Unmasking ICE's Anti-Latino Practices – and What New York City Can Expect

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Since Donald Trump's inauguration on January 20th, his administration has pursued an unprecedented mass-deportation campaign. Crackdowns and raids in Los Angeles, Washington D.C., and Chicago were staged to maximize visibility: The Trump administration brought in U.S. Marines (in L.A.), took over the local police department (in Washington), and called up the National Guard (in L.A. and Washington) or tried to (in Portland and Chicago). Immigration arrests have soared, paired with a <u>publicity campaign</u> that records, documents, and most importantly, propagandizes.

We – a partnership between the NYIC, and Chloe N. East and Elizabeth Cox of the University of Colorado – analyzed ICE data on 252,571 national administrative arrests to learn more about the scale of this expansion. We compared the first half year of the Trump Administration with the final year of the Biden Administration. Our dataset includes detailed information on the time of arrest, the manner in which it took place, demographics, and the place of the arrest. We wanted to know how ICE's enforcement has shifted, how arrest patterns differ across regions, and most importantly, how arrests might disproportionately target racial groups, notably Latinos.

For New York, the implications of our findings are profound. Immigrant communities are deeply woven into the fabric of New York's civic life. Our ICE data allows us to tell a story about New York's upstate and downstate regions, because location is broken out by "Areas of Responsibility," of which there are two in New York State (Buffalo and New York City). Each AOR comprises about half the state's population.

Our analyses show three takeaways that paint a portrait of ICE activity in New York:

- 1. Discrimination against Latinos is the pattern. No matter the nationality, our data shows ICE disproportionately arrests Latinos across New York and nationwide.
- 2. Courthouse headlines tell only half the story. Headlines spotlighted arrests at courthouses, but the broader trend was community arrests, which drove the increase in ICE enforcement. Latino men without criminal records have been disproportionately targeted.
- 3. Immigration arrests in NYC have not followed national trends Los Angeles is a warning that things can get worse. In the New York City metro, growth in immigration arrests was slower compared to other regions. ICE already has the tools to expand, and city officials need to prepare now.



The Discriminatory Crackdown on Latinos of Every Nationality

In September, a Supreme Court <u>decision</u> legitimized a practice that ICE had already been engaging in: the targeting of Latinos for immigration enforcement. Advocates and politicians immediately identified the risk of intensified racial profiling of Latinos.

Our data bears out that fear. A clear and consistent pattern emerges when we compare ICE arrests by nationality with Census data on the non-citizen population's country of birth. Latino non-citizens of nearly every nationality are disproportionately targeted, both in New York and across the nation.

(Latinos in our dataset are individuals with citizenship in the following countries: Mexico, Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, French Guiana, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela.)

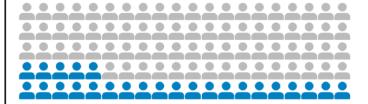
Across New York State, the disparities are striking:

- Ecuadorans are 4.0% of non-citizens but 24.9% of ICE's arrests.
- Mexicans are 5.6% of non-citizens but 9.9% of ICE's arrests.
- Guatemalans are 1.6% of non-citizens but 8.4% of ICE's arrests.
- Hondurans are 1.3% of non-citizens but 6.0% of ICE's arrests.
- Colombians are 2.8% of non-citizens but 5.1% of ICE's arrests.



ICE has Disproportionately Targeted Latinos for Arrest

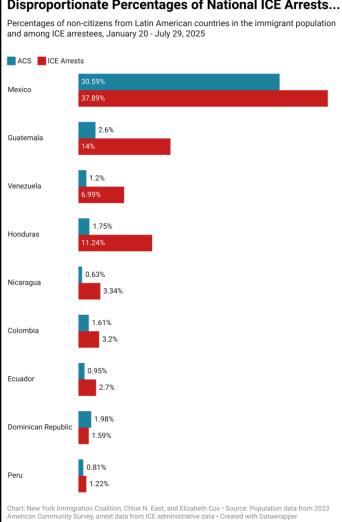
Immigrants from Central and South America are 25% of New York's Immigrant Population...



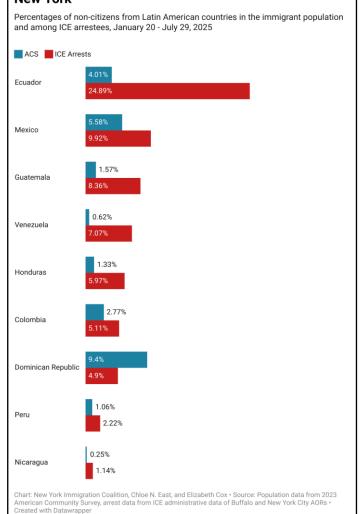
...but immigrants from Central and South America are 74% of ICE arrests in New York



Latinos — of Nearly Every Nationality — Make up Disproportionate Percentages of National ICE Arrests...



...And Disproportionate Percentages of ICE Arrests in New York

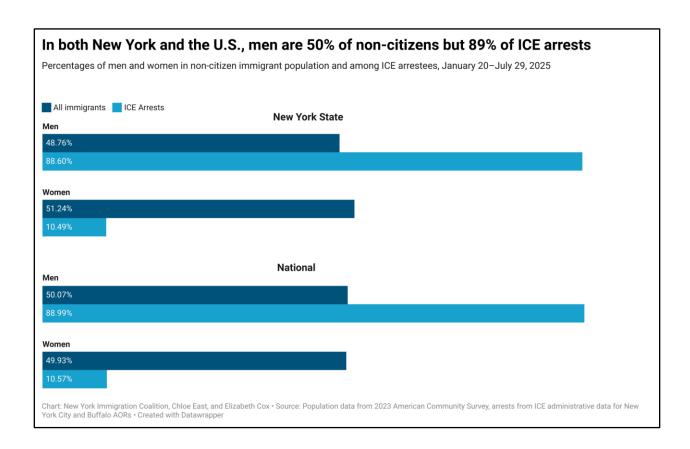




This disparity spans nearly every Latino population in the U.S., including Mexicans, Ecuadorans, Colombians, Cubans, Peruvians, Nicaraguans, Hondurans, Guatemalans, and Venezuelans. Our data shows that immigration enforcement is not applied neutrally across communities, but instead falls disproportionately on Latino communities. No matter how the data is analyzed—even when we compare ratios of arrests to the likely undocumented population—the imbalance persists. Key comparisons can help to illustrate the magnitude:

- A non-citizen from Nicaragua is 115 times more likely to be arrested by ICE than a non-citizen from India.
- A non-citizen from South America is 28 times more likely to be arrested than a noncitizen from Europe.
- In absolute terms, ICE arrests far more non-citizen from Mexico and Central America than from South Asia, Europe, and Africa combined.

Immigration enforcement under Trump also has a gendered character. Nationwide and in New York, 89% of ICE arrests are men, yet men make up exactly half the immigrant population in the US and under half in New York. In other words, Latino men, regardless of nationality, are the primary targets of ICE's crackdown.

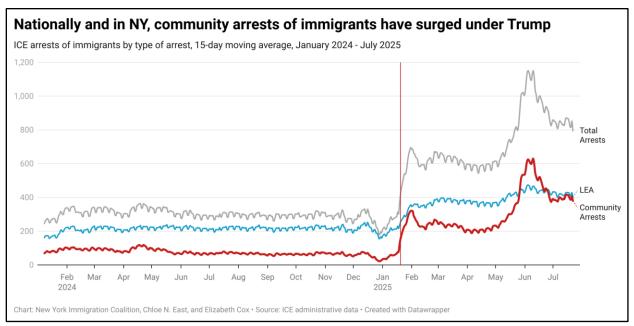


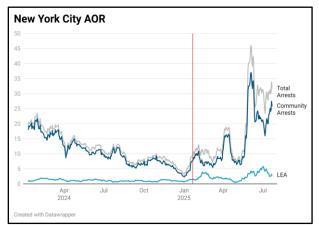


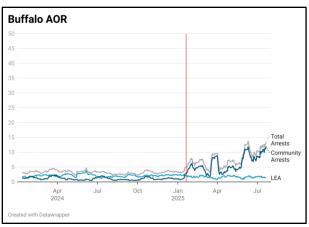
Community-based arrests are driving ICE enforcement everywhere — not criminal records

The Trump Administration's messengers, like Kristi Noem, often <u>invoke</u> public safety, arguing that immigration enforcement is aimed at individuals with criminal records. The claim is that communities are protected by ICE arrests and ICE raids. DHS's well-documented resource shifts – <u>moving tens of thousands of agents off of beats like child exploitation and weapons trafficking</u> – have revealed how pretextual that claim is. Our enforcement data further expose the gaps between talking points and the reality.

Across the country, and especially in New York, community arrests have surged. These are arrests made in private homes, at job sites, and on street corners, often without connection to a person with a criminal record or ongoing legal case. They differ from what we call "Law Enforcement Agreement" arrests (LEA), which include arrests through partnerships with local or state police, transfers to ICE from prisons or jails, and arrests linked to drug (or other) task forces. Under Biden, ICE relied far more heavily on LEA arrests, which were about double community arrests. Today, the national split is even: LEA and community arrests each make up about half of the total arrests. In New York, however, the ratio is far more lopsided, with around 5 community arrests for every LEA arrest.

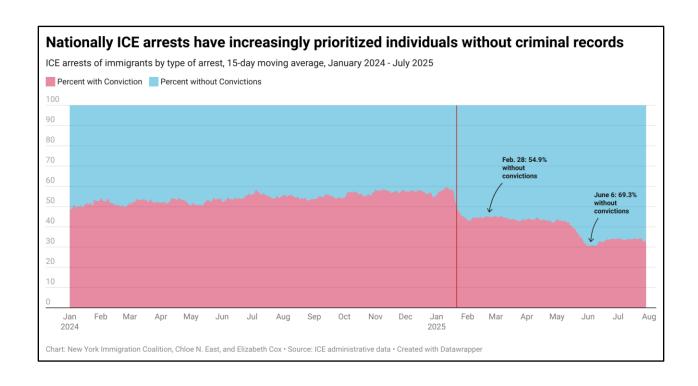








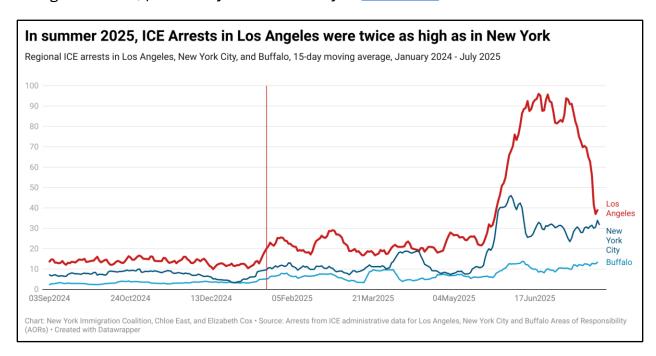
Trump's crackdown has led to a flood of arrests of around 141%, and the bulk of that increase comes from ICE arrests of immigrants with no criminal charges. Arrests of immigrants with no criminal charges have increased by 222%. Meanwhile, arrests of people with criminal convictions have increased by only about 73% since his inauguration. Another way to put it: ICE's arrests of immigrants with clean records have grown three times faster than arrests of those with convictions. Indeed, the latest data show that only 30% of those arrested had any criminal conviction at all.





What Might be in Store for New York

The Trump Administration targeted Los Angeles in late May, when ICE carried out a series of high profile raids. Angelenos protested vigorously. The Trump Administration then federalized the California National Guard and deployed 700 additional Marines from their duty station in Twentynine Palms, a couple of hours drive from Los Angeles, and escalated immigration raids, particularly in the small city of Paramount.

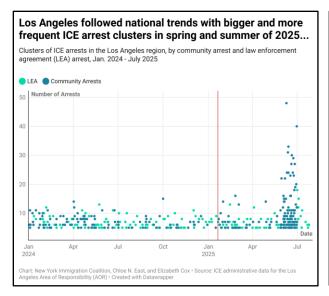


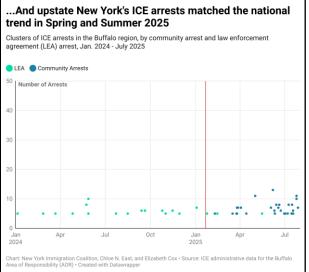
We analyzed Los Angeles's data because it provides the clearest picture of what a surge looks like, and what a similar surge might look like in New York. During the peak of this surge in resources, Los Angeles recorded around 100 arrests per day in a rolling 15-day average. (The highest single day of arrests in our data was July 11, when ICE data recorded 228 arrests.) While the surge in immigration arrests in early summer was not contained to Los Angeles – as the graph shows – New York saw a smaller increase. Over this period, New York City's maximum was about 46 arrests per day, again in a rolling average. Additionally, the Los Angeles surge was sustained for longer than the national surge.

Mass Arrest Patterns in New York City have defied national trends

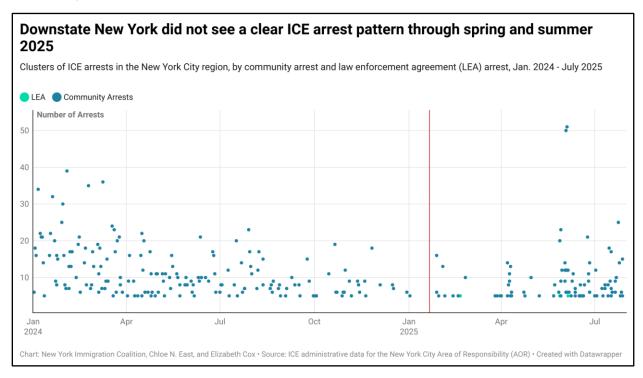
Since Trump's inauguration, ICE has increased the number of people it has arrested every day. Also increasing are grouped arrests, which we call clusters, and which serve as our proxy for large scale enforcement events, including immigration raids. These arrests show up in the national ICE data more frequently than during the Biden Administration. The number of people arrested per arrest cluster has also grown. We can see this trend in the Buffalo data.







But the New York City AOR stands out from the national pattern. The rate of arrest clusters – of any size – is more mixed, and the magnitude of raids shows no clear pattern. Unlike other areas (such as nearby Newark), New York City's data fail to show the same escalation pattern seen in other cities and in the national data. The graph below illustrates the divergence.



While speculation into the reasons is important – did ICE focus more on courthouse arrests in New York City? Was the New York City mayoral administration a factor in ICE's decision making? – one takeaway should arise regardless of the answer: New York City's current experience, while serious, could intensify significantly. In Los Angeles, ICE demonstrated that it can sustain mass arrests at levels more than double those seen in New York. If similar tactics are deployed here, immigrant communities could face an unprecedented wave of enforcement.



Conclusion

The clear and consistent pattern of Trump's immigration agenda is discrimination against Latinos, carried out through community arrests in homes, workplaces, and public spaces. With immigrants comprising 44% of the workforce in New York, mass deportations have hurt and will continue to hurt New York. If the Trump administration is successful at carrying out deportations at the scale they plan, <u>projections</u> indicate that this will result in almost half a million fewer jobs in New York state, including 150,000 job losses in the construction sector alone.

The economic impacts will extend far beyond immigrants and immigrant households. Jobs mostly commonly done by immigrants, such as construction laborers and cooks, are hard to replace with U.S.-born workers. These jobs not only pay low wages, but are more dirty and dangerous, are more likely to be seasonal in nature and have unpredictable work schedules. Employers respond to labor shortages in immigrant-heavy occupations by also reducing hiring of other positions like construction site managers and architects, as well as waiters and hosts, and these jobs are more likely to be done by U.S.-born workers.

Deportations at this scale mean more than lost jobs — they threaten the diversity and dynamism that define New York City. Immigrants power nearly half the city's workforce, but they also animate its cultural life: the food, art, music, and traditions that make New York unique. The Trump Administration's project of mass deportations harms the economy — half a million jobs lost, inflation rising — but the damage goes deeper. Discriminatory enforcement against Latinos and community raids like those we have already witnessed are threats to the cultural mosaic that define life in New York (and beautify our subways). New York must act now to protect the pieces that make it whole.