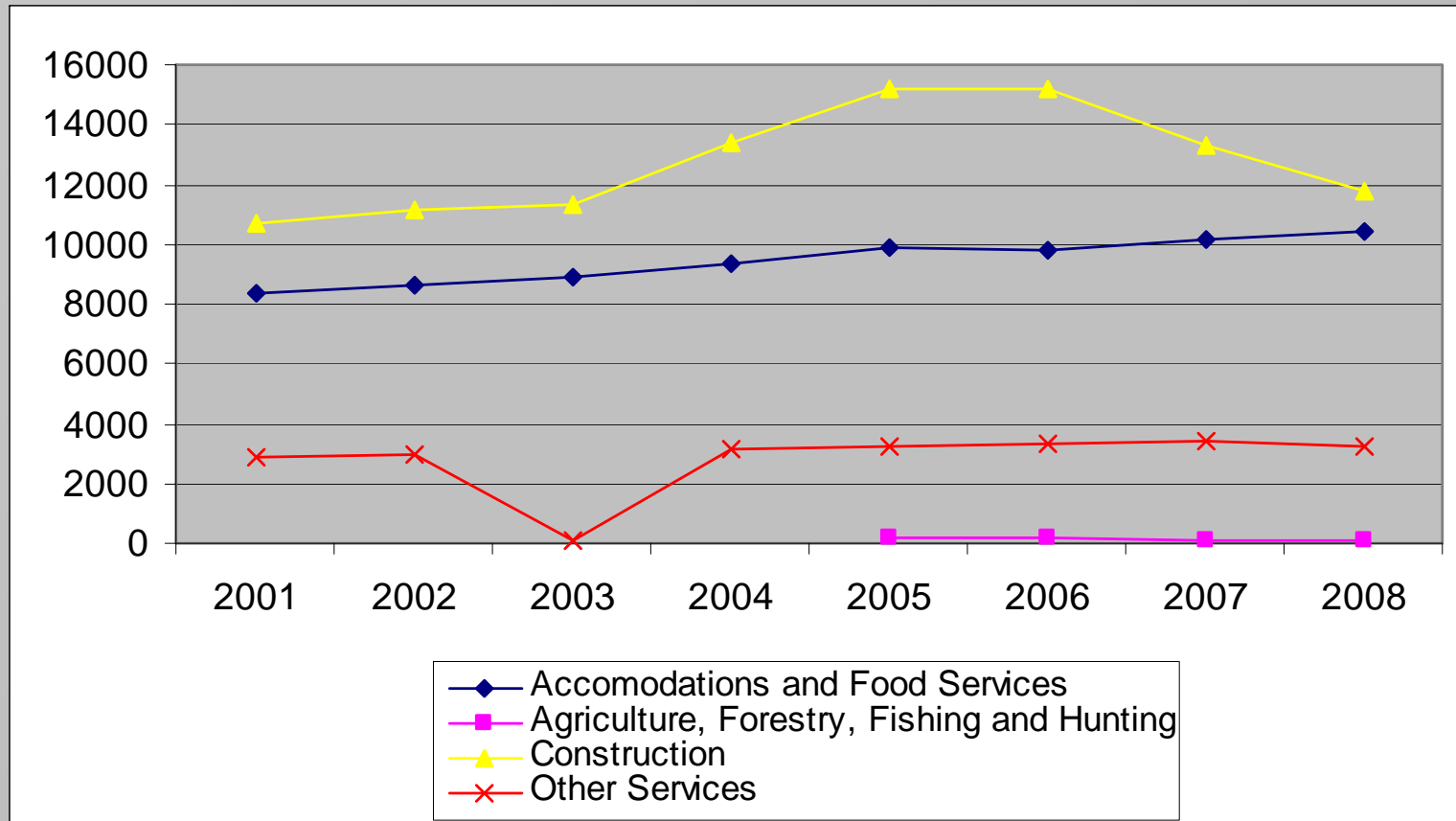
UVa CSR & PERF

Source: PWC Public Works

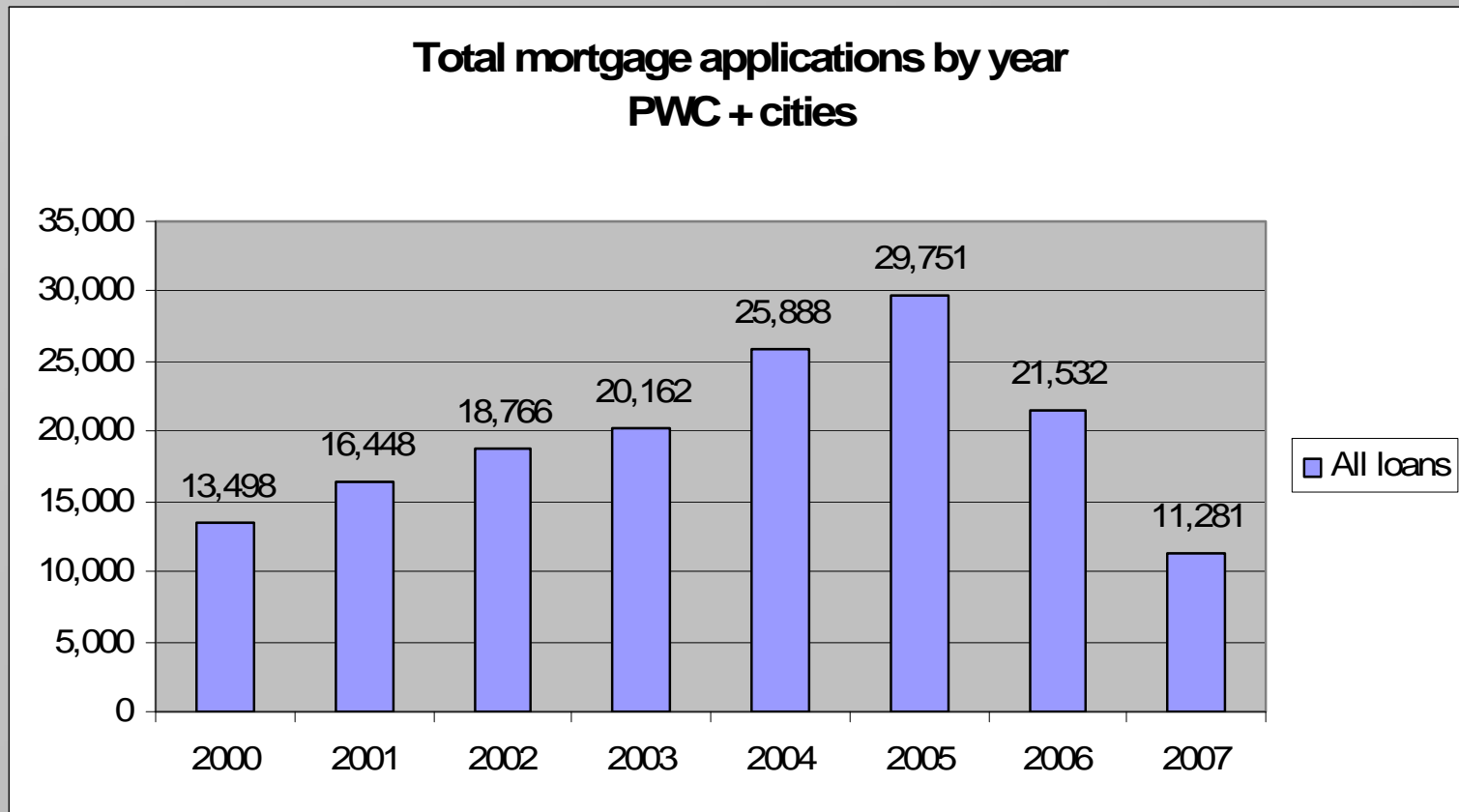
Residential Construction Across Counties



PWC Employment in Selected Industries



The mortgage boom and bust



Defining the goals of the policy

What are the goals of the County's immigration policy?

- 1) Improve public safety;
- 2) Reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the county;
- 3) Save money by delivering fewer services to illegal immigrants;
- 4) Reduce overcrowded housing and public disorder,
 - such as loitering at day labor sites and public intoxication;
- 5) Maintain PWCPD reputation for professionalism
 - And community confidence and trust in police;
- 6) Maintain County's reputation as an inclusive community
 - Internally (PWC residents) and externally (elsewhere)

Possible other consequences?

- Overzealous police enforcement?
- Costly litigation?
- Overburden PWCPD, unanticipated costs?
- Create fear and a sense of being unwelcome among immigrants in general?
- Cause immigrants (including legal immigrants), or Hispanics generally, to leave or avoid the county?
- Lower crime reporting?
 - Resulting in greater victimization among immigrants?
- Capacity of jail, courts, ICE overwhelmed?

Our Evaluation

How do the outcomes stack up against the policy's several goals?

UVA, PERF, JMU conclude . . .

- The Prince William County illegal immigration enforcement policy:
 - Was smoothly implemented by PWCPD and County staff
 - Had wide-ranging effects
 - Some of these effects were those intended
 - Some of the policy's goals were not achieved
 - Had few of the unintended consequences that some had feared

It IS possible for a local government to have an impact on its illegal immigration experience.

Smooth Implementation by the Police Department

- PWCPD prepared carefully, consulted with legal counsel, developed training materials
- Every officer trained before policy went into effect (Jan – Feb 2008)
 - 4,884 officer-hours devoted to this training
- Criminal Alien Unit created, trained in 287g program
- Change in the policy in July 2008 eased the risk of racial profiling complaints
 - No lawsuits directly alleging racial profiling have been filed
 - One lawsuit peripherally mentions racial profiling; court dismissed those allegations
 - Potential for other negative effects was lessened by this change
- All were re-trained for policy revision, May 2008
 - 500 officer-hours

2008 Officer Survey showed: Effective training

Statement	Strongly Agree or Agree
Currently, I believe it is clear how to implement the PWC immigration policy.	83.9%
I believe I have enough knowledge about the current policy to enforce this policy correctly.	85.0%
The training I have been provided by the PWPCD has adequately prepared me to enforce the PWC immigration policy.	82.3%
When appropriate, I have the necessary skills to ask immigration status questions.	88.9%
I have the necessary skills to review identification (e.g., driver's license) for fakes.	78.5%

2009 re-survey of officers showed virtually identical results.

Source: Officer survey Fall 2008, N=379

PWCPD Community Outreach

- Board directed extensive community education
 - Particularly with minority groups
- Nearly 200 meetings with community groups & media
 - Many attended by Chief Deane and Senior Police Officials
- Meetings with over 300 County employees
- Pamphlets and media coverage, website info
 - English and Spanish versions
- Emphasizing:
 - Focus on those who commit crimes
 - Protection for crime victims and those who report crime
 - No racial profiling

Contacts with Suspected Illegal Immigrants

- About 3,000 contacts March 2008 – June 2010
 - Average of 107 contacts per month
- Under current policy, 83% of recorded contacts with illegal immigrants are through arrest
 - July 2008 – June 2010
- 99% of suspected illegal immigrants were confirmed to be illegal

2009 Police Focus Groups

- Reports from all levels of department:
 - The policy has become a routine part of police business
 - Any extra burden on officers from executing policy seems to be well accommodated
 - Burden on senior staff has diminished from initial year of frantic activity
 - But immigration issues still require their frequent attention
 - Community relations seem to be improving over initial reaction
 - Hispanics responding more positively to police
 - No increased difficulty in recruiting minorities to PD and County
 - Not sure if level of crime reporting has been affected
 - CAU plays a useful, specialized role

Continuing effort required: Senior police staff views

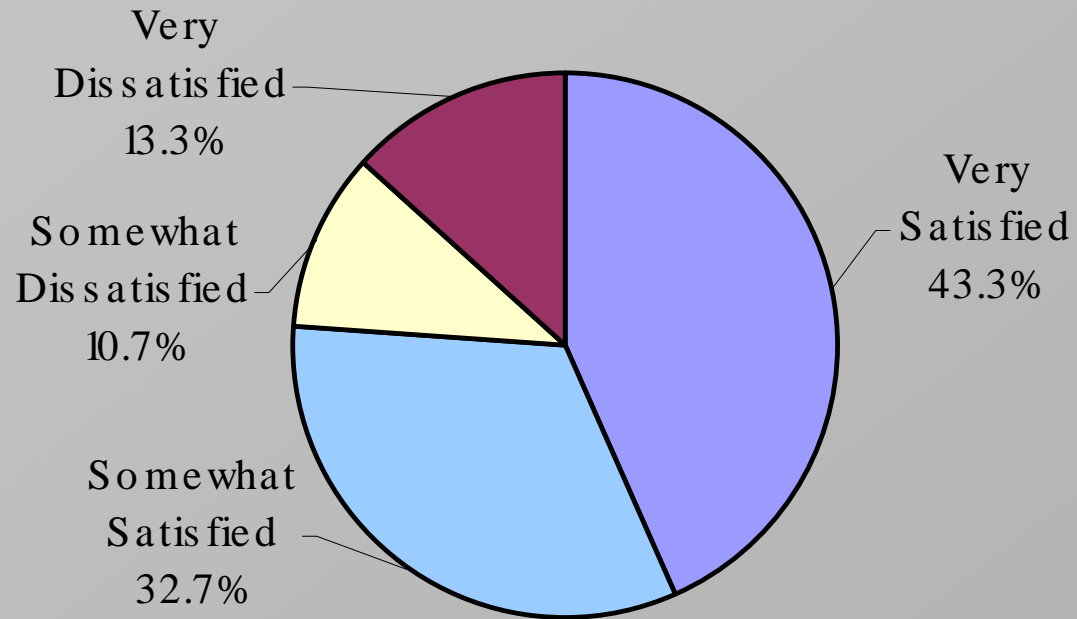
- Training effort
 - Initial training, ongoing training, academy training
- Major effort was needed for increased community outreach
- Establishing new business processes
 - Manual processes for internal reporting are labor intensive
 - Example: Field Interview Cards
- Media incidents create surges in demand on senior staff
- Auditing of data, quality control, analysis, reporting
- Line officers spending extra time on arrests

IN SUM: Significant cumulative effect on PD resources

PWC citizens view police
implementation of the policy
positively . . .

*“How satisfied are you with the job the
Police Department is doing in carrying out
this policy?”*

Satisfaction: carrying out policy, 2010



Asked of 1,392 respondents in 2010

Overall satisfaction:
76.0%

Satisfaction 2010: carrying out policy

<i>How satisfied are you . . .</i>	% of all asked	% of those with opinion
Very satisfied	29.6	43.3
Somewhat satisfied	22.3	32.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	7.3	10.7
Very dissatisfied	9.1	13.3
Decline to rate/oppose the policy	4.4	
No opinion/don't know	26.9	
Refused	0.4	

Reasons for being very satisfied, 2010

Comments from 43% who were very satisfied:	# of responses	% of cases
Illegal immigration causes problems in the community	56	14.3
The policy is good/needed	138	35.0
The policy's enforcement is having positive results	124	31.6
The police have been doing a good job of carrying out the policy.	129	32.8
Other, no opinion, not codable	44	11.3

Base: 492 respondents who explained why they were very satisfied

Reasons for being very dissatisfied, 2010

Comments from 13.3% who were very dissatisfied:	# of responses	% of cases
The policy inadequately addresses the problems of illegal immigration	2	1.5
The policy is bad	31	27.7
Results of enforcing the policy are negative	10	8.5
Problems with enforcement	35	31.0
Police are unfair/racial profiling	23	20.7
Other, no opinion, uncodable	24	21.3

Base: 125 respondents who explained why they were very dissatisfied

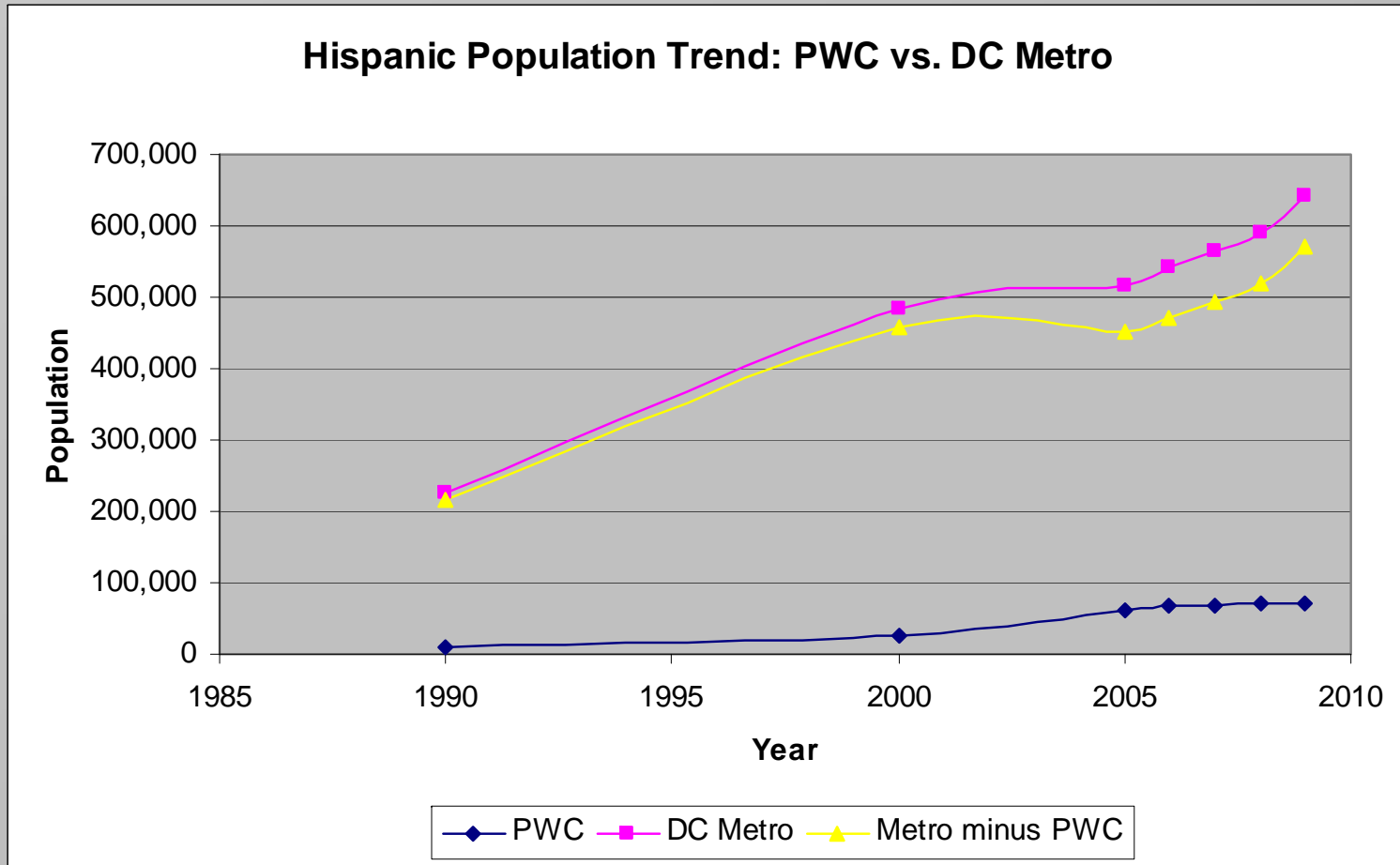
Did the number of illegal immigrants in the County decline?

Yes, although we cannot count illegal
immigrants directly – must use proxy data

Hispanic growth leveled off

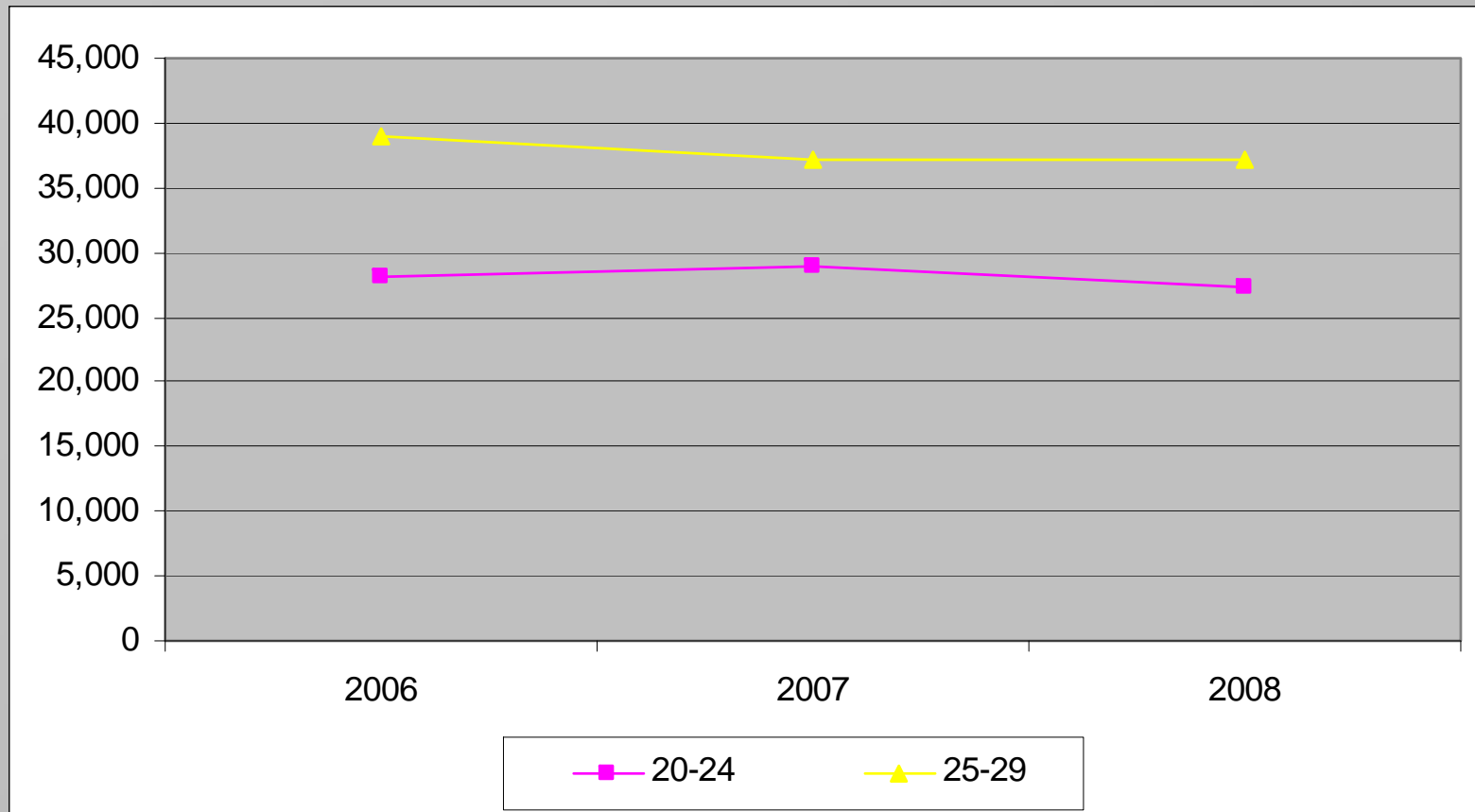
- From 2000 to 2006, PWC's Hispanic population grew much more rapidly than the metro area's
 - PWC Hispanic population more than doubled in 6 years
 - PWC accounted for all Hispanic growth in DC metro region
- From 2006 to 2009, metro region Hispanic population increased by 18.8%.
- From 2006 to 2009, PWC's Hispanic population increased by only 3.6%.

Hispanic growth in PWC & DC metro area



Source: Decennial Census & ACS

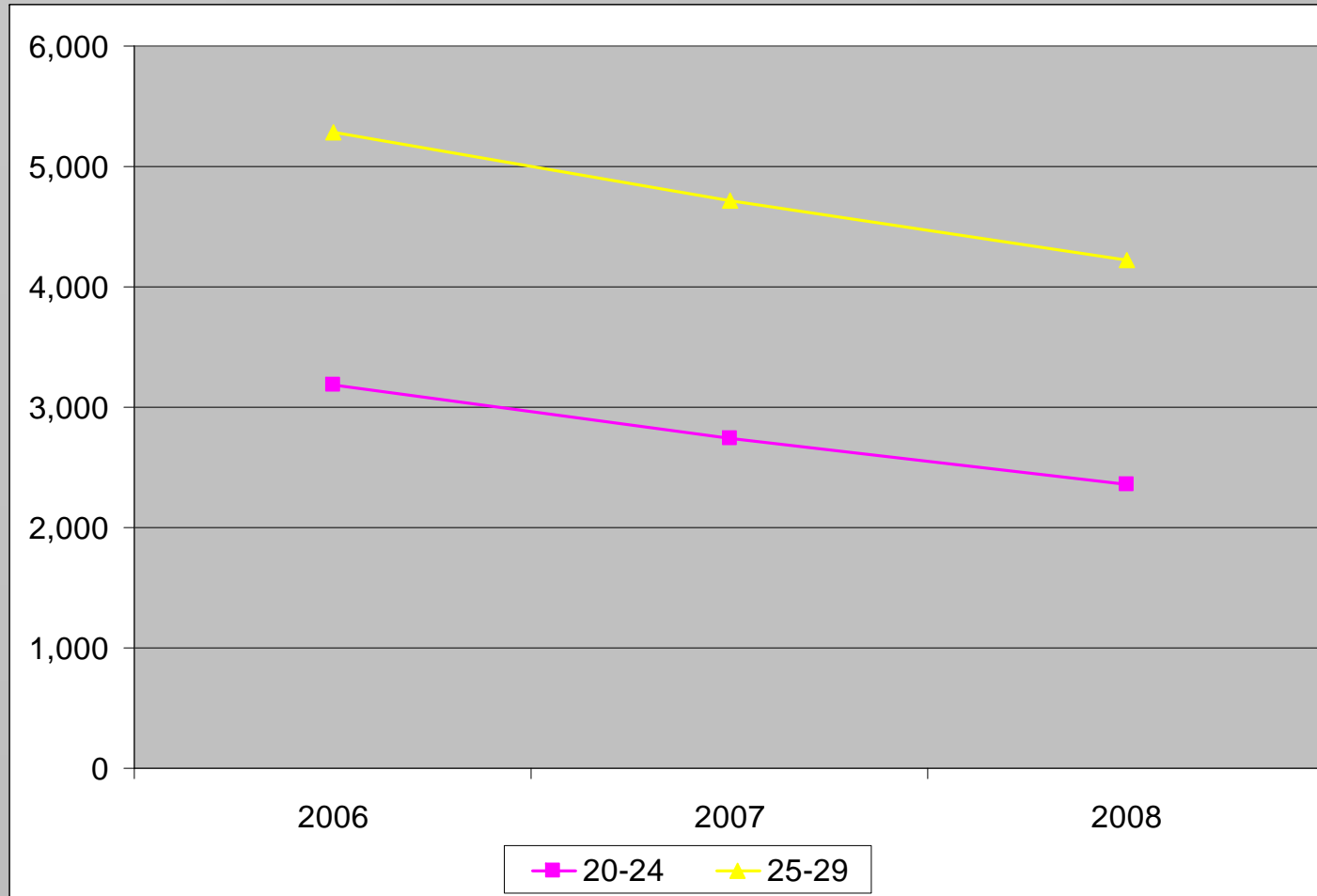
Young Hispanic Males in DC Metropolitan Area 2006-2008



Ages 20-29 decreased 4% in 2 years.

Source: ACS

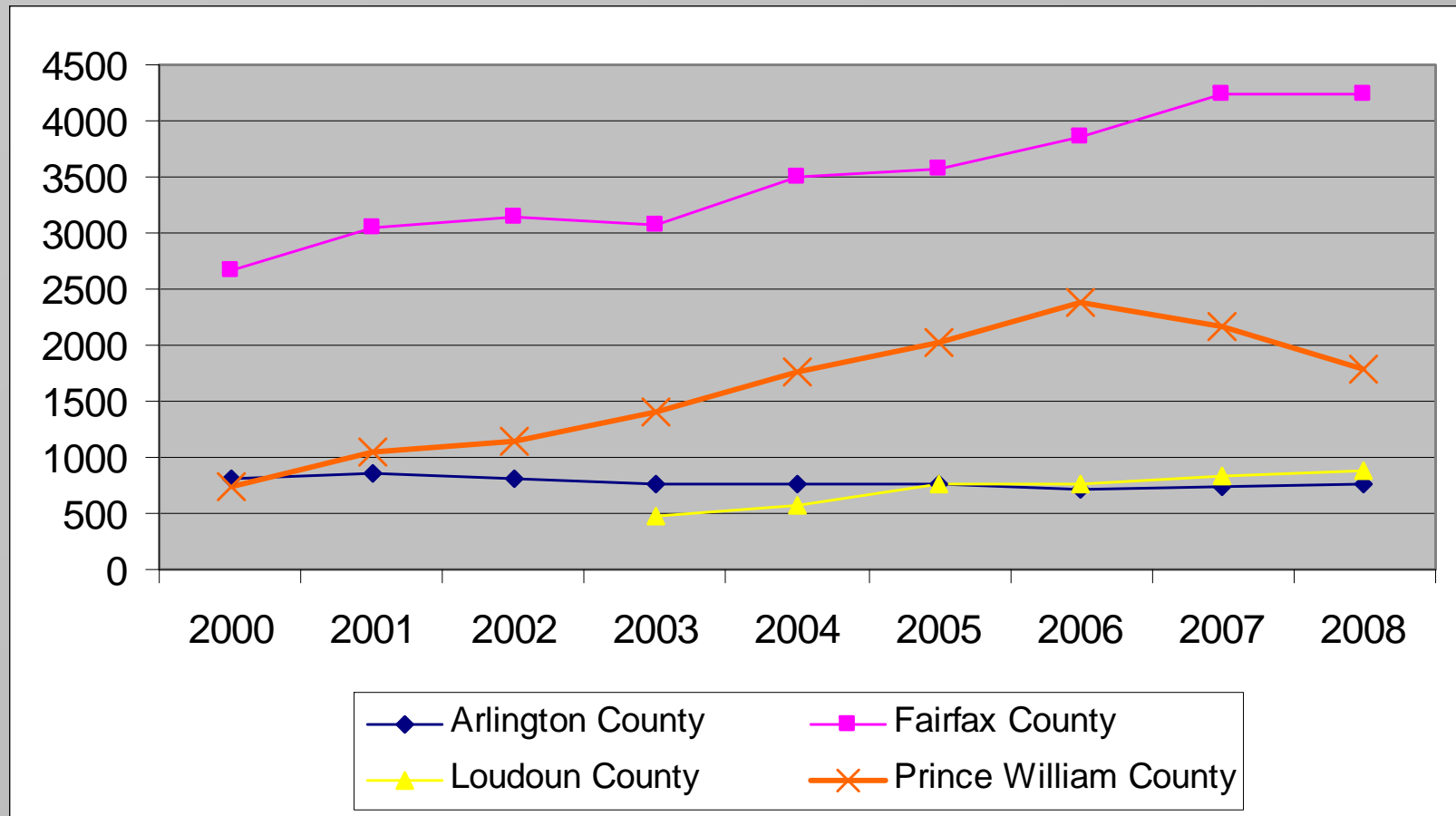
Young Hispanic Males in PWC 2006-2008



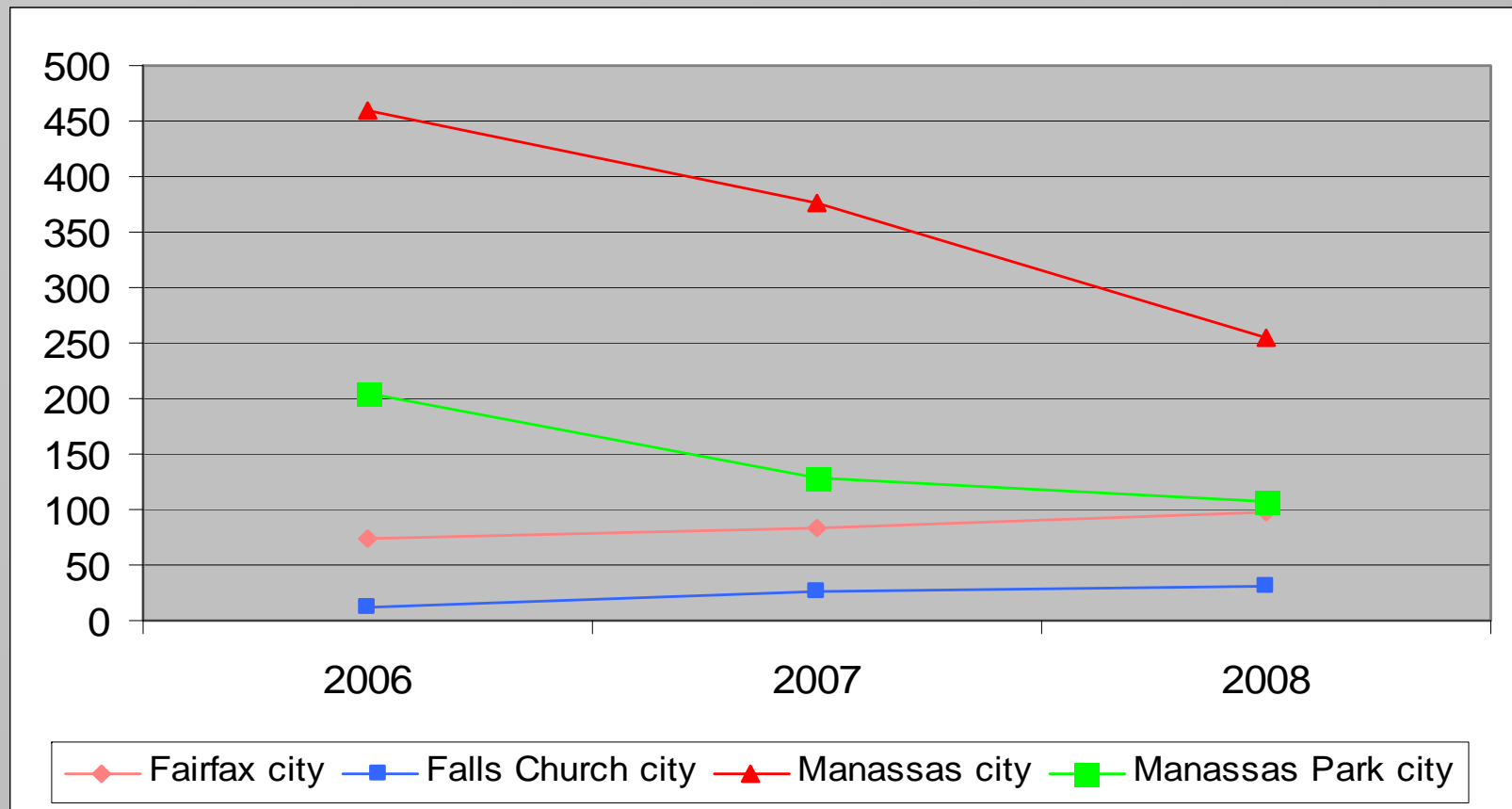
Ages 20-29 decreased 22% in 2 years.

Source: ACS

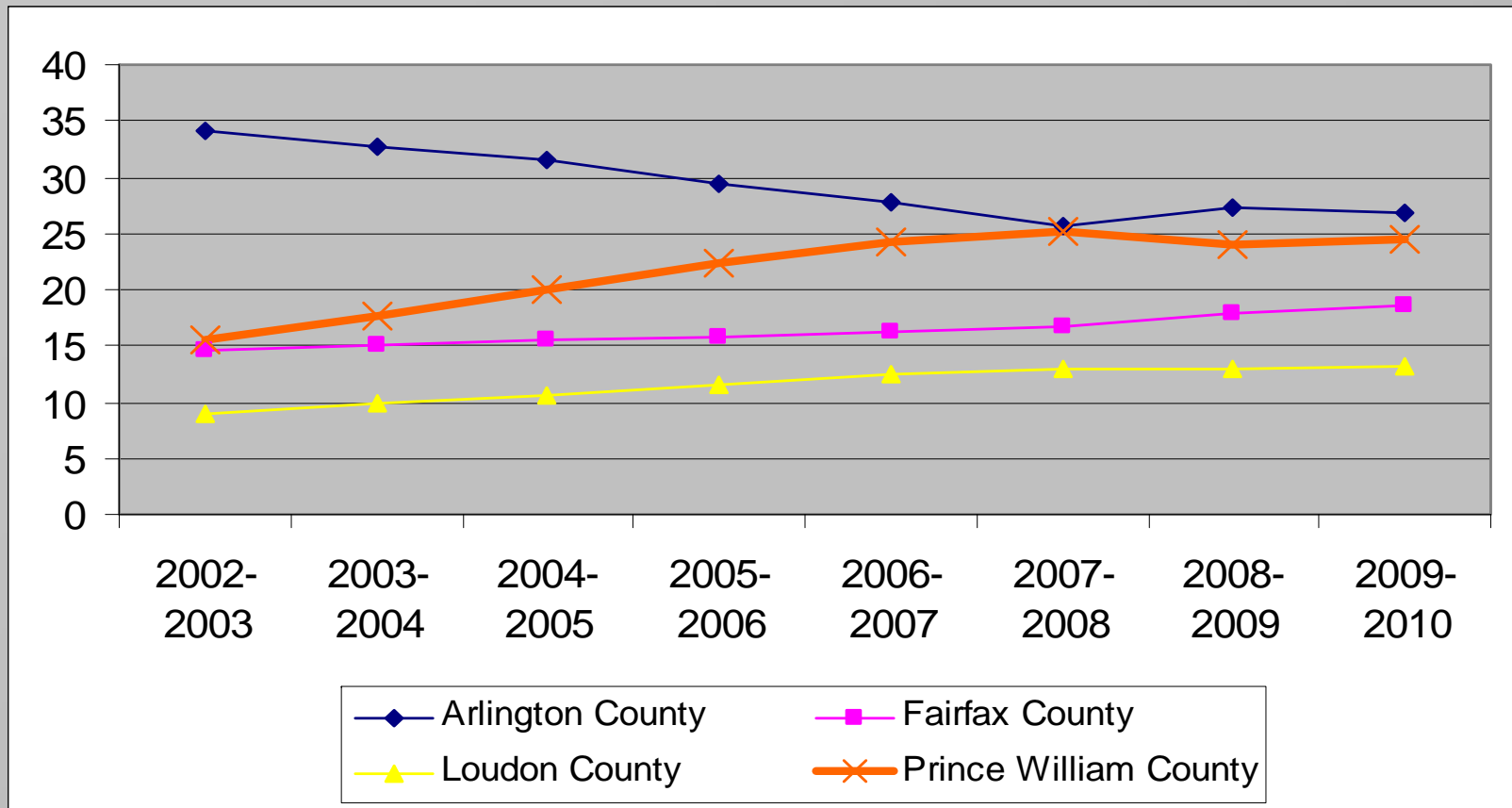
Births to Hispanic Mothers 2000-2008



Births to Hispanic Mothers for Selected Nearby Small Cities

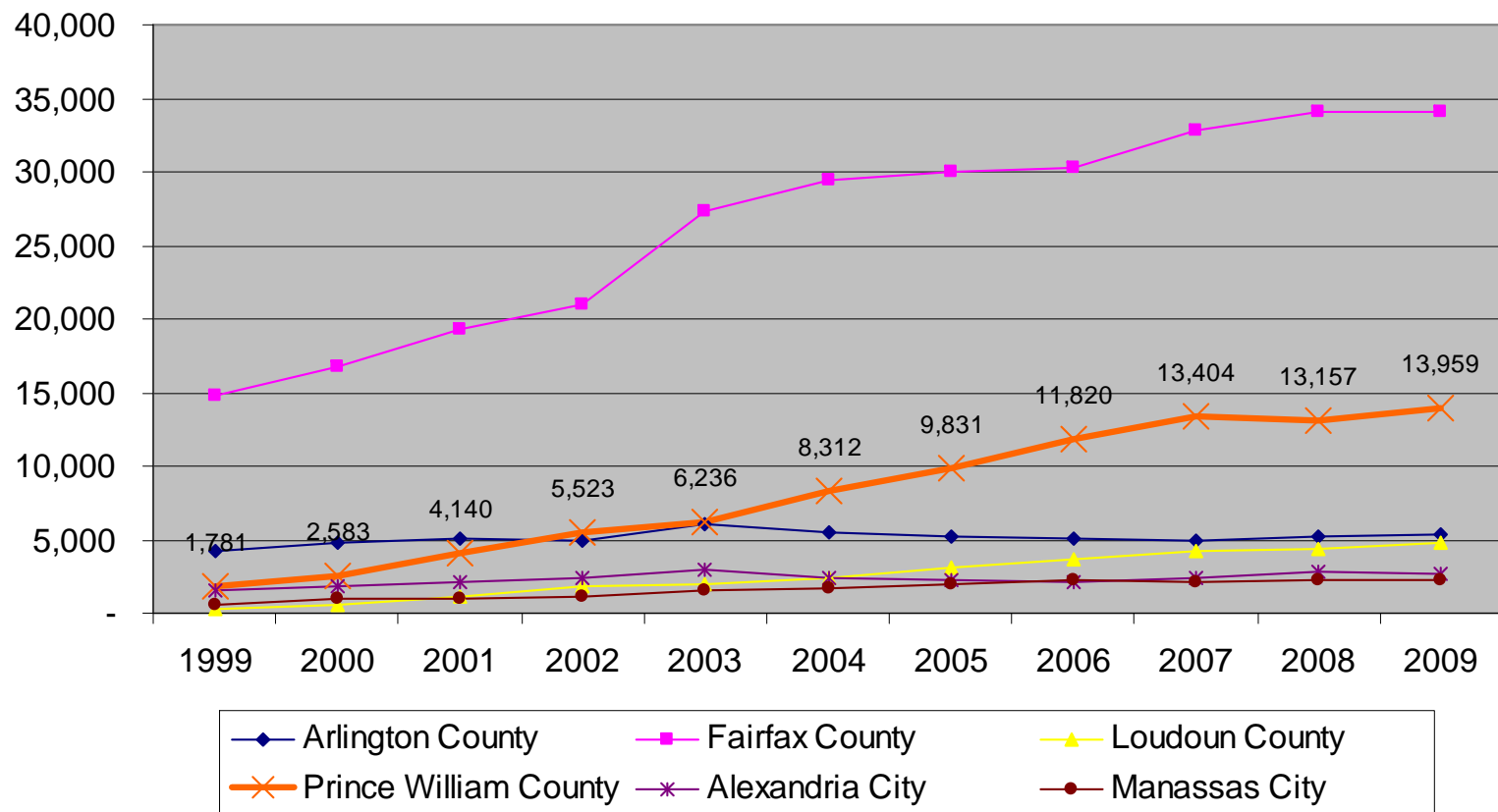


Hispanic Enrollment in Public Schools as Percent of Total Enrollment SY02/03 – SY09/10



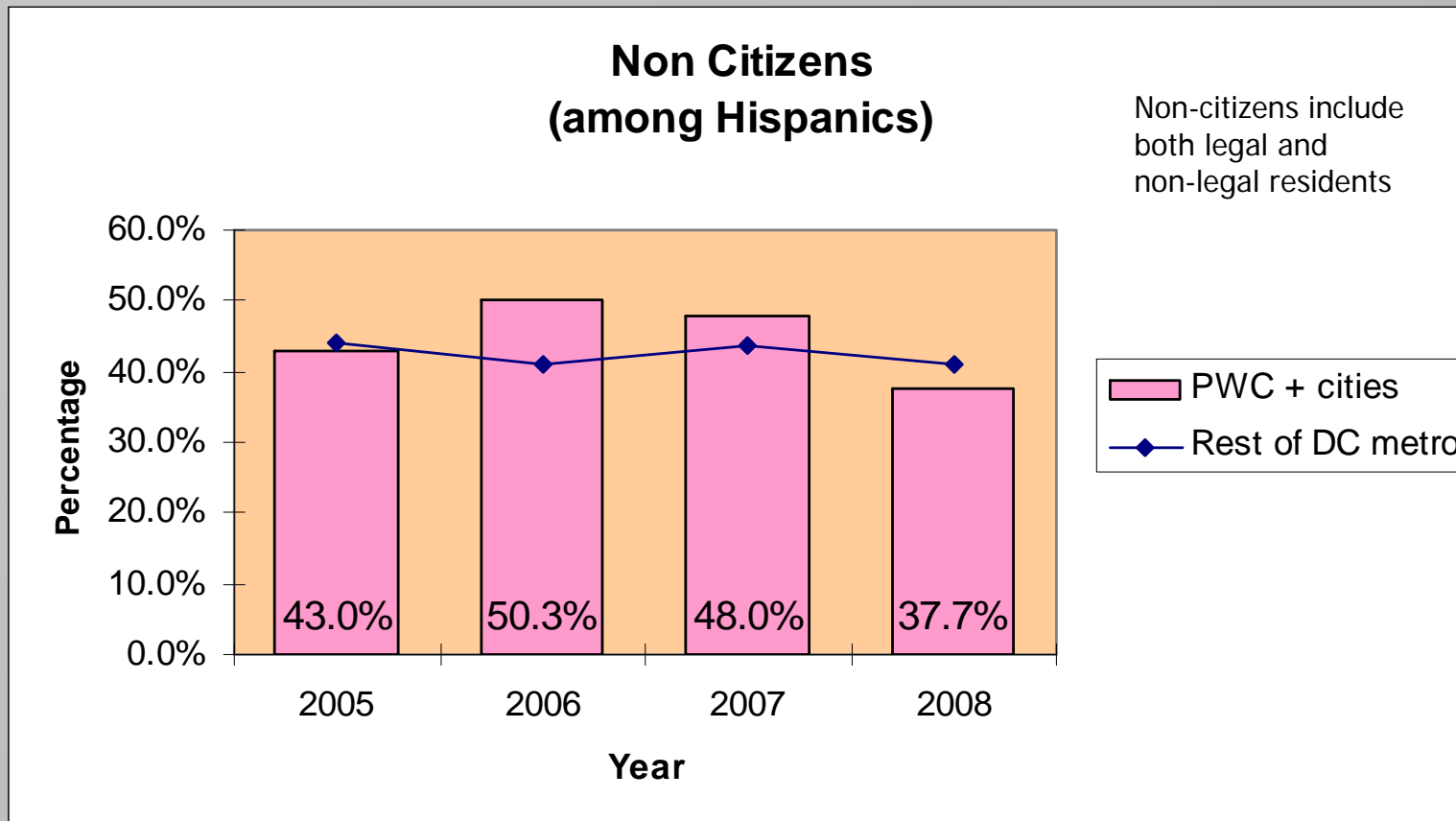
ESOL Student Enrollments

Growth in ESOL Population in PWC and Surrounding Communities, 1999–2009



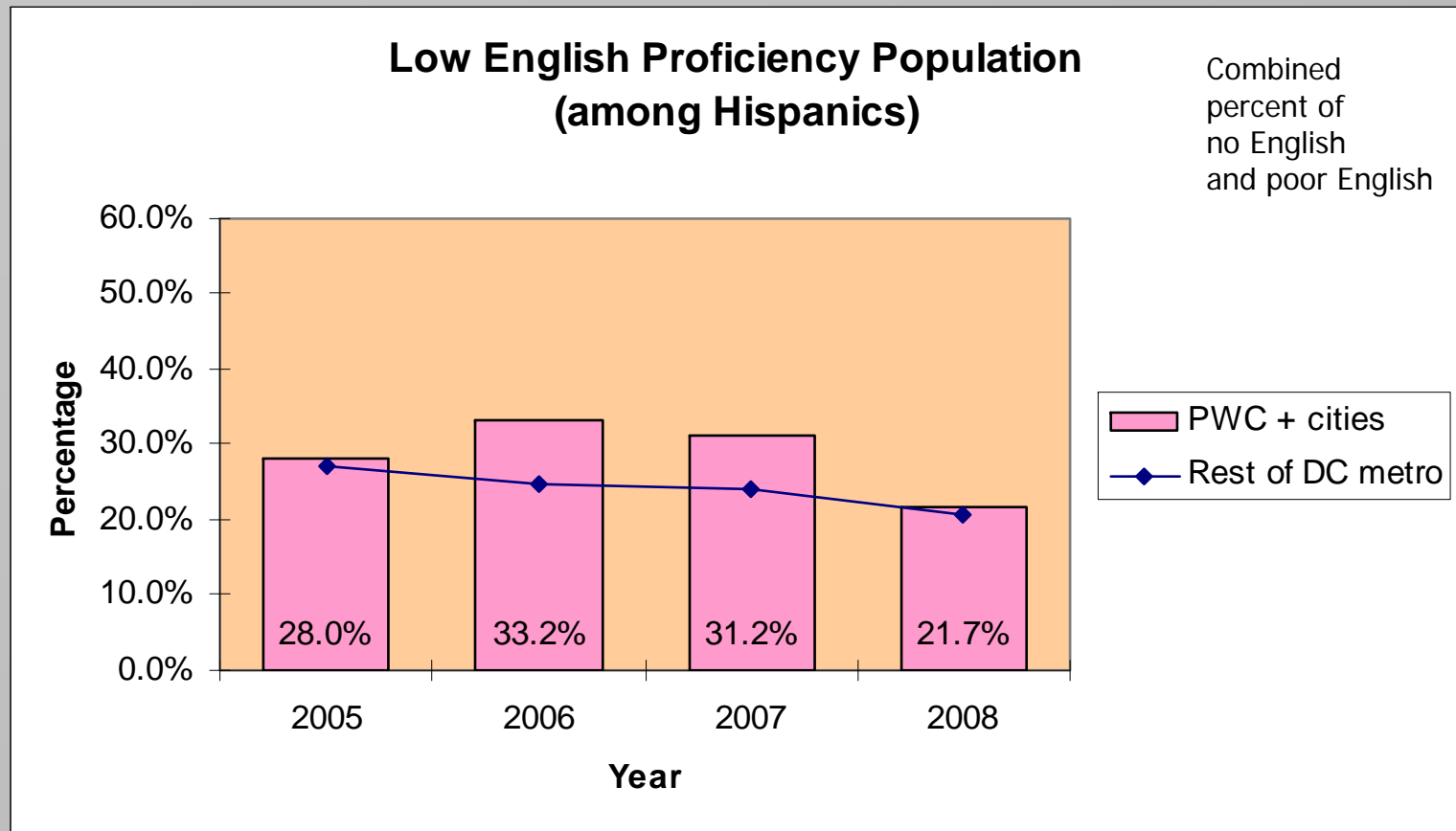
Non-citizens among Hispanics

PWC + cities vs. rest of metro



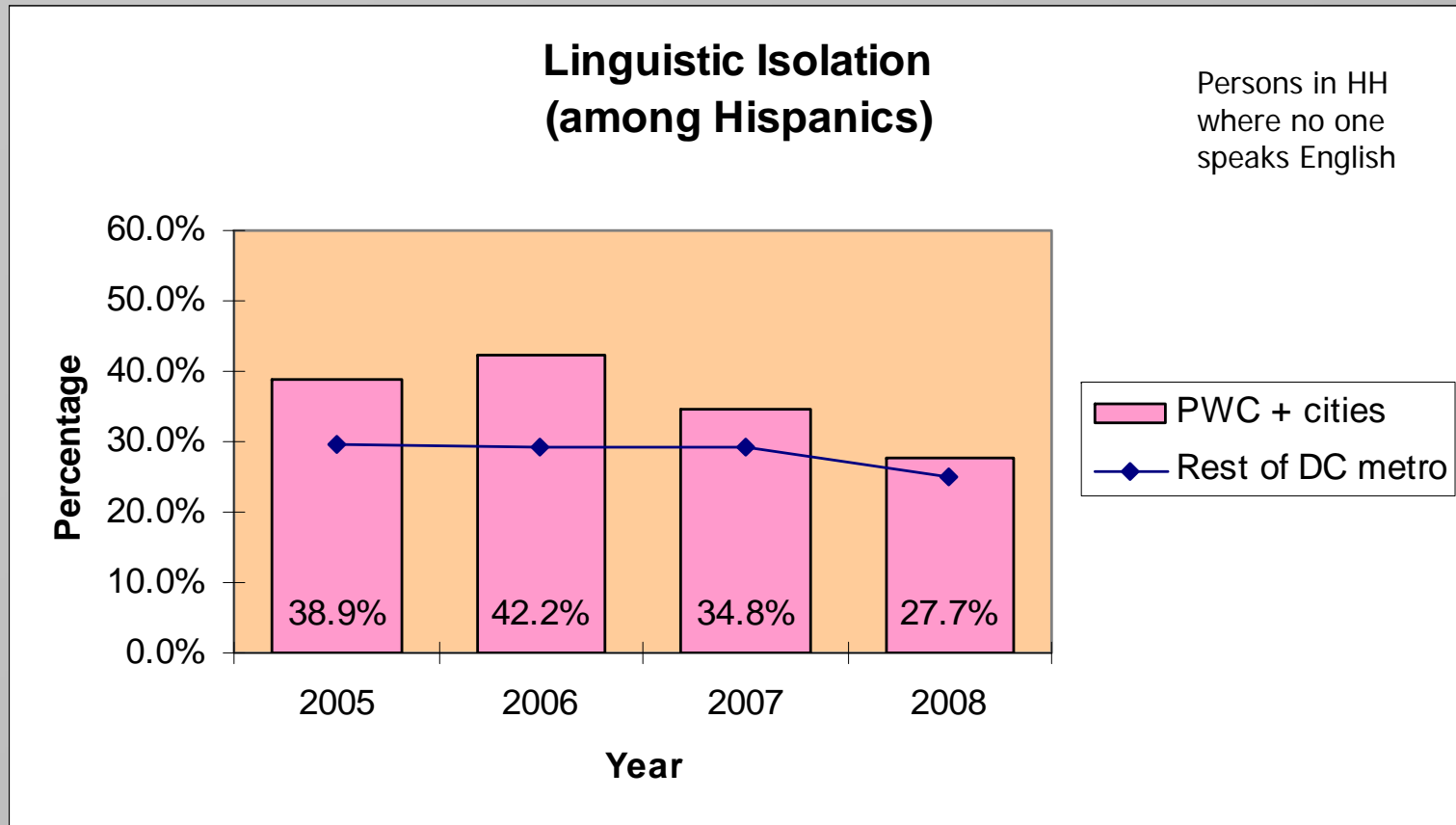
Non-English speaking among Hispanics

PWC + cities vs. rest of metro



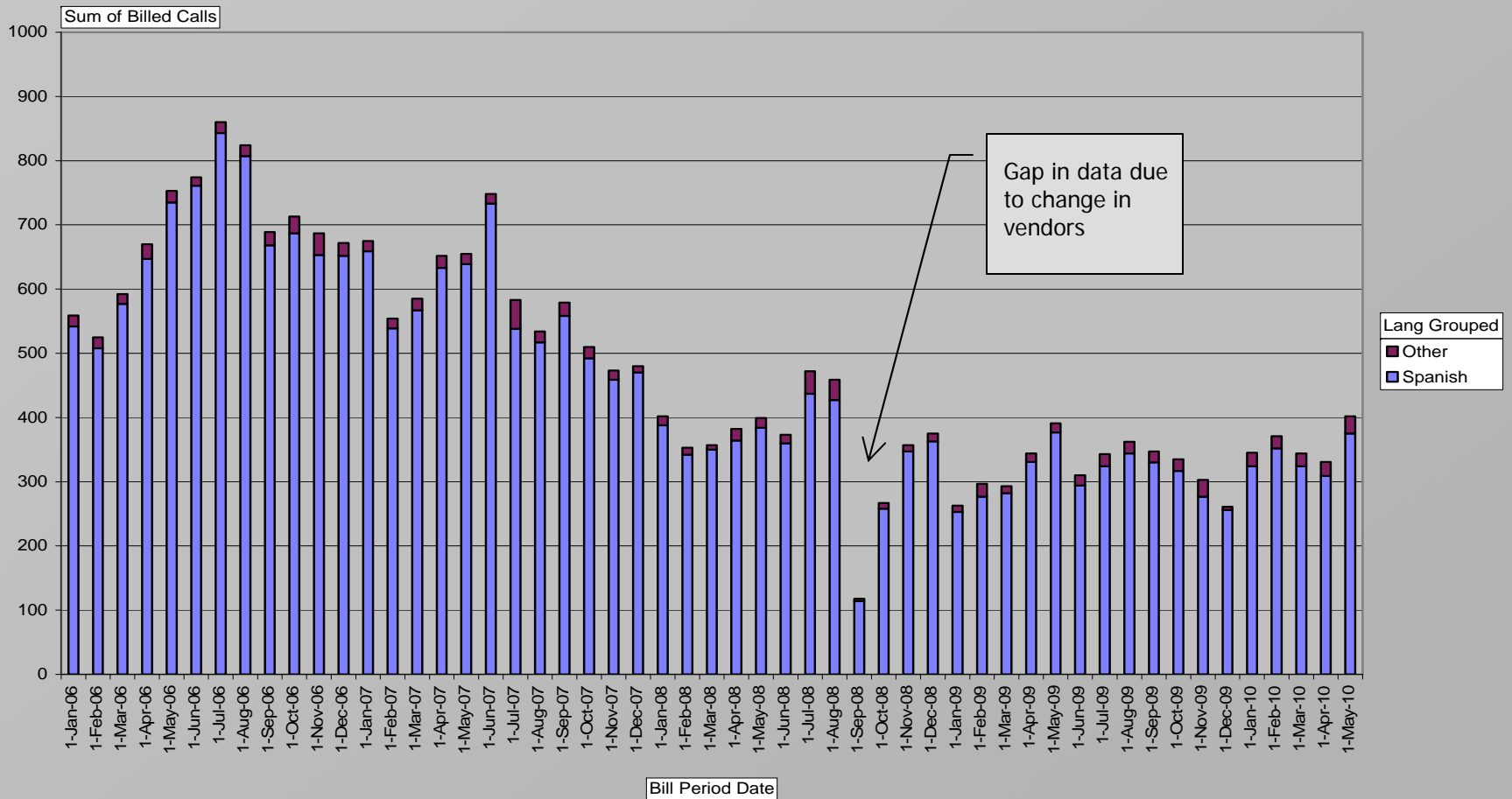
Linguistically isolated among Hispanics

PWC + cities vs. rest of metro



Police use of 'language line' translation service (billed calls)

Calls for both Accounts



Source: monthly vendor billings to PD

Are there fewer illegal immigrants?

- YES, although we cannot count illegal immigrants directly
- Number of Hispanics in PWC stabilized
 - But increased in the rest of metro area
- Age structure of Hispanic population changed
 - Young Hispanic males left in substantial numbers
 - Far more so than in other localities
- Percent of non-citizens, non-English speakers, and linguistically isolated among Hispanics went down
- Police encountered fewer non-English speakers

Are there fewer illegal immigrants?

- Births to Hispanic women went down
- ESL enrollments, Hispanic school enrollments leveled
- Key informants describe changes in recreation facilities, night clubs, overcrowded dwellings
 - Reports that some Hispanics moved to Fairfax
 - Fairfax demographics 2007-2008 reflect some influx
 - But park usage has rebounded since 2007

More on loss of immigrants . . .

- We estimate that several thousand illegal immigrants left when the policy was enacted
 - And over the following year
 - PWC, Manassas and Manassas Park were affected
 - We estimate: a decrease of 2,000 – 6,000 illegal immigrants between 2006 and 2008
- Economic crisis contributed
 - Mortgage crisis
 - Loss of construction jobs, housing market decline
- The pattern of rising growth in immigrant population has halted
 - Growth in immigrant population was rapid and increasing 2000 – 2006
 - The growth in illegals was reversed
 - The police policy was partly responsible for the shift

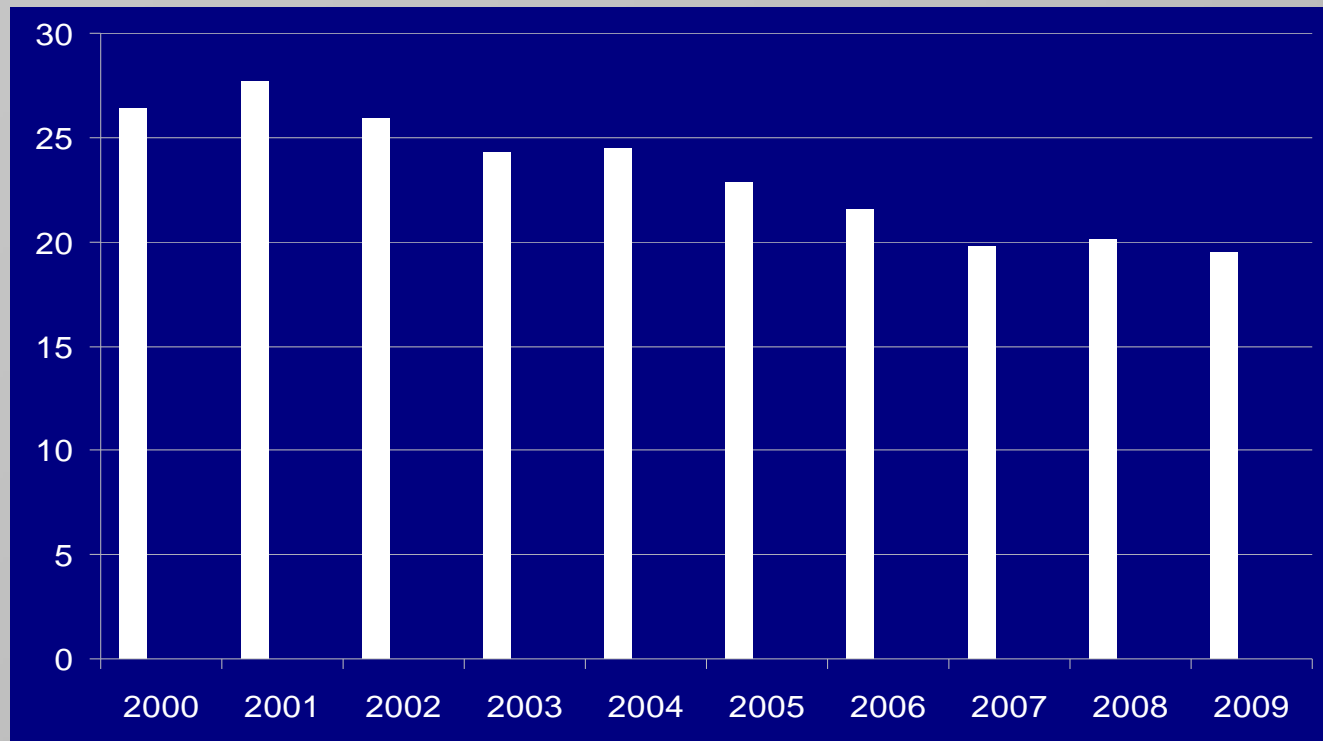
Has the policy helped to
reduce crime?

Christopher Koper PhD
Police Executive Research Forum
(PERF)

Examining the Policy's Impact on Crime

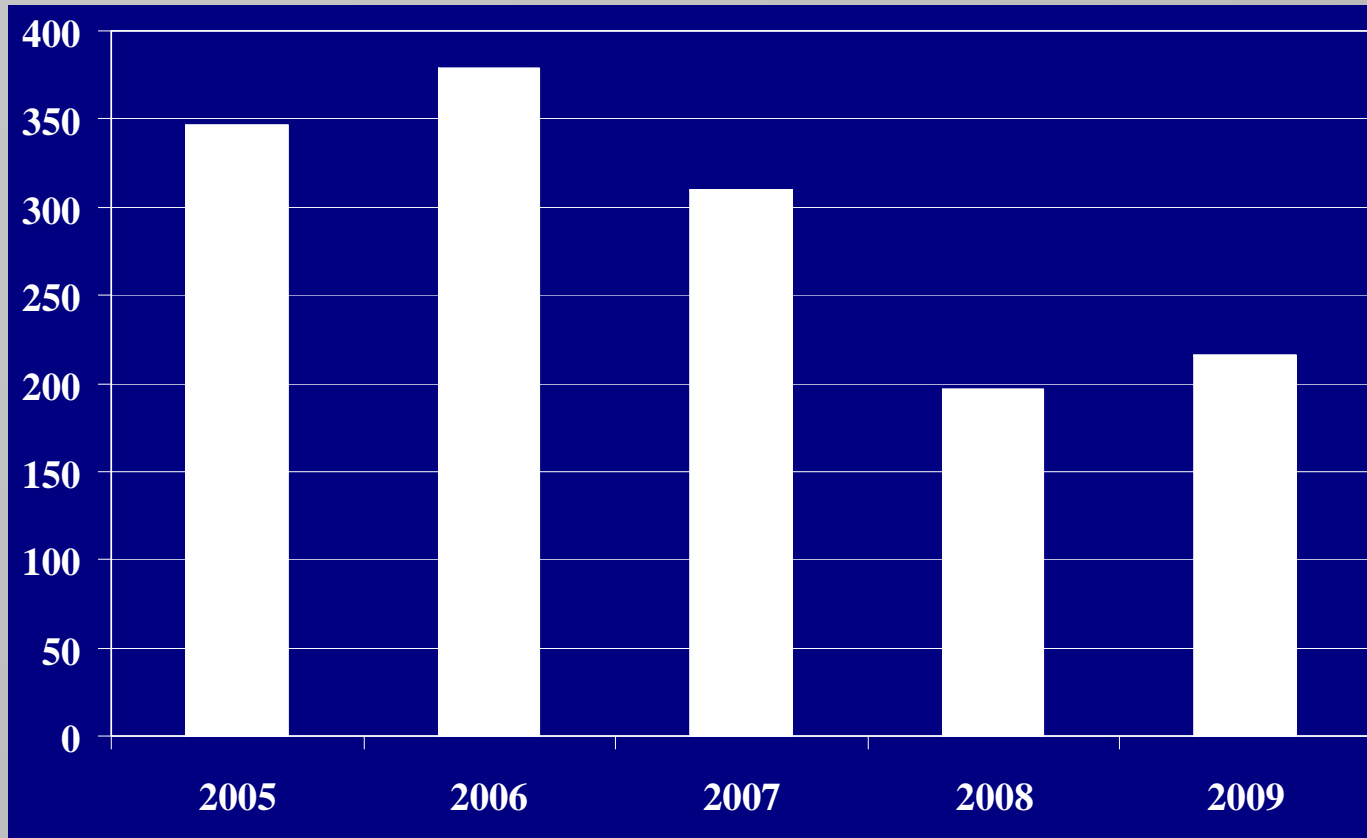
- Examination of PWCPD statistics on crime and arrests
 - Arrests of illegal immigrants, 2008-2009
- Time series analysis of 7-10 years of PWCPD RMS data
- Comparisons of PWC to other DC area jurisdictions
- Perceptions of officers, 2008-2009
- Crime victimization and reporting in PWC citizen surveys, 2008-2010

Crime Rate in PWC, 2000-2009



Based on Uniform Crime Reports Part I crimes (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft)

Aggravated assaults



Changes in UCR Part I Crimes in PWC

- Changes in two-year averages, 2005-2006 to 2008-2009:
 - Part I violence (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault)
 - Total: -32%
 - Aggravated assault: -47%
 - Part I property (burglary, larceny, auto theft): -8%

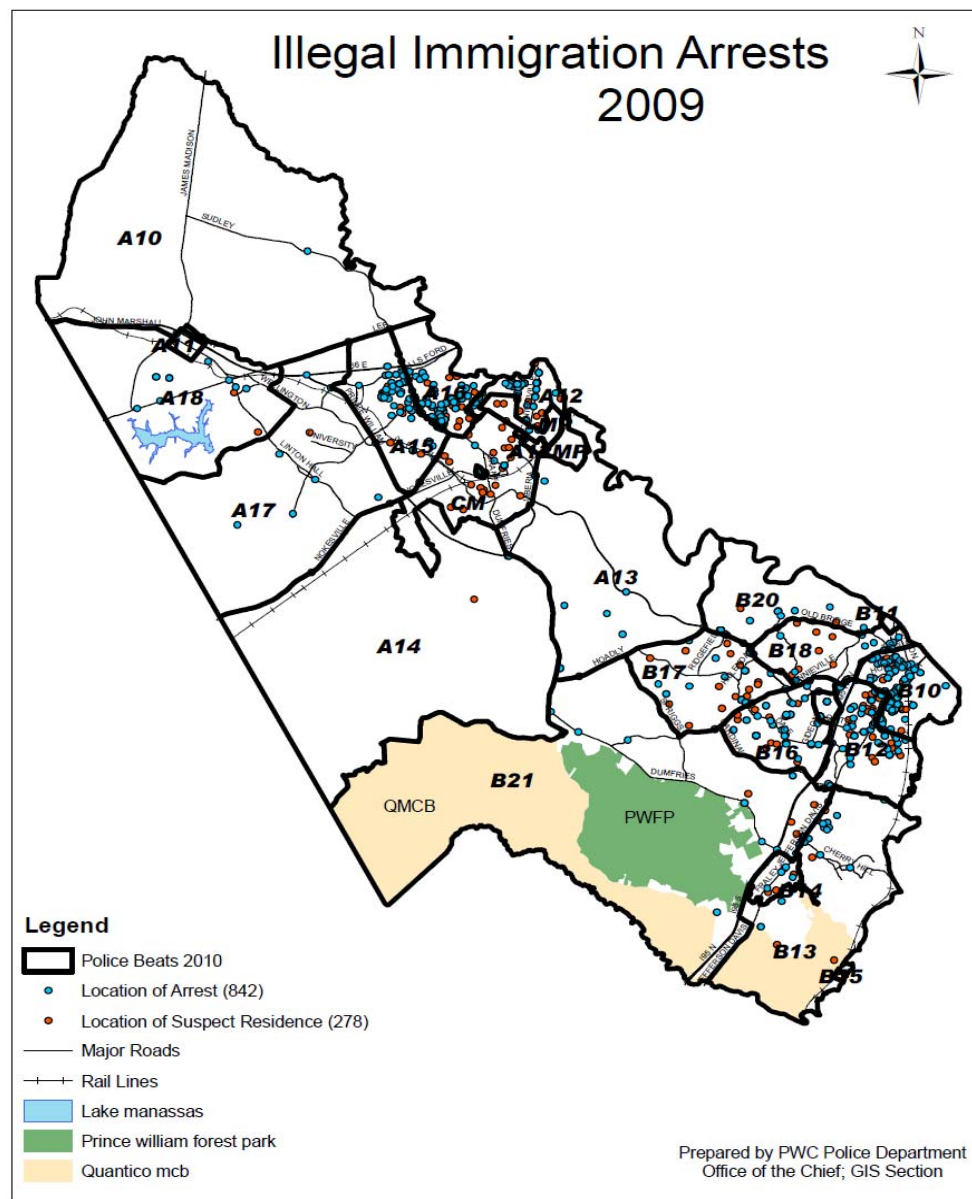
**How much crime do illegal immigrants
commit in PWC and
what have been the trends in crime
by illegal immigrants?**

Arrests of Illegal Immigrants for Serious Crimes, 2009

UCR Part 1 Crimes	Total Persons	Illegal Immigrants	Illegal immigrants as % of Arrestees
Murder	12	0	0%
Rape	37	3	8%
Robbery	117	4	3%
Aggravated Assault	175	16	9%
Burglary	191	8	4%
Larceny	1,467	88	6%
Motor Vehicle Theft	54	2	4%
Total	2,053	121	6%

Arrests of Illegal Immigrants for Other Selected Offenses, 2009

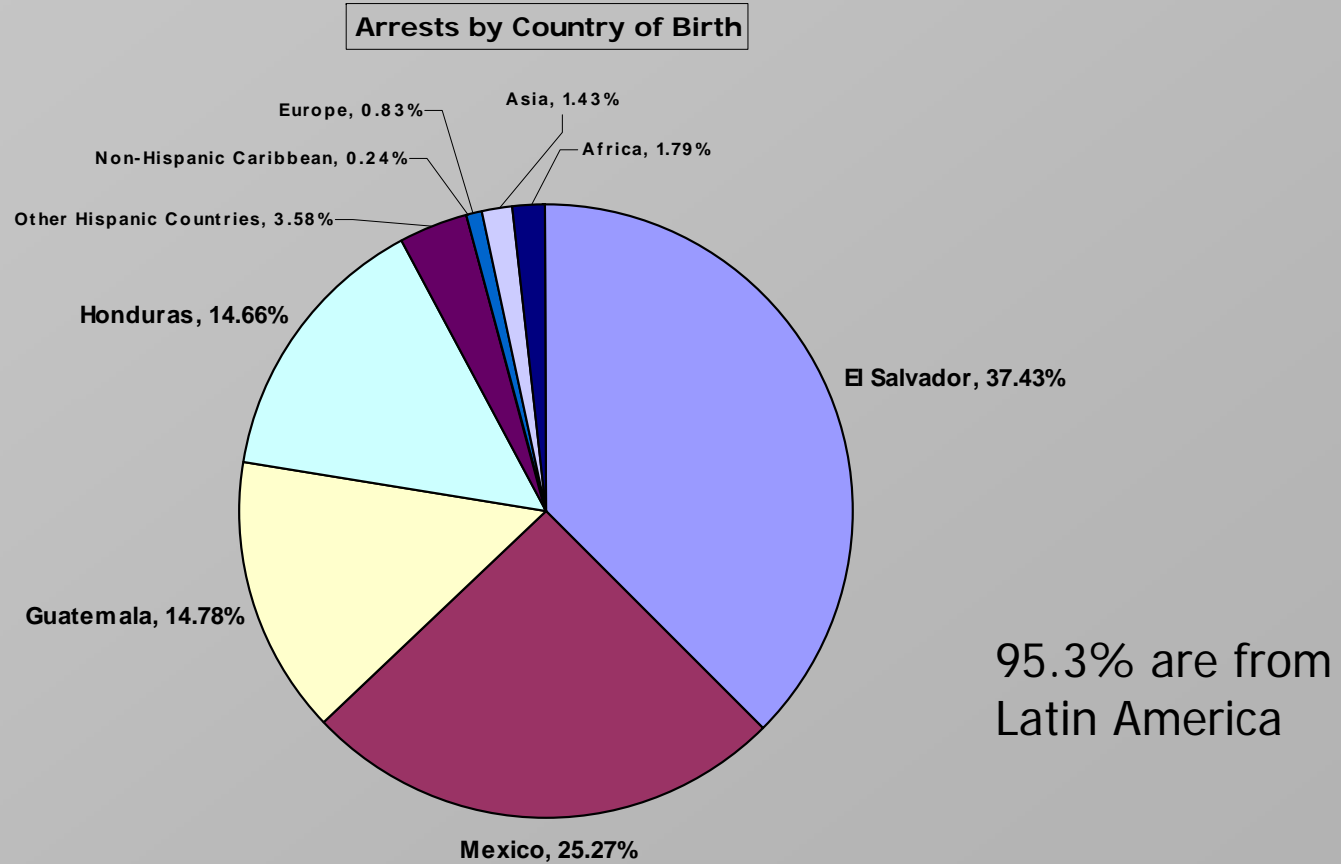
Crime Category	Arrests	Arrests of Illegal Immigrants	Illegal Immigrants as % of Arrests
All UCR Part II	12,254	774	6%
Public Drunkenness	1,365	269	20%
DUI	2,138	286	13%
Traffic—no license	2,085	205	10%



Arrest locations
and
residence locations
of arrested
illegal immigrants,
2009

Country of birth, illegal alien detainers

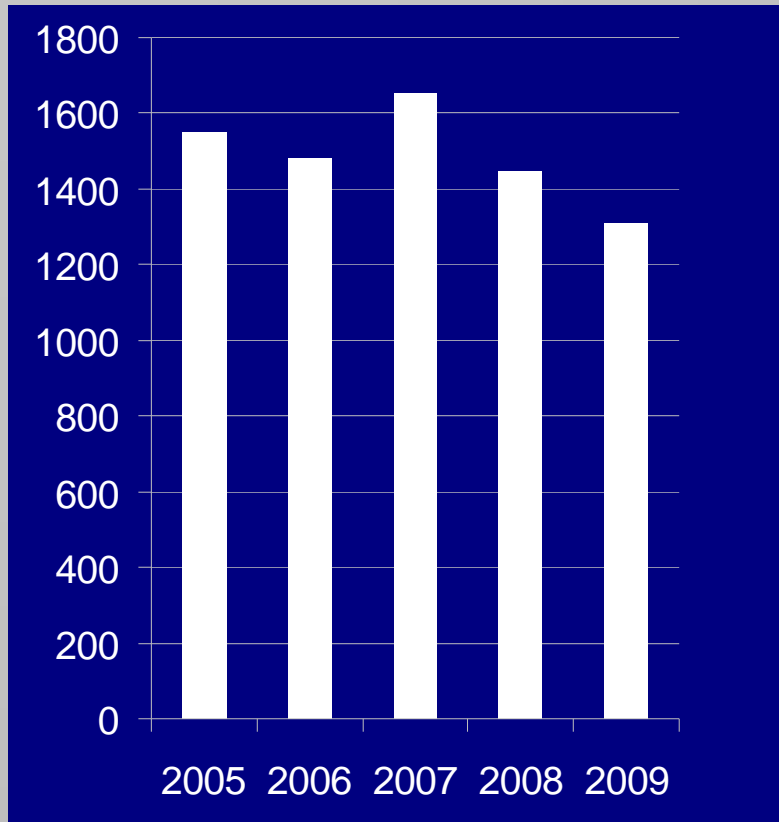
Jan-Sept 2010



Trends in Arrests of Illegal Immigrants, 2008-2009

Crime Category	2008 Arrests per Month	2009 Arrests per Month
UCR Part I crimes	6.3	10.1
Public drunkenness	15.4	22.4
DUI	11.1	23.8
Total	63.7 (Mar.-Dec.) 72.6 (Jul.-Dec.)	95.8

Arrests for Public Drunkenness



Arena arrests not included

- Public drunkenness arrests have decreased
- But not likely due to policy because an increased percentage of the arrestees are illegals
- 2007 showed an increase over 2006

Conclusions from Arrest Data

- Illegal immigrants account for small to modest share of offenders for most crime types
 - Caveat: no data on involvement of illegal immigrants in crime before the policy
- Arrests of illegal immigrants increased from 2008 to 2009
 - Deterrent effects of policy must have been greatest before it was implemented in March 2008

Did the policy affect trends in crime in PWC?

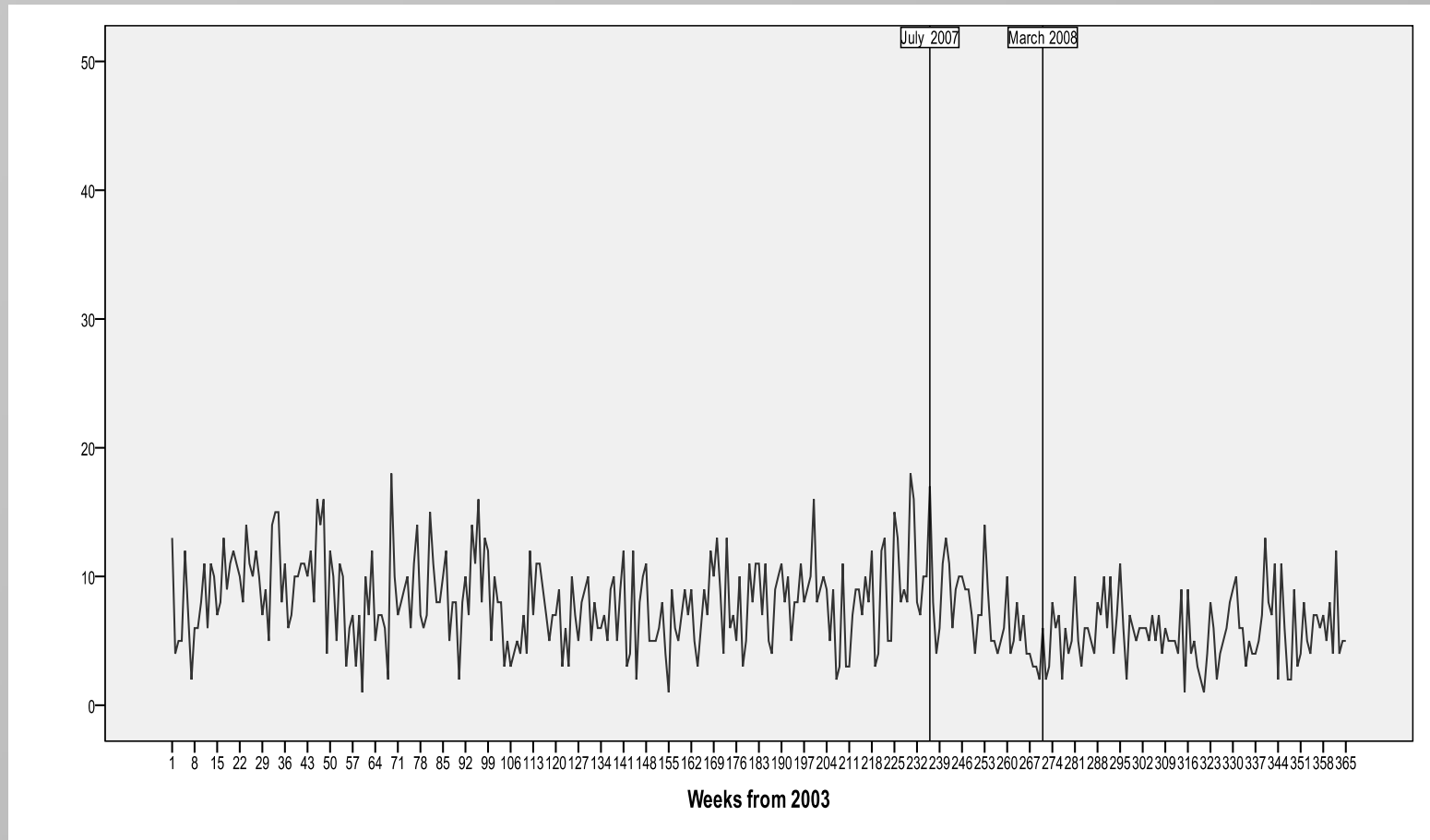
Analysis of Crime Trends in PWC

- Time series analysis of weekly trends over several years
 - Take into account long term trends, seasonal patterns, and other predictable variation over time
 - Tested for effects from July 2007 policy announcement and March 2008 implementation
- Crime reports for UCR Part I violent and property crimes, 2003-2009
- Calls for service [CFS] for several categories of crime and disorder, 2000-2009

Pre-Post Policy Changes in Crime

Offense / CFS Category	Before v. After July 2007	Before v. After March 2008
Part I violent crimes	-10.16%	-10.76%
Aggravated assault	-27.23%	-27.50%
Part I property crimes	1.25%	-0.18%
CFS for personal crimes	-8.37%	-8.74%
CFS for property crimes	-1.02%	-4.12%
CFS for disorder crimes	-4.94%	-5.98%
CFS for drug-related crimes	2.89%	2.36%
CFS for DUI	-1.02%	7.87%

Aggravated Assaults in PWC, 2003-2009 (Weekly)



UVa CSR & PERF

Geographical Patterns in the Policy's Impact

- Examined trends in violence in PWCPD patrol beats in Manassas area, Woodbridge, and Dumfries
 - Decline in total Part I violence in these areas accounted for half of countywide reduction
 - Decline in aggravated assaults in these areas accounted for 70% of countywide reduction

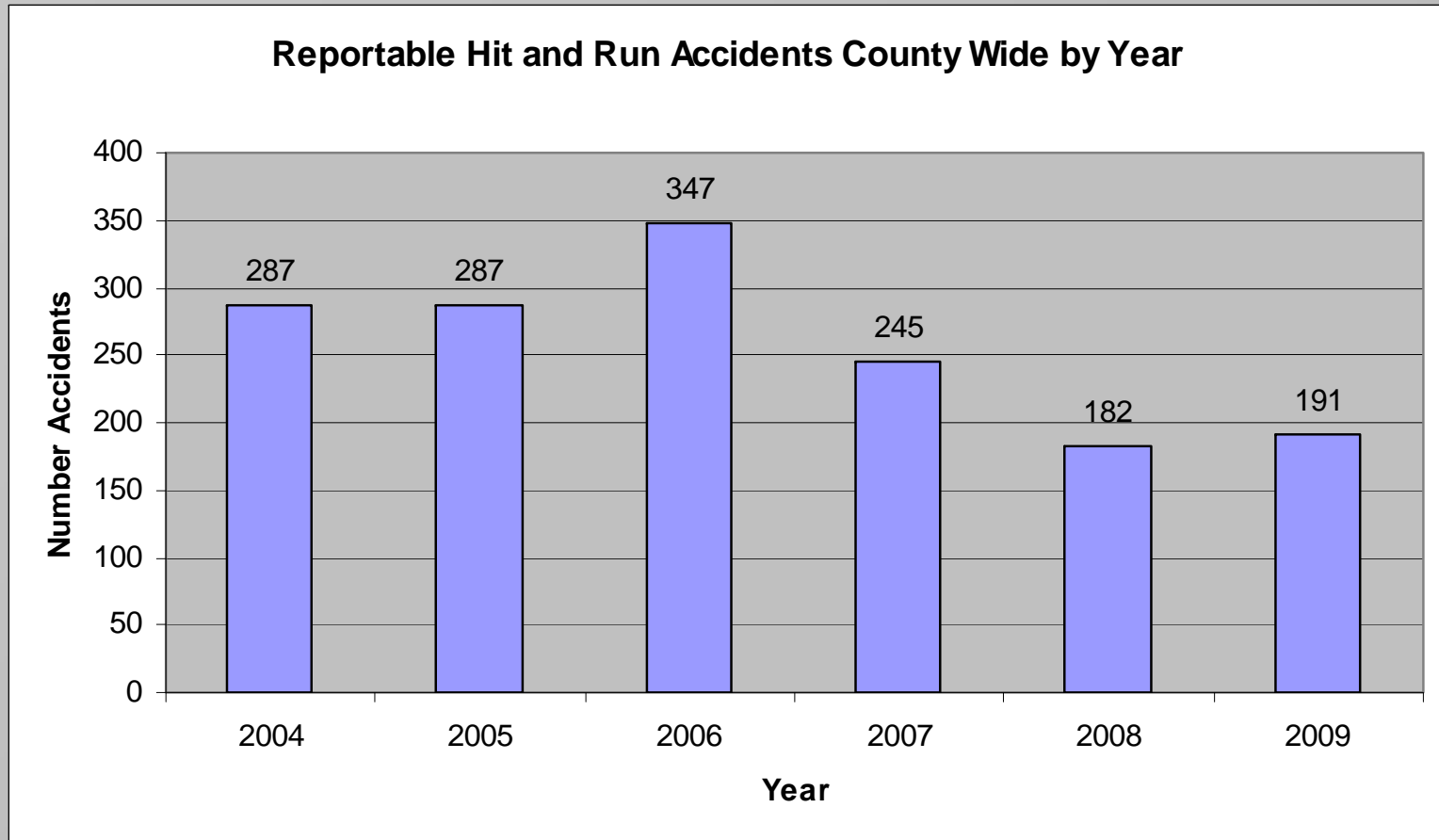
Ethnicity of Aggravated Assault Victims and Offenders (from VA State Police)

- 2005 – 2009:
 - Hispanics accounted for 21% - 28% of arrestees (no trend)
 - Hispanics and victims with unknown ethnicity fell from about half of victims during 2005–2007 to about one-third during 2008-2009
 - Ratio of non-Hispanic to Hispanic victims rose from 1.87 in 2005 to 2.88 in 2009
 - Victimization of Hispanics falling relative to others

Conclusions from Time Series Analysis

- Policy did not affect most types of crime and disorder
- Serious assaults declined following the policy's announcement
 - Effect concentrated in heavily Hispanic areas of PWC
 - Change coincided closely with announcement of policy
 - Questions about source of the decline:
 - Change in offending, crime reporting, or both?
 - Fewer immigrant offenders, victims, or both?
 - Collateral effects?

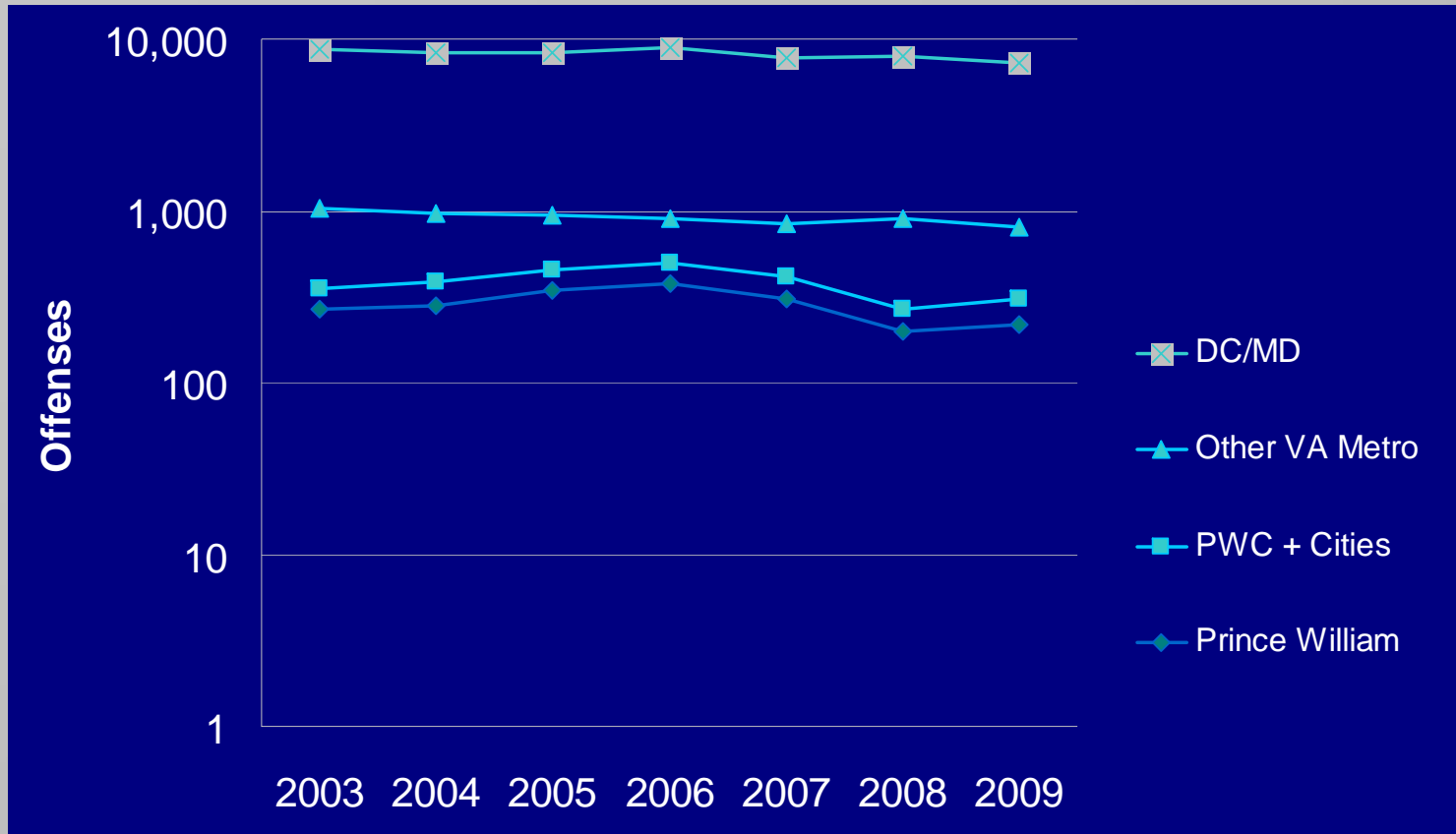
Impact on Hit and Run Accidents



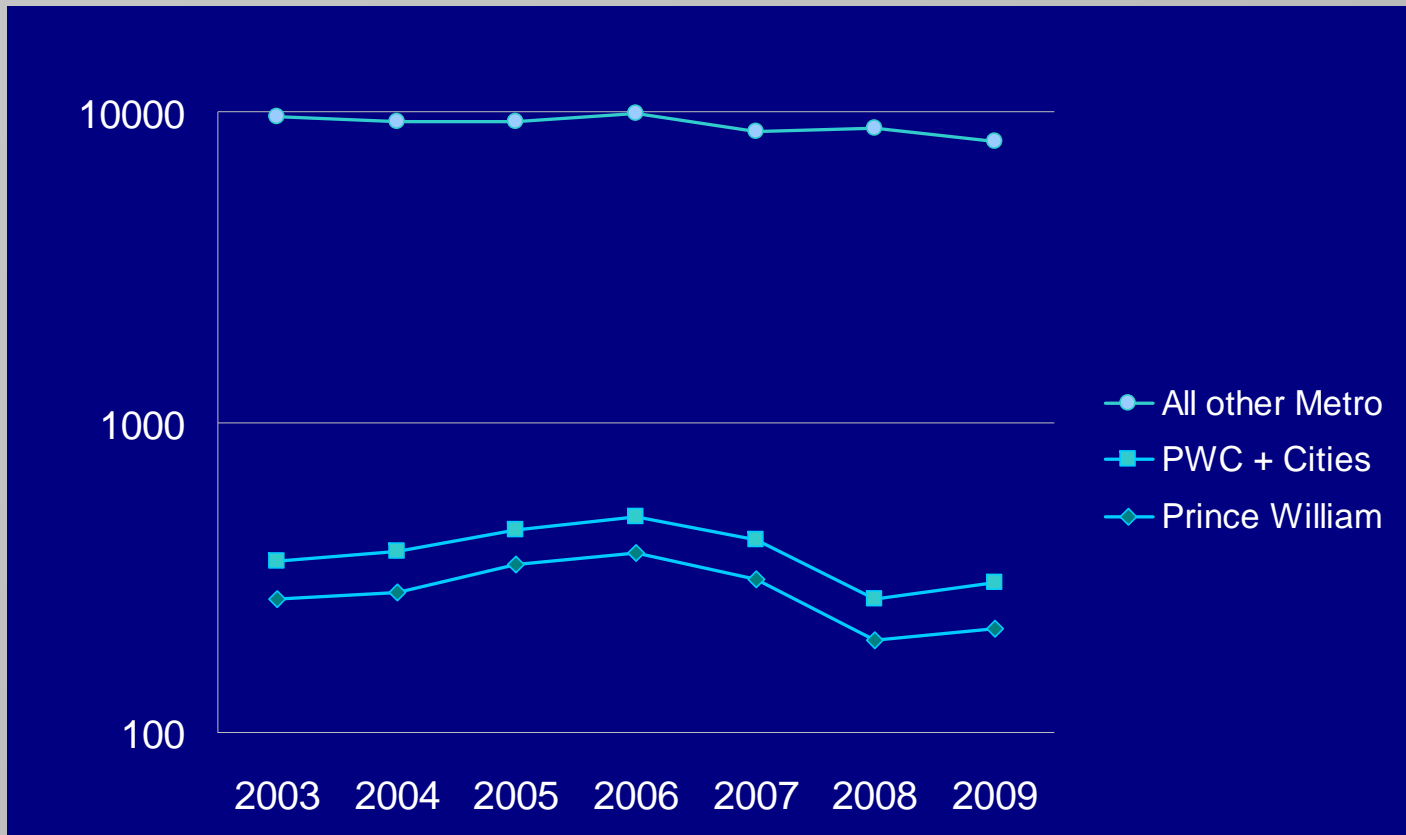
Only shows incidents reportable to State Police.

How did crime trends in PWC compare to those in other DC area localities?

Aggravated Assault Offenses 2003 - 2009 for Selected Areas including DC/MD



Aggravated Assault Offenses 2003 - 2009 for PWC versus All Other Metro



Changes in Crime Rates in PWC and Northern VA Localities (Percentage Changes in 2-Yr Averages, 2005/06 - 2008/09)

Jurisdiction	% Change Violent Crime	% Change Agg Assault	% Change Property Crime
Prince William	-31.9%	-46.7%	-8.1%
Manassas City	-9.7%	-7.2%	-3.0%
Alexandria City	-37.6%	-43.5%	-4.8%
Arlington	-26.1%	-27.8%	6.7%
Fairfax	-14.7%	-2.1%	12.1%
Loudoun	32.8%	75.7%	-8.3%
Spotsylvania	37.5%	15.2%	27.0%

Conclusions from Comparative Analysis

- Violence declined in a number of DC area localities
 - Regional factors may have helped sustain reduction in PWC (e.g., decline in housing market)
- But PWC's decline in violence was large compared to most of DC area, esp. for aggravated assault
- Crime did not consistently decline in localities doing immigration checks
 - PWC policy announcement and publicity were unique

Perceptions of Officers Regarding Crime and Disorder Problems

From surveys in fall 2008 and fall 2009

Problems Observed by Officers

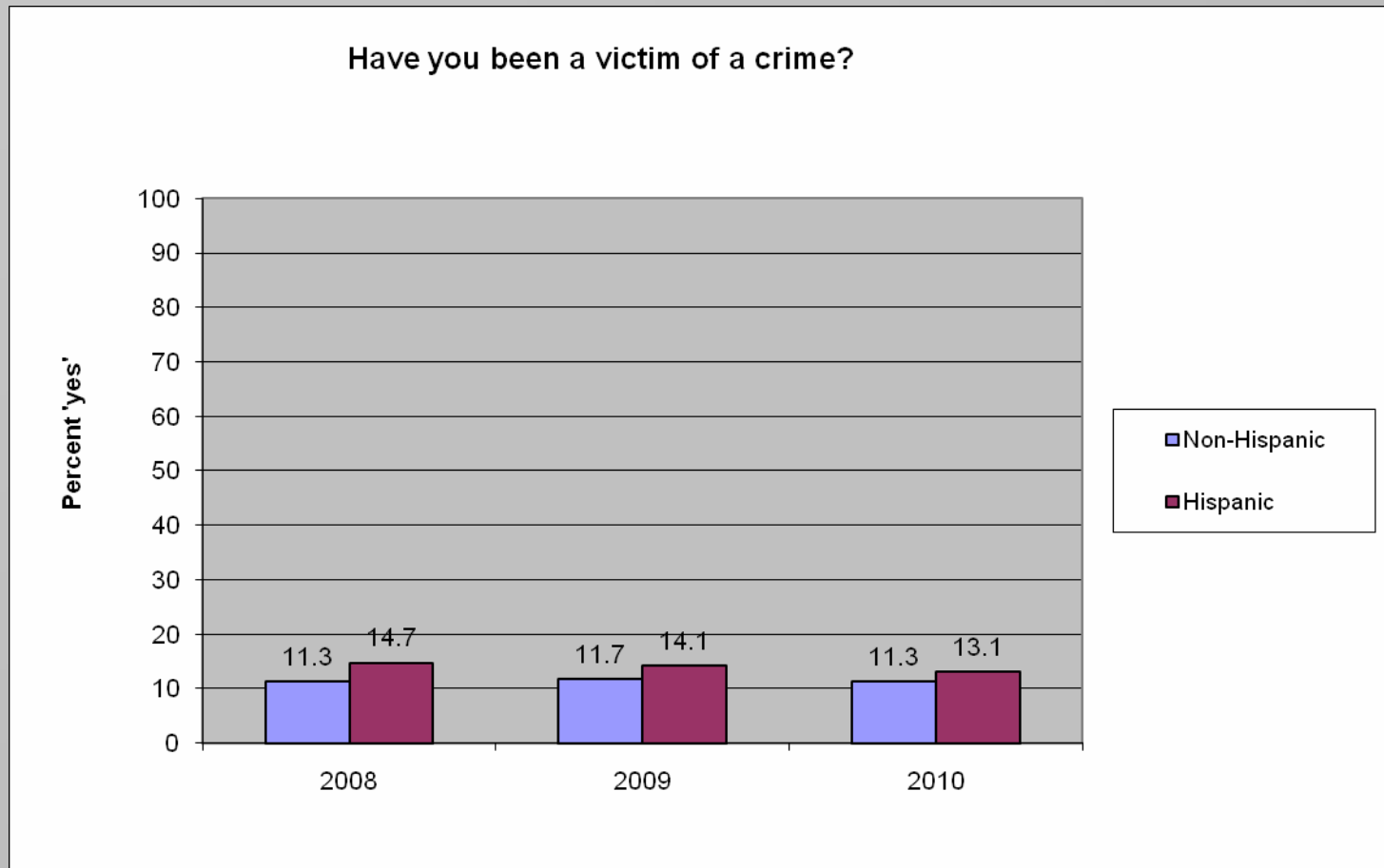
(1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=often, 4=regularly)

Issue	Time 1(2008)	Time 2 (2009)
Getting legal immigrants to report crime.	1.84	1.80
Getting illegal immigrants to report crime.	2.38	2.20
Getting witnesses to cooperate with the police.	2.20	2.07
Violent crimes in PWC	1.92	2.04
Property crimes in PWC	2.17	2.27
Public disorder (e.g., loitering, public drinking, etc.)	2.51	2.60
Traffic violations	2.42	2.59
Fear of crime in certain parts of PWC	2.14	2.22

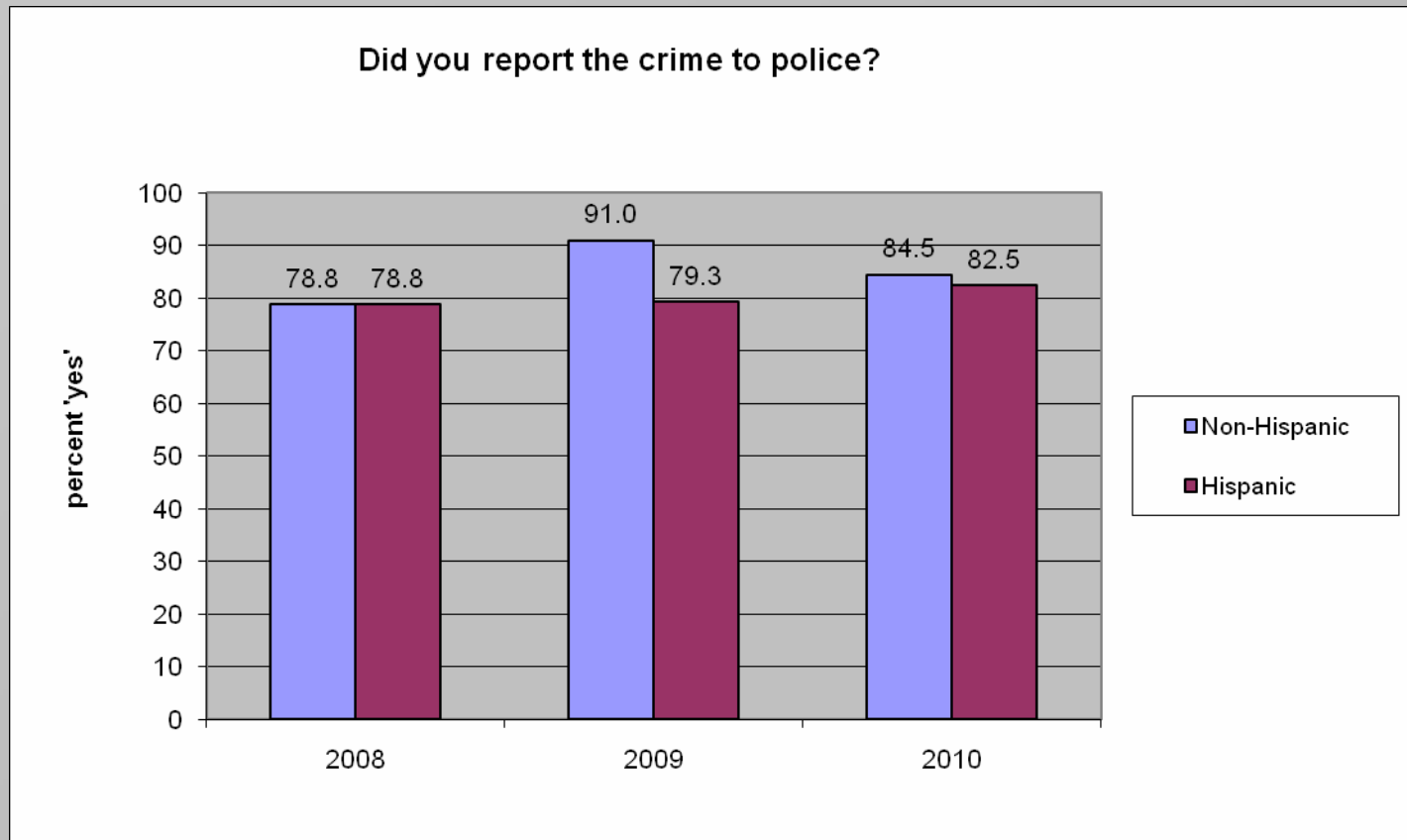
Post-policy trends in crime victimization and reporting

PWC survey results, 2008-2010

Have you been a victim of crime?



Did you report the crime to police?



Conclusions from PWC Survey Data

- Crime victimization has not changed from 2008 to 2010
- Victimization is somewhat higher for Hispanics but their reporting levels are comparable to others
 - No significant increase in victimization of Hispanics
- Crime reporting has not changed from 2008 to 2010
- But we do not have data on crime reporting among illegal immigrants specifically
 - PWCPD has evidence that Hispanic victims do not report some crimes

Summary

- Illegal immigrants account for small to modest share of most crimes
 - 69% arrested for drunkenness, DUI, traffic offenses
- Policy did not impact most types of crime
- But aggravated assaults declined significantly after policy's announcement
 - Unique decline compared to most of DC area
 - Less immigrant offending, victimization, reporting, or some combination?
- Reportable (more serious) hit and run accidents declined
 - Less serious hit and run accidents also declined
- Crime data and surveys of officers and citizens show stable crime trends since policy's implementation

Did the County save money on
its services?

No BIG savings

- Most of the more costly services provided by PWC are federally regulated or funded
 - Some must be supplied to everyone, regardless of immigration status
 - Notably, educational services like ESOL
 - Some are already denied to illegal immigrants by Federal law such as TANF, Food Stamps, Medicaid
- A small list of specific County services are denied to illegal immigrants
 - Cost savings transferred into services for legal residents
 - Example – Homeless Prevention

Were overcrowded housing
and problems of public order
reduced?

Overcrowded housing declined; Loitering reduced (temporarily?)

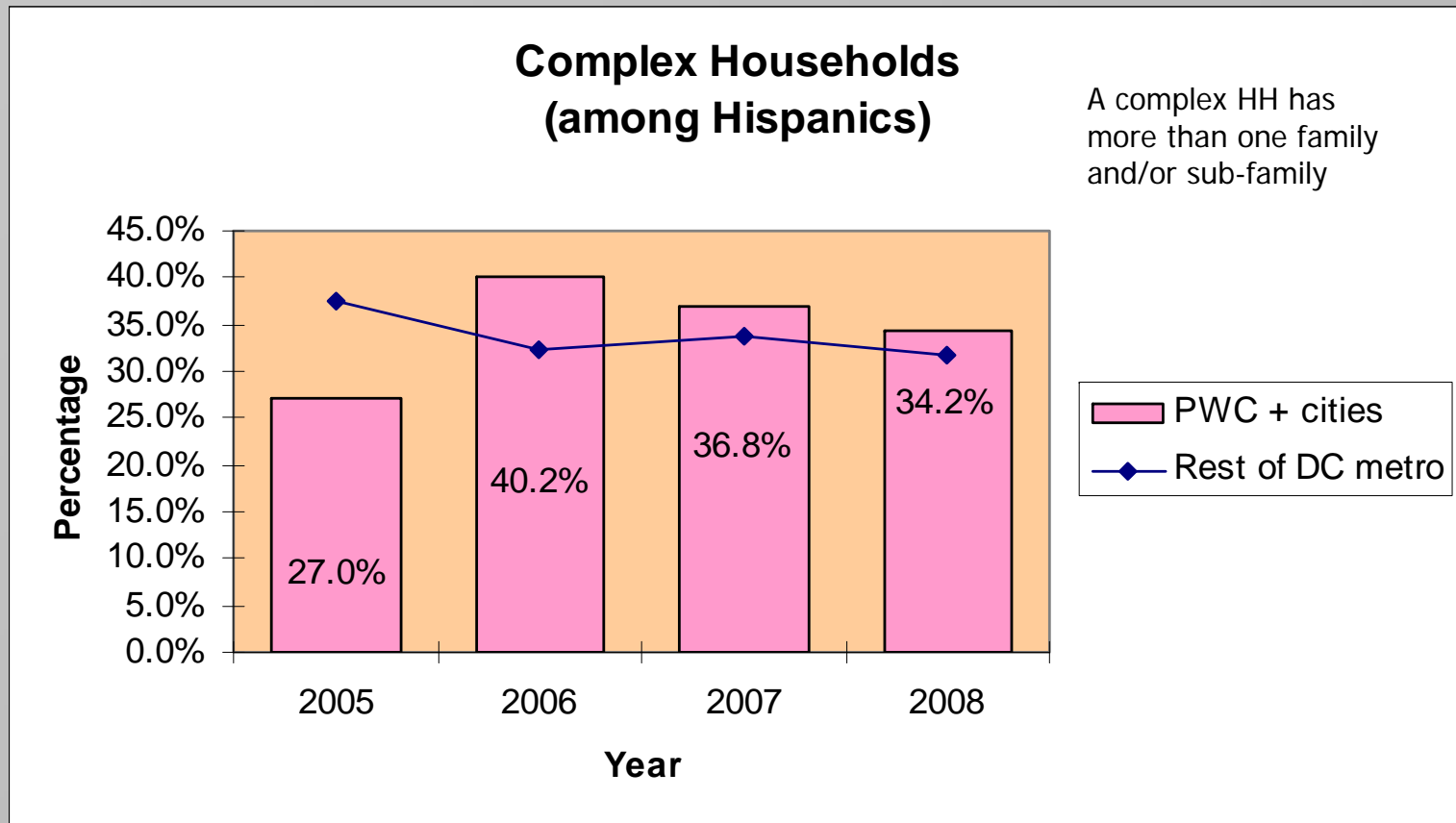
- Neighborhood services records show dramatic decline in complaints about parking in overcrowded properties
 - Down 38% from 2006 to 2008
- Residents reported less loitering at day labor sites
 - But this problem came back after its initial decline
- Mortgage foreclosures reached crisis proportions
- Complaints about neglected vacant properties went up substantially
 - Weed/tall grass violations doubled from 2006 to 2008
- Changes in staffing, enforcement tools make time trends unclear in Neighborhood Services data
 - Enforcement capacity of Neighborhood Services increased

What is overcrowding?

- PWC ordinances give specific definitions
 - These allow many relatives to reside in a dwelling
 - Most overcrowding complaints are judged to be “unfounded”
- Nationally, the household structure of Hispanics differs from non-Hispanics
 - More multi-family households, more “sub-families”
- Public Use Micro Sample data from ACS allow us to examine households that include more than one family
 - “Complex HH” here includes any HH with a “subfamily” or a second family in HH
- 34% of Hispanic households, 16% of non-Hispanic are complex
 - Across DC Metro (2005-2008)

Complex HH among Hispanics

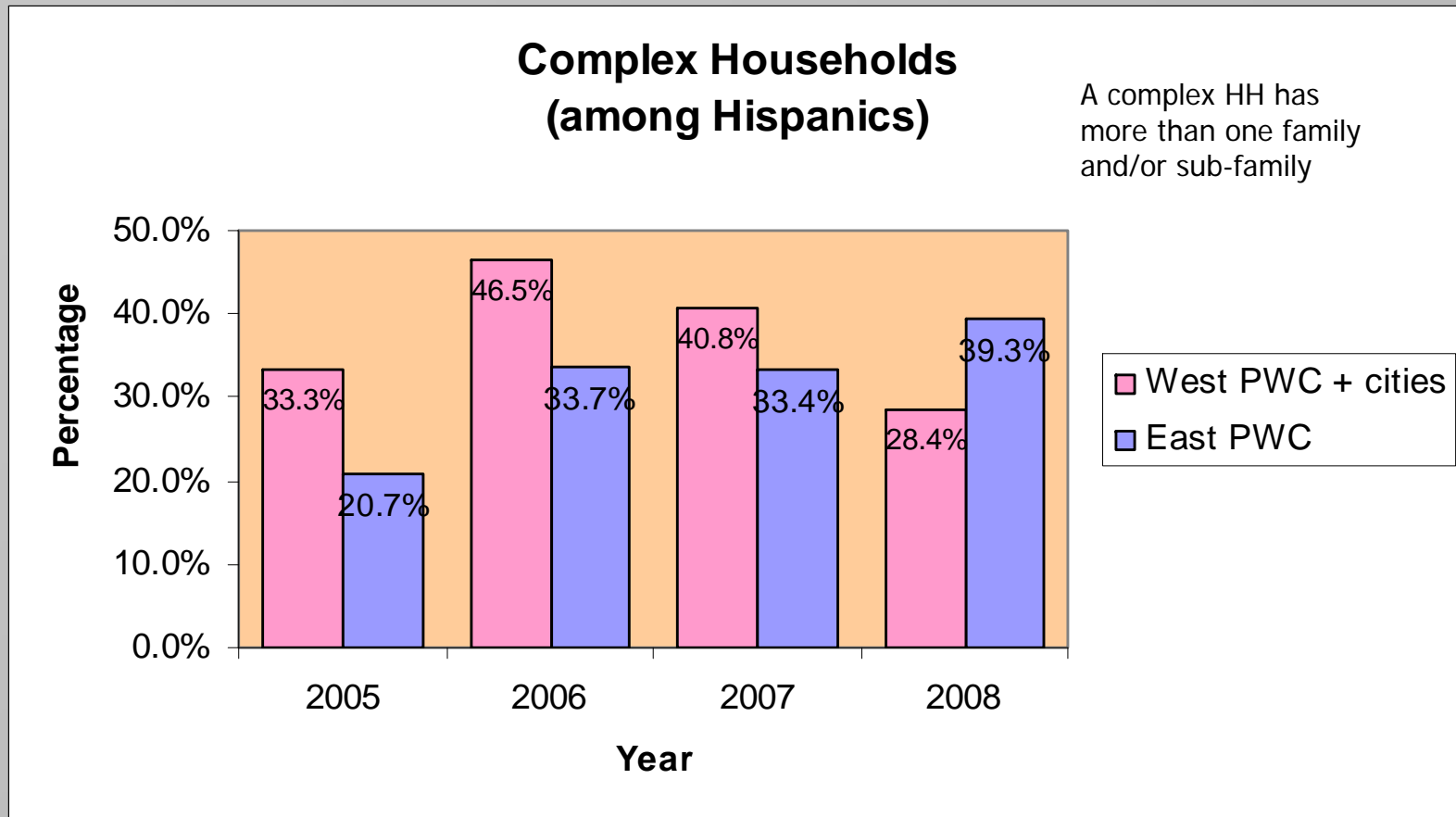
PWC + cities vs. rest of metro



Source: CSR analysis of ACS PUMS data

Complex HH among Hispanics

West PWC (+ cities) vs. East PWC



Source: CSR analysis of ACS PUMS data

How did the policy affect confidence in the PWC Police?

*Data from PWC
Citizen Surveys*

Satisfaction with Police

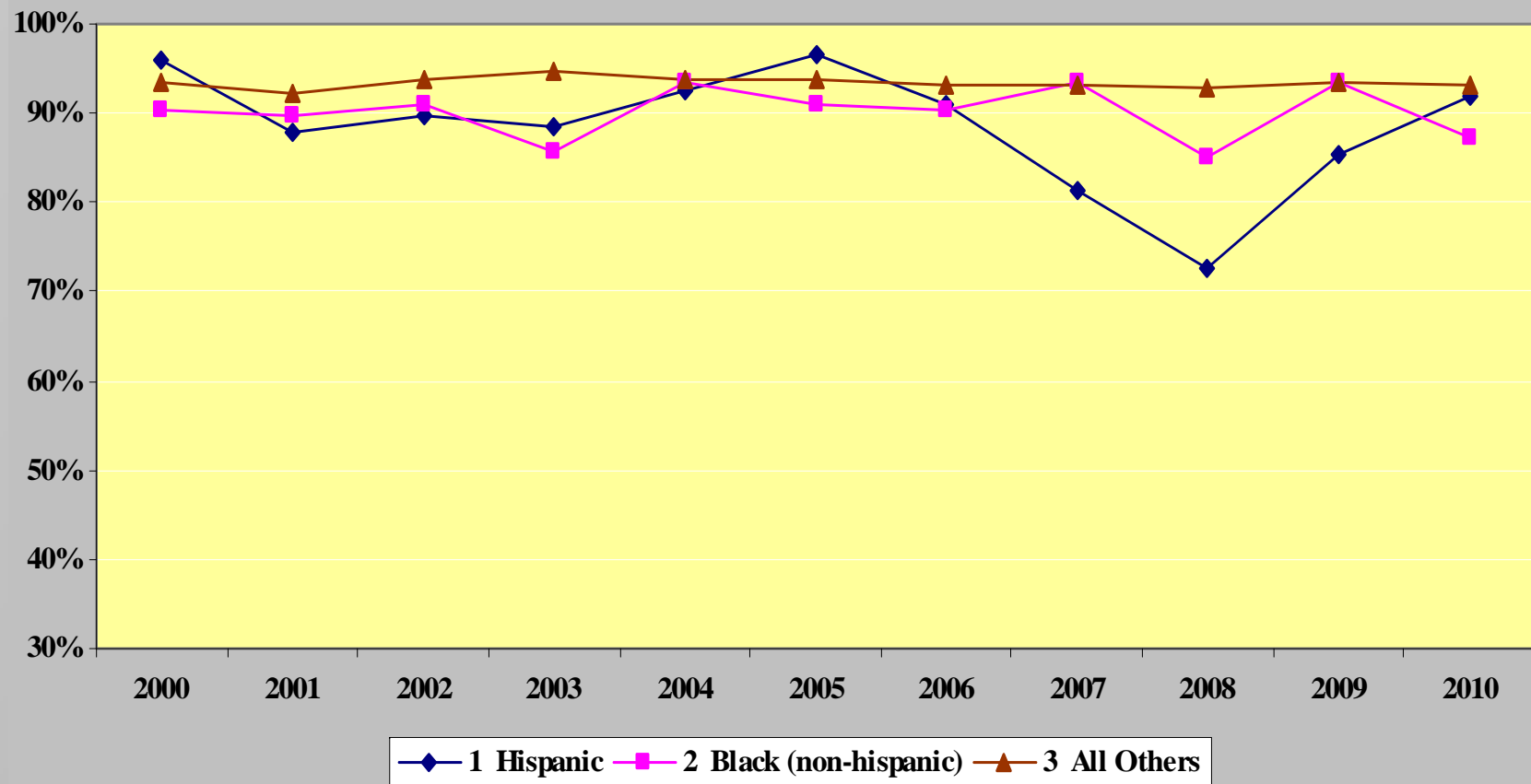
% satisfied

Items	2008	2009	2010
Overall satisfaction with Police	89.0	92.5*	92.2
Police Department carrying out immigration policy	80.5	85.0*	76.0**
Police attitudes and behaviors	79.3	84.4	84.7
Police Department treats everybody fairly	74.3	78.8*	79.9

* 2009 percentage significantly higher than 2008

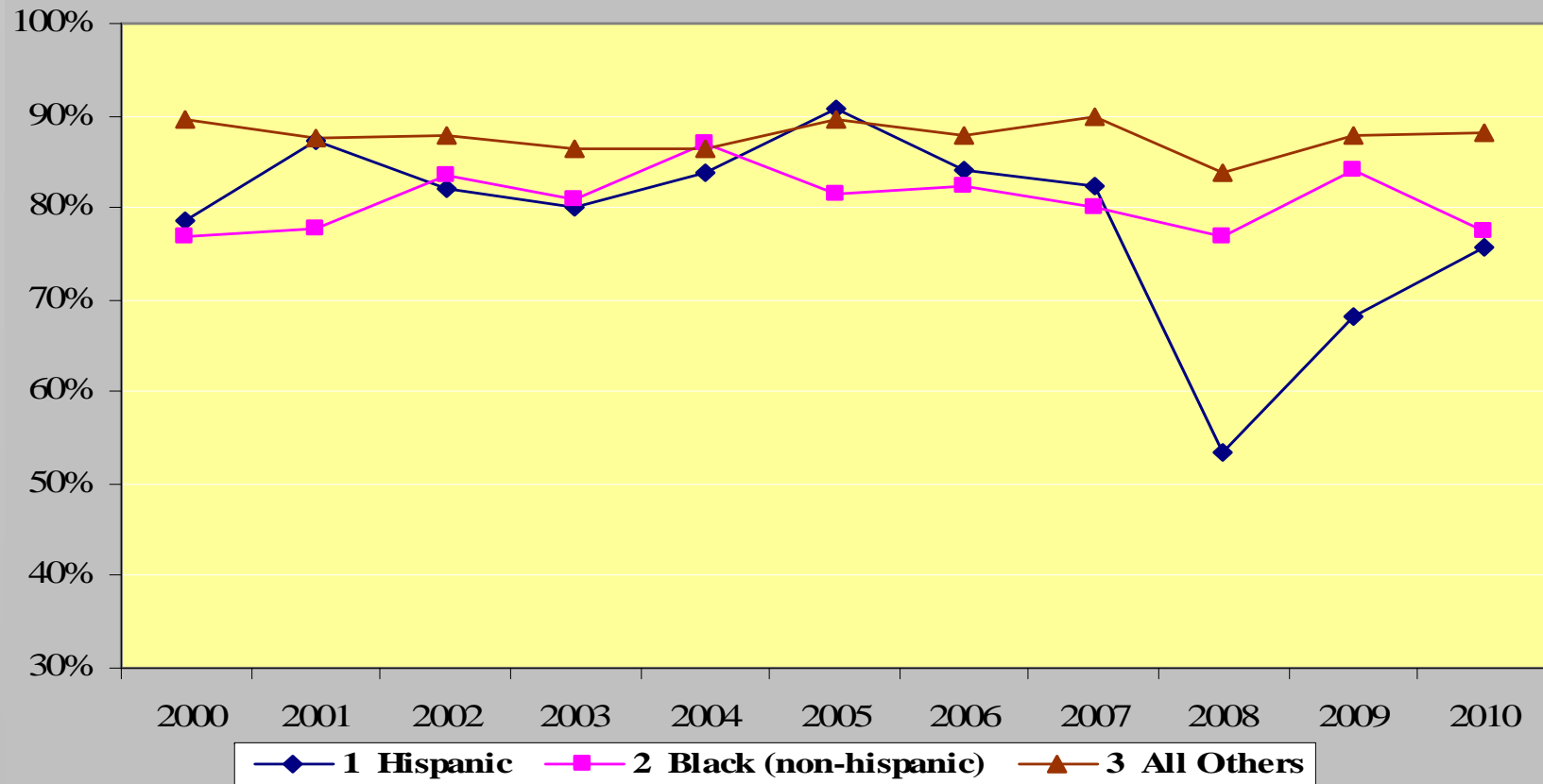
** 2010 percentage significantly lower than 2009

Overall rating of police by ethnic/racial group, by year



Before 2000, the number of Hispanic respondents was low.

Police attitudes and behaviors by ethnic/racial group, by year



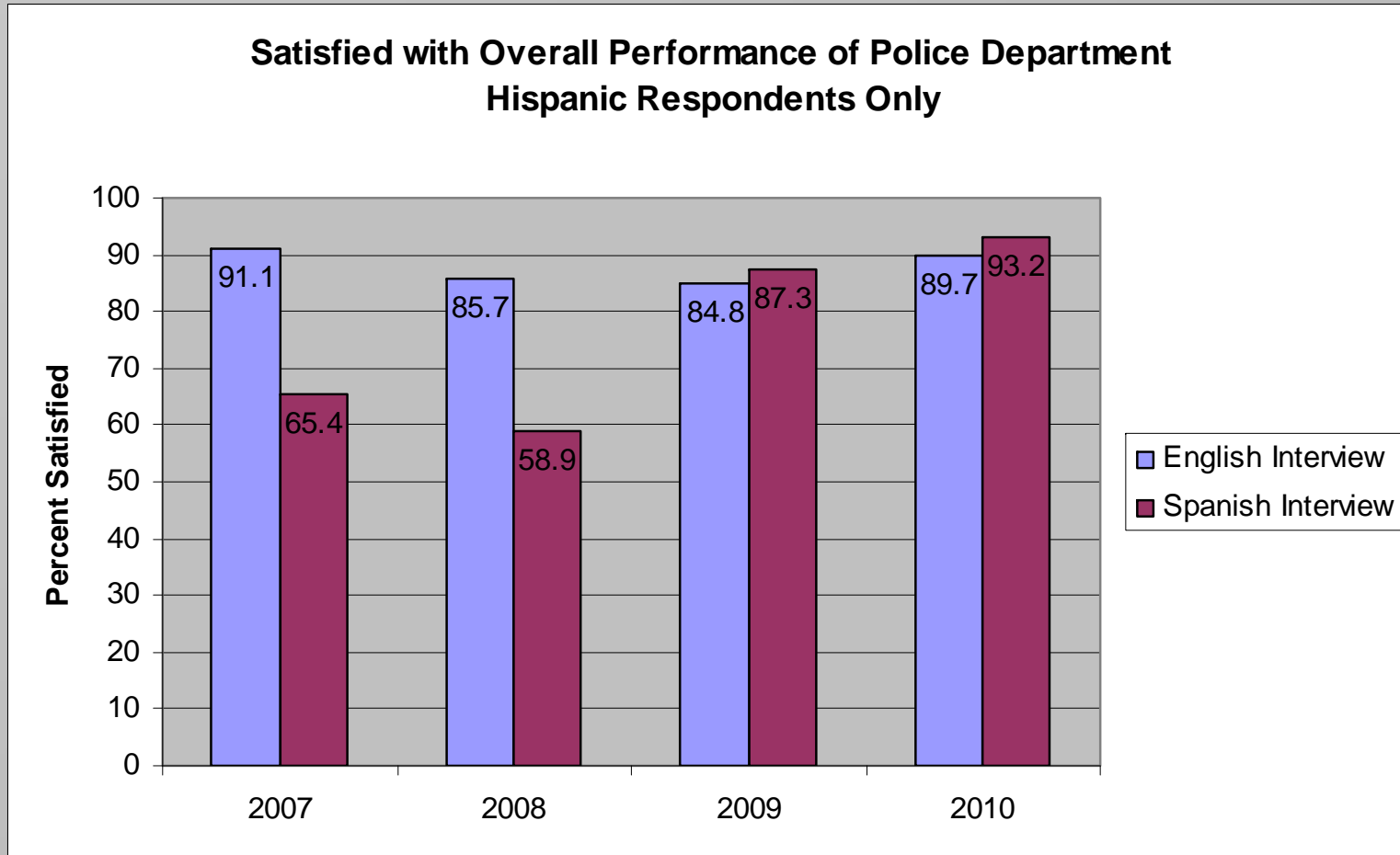
% satisfied

Hispanic Views by Language of Interview

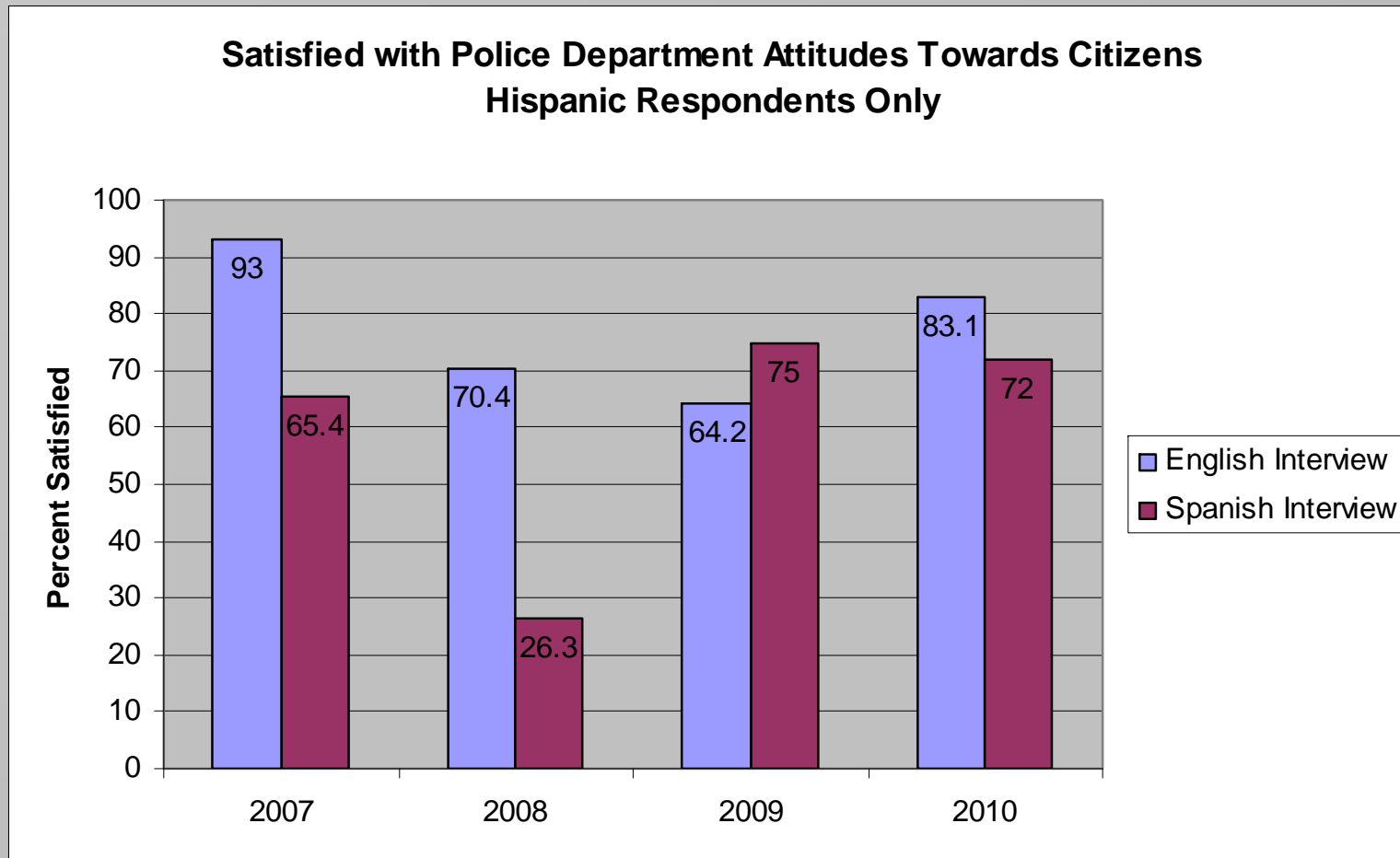
2010 Items (Hispanics only)	English	Spanish
Overall satisfaction with Police	89.3	93.6
Police Department carrying out immigration policy	58.4	16.8
Police attitudes and behaviors	82.3	70.4
Police Department treats everybody fairly	64.2	48.6

% satisfied

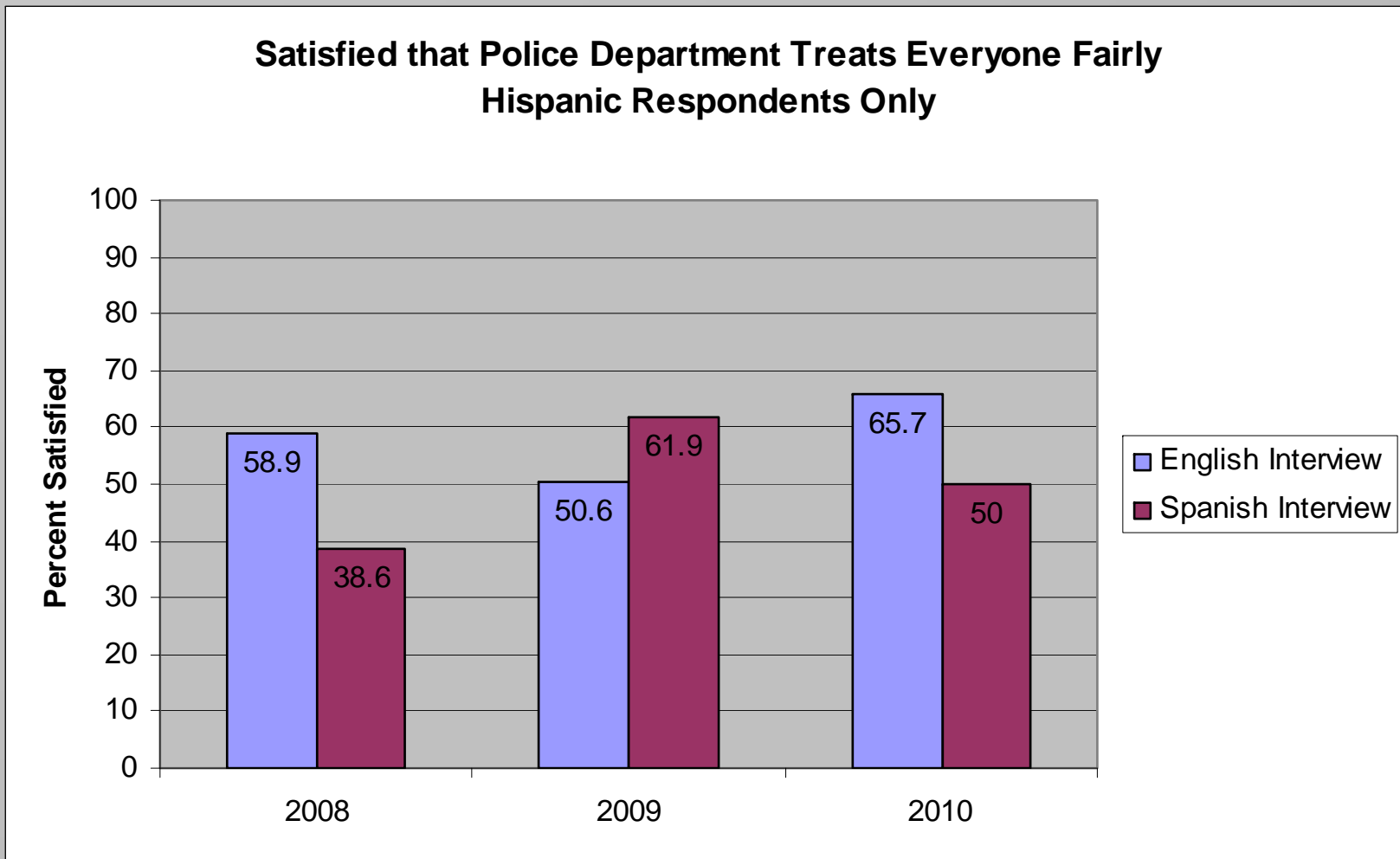
Satisfaction with police, by language



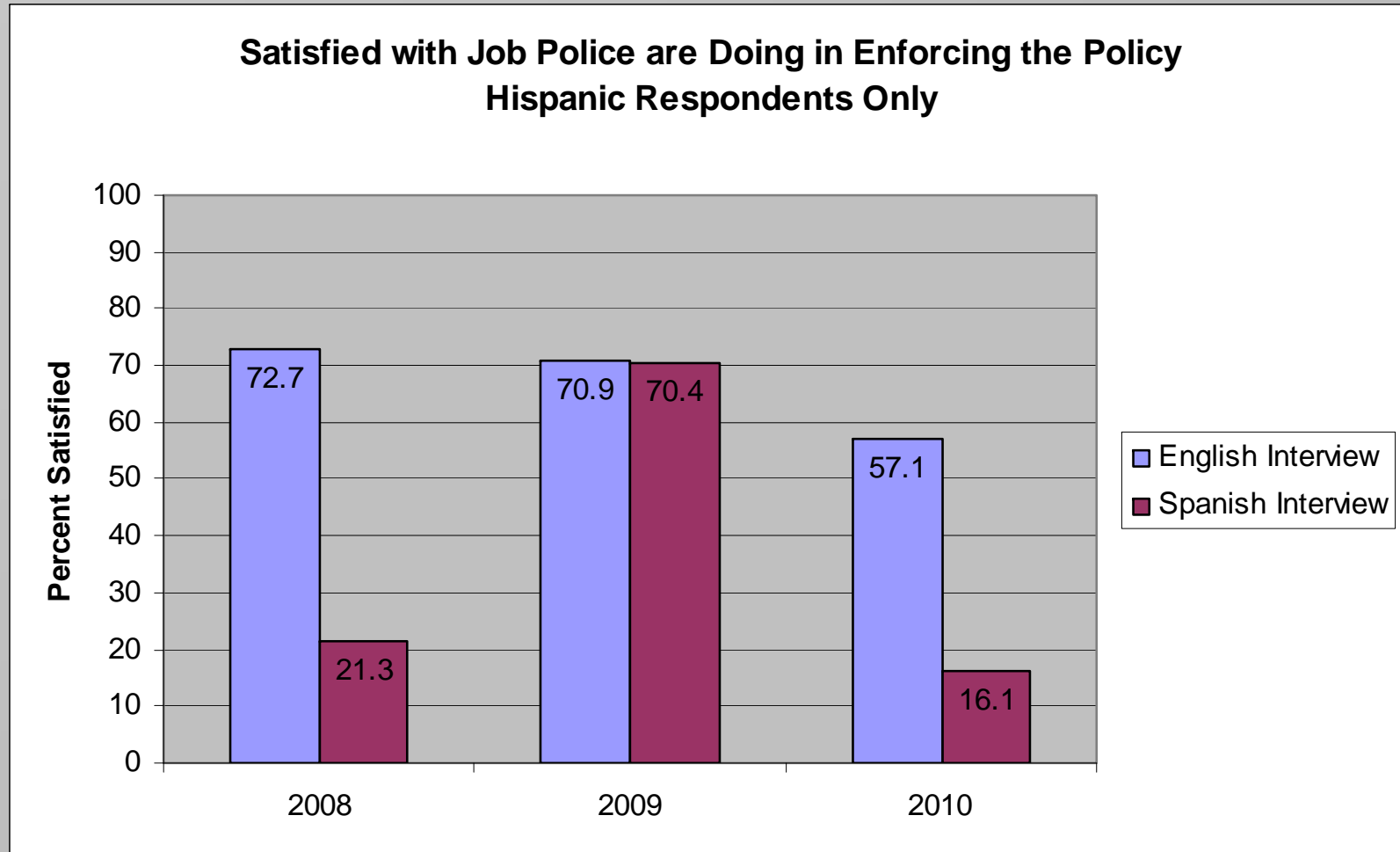
Satisfaction with attitudes, by language



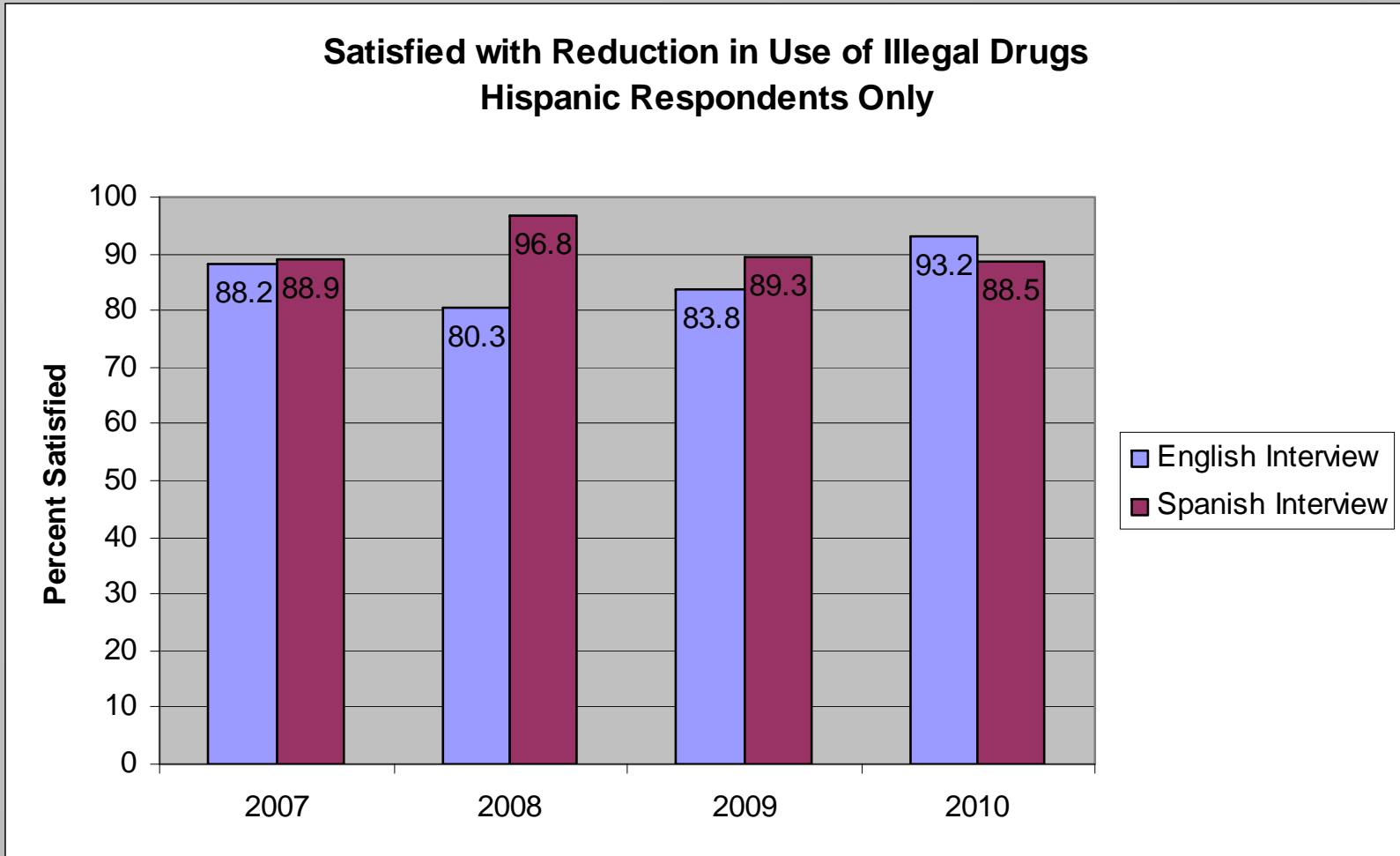
Satisfaction with fairness, by language



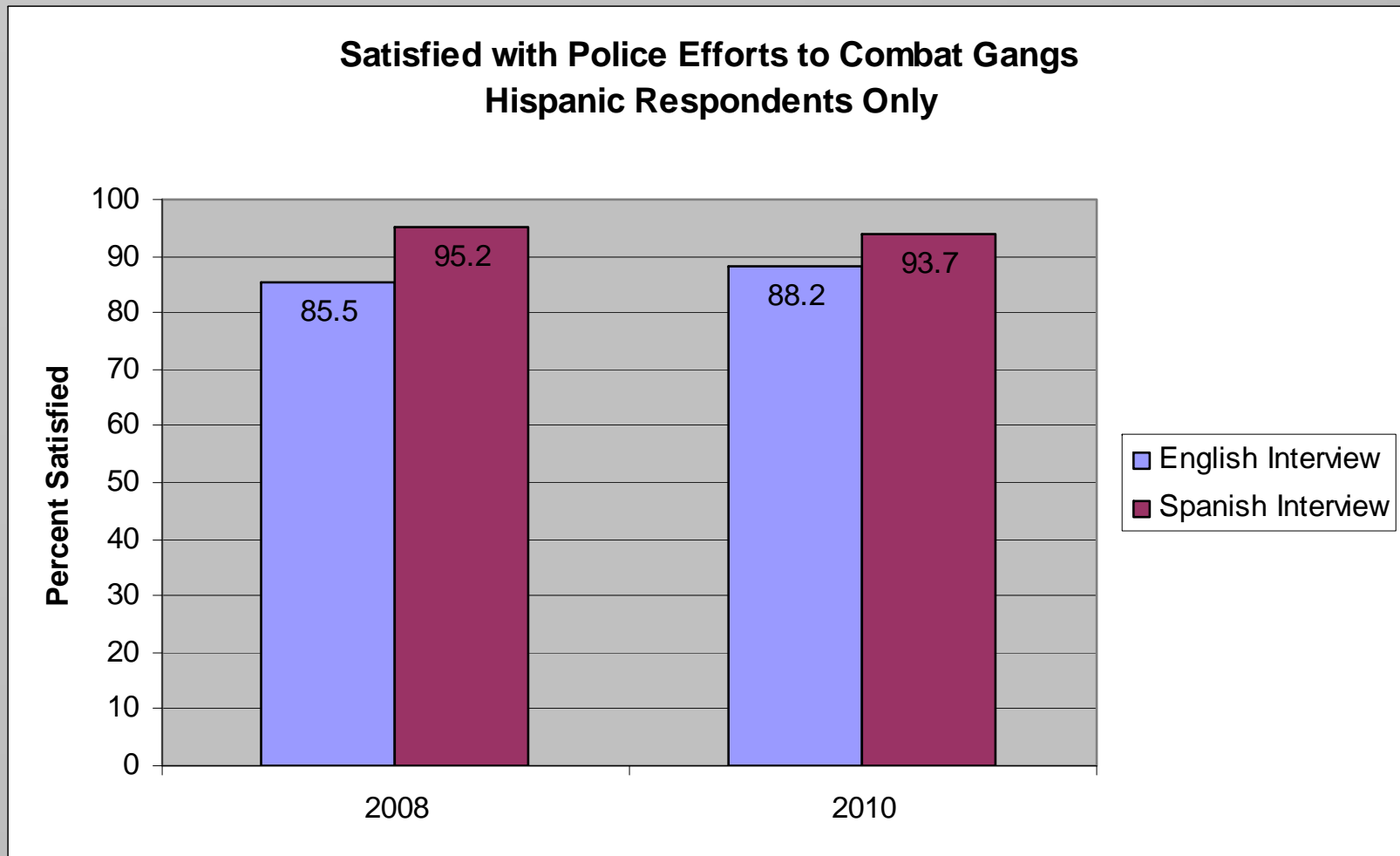
Satisfaction with policy implementation, by language



Satisfaction with drug efforts, by language



Satisfaction with gang efforts, by language



Asked in even-numbered years only

Hispanic views of police are issue-specific and media-sensitive

- Introduction of the policy created serious ethnic gaps in perceptions
- Ethnic gap (of 2008) in overall satisfaction with the police has disappeared
- Ethnic gaps in views of police attitudes and fairness have improved markedly since 2008
 - But residents still think that immigrants with poor English would not report a crime nor act as a witness
- Wide gaps between Spanish interviewees and English interviewees
 - Spanish interviewees are less acculturated and more tuned to Spanish-language media
- Hispanics, including Spanish interviews, approve of specific police efforts and the police in general
 - But Spanish interviewees don't like the immigration policy
- Media attention to local and national immigration events in 2010 heightened fears about PWC's policy

Many lack understanding of the policy

- In semi-structured interviews, respondents were asked their understanding of the policy
 - Few can give specifics about the policy
 - Spanish-speaking Hispanics are especially likely to be unclear on the policy
 - Many unable to understand the question itself
 - Perhaps not seeing police posture as policy-governed
- Current information on the police website is in need of updating
 - And simplification

How did the policy affect
views of PWC as an inclusive
community?

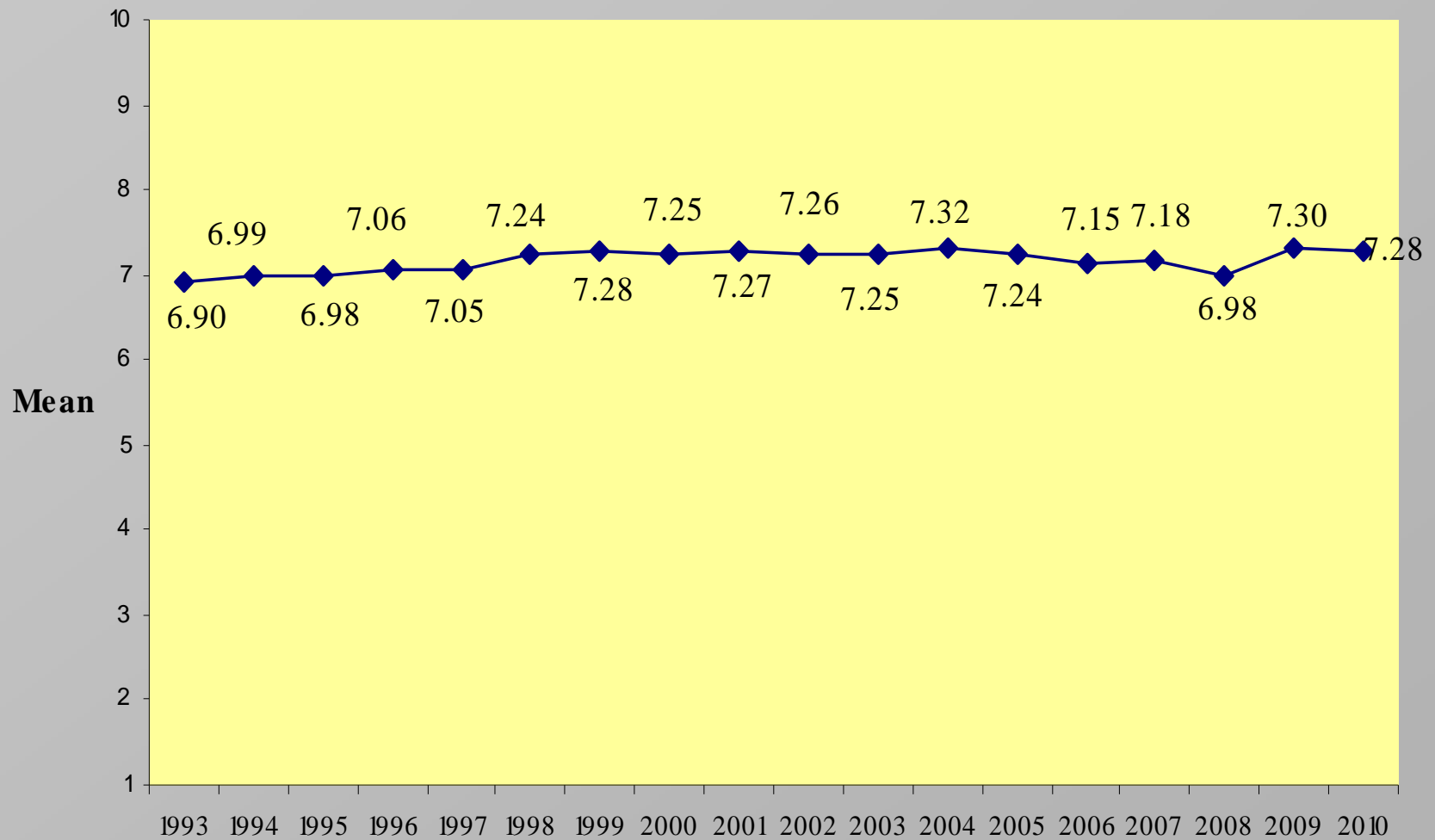
*Views of PWC residents
(from annual community surveys)*

PWC Quality of Life

- Rated on a ten-point scale (10 = highest)
- Current rating: 7.28
- 2009 rating: 7.30
- 2008 rating: 6.98
- 2007 rating: 7.18
- 2006 rating: 7.15
- 1993 rating: 6.90

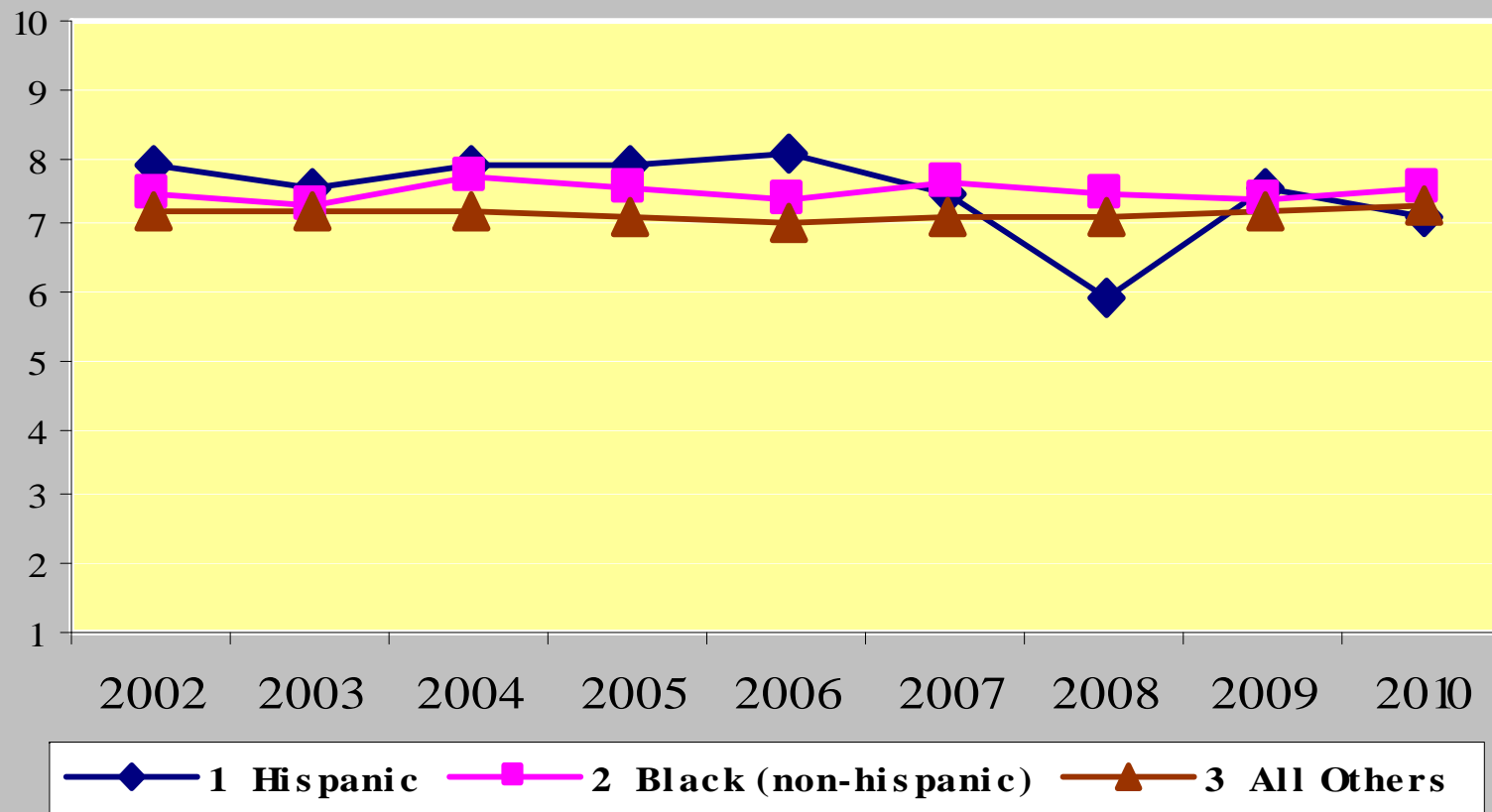
*The 2010 mean rating is significantly different from the 2008 mean rating

Quality of Life Ratings: 1993-2010

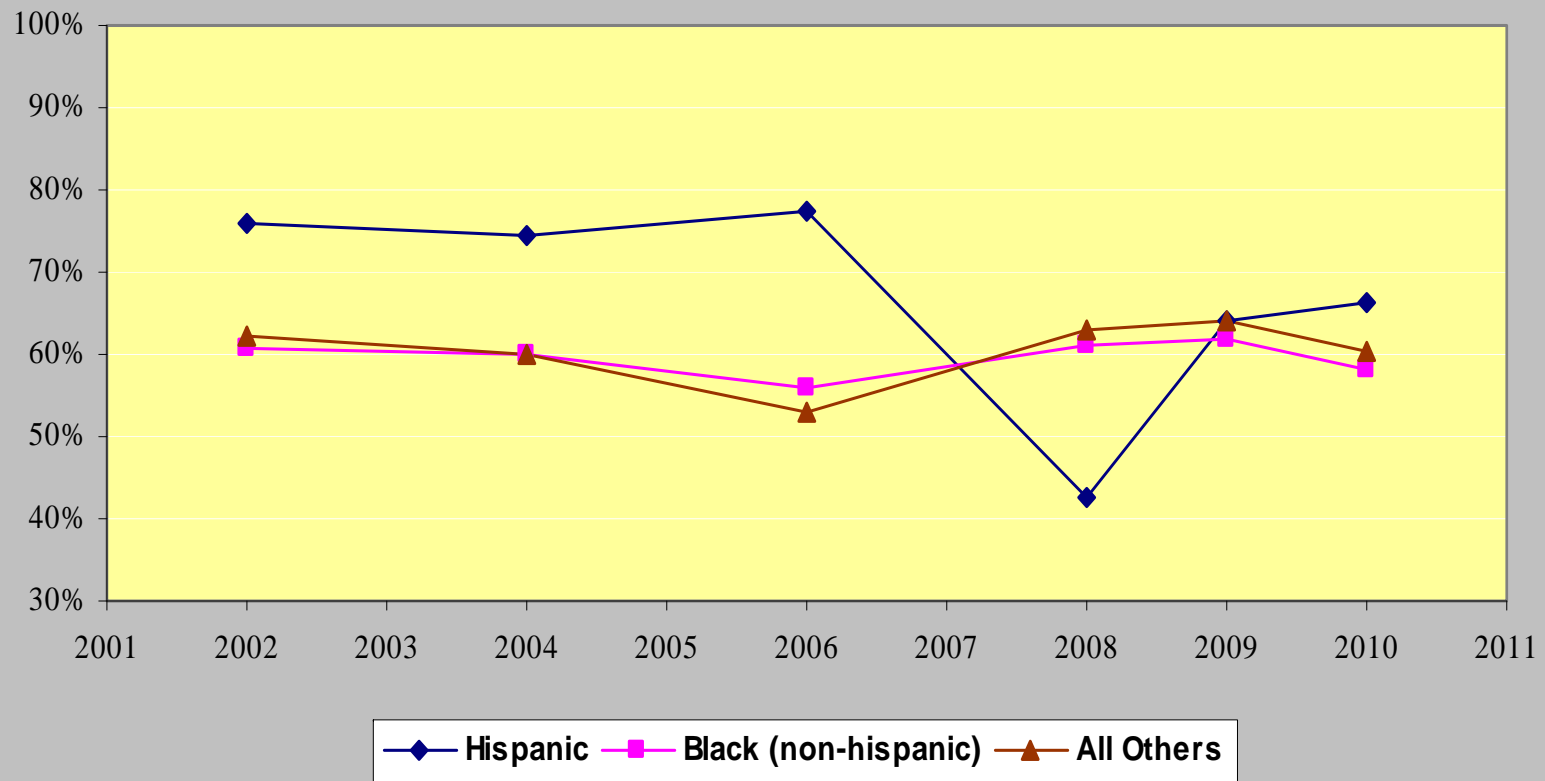


Quality of Life by ethnic/racial group, by year

Rating PWC as a place to live, 1 to 10 scale.

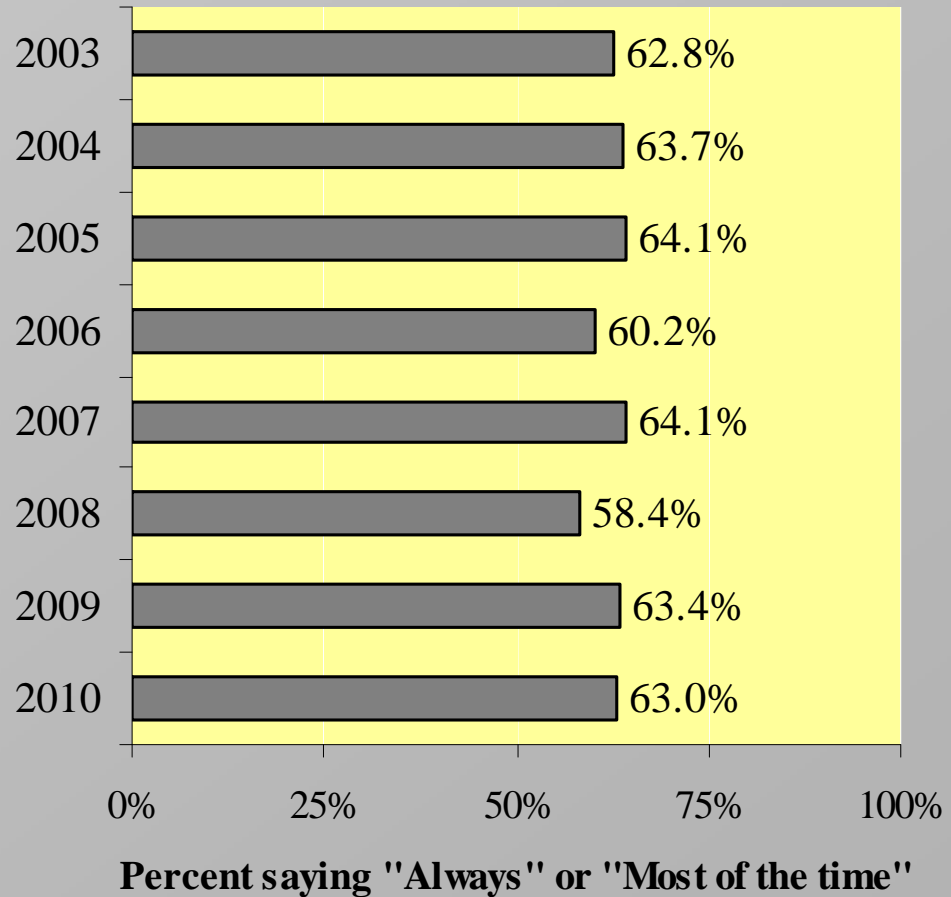


Want to live in PWC 5 years from now? by ethnic/racial group by year



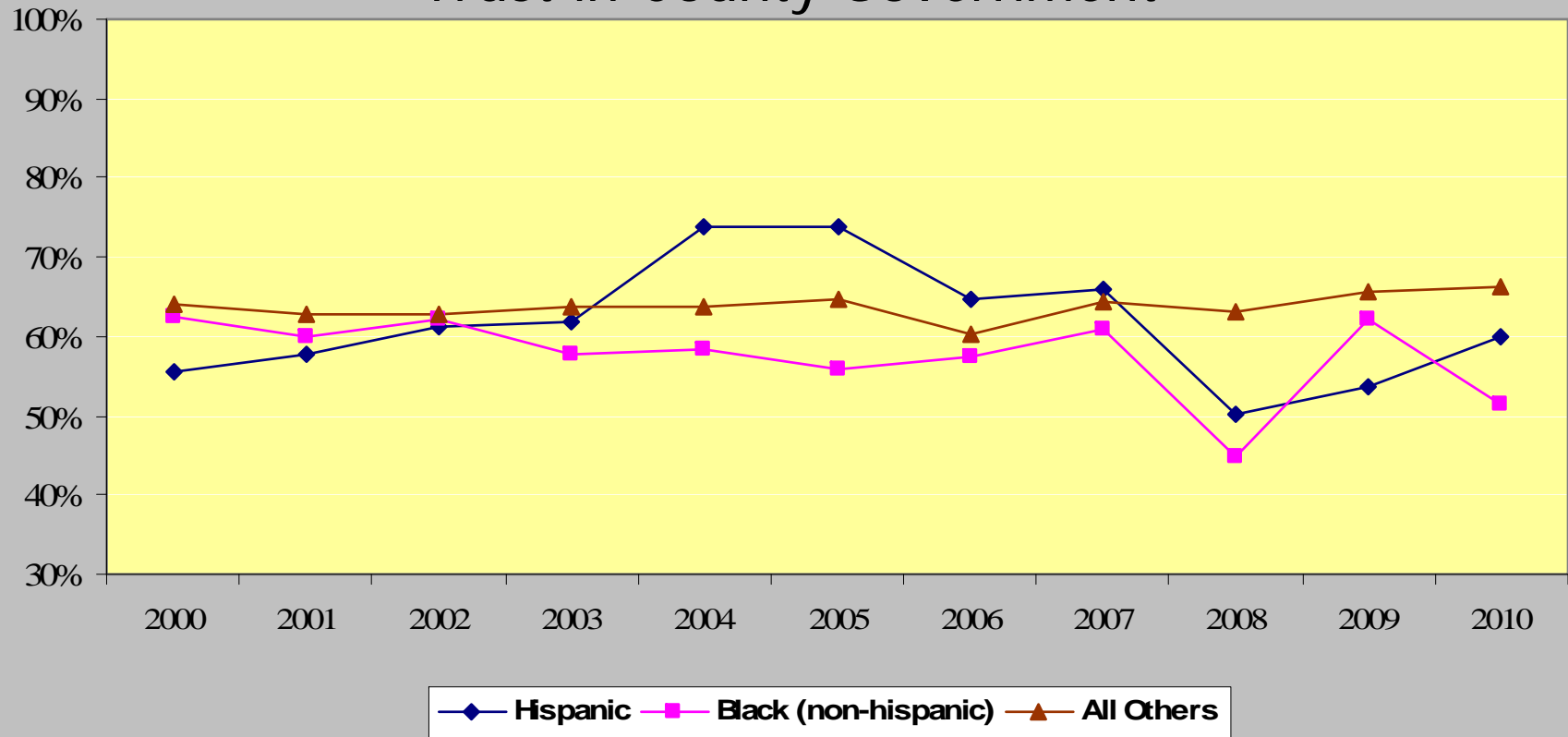
Trust in County Government, 2003-2010

- How often do residents trust the County government to do what's right?



Differences by Ethnicity

Trust in County Government

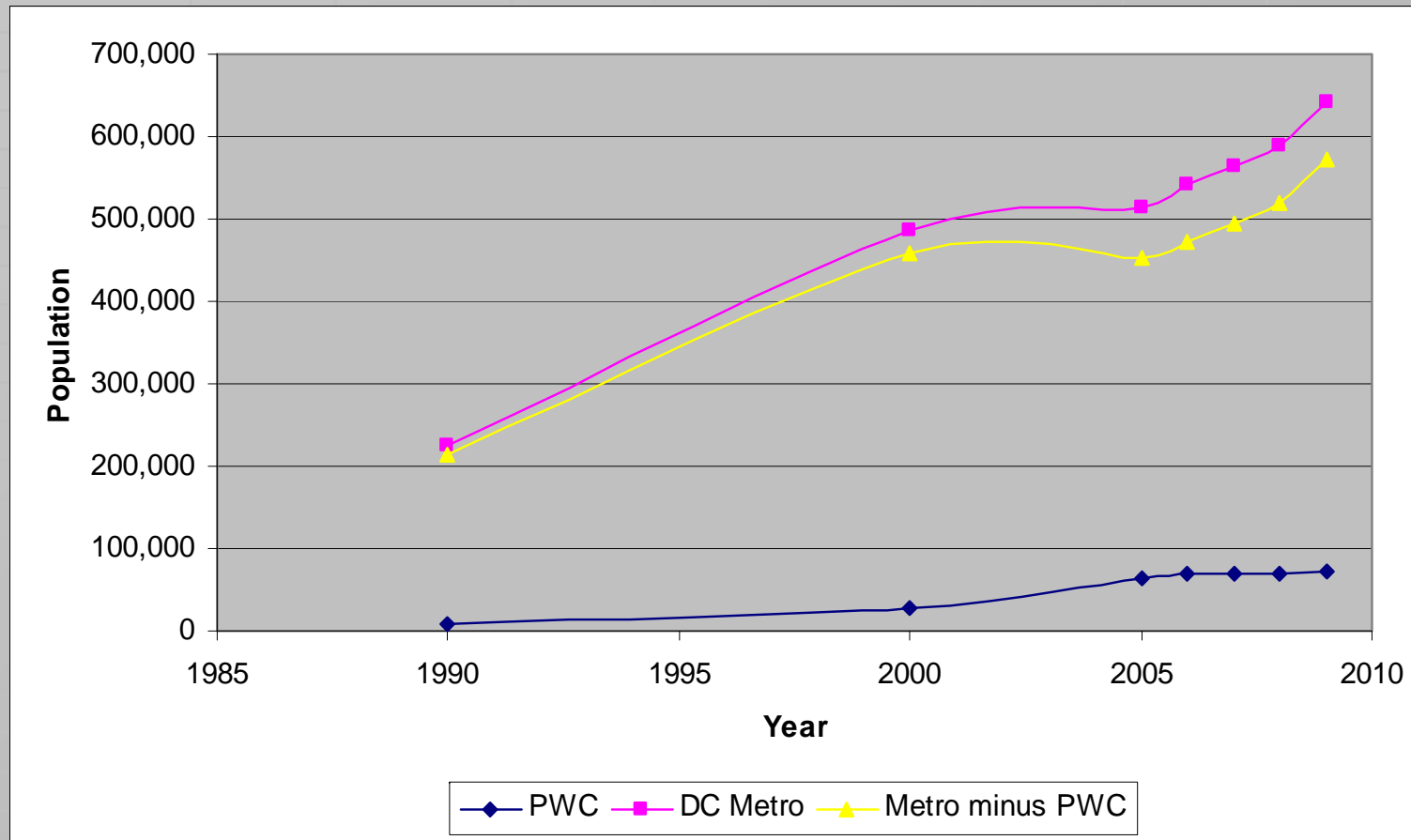


% saying always or most of the time

How did the policy affect
views of PWC as an inclusive
community?

*Effect on Hispanic demand for
PWC homes and
Hispanic population change*

Growth in Hispanic population 1990-2010



Conclusions of the study

Conclusions about the Policy's Goals

1. Reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the County:
 - The number of illegal immigrants has been reduced
 - Result: leveled growth and changed demographics of Hispanic population
 - Hispanic demand for home mortgages in PWC was reduced
2. Improve Public Safety and Reduce Crime:
 - Most types of crimes were not affected by the policy, however:
 - Aggravated assaults were reduced by the policy
 - Police initiatives predating 2008 also had impact on violent crime
 - Hit and run accidents were reduced
 - Public drunkenness went down; cause unclear
 - No significant change in disorder crimes

Conclusions about the Policy's Goals

3. Reduce neighborhood problems

- Overcrowding complaints are down, but founded violations are up
- Day laborer sites went down temporarily
 - But sites are still active in the County
 - BOCS passed July 2010 ordinance which regulates solicitation on public ways

4. Save money by delivering fewer services to illegal immigrants:

- ESOL students still high in schools but leveled
 - Cannot restrict by Federal Law
- Funding saved by restricting services to illegal immigrants in programs such as homeless intervention shifted to citizens and legal immigrants

Conclusions about the Policy's Goals

5. Maintain community confidence and trust in Police
 - The community became ethnically divided in its views of the police in 2008
 - After two years, the ethnic gaps in perception are mostly repaired
 - Police have conducted over 200 outreach opportunities with the community since current resolution approved by BOCS
 - Information about the BOCS policy is provided at events, on the website in English and Spanish
 - Spanish-speaking Hispanics still view the policy negatively but have returned to positive views of the police overall.

Conclusions about the Policy's Goals

6. Maintain County's reputation as an inclusive community both internally and externally
 - Hispanic ratings of quality of life, desire to live in PWC in the future dropped sharply in 2008, opening an ethnic gap in perception
 - Quality of life ratings show no difference in 2010 between Hispanic, Black and other
 - Percent of Hispanics in the County wanting to live in PWC five years from now is no different than non-Hispanics in 2010
 - Trust in government has been maintained at historic rates, however, trust by minorities is lower than it is "others"
 - Lowered Hispanic growth in PWC suggests issues with perception of PWC among Hispanics outside the County

Conclusions about Unintended Consequences:

- A. Facilitate overzealous or inappropriate enforcement actions by Police?
 - No lawsuits directly claiming racial profiling have been filed against the County
 - From 2008-2010, satisfaction regarding Police behaviors improved from 70% to 83% (08-10) for English-speaking Hispanics and from 26% to 72% for Spanish-speaking Hispanics
- B. Generate a costly flood of litigation against the Police Department and the County?
 - The litigation flood did not materialize

The risks of these unintended consequences were greatly reduced by the BOCS change to the current policy being implemented today.

Conclusions about Unintended Consequences:

- C. Overburden the PD to the point of reducing its effectiveness and create admin costs far greater than anticipated?
 - Initial implementation did require resources for training, outreach and for executive staff
 - but burden has somewhat diminished
 - Ongoing cost of the Criminal Alien Unit is in the Five-Year Budget
 - Officers report policy has become a routine part of PD business
 - Overwhelmingly, Police Officers believe they have the necessary training and skills to implement the BOCS policy
 - This does represent a significant, continuing impact on the PD and its resources

Conclusions about Unintended Consequences:

- D. Create fear and a sense of being unwelcome amongst immigrants in general and cause legal immigrants to leave?
 - Clear that illegal immigrants have left County, unclear if legal immigrants have also left County
 - Hispanic population has leveled off
 - Hispanics who live here now say they want to live in PWC five years from now
- E. Capacity problems at jail, or with ICE?
 - Some problems in first few months, promptly resolved
 - We don't know how ICE disposes of cases turned over to them

Conclusions about Unintended Consequences:

- F. Result in lower crime reporting from the Hispanic community or increase their victimization?
- No significant change in reported victimization by Hispanics (citizen survey)
 - Hispanics reporting crimes has not changed significantly, and is same as rate for non-Hispanics (citizen survey)
 - Under-reporting could play a role in decreases seen in some crimes, but cannot explain all of the decreases.
 - PWCPD has evidence of some crimes against Hispanics that were not reported
 - Residents & some officers are still concerned that crimes are not being reported by illegal immigrants
 - The immigration policy is still not well understood, especially by Hispanics who do not speak English well.
 - PWCPD outreach efforts must continue to encourage crime reporting without fear of an immigration check

Conclusions about implementation

- Police implemented the policy smoothly, with a high level of effort & professionalism
 - Strong leadership, with continuity and focus
 - Training fully met officer needs
 - Clear message: Racial profiling would not be tolerated
 - Good coordination and support from ICE
 - Additional time burden on officers accommodated without reducing departmental effectiveness
 - Major time commitment from senior staff was needed
 - High satisfaction with implementation among residents
- Police invested major effort in promoting public understanding of the policy
 - These efforts took time to show success
 - Further work is needed to educate Spanish speakers and users of Spanish media about the policy

In sum, we conclude . . .

- The Prince William County illegal immigration enforcement policy:
 - Was smoothly implemented by PWCPD and County staff
 - Had wide-ranging effects
 - Some of these effects were those intended
 - Some of the policy's goals were not achieved
 - Had few of the unintended consequences that some had feared

It IS possible for a local government to have an impact on its illegal immigration experience.

November 16, 2010



WELDON COOPER
CENTER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE
at the University of Virginia

FINAL REPORT

Evaluation Study of Prince William County's Illegal Immigration Enforcement Policy



CSR

Center for Survey Research

www.virginia.edu/surveys

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POLICE EXECUTIVE
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