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Does E-Verify Discriminate against Hispanic Citizens?

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ABSTRACT:

The ratcheting up of immigration enforcement has resulted in a number of unintended consequences featured in the news, such as family separations. We focus on, yet, another potentially unintended consequence –namely the possibility of employment discrimination against Hispanics legally authorized to work following the implementation of employment verification (E-Verify) mandates. Using data from the 2002-2012 *National Latino Surveys*, we exploit the temporal and spatial variation in the adoption of E-Verify mandates to assess how they have impacted perceptions of discrimination held by U.S.-born and naturalized Hispanics –all clearly authorized to work. While E-Verify mandates should not adversely impact their employment and other opportunities, these individuals could be hurt if some employers avoid hiring them for fear they may be undocumented. We find that E-Verify mandates raise perceptions of discrimination at work among all four groups of Hispanic citizens we distinguish in this research. Our findings point to the complex dynamics surrounding immigration policy.

MOTIVATION AND OBJECTIVES

Immigration enforcement has evolved from being exclusively the purview of federal immigration officials maintaining inspections at the nation's borders, to a more diffused system involving laws and mandates imposed in specific state and local jurisdictions. This study concentrates on one extension of immigration enforcement at the state-level –namely the mandated use of an employment verification system, commonly referred to as E-Verify, in some jurisdictions.

By federal law (and therefore in all jurisdictions), employers are required to document the work eligibility of all new hires through the collection of information required for completing the I-9 form (see Appendix A for this form). In order to comply with the I-9 form, new employees must present documents to their employers (examples include a birth certificate, passport, driver's license, Permanent Resident Card) to prove their identity and U.S. nationality and, if not a native-born or naturalized citizen, their eligibility to work in the United States.¹ This requirement became effective in 1986 with the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA).²

In states mandating the use of E-Verify, the process goes one step further. The data collected on the I-9 form is turned over to the federal government, which then compares this information to U.S. government records. If the information matches, the employee is deemed eligible to work in the United States. If there is a mismatch, E-Verify issues a “tentative non-confirmation notice” (TNC) and the employee must contact the appropriate agency within eight federal government work days from the referral date to resolve the mismatch. In some states, the E-Verify system is also utilized when issuing drivers' licenses or state ID cards.

¹ See Appendix A for page 3 of the I-9 form, which provides an extensive list of documents that can be used to establish identity and work authorization.

² See <http://www.uscis.gov/i-9-central/>

While the mandated use of the I-9 form and the E-Verify program should not negatively impact job prospects for native or naturalized Hispanic/Latino³ workers, there might be reasons to believe that this group could be potentially hurt if employers avoid “Hispanic-looking” workers for fear they might be undocumented.⁴ If so, this could be indicative of statistical discrimination or profiling since the suitability of the potential employee is not based on human capital or productivity differences. In fact, the *Handbook for Employers: Guidance for Completing Form I-9 (Employment Eligibility Verification Form)*, issued by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service, contains a full chapter entitled: “Unlawful Discrimination and Penalties for Prohibited Practices,” some of which we outline in Appendix B.

There is some basis for believing that E-Verify mandates can create problems for many individuals authorized to work. According to Westat (2012), a significant number of erroneous TNCs are issued. Furthermore, Westat found that the error rate rose for non-citizens authorized to work from 1.5 percent in 2005 to 2 percent in 2010, and that some employers use E-Verify to pre-screen employees (despite the directives of the DHS not to pre-screen) by failing to report TNCs to job applicants when one was received (Westat, 2011). In such instances, there is no mechanism for individuals who are truly eligible to work to ensure that erroneous information is corrected. Pew Research Center data (2012) reveal that over one-quarter of Hispanics (29 percent) responded that “being Hispanic/Latino hurts when it comes to finding a job” in 2012, relative to 14 percent in 2002 (Pew Research Center, 2002), consistent with the view that the rising implementation of E-Verify might have disadvantaged Hispanics.

³ For the purpose of this study, we use the terms Hispanic and Latino interchangeably.

⁴ Employers can discriminate in favor of U.S. citizen under certain conditions. For example, Federal and state governments can specify that citizenship status is required for employment.

While one view is that E-Verify could place Latinos at a disadvantage, another possibility is that E-Verify mandates might have lessened discriminatory behavior toward authorized Latino workers. The existence of a mechanism to verify legal work status could help employers make informed hiring and staffing decisions without having to probe in questionable and potentially offensive ways or make erroneous assumptions.

In this study, we test whether there is any basis for fearing that the adoption of an E-Verify mandate might have a backlash on the Hispanic population. Specifically, we ascertain whether, following the introduction of an E-Verify mandate at the state-level, native-born and naturalized Hispanics (all clearly authorized to work) perceive a change in Hispanics' workplace outcomes and likelihood of succeeding in the United States. As of 2012, seven states (*i.e.* Arizona after 2008, Mississippi after 2009, Utah after 2010, North Carolina and Alabama after 2011, and Tennessee and South Carolina after 2012) required all firms to screen their new hires through the system, while eleven other states (Georgia and Oklahoma after 2007, Idaho, Minnesota and Colorado after 2008, Missouri and Nebraska after 2009, Florida, Indiana and Louisiana after 2011 and Virginia after 2012) imposed E-Verify mandates on public agencies and Federal contractors only.⁵ Using data from the 2002 through 2012 *National Latino Surveys* from the Pew Hispanic Center, along with data on the implementation of E-Verify mandates from the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), we exploit the temporal and spatial variation in the adoption of E-Verify mandates to learn how they might have impacted Hispanic citizens' perceptions of discrimination toward Latinos.

⁵ All federal employees are subject to E-Verify regardless of the physical location of the job.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To the best of our knowledge, a systematic analysis of how E-Verify mandates have impacted discrimination perceptions has not been carried out. Yet, there is a literature on the impacts of intensified immigration enforcement on the labor market outcomes of various demographic groups –including Hispanic citizens. Are Latinos worse or better off on account of such efforts? And, if impacted by the aforementioned measures, are all Latinos impacted equally? Prior studies on the consequences of enhanced immigration enforcement on the population for whom those policies are intended (namely, the unauthorized) do, by and large, find that the “likely unauthorized” are negatively impacted. Amuedo-Dorantes and Bansak (2012, 2014), as well as Bohn, Lofstrom and Raphael (2014), find that the likely unauthorized were pushed out of states adopting E-Verify mandates. Amuedo-Dorantes and Bansak also found that the likely unauthorized became less likely to be at work and exhibited a higher likelihood of relocating from industries more directly impacted by the mandates to industries less likely to be impacted. Industries less likely to be impacted are those that, for example, enjoy exclusions for their small size or short contract duration. Finding that more recent immigrants have poorer labor market outcomes than earlier waves of immigrants, Orrenius and Zavodny (2009) conclude that the overall stepped up enforcement of immigration laws is resulting in a substitution away from the unauthorized. In sum, a number of authors have found that enhanced immigration enforcement is negatively impacting its target population.

What has the literature found regarding the potential impact of stricter immigration enforcement measures on Latinos that are authorized to work? A number of authors have found those authorized to work are affected as well. While Orrenius and Zavodny (2009) seem to imply that the substitution away from the unauthorized might help those authorized to work, Bansak and Raphael (2001) found that the authorized sustain wage penalties. And, in the same vein, Gentsch

and Massey (2011) note that increments in enforcement have coincided with an expansion of guest worker programs, which “regularized” the status of a large number of former or would be undocumented immigrants. The rise in guest workers increased the labor market competition faced by pre-existing legal immigrant workers, and worsened their working conditions toward those enjoyed by guest workers. Their finding underscores the importance of controlling for concurrent labor market conditions in order to correctly identify the impact of specific measures. To summarize, some of the literature supports the notion that immigration enforcement policies may have improved the employment prospects for native-born and legal immigrants, whereas others believe they might have worsened them.

In sum, the literature has explored how increased enforcement and, in some instances, E-Verify mandates have impacted the labor market outcomes of the likely unauthorized population and other demographic groups –including the native-born. Their conclusions when focusing on the legal population are, nonetheless, inconclusive. In addition, we know that there is a positive error rate when it comes to the use of E-Verify by employers, with some employers using the system inappropriately. Consequently, it is fair to ask whether E-Verify is jeopardizing or negatively impacting the prospects of some segments of the authorized population, as would be the case with Latino citizens. We approach this question, not by looking at their ultimate labor market outcomes but, rather, at how their perceptions of discrimination at the workplace and with respect to their ability to succeed in America changed following the implementation of E-Verify mandates.

DATA AND SOME DESCRIPTIVE EVIDENCE

We make use of the 2002 through 2012 waves of The Hispanic Trends Project’s, *National Latino Surveys* (NLS) to measure perceptions, by Latinos, of discrimination toward Hispanics.

The Pew Research Center contracts with SSRS –a survey research firm with expertise in obtaining appropriate samples for low-incidence populations– to periodically sample the U.S. Hispanic/Latino population. The surveys are conducted using a sampling methodology that selects on land and cell phone numbers. The intent of the Pew Latino Surveys is to capture the full Hispanic population of the United States, whether native or foreign-born. Latinos can be further divided into non-citizens and citizens (see Figure 1). Many surveys allow for this distinction. However, no comprehensive representative survey allows for a delineation of non-citizens authorized to work and non-citizens unauthorized to work. Therefore, we first focus our attention on U.S. citizens, 16 to 65 years of age –a group we can clearly identify as authorized to work. Furthermore, given that E-Verify targets unauthorized immigrants, many of whom are of Mexican origin, we pay especial attention to foreign-born status and Mexican origin as potential predictors of profiling. In the end, we delineate four separate citizen groups as specified on the right hand side of Figure 1: foreign-born Mexicans, other foreign-born Latin Americans, U.S.-born with Mexican heritage, U.S.-born with other Latin American heritage.

Measuring discrimination perceptions is challenging, even when surveys directly ask about those perceptions. In the case of the NLS, the main difficulty originates from the fact that its questionnaire varies over time with this issue addressed in some years and not in other years. The NLS consists of a core set of questions covered in each wave of the survey, another set of questions repeated with slight variations in phrasing, and a final set of questions that are unique to a given wave or repeated only in selected waves. We make use of questions found in the 2002, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2012 waves that ask respondents about their perceptions of the existence of discrimination: (1) toward Hispanics in the workplace, and (2) as a barrier for Hispanics’ success in the United States.

Specifically, in 2007 and 2012, Latinos were asked whether they had ever experienced discrimination in the workplace (see Table 1 for exact wording). Over a different time period, in 2002, 2004, 2007 and 2010, the survey asked whether discrimination toward Hispanics was a major impediment for succeeding in the United States (exact wording is reproduced in Table 1). Using these survey questions, we constructed two dichotomous discrimination variables: “discrimination at work” and “discrimination impedes success”. They take on the value of “1” if the respondent claimed that they have experienced discrimination in the workplace or if s/he perceives that discrimination is a major obstacle for Hispanics’ success in America, respectively. If the respondent has not experienced discrimination in the labor market or does not believe that being Latino is a major impediment to success, those variables are assigned a “0” value. As revealed in Table 1, twice as many citizen Latinos reported discrimination perceptions in the workplace in 2012 (close to 30 percent) relative to 2007 (16 percent). Similarly, we also observe a steep increment in the proportions perceiving that discrimination is getting in the way of success from 40 percent in 2002 to 55 percent in 2010.

To visualize how discriminatory perceptions have evolved over time by geographic area, the maps in Figures 2 and 3 display, state by state, Hispanics’ perceptions of discrimination at the beginning and end of the sample periods. Focusing, first, on Figure 2, we observe a progressive darkening of the shading from 2002 to 2010. While there are exceptions, it is clear that the perception that discrimination is getting in the way of Latinos’ success generally rose from 2002 to 2010. Similarly, despite some variability, it is clear from Figure 3 that Latinos’ perceptions of discrimination at the workplace intensified. Could some of those changes in perceptions be related to the implementation of E-Verify mandates?

To answer this question, we exploit the geographic and temporal variation in the implementation of E-Verify mandates. Table 2 outlines the implementation dates of E-Verify mandates. The scope of the mandates is also reported –namely, whether its use was mandated for public sector hires and contractors (public) or, in addition, whether private employers were also required to use E-Verify for all new employees (universal mandate). Because very few states had a universal mandate by the end date of our sample periods,⁶ we focus on whether the state had implemented any type of E-Verify mandate. Accordingly, we create a dummy variable indicative of whether the respondent resided in a state that mandated the use of employment verification systems to some employers at the time of the interview.

Table 3 provides an overview of the sample we work with. In the first two columns, we display summary statistics for all working-age native and naturalized Hispanics in the 2007 and 2012 NLS –the two waves in which the survey asked about Hispanics’ perceptions concerning discrimination in the workplace. In the last two columns, we display descriptive statistics for the survey years (2002, 2004, 2007, and 2010), when a question concerning Latinos’ perceptions of whether discrimination prevents Hispanics from succeeding was asked. Since the question about perceived discrimination at work is specific to the workplace, whereas the question about discrimination getting in the way of success is broader in scope, it is not surprising that the proportion perceiving discrimination is about twice as high in the latter case. It averages 49 percent compared to the 22 percent perceiving discrimination at work. It is also not surprising that 12 percent of the respondents in the sample used to examine work-related discrimination reside in states with an E-Verify mandate, whereas that share is 4 percent in the sample used to examine

⁶ As we describe in what follows, we work with two different measures of discrimination. For one of the measures, our sample period ends in 2010. Only three states –none of them traditionally high immigration states with a potentially larger population of Hispanic citizens as well- had implemented a universal mandate by that year.

whether discrimination gets in the way of succeeding in America. After all, in the “work discrimination” case, the sample ranges from 2007 to 2012, at which point a larger number of states with high concentrations of Hispanics (such as Florida) had adopted E-Verify mandates. In the “impedes success” case, the sample involves a much earlier period of time, at which point E-Verify was mandated by very few states.

The remaining demographic variables are fairly similar across the two groups. For instance, foreign-born Mexican citizens make up for 17 to 18 percent of the total. Mexicans account for slightly over 60 percent of Latinos in our samples and, when it comes to language proficiency, between 18 and 20 percent claim to be Spanish dominant speakers, thirty-seven percent assert that English is their dominant language, and between 43 and 45 percent claim to be bilingual. On average, the foreign-born have been in the United States approximately 27 years, and about half of the Latinos in our samples claim to earn incomes below \$30,000/year, whereas less than one third indicate earnings incomes above \$50,000/year.

Overall, is there any relationship between the incidence of perceived discrimination and that of E-Verify mandates? Table 4 addresses that question from a merely descriptive point of view. Approximately 27.5 percent of Hispanic citizens indicate perceiving discrimination at work when residing in E-Verify states, relative to 22 percent of their counterparts in non-E-Verify states. The difference is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. If we look, instead, at whether Latinos perceive that discrimination gets in the way of success, we continue to see a significantly higher proportion claiming discrimination in E-Verify states (54 percent versus 46 percent), although the difference is only statistically different from zero at the 10 percent level. As such, the descriptive statistics in Table 4 seem to suggest that E-Verify could be impacting perceptions

of discrimination held by Latino citizens. In what follows, we proceed to a more systematic evaluation of that hypothesis.

METHODOLOGY

Our main objective is to examine whether employment verification mandates have had the unintended consequence of raising discrimination towards Hispanic citizens. To that end, we estimate the following model specification:

$$(1) \quad Y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 EVerify_{st} + \gamma' X_{ist} + \delta_s + \varphi_t + \delta_{st} + \varepsilon_{ist}, \varepsilon_{ist} \sim N(0, 1)$$

where: $i=1, \dots, n$ individuals, s =state, and t =year. Y_{ist} equals 1 if the i th respondent, at time t , located in state s , responded perceiving discrimination toward Hispanics. Our main interest is on the estimated coefficient for $EVerify_{st}$ —a dummy variable equal to 1 if the respondent resides in a jurisdiction that has mandated the use of E-Verify. For example, $EVerify_{st}$ equals 1 if the Hispanic respondent was residing in Arizona after 2007. By contrast, $EVerify_{st}$ equals 0 if s/he resided in Arizona prior to 2007 or if s/he resided in California.

Equation (1) also includes a vector of personal characteristics (X_{ist}) possibly impacting perceptions about discrimination, including: place of birth (U.S.-born or foreign-born), Mexican heritage, age, gender, marital status, educational attainment, English and Spanish fluency, time in the United States for those born abroad and household income. Finally, a battery of state fixed-effects (δ_s), year fixed-effects (φ_t) and state-level time trends (δ_{st}) are also included in the analysis. State dummies can help capture time invariant geographic characteristics, such as a political environment hostile to immigration—a characteristic that could potentially be related to the likelihood of enacting E-Verify. State dummies can also capture the concentration of networks of compatriots or other minority groups, which can alter perceptions of vulnerability and, therefore,

influence responses to the questionnaire. Time dummies are also incorporated in the model. They help account for economy-wide shocks that could impact attitudes, as well as election year effects that might influence perceptions of discrimination as political candidates court specific groups for votes and support. Finally, the inclusion of state-specific time trends allows us to also control for changing economic conditions, such as a booming economy attracting Hispanics to the area, which could be responsible for the enactment of the policy itself.

Since approximately 60 percent of the undocumented are foreign-born Mexicans (Passel and Cohn 2009; 2010), if E-Verify mandates led to any discriminatory behavior towards Latinos, we might expect foreign-born Mexicans to be at the forefront, even if they are naturalized. To assess if, indeed, employment verification mandates have had the unintended consequence of raising discrimination towards certain demographic groups more likely to be profiled as undocumented despite their legal status, we estimate the following model specification:

$$(2) \quad Y_{ist} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 EVerify_{st} + \alpha_2 FB_{ist} + \alpha_3 Mexican_{ist} + \alpha_4 EVerify_{st} * FB_{ist} + \alpha_5 EVerify_{st} * Mexican_{ist} + \alpha_6 FB_{st} * Mexican_{ist} + \alpha_7 EVerify_{st} * FB_{ist} * Mexican_{ist} + \gamma' X_{ist} + \delta_s + \varphi_t + \delta_s t + \varepsilon_{ist}, \quad \varepsilon_{ist} \sim N(0,1)$$

Equation (2) now includes a series of double interaction terms to capture the differential discrimination perceptions of Latinos following the implementation of an E-Verify mandate if they are foreign-born, as opposed to native, or if they are of Mexican descent, relative to other Hispanic groups. Additionally, it includes a triple interaction term intended to reveal if foreign-born Mexicans—a group with common traits to likely unauthorized migrants—have a higher propensity to report perceiving discriminatory behavior, relative other Hispanic citizens, following the implementation of an E-Verify mandate.

To avoid unnecessary assumptions about the functional form of the underlying distribution, we estimate equations (1) and (2) as a linear probability models and compute robust standard errors

clustered at the state level.⁷ Subsequently, as a robustness check, we assess if any identified policy impacts were pre-existent by assigning an earlier date to the E-Verify dummies in states that eventually enact a mandate.

FINDINGS

A) Did E-Verify Discriminate Against Hispanic Citizens?

Did E-Verify increased perceptions of discrimination against Latinos? To address this question, we estimate equation (1) for the two dependent variables capturing perceived discrimination at work against Latinos or an overall unfavorable environment for Latinos to succeed. For each outcome, we estimate three different specifications that progressively add a number of regressors. Our baseline specification solely includes the E-Verify, foreign-born and Mexican dummies, along with the interaction terms in equation (1). Subsequently, in a second specification, we incorporate the vector X , which includes a set of individual characteristics known to influence attitudes and perceptions, including age, gender, marital status, education, household income levels, proficiency in English and Spanish and, for the foreign-born, the length of time they have resided in the United States. In addition, the vector of personal characteristics in this specification includes information on whether the individual is foreign-born and if, applicable, her/his Mexican heritage. Lastly, in the most complete specification, we add a series of state dummies, time dummies and state-time trends in order to capture fixed and time-varying regional and macroeconomic factors that could affect perceptions and attitudes.

We report the results from estimating equation (1) for the two distinct measures of discrimination in Table 5. We focus our attention on the most complete specification. According

⁷ Although, in some instances, linear probability models can yield predicted probabilities that fall outside the unit circle, they impose fewer restrictions on the distribution of the error term and facilitate convergence when working with small samples (Wooldridge 2008).

to the estimates in Table 5, the perception of discrimination at work did increase by 33 percentage among Hispanic citizens following the implementation of E-Verify mandates. Yet, the negative impact that the mandates appear to have had at the work environment did not feed into a broader sphere. After all, the perception that discrimination gets in the way of success did not rise among Hispanic citizens after the decision, by some states, to mandate the use of E-Verify.

However, the estimates in Table 5 uncover other very significant determinants of the overall perception that discrimination impedes success, as is the case with being a foreign-born Mexican. It is interesting to note how this Hispanic subgroup is 16 percentage points more likely to report that discrimination gets in the way of Latino's ability to succeed in the United States. Does this have anything to do with the fact that a larger share of unauthorized immigrants are foreign-born Mexicans and, as such, this group might feel unfairly targeted? And, if so, did E-Verify had a differential impact across Hispanic citizen subgroups? We address this question in what follows.

B) Differential E-Verify Impacts across Hispanic Citizen Subgroups

Did E-Verify impact the perceptions of discrimination against Latinos differently across the various Hispanic citizen subgroups? To address this question, we estimate equation (2) for the two dependent variables capturing perceived discrimination at work against Latinos or an overall unfavorable environment for Latinos to succeed which incorporate interaction terms to explore this issue. Results from this exercise are displayed in Table 6. As with Table 5, we focus our attention on the most complete specification and on the impact that E-Verify mandates appear to have had on perceived discrimination by four groups of Latino citizens: foreign-born Mexicans, other foreign-born Latin Americans, U.S.-born citizens of Mexican heritage and U.S.-born citizens of other Latin American heritages (see Figure 1). We thus evaluate the change in perceived

discrimination pre- vs. post-implementation of an E-Verify mandate for the four demographic subgroups (*i.e.* $\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta E-Verify}$ or $\frac{\Delta Ds}{\Delta E-Verify}$). In the case of perceived discrimination at work, the change in such perceptions is given by:

$$\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta EVerify} = -0.121 FB * Mexican - 0.166 FB - 0.086 Mexican + 0.4$$

Substituting appropriate values for the foreign-born and Mexican dummies, we can assess how perceived discrimination across various subgroups of Latino citizens changed following the implementation of an E-Verify mandate. Appendix C, Part 1 summarizes those results. F-tests for the joint significance of the appropriate coefficients permit us to determine whether the computed impacts are statistically different from zero. For example, foreign-born Mexicans became about 3 percentage points more likely to perceive discrimination at work following the implementation of an E-Verify mandate.⁸ The impact of E-Verify mandates on perceptions of discrimination at work is, however, much larger for all other Latino citizen subgroups. The implementation of the mandates raised the likelihood of perceiving discrimination at work by as much as 40 percentage points among U.S.-born other Latin American Latinos, thirty-one percentage points among U.S.-born Mexicans and 23 percentage points among foreign-born other Latin American Latinos.⁹

It is curious that the naturalized Mexican group's change in perceptions of discrimination by the mandate is so much weaker. It is also interesting that the groups reporting a smaller increase in their perception of discrimination at work are naturalized as opposed to U.S.-born. Why would naturalized Latinos appear to be less likely to perceive discrimination at work due to the mandate than their remaining U.S.-born counterparts? One possibility is that naturalized Latinos are more

⁸ The F-test of the joint significance of the relevant terms is 41.13, with a probability value of 0.000.

⁹ These impacts are all statistically different from zero according to the joint F-tests.

accustomed to undergo immigration checks after having experienced, first-hand, all the immigration controls that are required to acquire a visa, renew it, apply for a green card and eventually, become a U.S. citizen. In contrast, their U.S.-born counterparts have never been exposed to such scrutiny. Therefore, having to be checked for work eligibility might feel intrusive and unfair. Overall, however, the estimates from Table 6 suggest that E-Verify mandates have raised perceived discrimination at work among all Latino citizens, regardless of their nativity and ethnicity.

Similarly, to learn about the impact that the implementation of E-Verify mandates might have had on perceptions of discrimination getting in the way of success, we evaluate the following expression for the various subgroups of Latino citizens:

$$\frac{\Delta D_s}{\Delta EVerify} = 0.491 FB * Mexican - 0.214 FB - 0.231 Mexican + 0.207$$

In this case, however, we only find a 25 percentage point higher likelihood of perceiving that discrimination gets in the way of success following the implementation of E-Verify mandates among foreign-born Mexicans.¹⁰ We see no increase in perceptions of overall discrimination for the other groups of Latinos.

Other regressors in the estimations reported in Table 6 have the expected signs. For example, individuals who claim to be Spanish dominant speakers are 20 percentage points more likely to indicate that discrimination hinders their likelihood of succeeding (relative to English dominant speakers). Somewhat surprising is the finding that bilingual speakers are also more likely to perceive discrimination both with respect to work and with respect to overall success. Perhaps, these are amongst the first generations of migrants and their appearance –how they dress,

¹⁰ The treatment effects along with F-tests to assess the significance of the treatment are reported in the Appendix C, Part I.

mannerisms or the possibility that they speak with somewhat of an accent— make them targets for profiling and discriminatory actions. Finally, we also find that Hispanic citizens from higher income households (households with average incomes of \$51,000/year or more) are 6.7 percentage points less likely to perceive that discrimination gets in the way of success relative to individuals with household incomes below \$30,000/year.

Returning to the main results on hand, it is interesting that, while all Latinos perceive an increase in discrimination at work following the implementation of E-Verify mandates, only foreign-born Mexicans perceive that discrimination gets in the way of Latinos succeeding in America following the adoption of such mandates. Could it be, in the latter case, that the identified policy impact is capturing pre-existing policy effects? We next test for this possibility.

C) Testing for Pre-existing Policy Impacts

One of the main concerns in policy analysis is the possibility that the effects attributed to the policy being examined could be driven by pre-existent differences between states that eventually mandate the use of the policy itself and states that do not. For example, someone could argue that the increase in the perception of discrimination getting in the way of success experienced by foreign-born Mexicans following the implementation of the E-Verify mandates is a reflection of prior policy changes, such as the signing of 287(g) agreements between Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the state or local police, as it was the case with the state of Florida—one of the states adopting an E-Verify mandate in 2011—in 2002.

To assess whether that is the case, we perform a robustness check intended to identify pre-existing policy impacts or trends. Specifically, in the case of perceived discrimination at work, we get rid of the second wave of data (2012 wave) and restrict our attention to the 2007 wave, while also eliminating from the sample all individuals residing in states that had already enacted an E-

Verify mandate by that date. We then set the E-Verify dummy equal to 1 for individuals who reside in states that eventually implemented an E-Verify mandate by 2012, and a value of 0 otherwise. In the case of gauging whether discrimination gets in the way of success, we restrict our attention to the 2002 and 2004 waves –both years prior to the implementation of any E-Verify mandate. We then create a policy lead that assigns a value of 1 to individuals residing in states that eventually implement an E-Verify mandate. Results from this exercise are displayed in Table 7.

If the discriminatory impacts attributed to E-Verify were actually driven by changes taking place in the E-Verify states prior to the mandated use of the program itself, we should be able to find a statistically different from zero impact of the E-Verify mandate leads. According to the estimates in Table 7 and summarized in Appendix C, Part 2, none of the E-Verify mandate leads has a statistically different from zero impact on the perception of discrimination at work. In other words, the E-Verify impacts on the likelihood of perceiving discrimination at work captured in Table 6 do not seem to be driven by pre-existent differences between states that eventually enacted an E-Verify mandate and those that do not.

However, the robustness check raises doubt about the role of E-Verify mandates in the increased perception among foreign-born Mexicans that discrimination gets in the way of success of Latinos. As evidenced by the significant F-test reported in Appendix C, Part 2, foreign-born Mexicans' heightened perception of discrimination getting in the way of success of Latinos was pre-existent to the mandated use of E-Verify in E-Verify states. This is not surprising. After all, other immigration enforcement initiatives –such as 287g agreements– preceded E-Verify mandates in many states, like Florida, in their targeting of undocumented immigrants –many of whom resembled the foreign-born Mexicans in our sample.

In sum, the combined results from Tables 5 and 6 support the notion that E-Verify mandates raised Latinos' perceived discrimination at the workplace. However, they did not increase their perception of discrimination getting in the way of success of Hispanics in the United States. While that sentiment was present among foreign-born Mexicans, it was pre-existing to the implementation of the E-Verify mandates and cannot be attributed to them.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At a time when immigration enforcement measures are being heightened, it is crucial to gain a better understanding of their unintended consequences on other groups of bystanders. The possibility exists that the implementation of laws intended to reduce undocumented immigration have hurt Hispanics clearly authorized to work via ethnic profiling or by misinterpretation of the law. Yet, it is also possible that E-Verify mandates have the opposite impact if they provide employers with a formal mechanism to assess work authorization, thus minimizing the chance of deliberately or inadvertently discriminating against prospective or current employees. Learning about the impacts of E-Verify enriches our understanding of the potential collateral damage of increased immigration enforcement and is essential for shaping future policies.

We find that E-Verify mandates raise the perception of discrimination at work held by all four Latino citizen groups analyzed in this research, clearly a spill-over into a group that is not the focus of the mandate. However, their impact appears significantly smaller among foreign-born Mexicans –a group undoubtedly more likely to be profiled as unauthorized. Perhaps, for many naturalized Mexicans, E-Verify mandates provide a formal mechanism to prospective employers to check their work eligibility avoiding unnecessary assumptions. Or perhaps, given an already

heightened perception of discrimination on the part of the naturalized Mexican population, the mandate simply has a much smaller impact on this group.

It is also interesting that, while E-Verify mandates appear to have raised the perception of discrimination at work among Hispanic citizens, they are not viewed as yet another means by which discrimination might get in the way of succeeding in America. And, while naturalized Mexicans are more likely than other Hispanic citizen groups to feel that way, their sentiment was pre-existing in the so-called E-Verify states.

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Table 1: Discrimination Variables

Question Format	Years Asked	Share Perceiving Discrimination	
		First Year	Last Year
<p>‘Discrimination at Work’ Variable: 2007 wording:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Has there ever been a time when you have NOT been hired or promoted for a job because of your race or ethnic background, or has this not happened to you?” <p>2012 wording:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “In general, do you think being (HISPANIC/LATINO/OF MEXICAN ORIGIN) ¹¹– helps, hurts, or makes no difference when it comes to finding a job?” “In general, do you think being (HISPANIC/LATINO/OF MEXICAN ORIGIN) – helps, hurts, or makes no difference when it comes to getting a promotion?” <p>The two 2012 questions were combined to construct responses to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “In general, do you think being (HISPANIC/LATINO/OF MEXICAN ORIGIN) – helps, hurts, or makes no difference when it comes to finding a job or getting a promotion?” <p>If the respondent answered “hurts”, we coded the respondent as perceiving discrimination in terms of obtaining employment or being promoted.</p>	2007, 2012	0.162	0.292
<p>‘Discrimination Impedes Success’ Variable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “In general, do you think discrimination against (HISPANICS/LATINOS) is a major problem, minor problem, or not a problem in preventing (HISPANICS/LATINOS) in general from succeeding in America?” <p>If responded that discrimination is a “major problem”, we coded the respondent as perceiving that discrimination hinders Latinos from succeeding.</p>	2002, 2004, 2007, 2010	0.397	0.548

¹¹ Depending on their heritage, the appropriate descriptor was used.

Table 2: Implementation Year of E-Verify Mandates

State	Year	Scope of the Mandate
NC	2007	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors, Universal after 2011
GA	2007	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
OK	2007	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
ID	2008	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
AZ	2008	Universal
MN	2008	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
MS	2008	Universal
CO	2008	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
SC	2009	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors, Universal after 2012
MO	2009	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
UT	2009	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors, Universal after 2010
NE	2009	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
FL	2011	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
IN	2011	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
LA	2011	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors
TN	2012	Universal
AL	2012	Universal
VA	2012	Public sector firms, agencies, and/or contractors

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) website.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Citizen Samples in Both Discrimination Questions

Variables	Work-related Discrimination		Discrimination Impedes Success	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Perceived Discrimination	0.22	0.41	0.49	0.50
E-Verify State	0.12	0.32	0.04	0.19
Foreign-born Mexican	0.17	0.38	0.18	0.38
Mexican	0.63	0.48	0.62	0.48
Foreign-born	0.29	0.45	0.30	0.46
Female	0.51	0.50	0.49	0.50
Age	39.83	16.22	39.87	16.06
Married	0.58	0.49	0.57	0.50
Less than HS	0.24	0.43	0.28	0.45
HS	0.41	0.49	0.30	0.46
More than HS	0.35	0.48	0.42	0.49
Spanish Dominant	0.18	0.38	0.20	0.40
Bilingual	0.45	0.50	0.43	0.50
English Dominant	0.37	0.48	0.37	0.48
Years in the U.S. ^(a)	27.24	12.53	26.45	12.61
Less than \$30,000/yr	0.48	0.50	0.46	0.50
\$30,000-\$50,000/yr	0.21	0.40	0.25	0.43
More than \$50,000/yr	0.31	0.46	0.29	0.45
Total Observations		1,782		3,925

Notes: ^(a) Conditional on being foreign-born.

Table 4: Incidence of Perceived Discrimination by Residency in a State with an E-Verify Mandate

	Discrimination in the Workplace/Impedes Success		
	Observations	Mean (S.D.)	Difference
Panel A: Impact of Work-related Discrimination			
<i>Resides in a State with an E-Verify Mandate</i>	200	0.275 (0.448)	
<i>Does Not Reside in a State with an E-Verify Mandate</i>	1,582	0.219 (0.414)	0.056**
Panel B: Impact of Discrimination Impedes Success			
<i>Resides in a State with an E-Verify Mandate</i>	70	0.543 (0.502)	
<i>Does Not Reside in a State with an E-Verify Mandate</i>	3,855	0.459 (0.498)	0.084*

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses. The null hypothesis being tested in Panel A is whether the mean of Hispanic/Latino citizens perceiving work-related discrimination if they reside in a state with an E-Verify mandate is larger than the mean of those residing elsewhere. The null hypothesis being tested in Panel B is whether the mean of Hispanic/Latino citizens perceiving that discrimination against them gets in the way of success if they reside in a state with an E-Verify mandate is larger than the mean of those residing elsewhere. ***, **, * denote 1%, 5%, and 10% levels of significance, respectively.

Table 5: E-Verify and Perceptions of Discrimination

Outcome: Model Specification:	Work-related Discrimination			Discrimination Impedes Success		
	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend
E-Verify State	0.032 (0.051)	0.033 (0.052)	0.326*** (0.042)	0.025 (0.082)	0.035 (0.080)	0.128 (0.305)
Foreign-Born*Mexican	0.058 (0.056)	0.051 (0.062)	0.052 (0.065)	0.205*** (0.057)	0.172*** (0.054)	0.158*** (0.053)
Mexican	-0.024 (0.036)	-0.016 (0.040)	-0.041 (0.063)	-0.115*** (0.034)	-0.096*** (0.033)	-0.017 (0.047)
Foreign-Born	-0.057 (0.046)	-0.077 (0.075)	-0.034 (0.092)	-0.040 (0.050)	-0.038 (0.071)	-0.053 (0.067)
Female		0.037** (0.017)	0.015 (0.018)		0.041* (0.023)	0.037* (0.021)
Age		0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Married or Cohabiting		-0.024 (0.020)	-0.010 (0.017)		-0.029 (0.029)	-0.030 (0.030)
HS Education		-0.001 (0.037)	-0.001 (0.039)		-0.043 (0.029)	-0.034 (0.033)
More than a HS Education		-0.017 (0.042)	0.011 (0.037)		-0.050 (0.034)	-0.040 (0.037)
Mainly speaks in Spanish		0.039 (0.036)	0.046 (0.029)		0.199*** (0.064)	0.197*** (0.068)
Proficient in English & Spanish		0.043 (0.042)	0.070* (0.041)		0.115*** (0.036)	0.117*** (0.037)
Years in the U.S.		-0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)		-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)
HH Income is between \$30K and \$50K		-0.011 (0.039)	-0.012 (0.038)		-0.026 (0.033)	-0.028 (0.032)
HH Income is \$51K or More		-0.014 (0.044)	-0.035 (0.043)		-0.060* (0.033)	-0.068** (0.031)
Observations	1,320	1,320	1,320	3,461	3,461	3,461
R-squared	0.002	0.009	0.155	0.018	0.051	0.115

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at state-level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Omitted categories, <HS, Spanish dominant, HH income < \$30K. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 6: E-Verify and Perceptions of Discrimination across Various Hispanic Groups

Outcome: Model Specification:	Work-related Discrimination			Discrimination Impedes Success		
	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend
Foreign-Born*Mexican*E-Verify State	-0.115 (0.114)	-0.109 (0.112)	-0.121 (0.096)	0.484*** (0.154)	0.466*** (0.158)	0.491*** (0.142)
Foreign-Born*E-Verify State	-0.136 (0.096)	-0.148 (0.097)	-0.166* (0.091)	-0.192 (0.120)	-0.196 (0.126)	-0.214 (0.133)
Mexican*E-Verify State	0.010 (0.112)	0.004 (0.113)	-0.086 (0.123)	-0.077 (0.122)	-0.066 (0.122)	-0.231 (0.157)
Foreign-Born*Mexican	0.047 (0.062)	0.039 (0.069)	0.029 (0.072)	0.179*** (0.063)	0.148** (0.059)	0.135** (0.057)
Mexican	-0.020 (0.037)	-0.011 (0.041)	-0.015 (0.074)	-0.112*** (0.034)	-0.094*** (0.034)	-0.010 (0.049)
Foreign-Born	-0.026 (0.051)	-0.026 (0.081)	0.023 (0.097)	-0.028 (0.057)	-0.024 (0.078)	-0.040 (0.073)
E-Verify State	0.074 (0.069)	0.080 (0.068)	0.400*** (0.035)	0.034 (0.104)	0.043 (0.091)	0.207 (0.346)
Female		0.040** (0.017)	0.017 (0.018)		0.039* (0.022)	0.035* (0.020)
Age		0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Married or Cohabiting		-0.024 (0.020)	-0.009 (0.018)		-0.029 (0.028)	-0.030 (0.030)
HS Education		0.001 (0.037)	0.001 (0.039)		-0.043 (0.030)	-0.034 (0.033)
More than a HS Education		-0.016 (0.041)	0.010 (0.036)		-0.050 (0.034)	-0.040 (0.037)
Mainly speaks in Spanish		0.037 (0.037)	0.045 (0.029)		0.195*** (0.065)	0.195*** (0.068)
Proficient in English & Spanish		0.044 (0.042)	0.070* (0.039)		0.116*** (0.036)	0.118*** (0.037)
Years in the U.S.		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)		-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
HH Income is between \$30K and \$50K		-0.010 (0.038)	-0.009 (0.037)		-0.026 (0.032)	-0.028 (0.031)
HH Income is \$51K or More		-0.012 (0.044)	-0.033 (0.042)		-0.061* (0.033)	-0.067** (0.031)
Observations	1,320	1,320	1,320	3,461	3,461	3,461
R-squared	0.007	0.014	0.162	0.021	0.054	0.117

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at state-level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Omitted categories, <HS, Spanish dominant, HH income < \$30K. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 7: Robustness Check for Pre-Existing Policy Impacts across Various Hispanic Groups

Outcome:	Work-related Discrimination (Sample: 2007, excluding states w/E-Verify at that time)			Discrimination Impedes Success (Sample: Pre-E-Verify – 2002, 2004)		
	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend	Baseline	Plus Controls	Plus FE and State-Time Trend
Foreign-Born*Mexican*E-Verify State	-0.122 (0.147)	-0.106 (0.140)	-0.046 (0.177)	-0.101 (0.246)	0.049 (0.262)	-0.189 (0.462)
Foreign-Born*E-Verify State	-0.070 (0.153)	-0.082 (0.143)	-0.113 (0.164)	0.385 (0.230)	0.268 (0.253)	0.458 (0.442)
Mexican*E-Verify State	0.121 (0.151)	0.103 (0.142)	0.401 (0.307)	-0.157 (0.241)	-0.164 (0.266)	-0.037 (0.437)
Foreign-Born*Mexican	-0.052 (0.072)	-0.065 (0.076)	-0.094 (0.078)	0.139* (0.074)	0.090 (0.060)	0.122** (0.049)
Mexican	-0.049 (0.044)	-0.034 (0.052)	-0.012 (0.067)	-0.049 (0.041)	-0.028 (0.037)	0.081 (0.075)
Foreign-Born	0.087* (0.050)	0.088 (0.064)	0.095 (0.075)	-0.033 (0.057)	-0.003 (0.103)	-0.080 (0.085)
E-Verify State	-0.018 (0.058)	-0.009 (0.052)	0.065 (0.066)	0.070 (0.223)	0.094 (0.250)	-0.065 (0.448)
Female		-0.030 (0.032)	-0.039 (0.034)		0.016 (0.027)	0.017 (0.026)
Age		0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)		-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Married or Cohabiting		-0.051** (0.025)	-0.056** (0.026)		-0.047 (0.032)	-0.033 (0.032)
HS Education		0.050 (0.062)	0.054 (0.065)		-0.032 (0.054)	-0.031 (0.058)
More than a HS Education		-0.022 (0.045)	-0.014 (0.053)		0.011 (0.059)	0.021 (0.062)
Mainly speaks in Spanish		0.038 (0.046)	0.056* (0.030)		0.259*** (0.088)	0.268*** (0.093)
Proficient in English & Spanish		0.080* (0.039)	0.089** (0.043)		0.105** (0.050)	0.125** (0.050)
Years in the U.S.		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)		-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
HH Income is between \$30K and \$50K		0.017 (0.040)	0.007 (0.051)		0.016 (0.038)	0.006 (0.038)
HH Income is \$51K or More		-0.018 (0.054)	-0.023 (0.059)		-0.087** (0.041)	-0.104*** (0.039)
Observations	460	460	460	2,429	2,429	2,429
R-squared	0.014	0.042	0.115	0.017	0.065	0.136

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at state-level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Omitted categories, <HS, Spanish dominant, HH income < \$30K. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. HH

Figure 1
Organizational Chart of the Hispanic Population in the United States

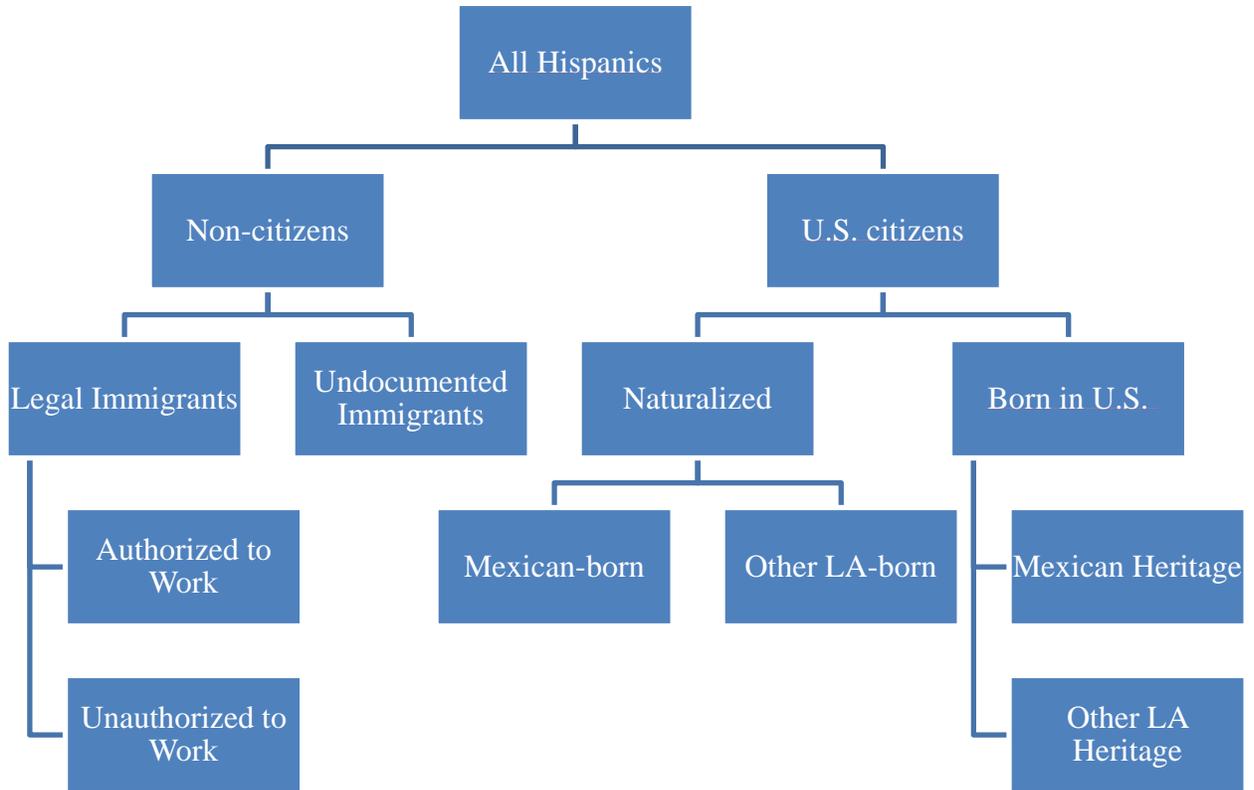


Figure 2

Share of Hispanic Citizens Perceiving that Discrimination Impedes Latinos' Success in 2002 and 2010

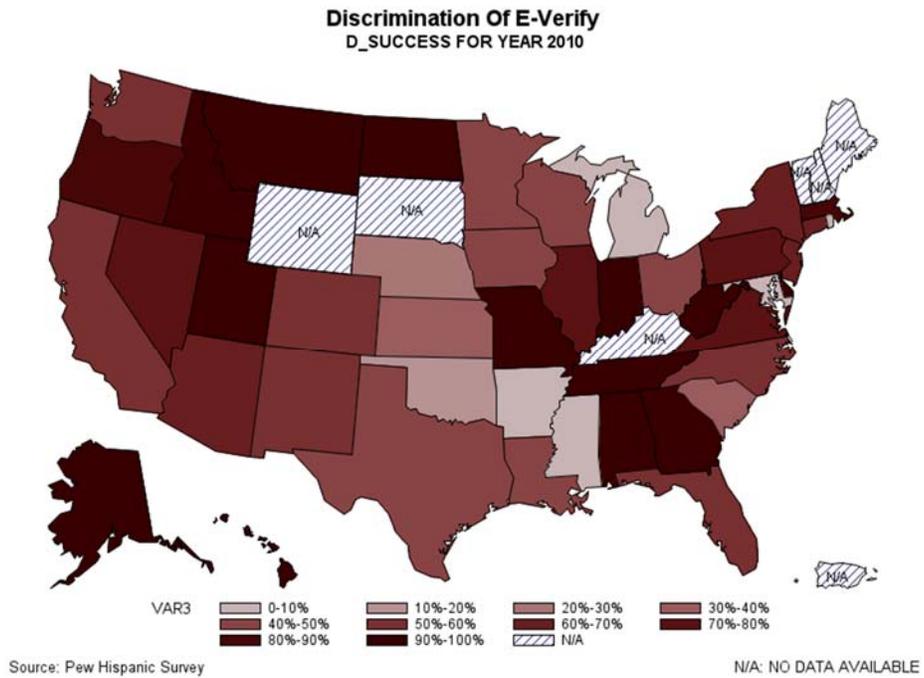
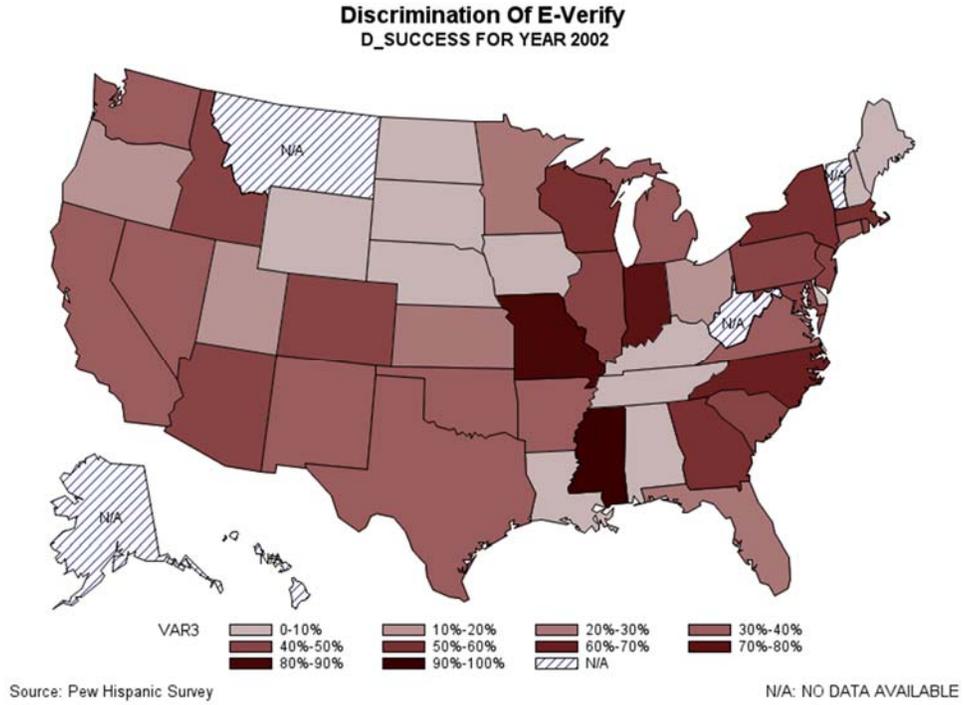
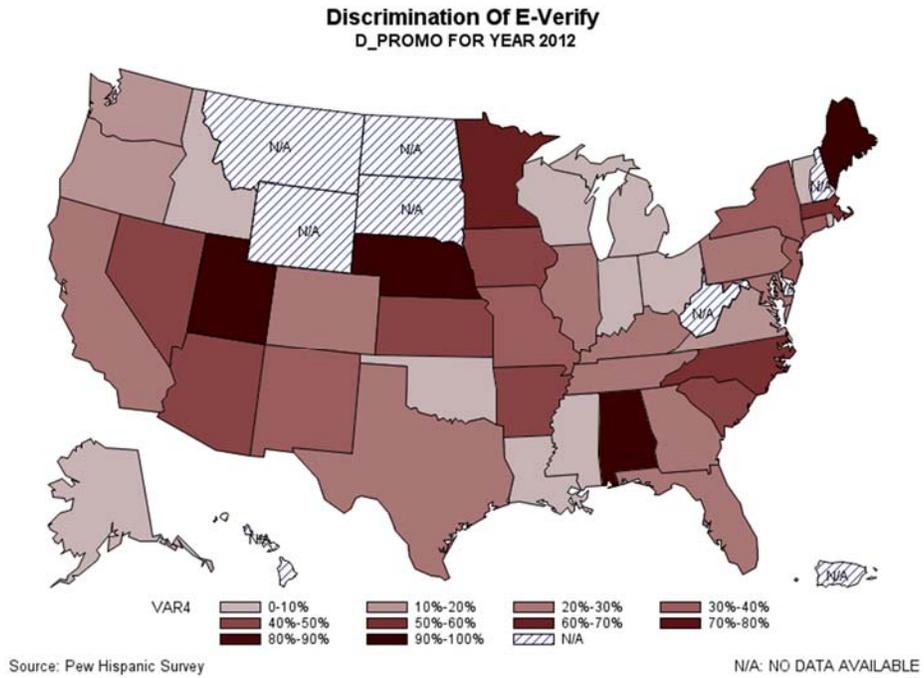
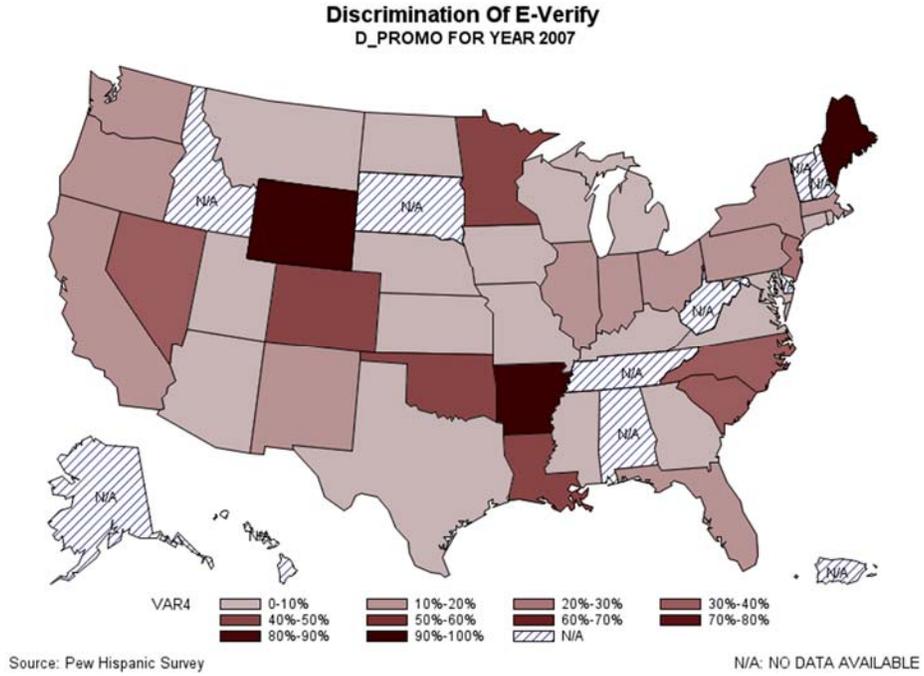


Figure 3

Share of Hispanic Citizens Perceiving Discrimination against Latinos at the Workplace in 2007 and 2012



Appendix A: I-9 Form



Employment Eligibility Verification

Department of Homeland Security
U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services

USCIS
Form I-9
OMB No. 1615-0047
Expires 03/31/2016

▶ START HERE. Read instructions carefully before completing this form. The instructions must be available during completion of this form.
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION NOTICE: It is illegal to discriminate against work-authorized individuals. Employers CANNOT specify which document(s) they will accept from an employee. The refusal to hire an individual because the documentation presented has a future expiration date may also constitute illegal discrimination.

Section 1. Employee Information and Attestation <i>(Employees must complete and sign Section 1 of Form I-9 no later than the first day of employment, but not before accepting a job offer.)</i>				
Last Name (Family Name)	First Name (Given Name)	Middle Initial	Other Names Used (if any)	
Address (Street Number and Name)	Apt. Number	City or Town		State <div style="text-align: right;">▼</div>
Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy)	U.S. Social Security Number <div style="text-align: center;">□□□□ - □□ - □□□□</div>	E-mail Address <div style="text-align: center;">□□□□□□□□@□□□□.□□</div>		Telephone Number <div style="text-align: center;">□□□□ □□□□</div>

I am aware that federal law provides for imprisonment and/or fines for false statements or use of false documents in connection with the completion of this form.

I attest, under penalty of perjury, that I am (check one of the following):

- A citizen of the United States
- A noncitizen national of the United States *(See instructions)*
- A lawful permanent resident (Alien Registration Number/USCIS Number): _____
- An alien authorized to work until (expiration date, if applicable, mm/dd/yyyy) _____. Some aliens may write "N/A" in this field. *(See instructions)*

For aliens authorized to work, provide your Alien Registration Number/USCIS Number OR Form I-94 Admission Number:

1. Alien Registration Number/USCIS Number: _____

OR

2. Form I-94 Admission Number: _____

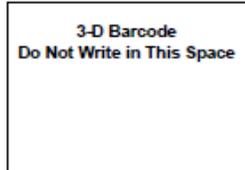
If you obtained your admission number from CBP in connection with your arrival in the United States, include the following:

Foreign Passport Number: _____

Country of Issuance: _____

▼

Some aliens may write "N/A" on the Foreign Passport Number and Country of Issuance fields. *(See instructions)*



Signature of Employee: _____	Date (mm/dd/yyyy): _____
------------------------------	--------------------------

Preparer and/or Translator Certification <i>(To be completed and signed if Section 1 is prepared by a person other than the employee.)</i>

I attest, under penalty of perjury, that I have assisted in the completion of this form and that to the best of my knowledge the information is true and correct.

Signature of Preparer or Translator: _____	Date (mm/dd/yyyy): _____		
Last Name (Family Name)	First Name (Given Name)		
Address (Street Number and Name)	City or Town	State <div style="text-align: right;">▼</div>	Zip Code

STOP
Employer Completes Next Page
STOP

Appendix A - continued: Page 2 of I-9 form

Section 2. Employer or Authorized Representative Review and Verification
(Employers or their authorized representative must complete and sign Section 2 within 3 business days of the employee's first day of employment. You must physically examine one document from List A OR examine a combination of one document from List B and one document from List C as listed on the "Lists of Acceptable Documents" on the next page of this form. For each document you review, record the following information: document title, issuing authority, document number, and expiration date, if any.)

Employee Last Name, First Name and Middle Initial from Section 1:			
List A	OR	List B	AND
Identity and Employment Authorization		Identity	Employment Authorization
Document Title:		Document Title:	Document Title:
Issuing Authority:		Issuing Authority:	Issuing Authority:
Document Number:		Document Number:	Document Number:
Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):		Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):	Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):
Document Title:		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: fit-content; margin: auto;"> 3-D Barcode Do Not Write in This Space </div>	
Issuing Authority:			
Document Number:			
Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):			
Document Title:			
Issuing Authority:			
Document Number:			
Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):			

Certification
 I attest, under penalty of perjury, that (1) I have examined the document(s) presented by the above-named employee, (2) the above-listed document(s) appear to be genuine and to relate to the employee named, and (3) to the best of my knowledge the employee is authorized to work in the United States.

The employee's first day of employment (mm/dd/yyyy): _____ (See instructions for exemptions.)

Signature of Employer or Authorized Representative	Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Title of Employer or Authorized Representative
Last Name (Family Name)	First Name (Given Name)	Employer's Business or Organization Name
Employer's Business or Organization Address (Street Number and Name)	City or Town	State <input type="text" value=""/> Zip Code

Section 3. Reverification and Rehires *(To be completed and signed by employer or authorized representative.)*

A. New Name (if applicable) Last Name (Family Name) First Name (Given Name) Middle Initial	B. Date of Rehire (if applicable) (mm/dd/yyyy):
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C. If employee's previous grant of employment authorization has expired, provide the information for the document from List A or List C the employee presented that establishes current employment authorization in the space provided below.

Document Title:	Document Number:	Expiration Date (if any)(mm/dd/yyyy):
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I attest, under penalty of perjury, that to the best of my knowledge, this employee is authorized to work in the United States, and if the employee presented document(s), the document(s) I have examined appear to be genuine and to relate to the individual.

Signature of Employer or Authorized Representative:	Date (mm/dd/yyyy):	Print Name of Employer or Authorized Representative:
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Appendix A - continued: Page 3 of I-9 form

LISTS OF ACCEPTABLE DOCUMENTS

All documents must be UNEXPIRED

Employees may present one selection from List A
or a combination of one selection from List B and one selection from List C.

LIST A Documents that Establish Both Identity and Employment Authorization	OR	LIST B Documents that Establish Identity	AND	LIST C Documents that Establish Employment Authorization
1. U.S. Passport or U.S. Passport Card		1. Driver's license or ID card issued by a State or outlying possession of the United States provided it contains a photograph or information such as name, date of birth, gender, height, eye color, and address		1. A Social Security Account Number card, unless the card includes one of the following restrictions: (1) NOT VALID FOR EMPLOYMENT (2) VALID FOR WORK ONLY WITH INS AUTHORIZATION (3) VALID FOR WORK ONLY WITH DHS AUTHORIZATION
2. Permanent Resident Card or Alien Registration Receipt Card (Form I-551)		2. ID card issued by federal, state or local government agencies or entities, provided it contains a photograph or information such as name, date of birth, gender, height, eye color, and address		2. Certification of Birth Abroad issued by the Department of State (Form FS-545)
3. Foreign passport that contains a temporary I-551 stamp or temporary I-551 printed notation on a machine-readable immigrant visa		3. School ID card with a photograph		3. Certification of Report of Birth issued by the Department of State (Form DS-1350)
4. Employment Authorization Document that contains a photograph (Form I-766)		4. Voter's registration card		4. Original or certified copy of birth certificate issued by a State, county, municipal authority, or territory of the United States bearing an official seal
5. For a nonimmigrant alien authorized to work for a specific employer because of his or her status: a. Foreign passport; and b. Form I-94 or Form I-94A that has the following: (1) The same name as the passport; and (2) An endorsement of the alien's nonimmigrant status as long as that period of endorsement has not yet expired and the proposed employment is not in conflict with any restrictions or limitations identified on the form.		5. U.S. Military card or draft record		5. Native American tribal document
		6. Military dependent's ID card		6. U.S. Citizen ID Card (Form I-197)
		7. U.S. Coast Guard Merchant Mariner Card		7. Identification Card for Use of Resident Citizen in the United States (Form I-179)
		8. Native American tribal document		8. Employment authorization document issued by the Department of Homeland Security
		9. Driver's license issued by a Canadian government authority		
6. Passport from the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) or the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) with Form I-94 or Form I-94A indicating nonimmigrant admission under the Compact of Free Association Between the United States and the FSM or RMI		For persons under age 18 who are unable to present a document listed above:		
		10. School record or report card		
		11. Clinic, doctor, or hospital record		
	12. Day-care or nursery school record			

Illustrations of many of these documents appear in Part 8 of the Handbook for Employers (M-274).

Refer to Section 2 of the instructions, titled "Employer or Authorized Representative Review and Verification," for more information about acceptable receipts.

Appendix B: Discrimination

(See chapter 4 of <http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/files/form/m-274.pdf>)

- 1. Document abuse**, *e.g.* having “foreign-looking” individuals present more documentation or a particular document not required of other groups.
- 2. Citizenship discrimination**: when on the basis of citizenship, different groups of employees are treated differently when they are hired, fired, or recruited.
- 3. National origin discrimination**: refers to treating employees differently on the basis of real or perceived national origin.
- 4. Retaliation** takes place when an employer takes action because an individual has filed an immigration discrimination charge or has testified with respect to a charge.

Appendix C

Part 1: E-Verify and Perceptions of Discrimination

Hispanic Citizen Group:	Foreign-born Mexicans	U.S.-born Mexicans	Foreign-born other LA Heritage	U.S.-born other LA Heritage
$\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta EVerify}$	0.027	0.314	0.234	0.400
F-Statistic (p-value)	41.13 (0.000)	64.97 (0.000)	65.11 (0.000)	129.23(0.000)
$\frac{\Delta Ds}{\Delta EVerify}$	0.253	-0.024	-0.007	0.207
F-Statistic (p-value)	5.21 (0.001)	1.13 (0.330)	1.35 (0.268)	0.36 (0.552)

Note: $\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta EVerify} = -0.121 * FB * Mexican - 0.166 * FB - 0.086 * Mexican + 0.4$ and $\frac{\Delta Ds}{\Delta EVerify} = 0.491 * FB * Mexican - 0.214 * FB - 0.231 * Mexican + 0.207$.

Part 2: Robustness Check for Pre-Existing Policy Impacts

Hispanic Citizen Group:	Foreign-born Mexicans	U.S.-born Mexicans	Foreign-born other LA Heritage	U.S.-born other LA Heritage
$\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta EVerify}$	0.307	0.466	-0.048	0.065
F-Statistic (p-value)	0.83 (0.513)	0.41 (0.668)	0.92 (0.408)	0.18 (0.678)
$\frac{\Delta Ds}{\Delta EVerify}$	0.167	-0.102	0.393	-0.065
F-Statistic (p-value)	9.12 (0.000)	0.99 (0.379)	0.35 (0.708)	0.02 (0.886)

Note: $\frac{\Delta Dw}{\Delta EVerify} = -0.046 * FB * Mexican - 0.113 * FB + 0.401 * Mexican + 0.065$ and $\frac{\Delta Ds}{\Delta EVerify} = -0.189 * FB * Mexican + 0.458 * FB - 0.037 * Mexican - 0.065$.