

Sanctuary Cities in the United States:
Causal Factors and Variation among the States

by

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Abstract

This study employed an empirical analysis of quantitative data to examine the factors which account for the difference in the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in the states in the United States. The debate over sanctuary cities has become one of the pressing political issues as immigration enforcement has gained momentum under the current administration.

This research revealed that there were some characteristics of the states which result in an inconsistency of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. These characteristics include political, social, cultural and economic factors. The major findings are that the states with more sanctuary jurisdictions tend to have more Democratic Party support, have higher immigrant population, are located in Northeast, are wealthier, are less religious, have more educated population, and are more urbanized than those which have less or no sanctuary jurisdictions.

The variation of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions among the states across the country cannot be simply explained by the supporting or opposing arguments of policy makers. It is more complex, influenced by aforementioned factors inherent to the states. These findings will help policy makers and also the public gain more knowledge in the sanctuary city culture of the country and also help them construct more robust, unbiased arguments towards sanctuary cities. Ultimately, this research is proposed with hope to contribute to bipartisan effort to make better and unified policies regarding sanctuary cities.

I. Introduction

Immigration enforcement has gained momentum under the current administration, as President Donald Trump strongly presents himself as an opponent to illegal immigration, specifically targeting undocumented immigrants from Latin America like Mexico. His hate speech and discriminatory remarks against immigrants' community, such as calling Mexicans "invaders" and claiming that the congresswomen with non-white ethnicity should go back to their country, have heated up the narrative of anti-immigration among the public.

The United States was founded by immigrants from different origins. The country has been a land for those who seek better and safer life, or better economic opportunity. One of the early efforts to protect unauthorized immigrants originated in the early 1980s as the "Sanctuary Movement," in which faith based organizations offered their places of worship to protect unauthorized immigrants from Central American countries like El Salvador and Guatemala, who fled political persecution and violent conflicts because the government often rejected their asylum application because they were considered as seeking political asylum, not economic asylum (Gzesh 2006). Sanctuary Movement was aimed to protect such refugees from the risk of deportation and family separation, and provided other assistance of social services like food and shelter. As immigration enforcement has devolved from the federal to the local level, this sanctuary movement further expanded to include local police officers who would not cooperate with federal immigration enforcement agencies. Today, local cities that implement such policies to limit cooperation between local police and federal law enforcement are called "sanctuary cities."

For instance, in Washington, D.C., police and city employees are prohibited to ask residents questions regarding their immigration status. In a different case in Chicago, for example, city employees are not allowed to share residents' immigration status with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) or U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP).

Because the tenth amendment of the Constitution prohibits state governments having to enforce federal laws, some states interpreted federal immigration enforcement detainer requests as one kind of such. In sanctuary cities, when undocumented immigrants get arrested by their local sheriffs for breaking local laws, ICE agents can only request, not demand, to detain them longer so that they can deport them. In this case, the local police are able to neglect ICE's request and release those undocumented immigrants.

Sanctuary cities bring controversial tension on the political level. The tension occurs between the federal government's responsibility to enforce immigration laws and the state and local government's commitment to protect the well-being of residents (Wells 2017). Such tension has especially increased after the incident in July 2015, when Juan Fransisco Lopez-Sanchez, who was an unauthorized immigrant from Mexico, accidentally shot and killed Kathryn Steinle in San Francisco, a well-known sanctuary city. He was found not guilty for a murder. This sparked a concern regarding the enforcement of immigration laws and the legitimacy of sanctuary cities. One of the notable introduced efforts to undermine sanctuary cities is President Trump's executive order, "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," signed in 2017. He announced that the federal government would take away the funding from sanctuary jurisdictions.

This political tension results in arguments whether sanctuary cities encourage the increase in crime rates or heighten community safety. As it can be obviously seen in the executive order, President Trump believes that sanctuary cities hinder public safety because he thinks that those undocumented immigrants are prone to commit to crimes. On the other hand, supporters of sanctuary cities consider that they enhance public safety by giving undocumented immigrants a chance to be able to come forward when they are the victims. Unauthorized immigrants usually do not call the police for being afraid to be deported, and

criminals target these immigrants knowing so. Such difference in opinions leads to agreement and disagreement in sanctuary policies.

Another concern with sanctuary cities is that their existence potentially brings a misconception of inviting illegal immigrants and increases the number of illegal immigrants. Additionally, some citizens of the United States share their concern for the loss of jobs and lower minimum wages due to an inadequacy in the labor market.

This research will examine to a certain extent the relationship between the states' characteristics and sanctuary cities. Because of expected positive and negative outcomes of sanctuary cities, there are differences in the states regarding how many municipal leaders implement sanctuary policies. Therefore, different traits among the states may result in different levels in implementation of sanctuary cities in each state.

The research is aimed at analyzing such differences by answering the research question: *"What kind of states are more or less likely to have a large number of sanctuary cities?"* In the midst of political debate over sanctuary cities, this research will reveal who and what kind of attitude, ideology or factors contribute to promote sanctuary cities. Furthermore, this paper will provide an insight of how and why sanctuary cities have evolved over time so that people will have a better understanding on this topic and know what position their local community takes. People also can form their own opinions on sanctuary policies with more substantive knowledge of causes and effects of sanctuary cities.

The variables used to define the kinds of states will be examined in relation to the number of sanctuary cities in each state. In order to examine this statistical relationship, the empirical research will use data for each variable from the MicroCase (2013). This paper will be organized in several sections including literature review, which gives further information on historical and political background information on sanctuary cities, an explanation of the

methodology, the findings and analysis on the data collected, and finally, the implications and conclusions developed from the data.

II. Literature Review

Introduction

Sanctuary city is relatively a new concept in comparison to a long history of immigration in the United States and has recently received much attention in the political arena. The purpose of this section is to survey the literature on the controversy of sanctuary cities. As the government implements different kinds of immigration enforcement policies, civil movements have developed in response to protect targeted immigrants and cease discrimination; the sanctuary movement is one of these. Immigration enforcement efforts have led critics like religious congregations, legal experts, scholars and nongovernmental organizations—who shared concerns about public safety, humanitarian treatment, ethno-racial profiling and civil rights violations—to establish and expand sanctuary cities. Since their creation in American politics, sanctuary cities have continuously evolved in their roles (Martinez, Martinez-Schuldt and Cantor 2017).

A key point to remember when understanding the concept of sanctuary cities is that there is no official federal or legal designation for what constitutes a “sanctuary” (Armenta 2017, 157). Over time, the word “sanctuary” has shown broad meanings in the immigration context, but in a nutshell, sanctuary cities could be categorized into “private” or “public” sanctuary cities (Villazor 2008). Private sanctuaries refer to churches or individuals that provide assistance, and public sanctuaries refer to state and local governments that establish their localities as safe and welcoming spaces by not legally cooperating with the federal government (Ibid). The sanctuary city as a concept has grown into the two-dimensional definition of private and public. When it was first developed in the 1980s, the primary focus

was put on the “private” dimension of sanctuary cities, driven by supporters' moral and ethical obligation. From such individual and grass-roots efforts, sanctuary cities gained state and local governmental support, and some of the governments developed sanctuary policies for the “public” dimensions of sanctuary cities. Despite these broad definitions of sanctuary as discussed, this research will use the term "sanctuary cities" to identify what Villazor (2008) referred to as public sanctuaries. However, again, it should be noted again that different localities or states implement sanctuary policies in different forms, like in the case of Washington D.C. and Chicago, as mentioned in the introduction.

As sanctuary cities continue to evolve over time, criticism against them also elaborates. Sanctuary cities have grown in scale, protecting generally all immigrants, including those who stay longer with illegal status to avoid family separation (Menjivar and Kanstroom 2013). The ongoing debate is whether sanctuary cities should be publicly supported or not; scholars focus on the different purposes and effects of sanctuary cities when developing their opinion towards sanctuary cities. In this study, the schools of thought to be analyzed are "arguments against sanctuary cities" and "arguments in favor of sanctuary cities" surveyed through the literature.

Arguments Against Sanctuary Cities

The biggest criticism against sanctuary cities is a public safety issue. Although President Trump does not explain exactly how they threaten and harm American citizens' safety in his executive order, some scholars have supported this idea. Rice (2017) emphasizes that opponents argue that sanctuary measures compromise the safety of American cities and violate federal law. Department of Justice's Office of Inspector General Report endorses this position (Cadman and Vaughan 2016). Such opinions were especially reinforced by publicity, by President Trump during his presidential campaign, of the 2015 incident in San Francisco when Kathryn Steinle was accidentally shot by an authorized immigrant and died. One

uncontroversial public safety concern is that unauthorized immigrants have been always underreported crimes against them (Cadman and Vaughan 2016). The better alternatives to enhance crime reporting include “community outreach, hiring personnel who speak the language of the community, establishing anonymous tip lines and setting up community substations with non-uniform personnel to take inquiries and reports” (Ibid). With Texas being one of the most notable anti-sanctuary states, Collingwood (2019) examined Texas and argues that opposition is heavily based on perceived criminal threat, not on actual crime exposure, such as living in high-crime counties. Thus, the actual physical crime threat does not contribute to arguments against sanctuary cities, but racial compositions of neighborhoods, such as living in high-Latino-growth or with a high Latino/a population percentage, disproportionately correlate with fear for crime by unauthorized immigrants (Ibid).

Another idea concerns the protection of the homeland against an influx of immigrants due to their impacts on demographic transformation and neighborhood change (Vicino 2013). Local jurisdictions where residents feared an influx of immigrants — from nearby sanctuary cities such as Chicago, Dallas and Philadelphia — applied their own immigration policy against sanctuary cities: English-only ordinances, local police enforcement of federal immigration laws, anti-immigrant ordinances regulating local employment and landlords, and elimination of social services such as education and public health (Ibid, 4). According to Vicino (2013), in the case of Carpentersville in Illinois, the growth of demographic change in suburban areas caused by inflow of immigrants from urban areas resulted in political tensions and conflicts, and socio-economic decline (including household income, job opportunities, the aging of housing and infrastructure). This argument leads to another criticism, that such changes in the population size can cause social disorganization due to the decline in socio-economic decline, which potentially disrupts and erodes social network ties and weakens

local institutions (Martinez, Martinez-Schuldt and Cantor 2017). Similarly, Shaw and McKay (1964) argue that such social disorganization can trigger community crime when rapid social change in the immigrant population causes a breakdown of the machinery.

The ability of state and local government to include or exclude noncitizen immigrants, coupled with the devolution of federal immigration enforcement to states and local governments, have opened the door to an erosion of the traditional barriers against discrimination at the state and local levels (Provine 2016). Opportunities, such as having ICE officers embedded in their departments are enhanced and the 287(g) agreements — Memoranda of Agreement (MOA) with the Department of Homeland Security — are signed by police chiefs and sheriffs who seek to cooperate with federal government enforcing immigrants (Ibid). Moreover, Provine (2016) found a difference between police chiefs and sheriffs in terms of cooperating with the federal government, and sheriffs are more likely to do so. It might be because sheriffs are elected, serving as jailers, administrators and independent politicians, unlike police chiefs who are appointed by their local governments (Ibid).

There are concerns supporting arguments against sanctuary cities as mentioned: perceived crime threat, causal relationship between limited cooperation policies and crimes although there are many surveys and statistical data reveal a negative relationship between immigrants and criminality (Martinez, Martinez-Schuldt and Cantor 2017), and social disorganization as a result of an influx of immigrants. Notably, Oskooii, Dreier and Collingwood (2018) shed further light on partisan development of their attitudes toward sanctuary cities as generally Democrats being in favor and Republicans being against sanctuary cities. Nonetheless, according to her findings, opponents of sanctuary cities require less knowledge to situate their opinion about sanctuary cities (Ibid). Furthermore, Republicans and political conservatives can oppose sanctuary cities in the absence of

substantive knowledge on sanctuary cities more likely than Democrats and political liberals who support sanctuary cities, which makes it easier for Republicans to gain support from the public with low knowledge.

Arguments in Favor of Sanctuary Cities

In contrast to the major arguments against sanctuary cities, other scholars claim that sanctuary cities being dangerous and harmful is a false characterization and immigrant criminality is a false narrative (Lasch, et al 2018; Martinez, Martinez-Schuldt and Cantor 2017, Gonzalez 2017). Gonzales (2017) found that sanctuary policies do not affect crime rates, contradicting the narrative of criminality especially addressed by President Trump and political critics "because that immigrant populations tend to produce less crime because these populations are more concerned with deportation and running afoul of the law relative to the native-born population" (28-29). Moreover, like other research, there is in fact an inverse/negative relationship between undocumented immigrants and criminality for limited cooperation policies contribute to a reduction in crime over time, even when controlling confounding variables (Ibid). For people who argue in favor of sanctuary policies, sanctuary cities are rather protection of community safety. Andrea Germanos (2016) points out that reasoning that high crime rates as an excuse to crack down on sanctuary cities is wrong and says that criminal illegal immigrants whom President Trump refers to are "people who haven't actually been convicted of a crime" (37).

According to Lasch (2018), the false narrative of immigrant criminality was developed in the 1980s under the Regan administration's "war on drugs," leading to "an unprecedented entanglement of immigration enforcement with the criminal justice goals" for local law enforcement. Furman (2016) also argued that immigration has been wrongly criminalized through policies and practices. For example, if a law states that undocumented immigrants are to be sent to a detention centers or deported situated undocumented

immigrants as a criminal act (Ibid, 7). On the other hand, Rabben (2011, 155-156) says "immigration offenses, such as entering the United States without a visa or valid passport, are not classified as crimes under federal law. Thus, detained immigrants and asylum seekers are pursuant to civil immigration laws covered by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, which protects any person in U.S. custody from conditions that amount to punishment without due process of law." Other policies to criminalize immigrants include sanction for the employment of undocumented people. Furman's argument (2016) is that "mandating one migrate to another country in order to help one's family survive does not make one a criminal" (8).

Another argument is that "immigrant political opportunity" as a result of sanctuary cities generates "spiral of trust," improving communication between local officials and immigrants, promoting legislative effort to protect immigrants' interests, and leading to collective crime control efforts (Lyons, Velez and Santoro 2013, 610). Taramonte (2011) states that research affirms the strong crime efforts in sanctuary cities, in which local police agencies work even more closely with DHS when they have actual criminals in custody. In fact, sanctuary cities do not provide protection from deportation for immigrants with a criminal record, and rather, they just equalize the basic human rights of documented, non-citizen immigrants, undocumented immigrants and U.S. citizens when it comes to facing the consequences of the arrest (Ewing 2016).

Other scholars argue that sanctuary cities are a form of human hospitality and mercy for those who are persecuted from their home country and struggle in finding their new community. Rabben (2011) criticizes the punitive nature of immigration detention and the government treatment towards asylum seekers and says that sanctuary is critical to safeguard such asylees who are in danger of getting detained in substandard conditions. Sanctuary cities play important roles serving as the recreation of homeland and as a new space of belonging,

and actually are safer and enjoy stronger economies and community ties (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ruiz 2013; Ollstein 2016).

Conclusion

Two schools of thought were discussed to analyze counter arguments whether to support or to oppose sanctuary cities. As described, there is a wide variety of arguments that scholars discuss. For those who oppose sanctuary cities, their primary concern is crime rates that they believe to be bolstered by sanctuary cities. Some scholars claim that sanctuary cities encourage the influx of immigrants which can trigger social disorganization, and ultimately lead to some negative human behavior like delinquency. For those who favor sanctuary cities, they highlight positive impacts that sanctuary cities can bring into community, which are safety, trust in the government, and welcoming community. Many of scholars who support sanctuary have proven that there is a negative relationship between unauthorized immigrants and crime rates and deny criminalization of immigration.

Accordingly, such different opinions result in differences in the number or concentration of sanctuary cities among states. In the next section—the methodology—the various variables, which are expected to contribute to form opinions against or in favor of sanctuary cities, will be studied in regard to their relationships to the number of sanctuary cities in each state.

III. Methodology

Given that the scholars have named a variety of supporting arguments against or in favor of sanctuary cities, in this section of the paper, different variables, which are expected to influence the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in the states, will be introduced. As discussed in the Literature Review, scholars and academics have highlighted various influencing factors which could be included when analyzing the topic. In an effort to answer

the research question of “*what kind of states are more or less likely to have a large number of sanctuary cities?*”, the variables will be identified as dependent and independent variables in order to discuss the causes and effects. In this research, the dependent concept always remains as the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. The independent concepts will represent political affiliation, crime rates, racial demographics, immigrant/foreign born population, region, wealth, religion, education, and civility of each state. These various concepts are expected to contribute to whether a state supports sanctuary cities or not, leading to the difference in the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in the state. The correlation between the independent and dependent variables shall provide a deeper insight into the reason behind opposing arguments for or against sanctuary cities, further explaining inconsistencies in the number of sanctuary jurisdictions among the states. In order to continue with this research, the data from the STATES file, which compiles the quantitative data on various topics of the fifty states of the United States, from MicroCase software (Le Roy 2013) will be used.

A. Concept and Variables

As mentioned, the dependent variable is the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in each state. Because MicroCase software does not contain the data for sanctuary jurisdictions, the data was individually obtained from a different source than MicroCase. There were two data sources to be considered: Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and Immigrant Legal Resource Center (ILRC). They both are non-profit organizations which have opposing opinions on sanctuary cities; CIS is against the current situation of sanctuary cities and calls for more regulations on sanctuary cities, but on the other hand, ILRC favors sanctuary cities to resist anti-immigrant discriminatory policies. The two organizations provided two different data sets, although the difference was not significant. Because of the broad definition of “sanctuary” and the difference in the level of strictness in terms of local government’s cooperation with the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), such data

inconsistency was expected. After comparing the two-different data, this research will use that data set which was obtained from Center for Immigration Studies due to following reasons: CIS provides more states with sanctuary jurisdictions, which provides the research with more cases, helping the research to be more valid, and also ILRC has missing cases worth concerns.

The CIS data was entered in MicroCase and created as a new variable 1752) SANCCAT. The level of measurement for the new variable will be ordinal; all the fifty states will be categorized into 1) None (zero sanctuary—twenty-three states), 2) Few (1-4 sanctuary jurisdictions—eighteen states), 3) Many (6 to 33 sanctuary jurisdictions—nine states). This way, instead of using the actual number of sanctuary jurisdictions as the measurement index, the size of the States matters less. Additionally, it is important to note that sanctuary jurisdictions in this research include both counties and cities; the states enact sanctuary policies either on a county or city level. We only focus on the counties and cities which have declared themselves as sanctuary counties or cities, and state-sanctuary policies are not the focus of this research.

Accordingly, this research will conduct a cross analysis of this variable against a set of independent variables in order to find an answer to the research question. The next paragraph will conceptually define the independent variables to be used in the STATES file.

Independent Variables

The explanation of each variable is included to denote why the variable was chosen.

1. 1625) %OBAMA08 — This is a ratio variable which indicates the percentage of votes for Barack Obama, and the data was extracted from the Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives. The variable was selected to demonstrate the level of the states' democratic party support.

2. 1211) CRIMES04 — This is a ratio variable which indicated the number of index crimes per 100,000 populations, and the data was extracted from the Uniform Crime Reports. This variable measures the concept of delinquency level of the state crime through index crimes which include eight crimes; “murder and nonnegligent homicide, rape (legacy & revised), robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft, and arson.”
3. 149) %HISPANC00 — This is a ratio variable which indicates percentage of a state population that is from Hispanic origin in 2000.
4. 114) IMMIGRAN00 — This is a ratio valuable which tells us the number of new immigrants admitted per 10,000 population in 2000. The data was collected by Immigration and Naturalization Service.
5. 1748) REGION — This is a nominal variable which divides the states into four regions 0) WEST, 1) SOUTH, 2) MIDWEST, and 3) NORTHEAST.
6. 1133) PC_INC_04 — This is a ratio variable which indicates per capita personal income in 2004 according to the U.S. Census Bureau. The result ranges from 24379 to 45506. This variable is selected to demonstrate the level of wealth in the states.
7. 440) %NOREL — This is a ratio variable which indicates the percentage of the population who say they have no religion and the data was extracted from ARIS (Kosmin, Barry A. and Egon Mayer (2001). Report: American Religious Identification Survey, New York: CUNY Graduate Center). The result ranges from 4 to 28%.
8. 1008) COL_DEG00 — This is a ratio variable which indicates the percentage of population with a college degree or more, and the data was collected in 2002 from Statistical Abstract of the United States. This variable is meant to demonstrate the education level of the states.

9. 35) %URBAN00 — This is a ratio variable which indicates the percentage of urban area in the states. The data was collected from the U.S. Census in 2000.

Independent Variable

1. Political Partisan Belief
2. Index Crime Rates
3. Hispanic Population
4. Immigrant Population
5. Region
6. Wealth
7. Religious Belief
8. Education
9. Urbanization



Dependent Variable

The Number of
Sanctuary Jurisdictions

B. Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The states with more Democratic Party support tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

Political partisan beliefs affect people to build their opinions and views on certain policies and it is the same case in regard to sanctuary policies. In fact, the political tension is a major concern in the argument of sanctuary policies. As discussed in the literature review, it is considered that partisan opinions result in different attitude towards sanctuary policies and generally Democrats and political liberals are more in favor of sanctuary policies than Republicans and political conservatives (Collingwood 2018).

Hypothesis 2: The states with higher index crime rates have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions.

Crime rates and public safety concerns divide public and government opinion on sanctuary cities. This hypothesis was made based on the opinion of those who think that

unauthorized immigrants tend to be criminals, thus disagree to protect them with sanctuary cities and try to reduce crimes by imposing fewer or no sanctuary jurisdictions.

Hypothesis 3: The states with higher Hispanic population have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions.

This hypothesis was made based on the scholarly opinion that a high Latinx population percentage causes higher “perceived criminal threat,” leading to more of government decisions against sanctuary jurisdictions (Collingwood 2019), with an understanding of difference between Hispanic and Latinx population. Hispanic population is more suitable variable from MicroCase to measure in this case because there is no variable for Latinx population as a whole. It is considered that American citizens rarely take a difference between Hispanics and Latinx into their consideration when it comes to perceived criminal threat.

Hypothesis 4: The states with higher immigrant population have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

This hypothesis is considered to bring an opposite result from the hypothesis 3, in which only Hispanic population was the measurement of immigrant population. The immigrant population in this hypothesis include legal and illegal, and all the other ethnicities and nationalities. The hypothesis is made based on the idea that the states with more immigrants appreciate diversity and are more inclusive.

Hypothesis 5: The states in South have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions.

This hypothesis 5 was made based on the general opinion and the reality that southern region has more number of immigrants, especially immigrants crossing the Southern border from Mexico and Central America. The state representatives in South are more likely to protect their own residents by being strict on immigration enforcement.

Hypothesis 6: The states with higher per capita personal income have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

Immigrants come to the United States with a high intensity to work hard and make money to send home or support their families. In often cases, such immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, are prone to accept to work at lower wage than what American citizens would expect. Therefore, a high per capita personal income could mean that there are more immigrants who are respected for their rights to earn equally under sanctuary jurisdictions.

Hypothesis 7: The states with a higher percentage of population who say they are not religious have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions.

As discussed in the introduction, sanctuary cities are expanded outcomes of the Sanctuary Movement in the early 1980s, which was led by faith leaders and communities. In fact, to this day, several religious congregations have been continuously working on the protection of sanctuary cities. Thus, religious people are more likely to support sanctuary cities.

Hypothesis 8: The states with a higher percentage of population with a college degree or more have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

Highly educated population tends to be more liberal than those who are not. Thus, the states with more college graduates are more than likely to support sanctuary policies.

Hypothesis 9: The states with a higher urban percentage have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

It is presumed that that people from rural areas can more likely be conservative and traditional than those in urban areas. There also is more diversity with higher minority population in urban areas due to a wider range of job offers. Liberals in urban areas could be more supportive for sanctuary policies.

C. Research Method

This research paper is an empirical analysis based on the quantitative data of the STATES file which includes data of 50 states in the United States. The data of independent variables was compiled in the MicroCase software, which accompanies *Research Methods in Political Science: An Introduction Using MicroCase, 8th edition* (LeRoy 2013). For the dependent variable, the data from Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), updated on April 16th, 2019, was used to measure the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in the 50 states. This data was accumulated and composed as one variable into MicroCase, so that the statistical relationships between the independent and dependent variables can be measured and presented.

As a presentation technique to show the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, ANOVA and Cross Tabulation Table are used in order to determine the validity and the strength of the relationships. In this research, ANOVA is presented when the independent variables are ratio. Although in general, X-axis places independent variables, the number of sanctuary cities (dependent variable) are shown on the X-axis because the dependent variable is ordinal level in this case. In ANOVA, X-axis places nominal or ordinal level variable, and Y-axis places interval or ration level variable. On the other hand, when the independent variables are nominal or ordinal level variables, Cross Tabulation is presented.

A test of statistical significance measures “the probability that there is no relationship between the two variables in the population from which the sample was selected” (Leroy 2013). Marked as “prob,” this significance level sets the cut-off point for 0.05. That being said, below 0.05 shows that the relationship is statistically significant, and above 0.05 proves that the relationship is not statistically significant.

The strength of relationship between two variables will be determined by measures of association. For ANOVA, Eta Squared is used and for Cross Tabulation Table, Cramer’s V

(ranges between 0 to 1.0) is measured when the variables are nominal and ordinal, and

Gamma (ranges between 0 to 1.0) is used when the both variables are ordinal level.

A guideline for each measure of association—Eta Squared, Cramer's V and Gamma—is as follow:

When the value is under 0.1, the relationship is very weak—perhaps too weak to be of any importance.

When the value is between 0.10 to 0.19, the relationship is weak.

When the value is between 0.20 to 0.29, the relationship has moderate strength.

When the value is 0.30 and above, the relationship is strong.

The next section of this research will consist of findings and data analysis of statistical data and explore and explain the preceding research method.

IV. Findings and Data Analysis

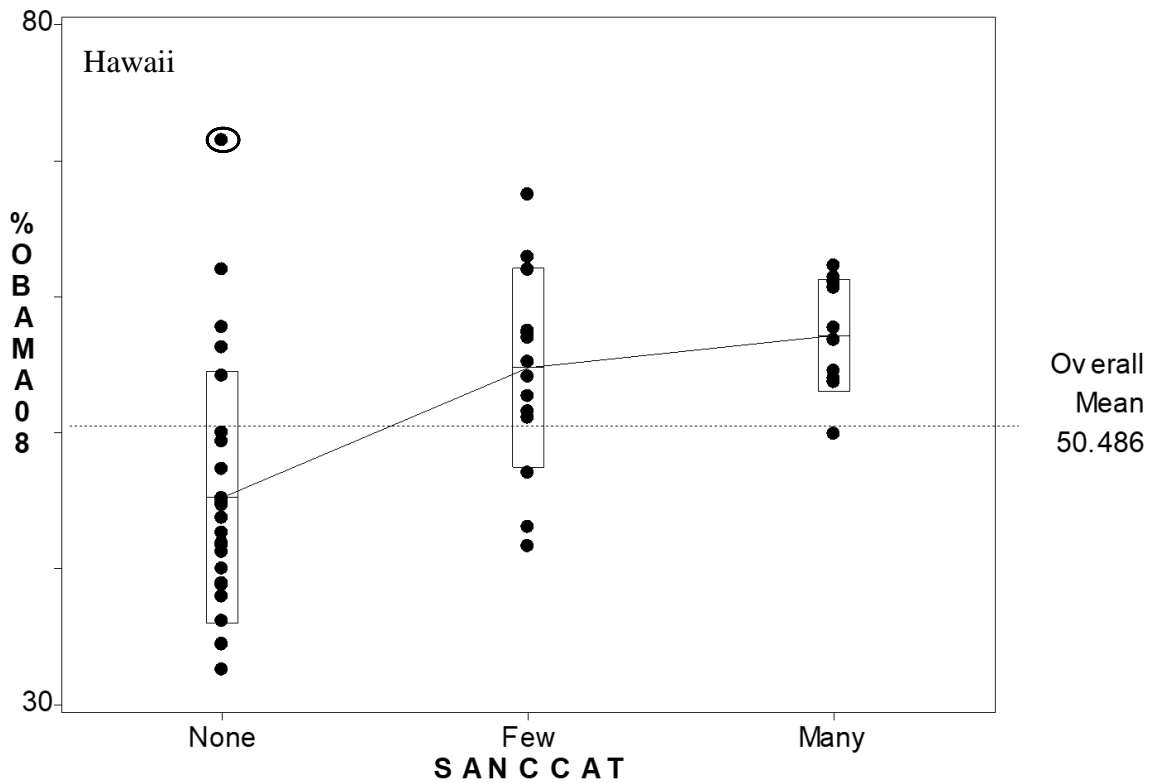
This section of the paper tests and analyzes the hypotheses, which were elucidated in the previous section. Aforementioned hypotheses will be examined using the statistical data presented in ANOVA regression or cross tabulation from the MicroCase software (2013). A detailed analysis of statistical measures will explain whether the hypothesis is supported or not. In order to examine whether suppositions are supported or not, Eta Squared or Cramer's V will be considered to tell us the strength of the correlation between the variables according to the data presentation of ANOVA or cross tabulation. Before starting to discuss each hypothesis, it is important to remember that the dependent variable always remains 1752)SANCCAT—the categorized number of sanctuary jurisdictions.

A. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Political Partisan Belief

The first hypothesis states that the states with more support for the Democratic Party tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions. This hypothesis is operationally conceptualized using

the variable 1625) %OBAMA08 as an independent variable, which indicates the percentage of votes for Barack Obama. This variable is chosen to demonstrate the level of the states' Democratic Party support, by defining a higher percentage of votes for Obama in 2008 as more democratic. Figure 1 displays the result of the ANOVA, demonstrating the correlation between the number of sanctuary jurisdictions and the Democratic Party support of the states. The dependent variable, the number of sanctuary jurisdictions, is placed along the x-axis, and the independent variable, the percentage of votes for Obama is placed along the y-axis. The dots on the graph represent each state, and the location of a state on the graph is based on the percentage of votes for Obama (the vertical axis) and its category in the number of sanctuary jurisdictions (the horizontal axis). In order to analyze this graph, the line of connected mean percentages of votes for Obama in each category of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions is important. As you can see, the mean percentage for Obama votes is higher in the states with more sanctuary jurisdictions, and it gets higher as the number of sanctuary jurisdictions increases. The mean is below the overall mean in the states with zero sanctuary jurisdictions, but higher in the states with a few and more sanctuary jurisdictions. Notice that there is one state which is strongly off the rectangle—the standard deviation range—of the “None” sanctuary jurisdiction category. This country is Hawaii. This result is not surprising considering that Hawaii is Obama's place of origin and the support for him is significant. It is also predictable that Hawaii is different from the other states in terms of the demographics of immigrants. Because Hawaii is an island country, there should be not as many unauthorized immigrants from Mexico and Central America as the rest of the country. Thus, this difference in the demographics of immigrant population seems to change the state's stance towards sanctuary cities.

Figure 1. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Votes for Obama



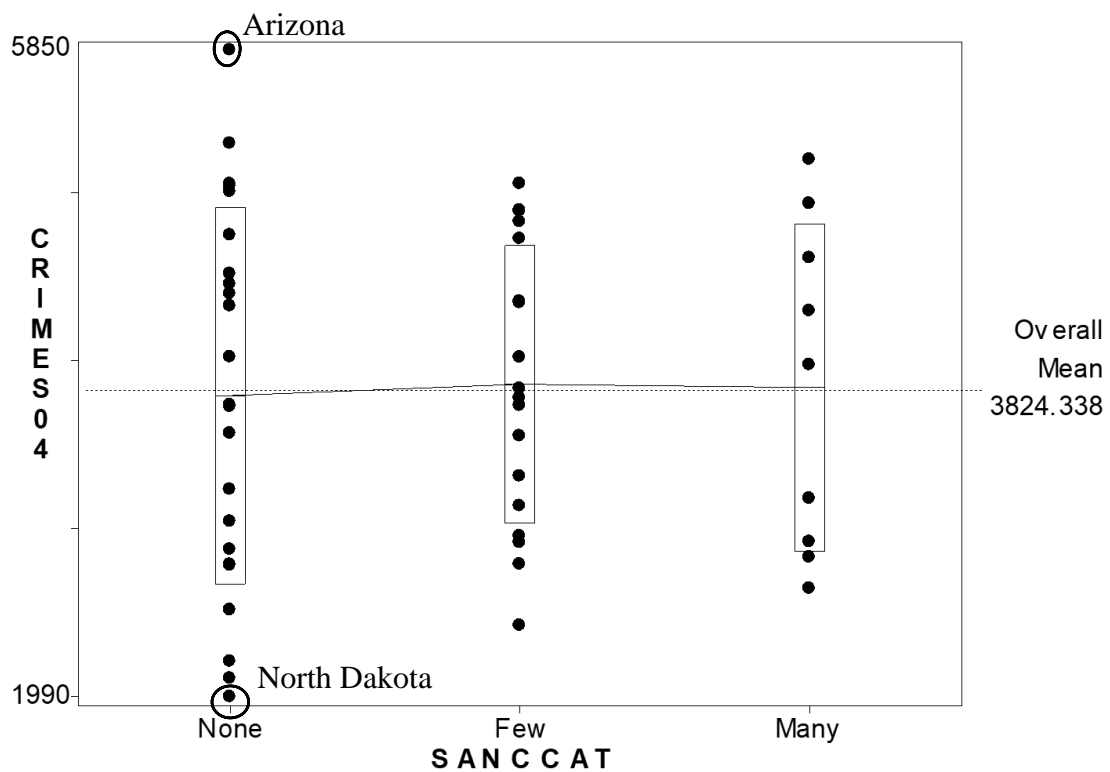
P = 0.001 Eta Squared = 0.244 N = 50

The level of statistical significance is 0.001, which is far below the prob cut-off of 0.05. The result of this relationship could happen by chance by only 0.1%. Thus, the relationship is statistically significant. In ANOVA, the eta-squared is measured to evaluate the strength/value of the relationship. The eta-squared value is 0.244, which indicates that there is a moderate relationship. With the analysis of the graph, the hypothesis is supported and more democratic states tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions than those that are less democratic. This also supports the argument of Notably, Oskooii, Dreier and Collingwood (2018) that there is a partisan development of their opposing attitudes towards sanctuary cities and that democrats are generally in favor of them. From the findings, we can say that sanctuary policies generate partisan arguments rather than bipartisan arguments.

B. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Index Crime Rates

The second hypothesis states that the states with higher index crime rates have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions. The index crime rates in this research is operationalized using the variable 1211) CRIMES04, which indicates the number of index crimes per 100,000 population in each state. Figure 2 displays the results of ANOVA analysis between the number of sanctuary jurisdictions and the index crime rates. By comparing the means for each category, the line of the connected means is almost flat. This means that there is a very small difference between the categories.

Figure 2. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Index Crime Rates



$P = 0.976$ Eta Squared = 0.001 N = 50

The result is not statistically significant because the probability in this research indicates 0.976, which is way higher than the cut-off value of 0.05. The result of this relationship occurs by chance by 95 percent. The strength of this relationship is very weak by eta-squared value of 0.001 and there is almost no relationship.

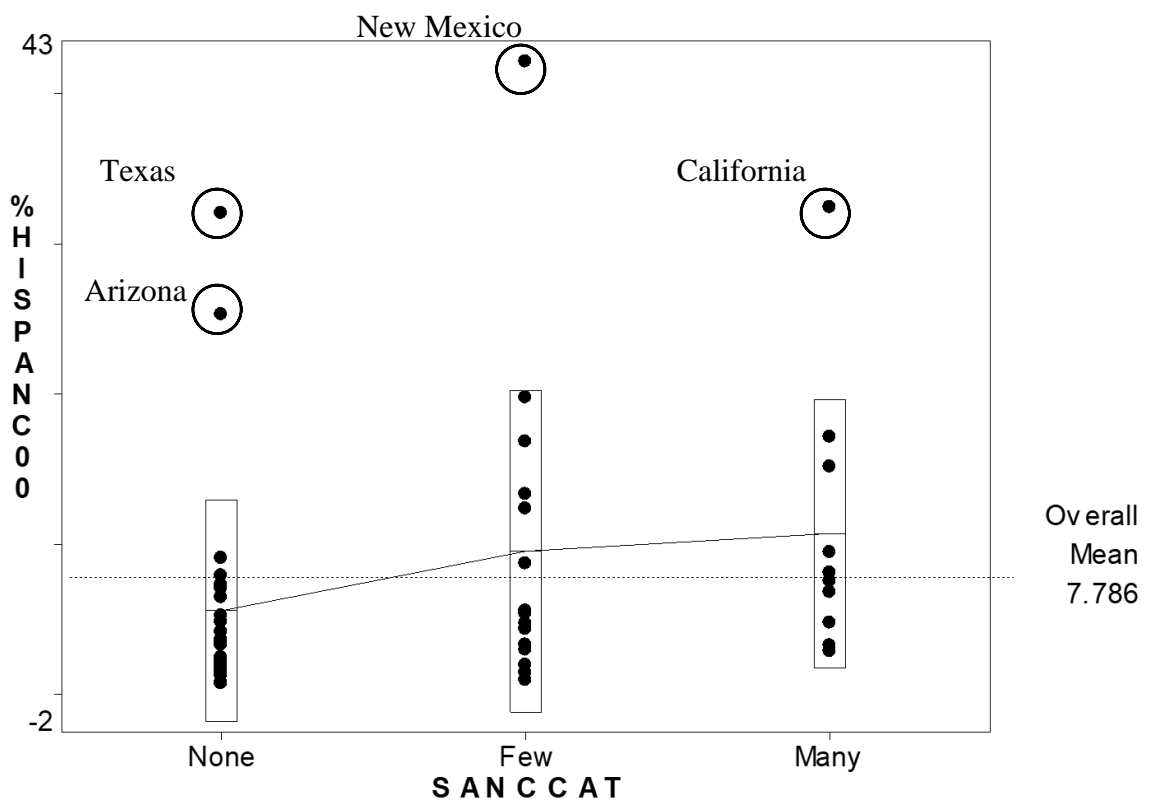
The deviation among the states with no sanctuary jurisdictions is widely spread, having Arizona with the highest index crime rates and North Dakota with the lowest crime rates among the fifty states. Overall, there is almost no relationship between the number of sanctuary jurisdictions and the crime rates. This finding tells us that neither of scholarly arguments in favor nor against sanctuary cities are supported in terms of the relationship between sanctuary cities and crimes; some of scholars who support sanctuary cities argue that there is an inverse relationship between limited cooperation policies and criminality, and some of scholars who are against sanctuary cities argue that sanctuary cities hinder public safety. However, again, it seems safe to say that there is almost no relationship between sanctuary cities and crime that is worth concerns.

C. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Hispanic Population

The third hypothesis suggests that the states with a higher Hispanic population have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions. Figure 3 shows ANOVA result of the two variables, and the line of the means of each sanctuary jurisdiction category is connected from lower left to upper rights. The level of statistical significance is 0.261, which indicates that the relationship could occur by accident by 26.1% and the result is not statistically significant. However, it is always important to remember that, this research contains the unbalanced number of cases in each category, especially the little amount of the cases in “many” sanctuary jurisdictions category, making it difficult for the statistical significant to mark high. The eta-squared is 0.056, which reveals that the relationship between the two variables is very weak. For this result, the reason may be because of the states that are located way out of the standard deviation range in each category. In “None” category, the two states which score the two highest percentage of Hispanic population in the category are Texas and Arizona. This result can be explained by Collingwood (2019) who argued that the opposition against sanctuary cities is heavily based on perceived criminal threat as a result of high Latino/a population

percentage. In “Few” category, the state which score the overall highest percentage of Hispanic population is New Mexico. Lastly in “Many” category, the state with the highest Hispanic percentage, as about the same as Texas, in the category is California. From these findings, we can state that despite the high Hispanic population, the states in South tend to have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions, and however, the states in other regions like California tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions with a high Hispanic population.

Figure 3. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Hispanic Population



$P = 0.261$ Eta Squared = 0.056 N = 50

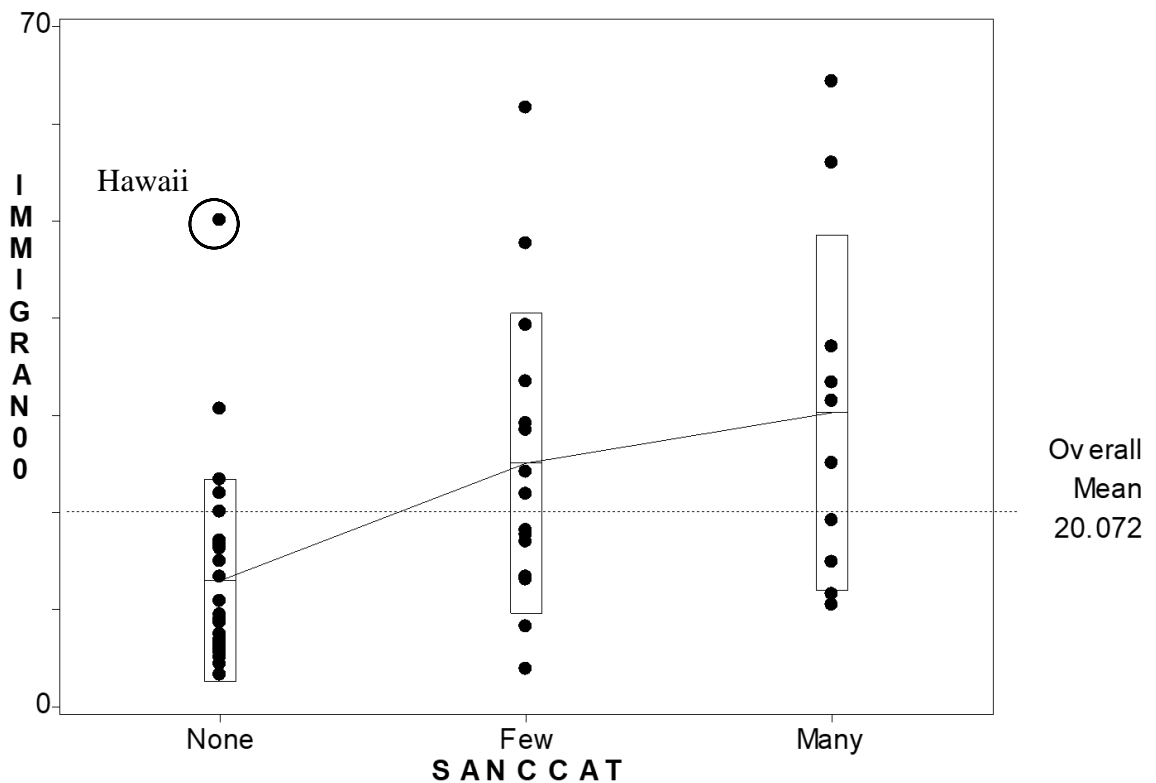
Nevertheless, from the comparison of the mean in each category, the hypothesis is not supported because the result shows that although the relationship is very weak, the states with a higher percentage of Hispanic population have more sanctuary jurisdictions. However, as a further observation, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, ranked as the highest Hispanic population percentage, are also ranked high in the index crime rates in Figure 2, and they

have no sanctuary jurisdictions. California, on the other hand, with the highest Hispanic population percentage and with many sanctuary jurisdictions, marks lower crime rates in Figure 2 compared to the other three states. These findings suggest that in neighborhoods with a high Latino/a population, crime rates and sanctuary cities may have actually an inverse relationship.

D. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Immigrant Population

The fourth hypothesis states that the states with higher immigrant population have more sanctuary jurisdictions. In Figure 4, the result of the relationship between the two variables is shown in ANOVA. Through comparing the mean of the newly admitted immigrant population per 100,000 population in 2000 in each sanctuary jurisdiction categories, we can determine that the line connecting each mean goes upward to the right. This means that the mean is higher as the states have more sanctuary jurisdictions. Additionally, the mean marks below the line of the overall mean in the category of the states with “None” sanctuary jurisdictions; however, the means mark above the line of the overall mean in both categories of the states with “Few” and “Many” sanctuary jurisdictions.

Figure 4. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Immigrant Population



$P = 0.006$ Eta Squared = 0.196 N = 50

The relationship is statistically significant with the prob = 0.006. Eta-squared scored as 0.196, so the relationship has a moderate strength. With the moderate relationship between the two variables, the hypothesis—the states with higher immigrant population have more sanctuary jurisdictions—is supported. This result proves that in accordance with the result of hypothesis 3, the more there are immigrants, the more the states have sanctuary jurisdictions, regardless of racial demographic of the immigrant population. Some exceptions could be Hawaii, where there is a high immigrant population but no sanctuary jurisdictions. As discussed in the result of the hypothesis 1, Hawaii has different demographics of immigrants compared to the rest of the country. In Hawaii, unauthorized immigrants are less likely major political concerns than the other states.

E. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Region

The fifth hypothesis states that the states in South have fewer number of sanctuary jurisdictions. This is the only hypothesis in which the result will be presented in cross tabulation because both independent and dependent variables are nominal and ordinal. Table 1 displays the result of the relationship between the two variables. The independent variable, Region (1748) REGION, is listed across the top of the table and the dependent variable, the number of sanctuary jurisdictions (1752) SANCCAT, is listed along the left-hand side of the table. The measure of association used in this case is Cramer's V, which produced the value of 0.288 and the relationship is moderate. However, the finding yielded the prob = 0.219, which can be interpreted as there is 21.9% probability that the relationship occurred by chance, and that the relationship is insignificant. This insignificance of the relationship may be appointed to a small number of cases in each category.

Table. 1 Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Region						
Sanctuary Jurisdictions	Region					Total
	West	South	Midwest	Northeast	Total	
None	53.8% 7	56.3% 9	41.7% 5	22.2% 2	46.0% 23	
Few	15.4% 2	37.5% 6	50.0% 6	44.4% 3	36.0% 18	
Many	30.8% 4	6.3% 1	8.3% 1	33.3% 4	18.0% 9	
Total	100.0% 13	100.0% 16	100.0% 12	100.0% 9	50	
P = 0.219 Cramer's V = 0.288 N= 50						

In Table 1, it is observable that there is only one state in "Many" category that is located in South, and South shows the lowest percentage of 6.3% among the "Many" category. Also, south has the highest number of states, 9 states, in "None" category. The states in "None"

category cover 56.3% of all the states in South, which is the highest percentage among all the other states in “None” category. Although this result could be speculative due to the insignificance, the hypothesis is still supported with a strong relationship. Additionally, it is observable that Northeast marks the highest total percentages in “Few” and “Many” categories and the lowest percentage in “None” category, indicating that there is the most number of states with more number of sanctuary jurisdictions in Northeast.

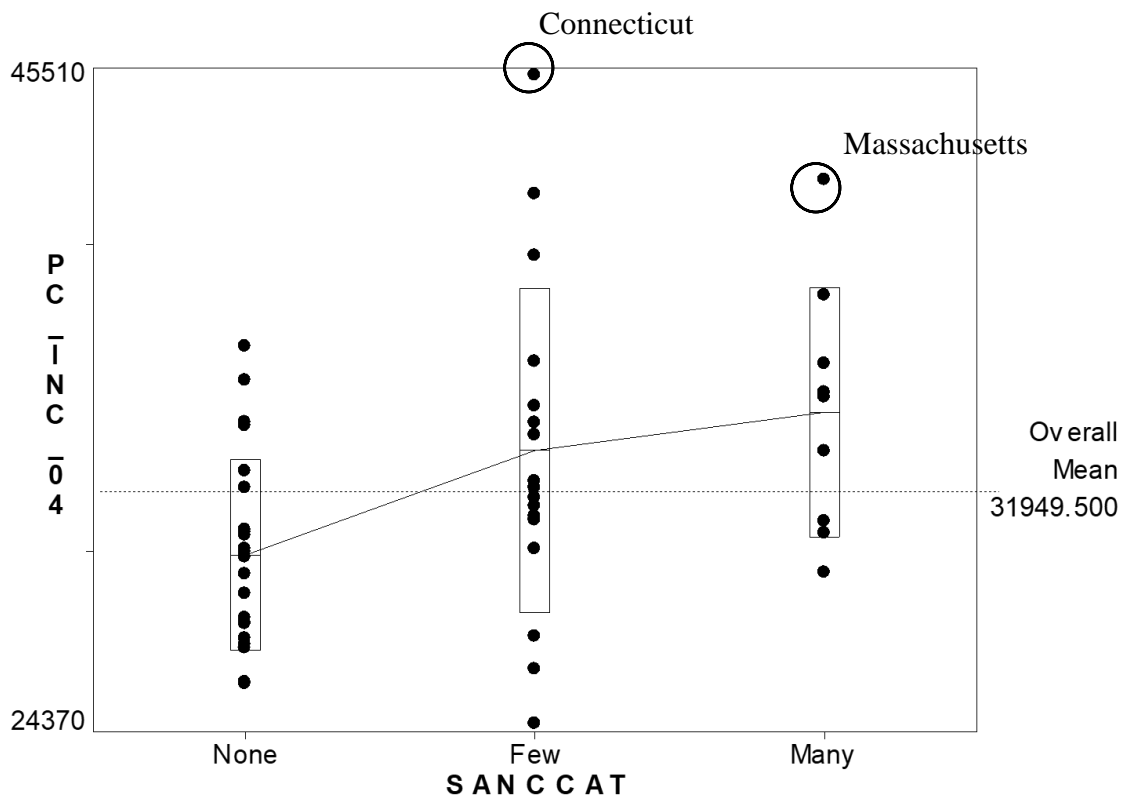
The South is assumed to have the most restricted view on enforcing immigrants because there must be the highest number of undocumented immigrants who have crossed the Southern border and the overflow of immigrants at the border are more than likely giving the Southern states negative image of immigrants. Still, there are other 50% of the Southern states which have few sanctuary jurisdictions and those states can be predicted to be those that are not along the border.

F. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Wealth

The sixth hypothesis is outlined as that the states with higher per capita personal income have more sanctuary jurisdictions. The per capita personal income in this research is operationalized using the variable 1133) PC_INC_04 which indicates per capita personal income in 2004. In this hypothesis, the states with higher per capita personal income are considered wealthier. Figure 5 of ANOVA displays the upward-right line of the connected means of the three categories of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. In other words, as the states have more sanctuary jurisdictions, the mean of per capita personal income becomes higher.

The relationship between the two variables are statistically significant with the prob = 0.007, and the eta-squared is 0.189, showing that the relationship is moderate. The upper right line shows that the hypothesis is supported.

Figure 5. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Wealth



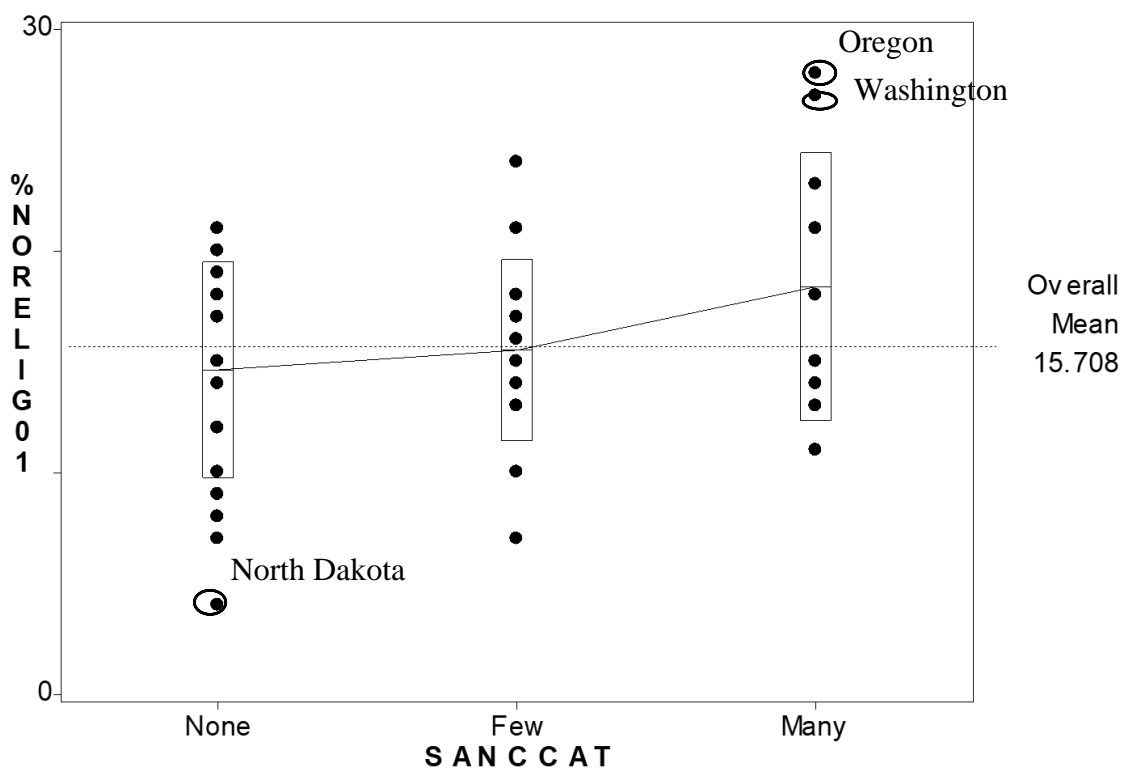
$P = 0.007$ Eta Squared = 0.189 N = 50

The states with the highest per capita personal income like, Connecticut and Massachusetts has at least few or more sanctuary jurisdictions. The line of the connected means evidently supports that the wealthier states tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions.

G. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Religious Belief

The seventh hypothesis proposes that the states with higher population who say that they are not religious have fewer sanctuary jurisdictions. The independent variable of the percentage of the non-religious population is measured in 440) %NOREL from the STATES file. Figure 6 of ANOVA shows the line of the connected means is close to flat between categories of “None” and “Few” sanctuary jurisdictions and moves notably from lower left to upper right towards the category of “Many” sanctuary jurisdictions. Thus, there is a high average percentage of non-religious population in the states with many sanctuary jurisdictions.

Figure 6. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Religious Belief



P = 0.102 Eta Squared = 0.097 N = 48 Missing = 2

The relationship between the two variables are not statistically significant with the prob = 0.102. The hypothesis is not supported with a very weak relationship marked by eta-squared of 0.097. Although there is no much difference between the states with no sanctuary jurisdictions and few sanctuary jurisdictions, the ANOVA result shows the higher mean than the overall mean in “Many” category, indicating that the high non-religious population results in the states with many sanctuary jurisdictions. Additionally, compared to the other ANOVA graphs, the dotted line of the overall mean is located high and even the average means of “None” and “Few” categories are very close to the line of the overall mean. North Dakota has the lowest percentage of non-religious population, but has zero sanctuary jurisdictions. And the states like Oregon and Washington score the highest percentage of non-religious population and have many sanctuary jurisdictions. Despite the very weak relationship, the ANOVA presents an upper right line of the means of each category and does not support the

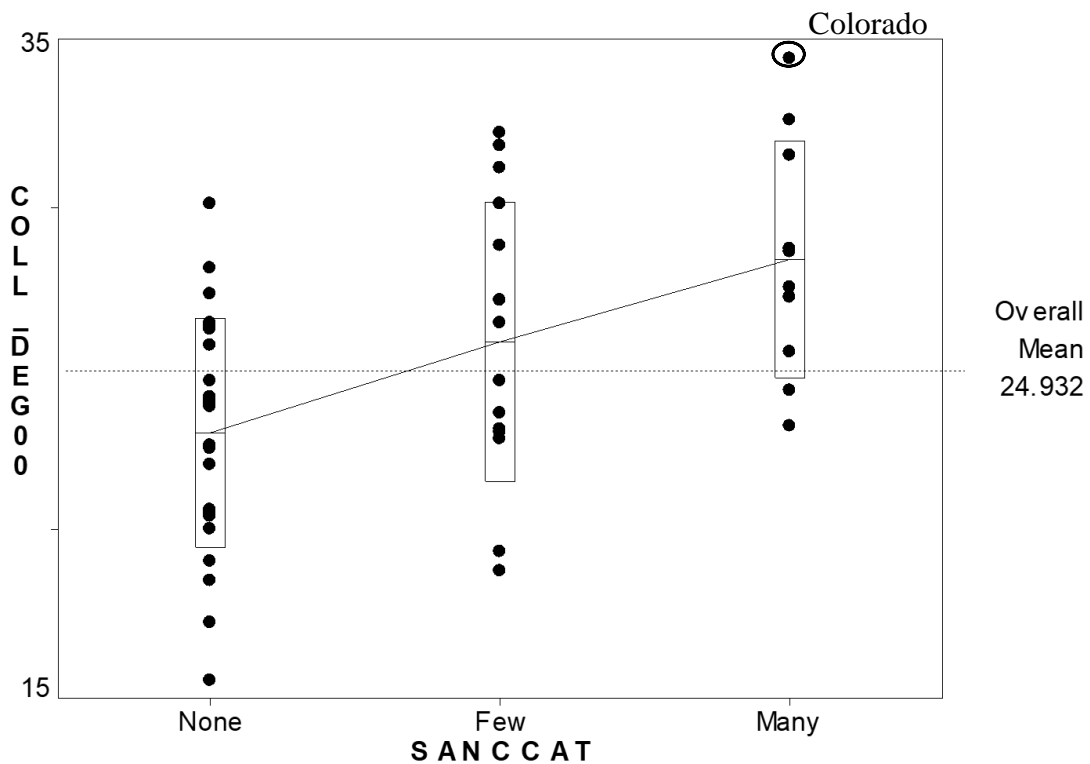
hypothesis. Additionally, it is observable that the states in each category are relatively closely placed within the standard deviation. The insignificant and weak relationship may be explained by the two missing cases.

This result suggests although the sanctuary movement is originated as a faith based movement and still strongly supported by religious leaders and institutions today, religion is a broad notion, and there are religious folks who tend to have conservative ideology and are not supportive of sanctuary jurisdictions. Therefore, the less religious people are, the more there is support for sanctuary jurisdictions. Nonetheless, the hypothesis is not supported statistically.

H. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Education

The eighth hypothesis is as follows: the states with a higher percentage of college graduates have more sanctuary jurisdictions. The independent variable of education is measured by 1008) COL_DEG00, which indicates the percentage of population with a college degree or more. ANOVA Figure 7 presents the fairly steep line which connects the mean of each category. In details, “None” category partakes the lowest average in the percentage of college graduates and “Many” category partakes the highest average. The line of the connected means is displayed from lower left to upper right.

Figure 7. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Education



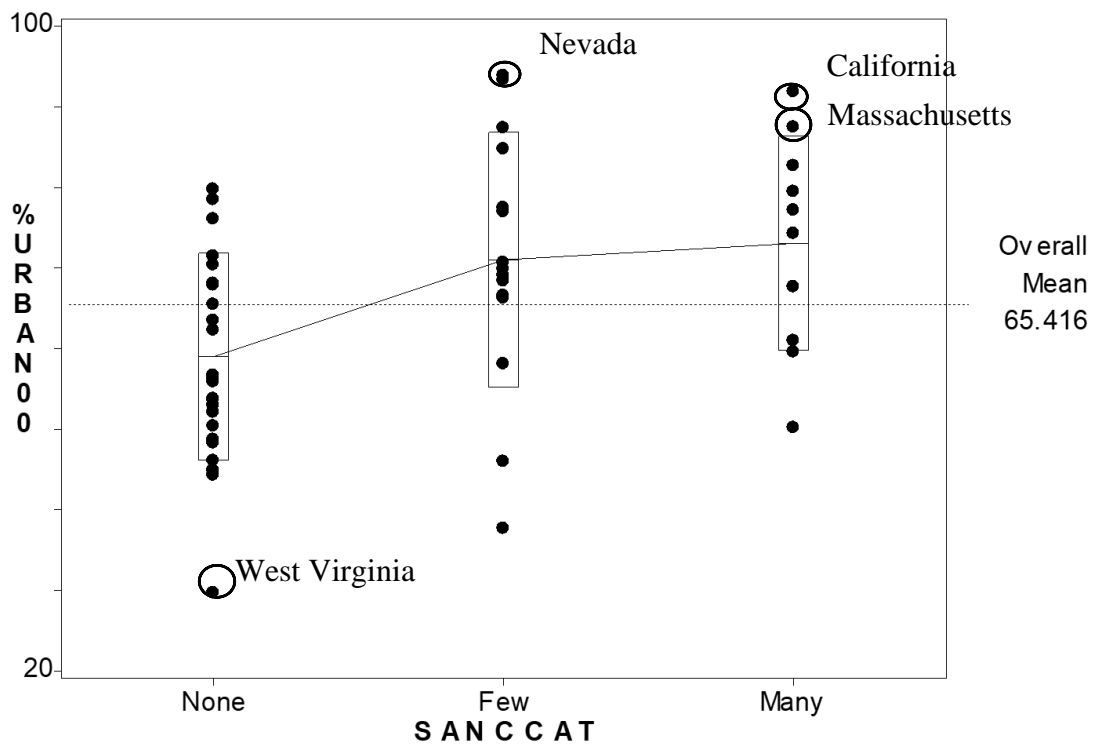
P = 0.002 Eta Squared = 0.230 N = 50

The relationship between the two variable is statistically significant with the prob = 0.002. Also, eta-squared scores 0.230 and tells us that the relationship is moderate. Therefore, the hypothesis is supported and the states with more educated population tend to have more sanctuary jurisdictions. This result implies that higher education is a profound factor which influences the state’s verdict on whether support or oppose sanctuary jurisdictions. As it can be seen on Figure 7, almost all the states with “Many” sanctuary jurisdictions have a high percentage of college graduates. Especially, Colorado has the highest percentage of population with higher education and also have “Many” sanctuary jurisdictions. Therefore, we can predict that people with a higher education are prone to be more liberal, and are more than likely to support sanctuary jurisdictions.

I. The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Urbanization

The last hypothesis supposes that the states with a higher urban percentage have more sanctuary jurisdictions. Figure 8 of ANOVA presents the mean of the percentage of urban area raises as the states have more sanctuary jurisdictions. While the mean is lower than the overall mean in “None” category, it is higher than the overall mean in “Few” and “Many” categories, showing the upward right line of the connected means. The line is also close to flat between “Few” and “Many” categories, connoting that there is no big difference in means between the two categories.

Figure 8. Sanctuary Jurisdictions by Urbanization



$P = 0.006$ Eta Squared = 0.192 N = 20

The relationship between the two variables are statistically significant with the prob = 0.006 and the relationship is weak with eta-squared of 0.193. Therefore, the ANOVA shows that the hypothesis is supported with a moderate relationship. The states like California, Massachusetts and Nevada have the highest urban percentages and have at least few or more

sanctuary jurisdictions. The lowest urban percentage was recorded in West Virginia and has zero sanctuary jurisdictions. Therefore, according to this finding, it is anticipated that the states with more urban areas are likely to have more sanctuary jurisdictions. This result could be appointed to the fact that urban areas have a wider variety of job opportunities and have more number of immigrants.

V. Conclusion

The purpose of this research paper was to discover various factors which account for the difference of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in the states, by answering the research question: *"What kind of states are more or less likely to have a large number of sanctuary cities?"* In order to answer this question, a variety of aforementioned variables were examined in a relation to the number of sanctuary jurisdictions in each state. Not only that sanctuary cities stimulate humanitarian debate, but arguments in regard to sanctuary cities are more complex, and they are rooted in social, political, cultural, and economic values of people.

The findings suggest the characteristics of sanctuary friendly states and sanctuary unfriendly states. Sanctuary friendly states tend to favor the Democratic Party, have more immigrant population, are located in Northeast, are wealthier, are less religious, have people who are more educated and are more urbanized. On the other hand, sanctuary unfriendly states are more likely to support the Republican Party, have less immigrant population, are located in Southern region, are poorer, are more religious, have people who are less educated, and are less urbanized. Also, the findings show that delinquency is not a significant indicator of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. Although the main focus of current political debate is on crime rates and public safety which sanctuary cities are expected to influence, the research findings indicate that there is almost no relationship between crime rates and

sanctuary cities. This means that sanctuary cities neither enhance nor prevent crime. The findings also suggest that in the states with a high Latinx population, there might be a negative relationship between crime rates and sanctuary cities/jurisdictions. And for this, further research is encouraged to discover whether the result is because a high crime rates in accordance with Latinx population result in less sanctuary jurisdictions or a high crime rates in accordance with this ethnic population is actually as a result of less sanctuary jurisdictions.

The most interesting finding in this research was an inverse, but almost no relationship between religious people and the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. In order to examine this result in depth, breaking down religious people into categories of particular faith identities could help further research to discover what religions support or oppose sanctuary cities. Overall, this research was statistically exploratory because there were many states with no sanctuary jurisdictions. Almost the half of the states do not have sanctuary jurisdictions, according to the Center for Immigration Studies.

In the midst of political debate about whether sanctuary cities should be supported or not, this research helps us better understand the reasons behind the variation of the number of sanctuary jurisdictions depending on the states. Also, this finding informs immigrants, especially undocumented, with what kind of states are more or less likely accepting or welcoming. Policy makers and citizens can reflect on such social, political, cultural and economic dynamics of the states to decide whether they want to implement or support sanctuary jurisdictions, or not. Further, the various factors which exist in the states and were examined in this research explain why there are varying opinions about sanctuary cities across the country.

In this research, political party beliefs, region, and education have shown the strongest correlation to the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. In other words, the state legislators' decisions to support or oppose sanctuary cities are strongly based on its state's population's

political party beliefs, the state's region, and the state's population's education. Meanwhile, race, especially Hispanic, and religion have shown the weakest correlation to the number of sanctuary jurisdictions. Nonetheless, before determining one's opinion towards sanctuary cities, this research helps eliminate a biased opinion and suggests an individual to consider background information which helps an individual construct an opinion. As the county continues to face the challenges in managing immigration, the debate over sanctuary cities is expected to become bigger. As we go forward, the number of sanctuary jurisdictions also fluctuates in the future. If the number of sanctuary cities is to increase, there are certain types of states as identified in this research that tend to have more or less sanctuary jurisdictions than the others. As the number of sanctuary jurisdictions differs in the future, further research will be required.

Appendix A

The Number of Sanctuary Jurisdictions

States	The Number of States	1752) SANCCAT
Alabama	0	0
Alaska	0	0
Arizona	0	0
Arkansas	0	0
California	20	2
Colorado	15	2
Connecticut	2	1
Delaware	0	0
Florida	1	1
Georgia	2	1
Hawaii	0	0
Idaho	0	0
Illinois	2	1
Indiana	0	0
Iowa	13	2
Kansas	2	1
Kentucky	0	0
Louisiana	1	1
Maine	0	0
Maryland	3	1
Massachusetts	8	2
Michigan	4	1
Minnesota	1	1
Mississippi	1	1
Missouri	0	0
Montana	0	0
Nebraska	2	1
Nevada	1	1
New Hampshire	0	0
New Jersey	1	1
New Mexico	3	1
New York	8	2
North Carolina	6	2
North Dakota	0	0
Ohio	1	1
Oklahoma	0	0
Oregon	33	2

Pennsylvania	16	2
Rhode Island	2	1
South Carolina	0	0
South Dakota	0	0
Tennessee	0	0
Texas	0	0
Utah	0	0
Vermont	3	1
Virginia	3	1
Washington	19	2
West Virginia	0	0
Wisconsin	0	0
Wyoming	0	0

Source: Center for Immigration Studies

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