Transborder (In)Securities: Cross-Border Commuters' Perceptions of Policing at the Mexico-U.S. Border

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Introduction: Borders have been conceptualized as zones of contact, as institutions that reinforce exclusion, as regions where nation states draw lines to assert and protect their sovereignty, or as spaces where entrants are filtered through largely asymmetric enforcement practices (Newman 2003; Paasi 1998; van Houtum and van Naerssen 2002). Since 9/11, borders have also become zones of national security interest, initiating a wave of re-borderization through heightened militarization a preemptive or preventive measures to classify, control, and intercept illicit goods and people from entering nation-states. During a time of increased globalization, legal cross-border movement between adjacent states has been essential to maintain economic interdependence and trade relations. At the same time, concerns about terrorism and increased flows of unauthorized migration have put pressure on cross-border trade and mobility, prompting contentious border policing measures such as racial profiling and risk assessment, and the implementation of virtual borders through biometric technology and surveillance (Ackleson 2003).

While border theories have primarily focused on the top-down politics of border control practices and their impacts in the lives of immigrants that irregularly cross them (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002; Inda 2006; Hing 2008; Andreas 2000; Nevins 2010), lesser is known about the day-to-day interactions between border control agents and authorized cross-border commuters. Specifically, within the context of the U.S.-Mexico border, very few studies have explored the cross-border population, the psychological and health impacts associated with regular contact with

the border, and the consequences that come with proving their crossing legitimacy to the gatekeepers of the border on a regular basis (Chavez 2016; Muriá and Chávez 2011).

Cross-border commuters represent a heterogeneous population including U.S. citizens, legal permanent residents, and Mexican nationals who reside in Mexico but regularly cross the border for work, education, and commercial purposes. There are various reasons for engaging in a cross-border life (as opposed to permanently settling in the U.S.) such as pursuing a life-long project to attain upward social mobility by getting access to better economic or educational opportunities in the U.S., forcibly relocating into Mexico as a result of one or more family members' deportation, or as a strategic life choice in order to avoid the stigma and the challenges that come with being an undocumented immigrant in the U.S. (Chavez 2016; Hernandez-Leon, Cantú, and Gonzales 2016; Yeh 2017). Since the economies of Mexico and the U.S. are interdependent as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement, crossing the border regularly to take advantage of the opportunities offered in both nations is the most natural process that can occur within the context of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

At the Tijuana-San Ysidro Port of Entry alone, which is the most frequently crossed border in the world, more than 50,000 vehicles and 25,000 pedestrians cross every day into the United States.[1] This means that along the 48 ports of entry that span across California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, there are over one million authorized crossings daily. Despite the magnitude of this population, very few research explores the impact of the border on cross-border commuters, and the variation of their experiences and perceptions of border enforcement. Thus, I propose to examine the following questions: What factors explain the variation in cross-border commuters' perception of border policing? How do negative experiences at border and perceptions of discrimination impact cross-border commuters' political efficacy, notions of trust, and inclusion

[1] Bureau of Transportation Statistics. https://www.bts.gov/content/border-crossingentry-data (accessed October 20, 2017).

in U.S. society?

This research draws from political psychology and criminology literature on perceptions of police among U.S. minorities and Latino immigrants, which find that nativity, English language proficiency, and socioeconomic status are factors that are positively associated with more negative views towards police (Correia 2010; Barrick 2014; Wu 2014), due to higher awareness of their rights and sense of legal entitlement (Parker 2009; Wu 2014; Dion 2001). Drawing from this literature, I establish my first hypothesis:

H1**:** a) U.S. citizens; b) Individuals with higher levels of education; c) Current students; d) individuals with higher socioeconomic status; and e) Fluent English speakers are more likely to report negative perceptions of U.S. Customs and Border Protection officers or enforcement practices at the border.

Secondly, scholarship in political psychology and political behavior has documented extensively that perceptions of individual-level discrimination incentivizes minorities to be more civically engaged (DeSipio 2002; Oskooii 2016), but increase minorities' overall distrust towards the U.S. government (Schildkraut 2005). Based on these findings, I argue that:

H2*:* Individuals who report more negative perceptions of border enforcement will report a) higher levels of political engagement in the U.S.; but b) feel lower levels of trust; or c) inclusion from U.S. society.

The interaction between cross-border commuters and U.S. Customs and Border Protection serves as a case study to examine perceptions of policing and the psychological implications of experiencing systemic discrimination, which are measures that have affected immigrants, refugees, and minorities in the interior of the U.S. Like these historically marginalized groups, cross-border commuters are subjected to frequent contact with authority, who are afforded the discretion to create policy at the border and target 'untrustworthy' individuals for more questioning or

inspections (Heyman 2009). Under the current administration, unprecedented immigrant crackdowns by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the controversial 'Muslim Ban' that has prohibited entry into U.S. territory to individuals from Muslim majority countries are a direct reflection of the U.S. government's classification system and filtering processes that occur daily at U.S.-Mexico land ports of entry. Thus, while my project provides insight into a highly under-researched population that is unique to the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, my findings will inform research within the broader scope of literature on the sociopolitical implications of contact with police and the state.

Most importantly, my project contributes to the much-needed literature on transborder populations in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Since cross-border commuters are not constrained to one nation-state and they are physically present in two countries every day, their experiences and lives put to the test theories of belonging and integration. Although cross-border commuters vary in legal status, all regular border crossers contribute to the social, political, and economic interdependence of Mexico and the U.S. through their transborder pursuits of educational opportunities, employment, or commerce. Through these activities, they form social networks, participate and become attached to local communities in the U.S. despite living on the Mexican side of the border. Thus, this paper aims to advance knowledge of the impact of borders on this important, increasingly mobile population, and the sociopolitical implications of proving one's legitimacy to the state on a regular basis.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Overview of Cross-Border Migration:

Regular crossings between Mexico and the U.S. can be dated back to the annexation of northern Mexico through the colonial project, Manifest Destiny. Along with secession of Mexican territory, at least 75,000 to 100,000 Mexican nationals became part of U.S. territory overnight

(Dear 2013). Although one of the negotiations in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo claimed that Mexicans who resided in annexed territory would become citizens, the U.S. government only legally classified them as "white" without extending to them full citizenship privileges, and the consequences of this disparity are still present today (Gutierrez 1995).

Mexican residents began to show documentation to enter into U.S. territory in 1929, just 5 years after the U.S. established the first Border Patrol (Andreas 2009). However, they did not have to undergo intense scrutiny and inspections the same way cross-border commuters face today (Muriá and Chávez 2011). Historically, Tijuana and San Diego have been viewed as extensions to each other, particularly during the time when the militarized border/fence did not exist. However, the cross-border commuter population intensified in the 1940s after the enactment of the Bracero Program in which the agricultural sector recruited temporary workers from Mexico as a result of labor shortages (Muriá and Chávez 2011). Some Braceros settled in Tijuana and commuted across the border regularly in order work in the agricultural fields in San Diego county (Muriá and Chávez 2011). During this time, the agricultural sector had an informal settlement with the U.S. Border Patrol which allowed commuters to enter through the border with minimal to no scrutiny as long as they said they were crossing the work in the fields (Muriá and Chávez 2011; Chávez 2016). After the Bracero program ended, many of the Braceros who had temporary settled in the U.S. settled in Tijuana to work in the maquiladora sector or were encouraged by their employers to continue crossing the border regularly to work in the fields (Muriá and Chávez 2011).

Thus, cross-border mobility originally arose as a result of colonized territory, but it intensified and became a regular process as a result of globalization and economic integration.

Conceptualization of the U.S.-Mexico Border

According to David Newman, borders are "institutions that have their own set of rules and laws that govern the degree of exclusion and inclusion, the degree of permeability, and the extent

of trans-boundary movement—exit from one side of the border and entry into the other side" (Newman, 2003, 14). In essence, the inclusive-exclusive nature of borders creates conditions to normalize discretionary policing and to heightened differences between the insiders and outsiders of a nation state. These artificial "otherization" processes are constructed by those in power and by the gatekeepers of the border who hold stigmas and prejudices about specific groups of border crossers, typically from the developing countries.

Other scholars have looked beyond the exclusion-inclusion binary and different contexts produce different relationships with the border. Specifically, Valenzuela Arce (2014) states that borders unify the different realities in adjacent nation-states, creating an interdependent relationship between them despite the asymmetries of power. Borders also disconnect processes and realities that are inherently connected to each other, usually under colonial and racist projects (Valenzuela Arce 2014, 22). Furthermore, borders impose their own set of rules onto the "other," serve as zones of contact, and generate conditions for hybridism and transborderism to exist (Valenzuela Arce 2014, 26-28).

Iglesias-Prieto identifies four levels of transborderism, which she defines as "the frequency, intensity, directionality, and scale of crossing activities […] a higher level of transborderism is associated with greater cultural capacity and richness, increased complexity in the ways people perceive the border, as well as richer concepts of self-identity" (Iglesias-Prieto 2014, 143). She identifies four levels of interaction with the border: 1) crossing for temporal, sporadic visits with a "commercial nature" but their interaction with the society they cross into tends to be that of a client; 2) crossing periodically and developing personal relationships across the border, but no emotional attachment to the society is present; 3) a degree of transborder relationship in host society characterized by crossing to see loved ones; 4) transborder citizens who embody equal social and political integration in both societies by having dual citizenship,

working, studying, and interacting on both sides of the border, and being fully bilingual and bicultural. Transborder citizens are fully cognizant of the abusive and discriminatory nature of the border, but also recognize the benefits that come with crossing (Iglesias-Prieto 2014, 143-145). Therefore, the various roles and performances of the border represent the heterogeneity in crossing experiences and perceptions.

For Michael Dear (2013) the borderlands represent are a third nation, where the cultures closest to the Border established an identity and culture that "is distinct from the nationalisms of both countries." Borderland cities share common experiences, geographies, and cultures, that allow them to view cities along the border as intertwined. For Dear, this process does not represent the traditional notion of a *nation* but what Benedict Anderson calls "imagined communities," in which a new identity is formed *voluntarily* by the people in the borderlands (Dear 2013). Therefore, the lives of cross-border commuters challenge traditional notions of citizenship and belonging because they are simultaneously engaged (at different levels) socially, politically, and culturally on both sides of the border.

Risk Profiling and Class Bias in Policing Practices

The U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) officers are primarily tasked with preventing terrorism, enforcing immigration and customs laws at the U.S. ports of entry.[2] CBP officers act as street-level bureaucrats, which Lipsky (1980) defines as public employees who regularly interact with citizens and are afforded discretion to make decisions. Through their face-to-face interactions with citizens, street level bureaucrats "represent the 'government' to the people" (Lipsky 1969). Thus, within the context of the Mexico-U.S. border, the day-to-day interactions of cross-border commuters with CBP represents contact with the state and the

[2] U.S Customs and Border Protection. *Customs and Border Protection Officer*. Retrieved from: https://www.cbp.gov/careers/frontline-careers/cbpo

navigation of the U.S. classification system of who should be allowed entry into the country.

Since discretion is the *mondus operandi* behind border enforcement practices, it is important to examine whether there are conditions under which CBP enforces the rule of law unequally. While there are guidelines that determine the nature of enforcement operations, there is a popular belief among cross-border commuters that CBP officers implement their own policy and that they are trained to read cross-border commuters' behavior and psychology (Yeh 2017). In order to avoid more intrusive questioning and to appear confident in front of CBP officers, many cross-border commuters develop internal scripts in preparation of anticipated questions from CBP based on prior experiences or from word-of-the-mouth from other cross-border commuters in their social circles (Chavez 2016). There is little public evidence that CBP does in fact, receive psychology training, but research demonstrates that in addition to intelligence data, CBP is afforded the discretion to allow or deny entry at U.S. land ports of entry to cross-border commuters based on demographic factors including race, gender, appearance, and behavioral factors (Heyman 2009). These ample powers to question, inspect, and search vehicles and personal belongings without a warrant is protected under the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which operates "on the law of presumption: an applicant for admission is presumed to be an alien until he or she shows evidence of citizenship; an alien is presumed to be an immigrant until he or she proves that he or she fits into one of the nonimmigrant classifications."[3] This policy demonstrates that all entrants are presumed guilty until they prove their innocence and crossing legitimacy. Although not implicit in the language of this policy, racial profiling is an institutionalized practice to enforce the border. In 2014, Attorney General Eric Holder issued the "Guidance for Federal Law Enforcement Agencies Regarding the Use of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, National Origin, Religion,

[3] U.S. Customs and Border Protection. *Immigration Inspection Program*. Retrieved from: https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/ports-entry/overview

Sexual Orientation, or Gender Identity," in which it updated the earlier 2003 Guidance by prohibiting law enforcement from using discriminatory tactics in policing practices. On the second page under a footnote, the Guidance states that "[it] does not apply to interdiction activities in the vicinity of the border, or to protective, inspection, or screening activities."[4] This practice of exceptionalism at U.S. land ports of entry has led the American Civil Liberties Union to call the U.S.-Mexico border "a constitutional gray zone," which presents challenges to hold CBP accountable for unfair treatment to the most vulnerable cross-border commuters.

Racial profiling is not the only form of institutionalized violence at the border; class differences are reinforced through preferential treatment and expedited inspections offered through the Secure Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection (SENTRI) lanes at U.S.-Mexico land ports of entry. SENTRI is a Trusted Traveler Program available for all travelers, regardless of citizenship status, who can prove their 'low-risk' status by paying $122 USD in application fees, undergoing a comprehensive background check, and passing an in-person interview with CBP. After five years, the SENTRI card can be renewed at which the applicant will have to pay the same fees. At the San Ysidro Port of Entry, the average wait-time for the SENTRI vehicle and pedestrian lanes is about 15 minutes in comparison to 1-2 hours at the standard lanes. The rest of the cross-border commuters who are ineligible, have been denied, or cannot pay the fee for the SENTRI program are codified 'high-risk' travelers (which are the majority of cross-border commuters), and are subjected to more intense scrutiny and questioning from CBP than the more privileged SENTRI travelers.

Josiah Heyman has conducted extensive work on CBP's behavior and enforcement practices at U.S. ports of entry and he has found that CBP considers individuals with high

[4] U.S. Department of Justice. (2014). *Guidance for Federal Law Enforcement Agencies Regarding The Use of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, National Origin, Religion, Sexual Orientation, or Gender Identity.* Retrieved from: https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/use-of-race-policy_0.pdf

socioeconomic status (as judged by their clothes, vehicles, skin-color, among other factors) more trustworthy than their counterparts, affording more privileged cross-border commuters to cross the border with limited to no scrutiny (Heyman 2009a, 2009b). Thus, CBP focuses its attention on the more vulnerable, low socioeconomic cross-border commuters who in addition to presenting documentation, must prove that they are "trustworthy" enough to enter by masking behavioral and physical attributes that may place them under suspicion. This process of hiding the "undesirable" elements of the self at the border produces stigmatized identities which could impact behavior in and attitudes toward U.S. society.

Perceptions of Enforcement and Unfair Treatment at the Border

Most of the academic literature on border enforcement has focused on the behavior from border enforcement officials. Lesser is known about the cross-border commuter population as a whole, the nature of the day-to-day interactions between CBP and cross-border commuters, and their overall perceptions of border policing. The cross-border context is unique in the sense that despite having documentation to cross that recognizes them as legal entrants, they are presumed unauthorized at the border. Civilians must interact with the state on a regular basis and their lives are restricted by CBP's decision to allow or deny them entry into the country. Furthermore, the lack of transparency and accountability at the border allows for subjective, unpredictable, and 'ambiguous' border enforcement practices aimed at restricting mobility from those who are living 'ambiguously' in Mexico (Muriá and Sánchez, 2011, 358). Even U.S. citizens residing in Mexico will receive scrutiny due to the spatial ambiguity of residing in a foreign country while being a U.S. citizen.

This ambiguity in border policing creates a sense of fear among cross-border commuters due to the unpredictable treatment from CBP officers, inconsistent waiting times at the border, and the lack of transparency of inspection procedures (Muriá and Sánchez, 2011, 365). In his recent

book, Chávez (2016) conducted an ethnographic research of low-skilled cross-border workers from Tijuana and investigated how they navigate the crossing process. He found that the workers were highly aware of the officer's class and racial bias, and engaged in "face work" to avoid scrutiny from CBP officers. They masked what they perceived to be "undesirable" attributes by wearing professional clothing to appear as possessing higher socioeconomic status, attempted to appear confident when speaking to CBP officers, and created an internal script in anticipation to interrogation. Cross-border commuters, particularly those of low socioeconomic status, use these strategies in anticipation of CBP's subjective policing practices and avoid heightened scrutiny (Chávez 2016). However, while they admitted that there is a level of subjectivity behind enforcement practices, the cross-border workers in Chavez's work appeared to accept border policing as legitimate part of their crossing routines. None of the individuals in his study appeared to be critical of border enforcement, possibly because although they had legal documentation to cross, they were working in the United States without authorization. Unless they have a working visa, Mexican nationals who cross with a border crossing card are ineligible to work in the U.S. They may have accepted or legitimized enforcement practices because they were aware that they were working in the U.S. without authorization.

Regardless of the purpose for crossing the border, for U.S. citizens and Legal Permanent Residents, being a cross-border commuter represents an opportunity to take advantage of earning higher wages or receive a higher quality of education in the U.S., while residing in Mexico due to the lower cost of living. At the same the same time, for Mexican nationals this way of life represents a rejection of leading a life in the U.S. as an undocumented immigrant as a result of either social stigma or a strategic decision to make the best of living in the borderlands (Yeh 2017).

In her ethnographic investigation of Tijuana residents and the complexities of living in the borderlands, Yeh (2017) finds that attaining documentation to legally cross the border on a regular

basis represents upward social mobility and a status symbol. While there are Tijuana residents that express solidarity towards undocumented immigrants in the U.S., some individuals accept the U.S. narrative of the 'illegal alien' and reduce undocumented immigrants to their 'lazy' or 'criminal' stereotypes (Yeh 2017). This is because in Mexico, the undocumented are often classified as being more indigenous groups (Yeh 2017, 7). Therefore, the expectation to be treated with a certain level of respect and professionalism comes from the notion that cross-border commuters, unlike undocumented immigrants, have legal documentation to cross and in the case of Mexican nationals, have undergone various forms of vetting process and have to prove their economic solvency in order to have access to a border crossing card. However, access to legal documentation is not reason enough to expect better treatment, especially within the context of Mexican society where the interactions between Mexican police and civilians is largely defined by an individual's socioeconomic status, access to an identification card, and physical appearance. For example, at an interior checkpoint, a person who can prove their identity with formal documentation but has the appearance of an "untrustworthy" individual (as defined by their skin tone, socioeconomic status, among other factors), is more likely to bribe a police officer in order to go through a checkpoint than someone who appears like they have high socioeconomic status (Yeh 2017). From this context, it follows that individuals who have high socioeconomic status will feel more entitled to have a better crossing experience at the border.

Impact of negative contact with police and discrimination

Literature on immigrant and minority contact with police has been extensive. Mejivar and Bejarano (2004) find that Latino immigrants' perceptions of police is impacted by their prior experience with law enforcement officials in their home countries, while Skogan (2005) and Wasling (2007) argue that immigrant status and linguist barriers with police are factors positively associated with greater distrust and dissatisfaction in law enforcement among Latinos. On the other

hand, Wu (2014) determines that U.S. born individuals tend to have more critical views of police, which are findings that "are consistent to Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) immigrant optimism hypothesis which states that foreign born immigrants are more optimistic than native born counterparts" (Wu 2014, 151). Wu highlights the need to take into account immigrants' cultural background, nationality, and time spent in the host country when accessing their perceptions of police. Similarly, Correia (2010) and Barrick (2014) find that foreign-born Latino immigrants have more positive perceptions of police than native-born Latinos, but that foreign born Latinos perceived that citizens are treated better than non-U.S. citizens.

Counter to Skogan and Wasling, Correia also finds that immigrants who with high English ability are more critical of police than their counterparts. While Skogan focuses on the linguistic exchanges between immigrants and law enforcement, Correia's findings demonstrate that at the individual level, English language proficiency increases negative evaluations of police.

Educational attainment and socioeconomic status are also factors that affect perceptions of law enforcement. Higher education has also been associated with reporting more negative perceptions of police, possibly as a result of higher awareness of their rights and discrimination in the criminal justice system (Wu 2014).

Scholars within the political and social psychology literature have addressed the impact of discrimination in minorities' civic engagement and political attitudes. In his study of civic participation (non-electoral) among Latinos, Desipio (2002) found that engagement increased among Latinos who were conscious of individual level discrimination, as opposed to group level discrimination. Furthermore, he found that individuals who have higher English ability and have lived longer in the U.S. were more likely to be involved in civic activities. This could indicate that higher levels of acculturation increases the incentive to become civically engged in the U.S. Higher socioeconomic status was also positively associated with incentivizing Latinos to participate in

civic organizations (Desipio 2002). On the other hand, Schildkraut (2005) argues that the opposite; individual level discrimination negatively impacts political behavior and political attitudes, possibly because individual level discrimination will not produce group consciousness or "generate solidarity that can counteract discrimination's damaging effects" (Schildkraut 2005, 307). Oskooii (2016) finds that U.S. minorities, specifically Muslims, become more politically engaged in the U.S. after perceiving political discrimination (Oskooii 2016). have experience with political discrimination, as opposed to societal discrimination. in his case study of Muslim Americans that discrimination negatively impacts socio-politically alienation, and promotes increased alienation. Discrimination can inhibit or promote civic engagement among minority communities, but the degree of the impact depends on whether they find acceptance within American society and in their own communities.

Methodology:

This study focuses on a pilot study of the experiences of cross-border commuters who cross through the pedestrian lanes at the Tijuana-San Ysidro Port of Entry. The San Ysidro Port of Entry is the busiest land border in the world, with 50,000 vehicles and 25,000 pedestrians crossing northbound on a daily basis.[5] Thus, the Tijuana-San Ysidro Port of Entry affords the opportunity to examine cross-border dynamics that are similar to other ports of entry along the southern border. In summer 2018, I plan to replicate my surveys at El Paso and Nogales to control for regional differences and to create a more generalizable study on the border.

This study draws from original survey data I collected in August 2017. My team and I administered an IRB approved survey to 770 cross-border commuters who had just exited the pedestrian checkpoint at the Tijuana - San Ysidro border. I developed the survey questions based on my first-hand observations and experience as a cross-border commuter from Tijuana. I also

[5] Bureau of Transportation Statistics. https://www.bts.gov/content/border-crossingentry-data (accessed October 20, 2017).

drew from Sergio Chavez's findings on cross-border workers' strategies to avoid scrutiny from CBP officers. Researchers that have explored the experiences of the cross-border commuter population have primarily drawn from qualitative or ethnographic data, prompting me to develop an original survey instrument to investigate how often cross-border commuters report negative experiences and what are the factors that explain the variation in their perception and their relation to the border. The surveys were available in English and Spanish, and the questions included demographic information, descriptions of commuters' level of interaction with CBP, perceptions of enforcement operations, health and behavioral impacts of crossing the border, level of political engagement in the U.S., and notions of trust and inclusion. This was a close-ended survey but it also included a concluding question where participants could describe other border crossing experiences not covered by the survey. I draw from these comments as preliminary qualitative evidence but I am currently in the process of conducting in-depth interviews to better understand the trends demonstrated by my statistical models.

The data was collected inside the trolleys at the San Ysidro Trolley Station, a public transit area adjacent to the San Ysidro checkpoint. My team and I boarded the trolley, approached all seated passengers, and inquired whether they had just crossed the San Ysidro pedestrian checkpoint.[6] If they said yes, we introduced our project as a voluntary and anonymous process, and asked for informed consent. Once we received their informed voluntary consent, we handed participants a survey which they could self-administer while riding the trolley.[7] On average, each team member passed out between 5-7 surveys per trolley ride, and remained inside the trolley until all participants had finished. Participants took between 7-10 minutes to complete the survey. We repeated the same process for three hours each day between 5:00am and 3:30pm. We administered

[6] Andrea Morin, Isaac Felix, and Armando Olea were my undergraduate research assistants. Without their hard work this project would not have been possible

[7] In the case the participant needed assistance, we would administer the survey orally.

the surveys during work days (Monday-Friday) since the majority of people crossing the border during the weekends are irregular shoppers or tourists.

There was a high participation rate since the survey was completely voluntary and anonymous, and participants were able to complete it at their own discretion while riding the trolley. Furthermore, once the trolley had departed the San Ysidro Trolley Station, participants were not within proximity to the border or CBP officers, possibly contributing to high participation. Among those that were least willing to participate were the elderly, who compromise approximately 5% of my sample. Furthermore, despite administering the anonymous survey in a safe environment, we still found that some participants left out demographic information, possibly due to fear of being identified. We continued to inform participants that we would not collect any identifiable or personal information, and that participation was strictly voluntary.

Dependent Variables:

My project explores two different aspects of border crossing experiences: 1) who reports more negative interactions at the border or holds negative perceptions of CBP officers; 2) whether negative experiences at the border impact political efficacy and notions of trust and inclusion in U.S. society. For the first question, my main dependent variables is negative border experiences, which I measure with the following survey questions: "How do you feel as you are crossing the border?" (coded as a 1 if the respondent reported at least one negative emotion); When you interact with a border patrol officer, do you feel…(coded as a 1 if the respondent reported at least one negative emotion); "Have you experienced any [health] effects from crossing the border?" (coded as a 1 if the have reported at least one health impact);"How often, if ever, do you think border patrol officers act too strict or too aggressive?" (4 point scale); "When you cross the border, do you feel like your rights are respected?" (4 point scale); (4 point scale) "Do you think that the Border Patrol treats everyone equally?"; "Generally, how do border patrol officers interact with

you?" (coded as a 1 if responded reported at least one negative interaction).

Emotions at the border:

The border is highly militarized, and some cross-border commuters may feel intense emotions such as stress and anxiety, while others may report feeling nothing at all. For most people, crossing the border is an ordinary part of their lives and in some cases, and negative experiences are legitimized as part of a process to gain entry into the U.S. (Chavez 2016). In Figure 1 and Figure 2, I demonstrate the overall distribution of the responses related to both, emotions experienced while crossing the border and emotions experienced while interacting with CBP officers. The participants could select multiple answers, therefore this distribution reflects how many people reported each emotion. In Figure 2, the 25.1% refers to how many people reported at least one of the negative emotions when interacting with CBP officers.

Figure 1: Emotions while waiting to cross the border

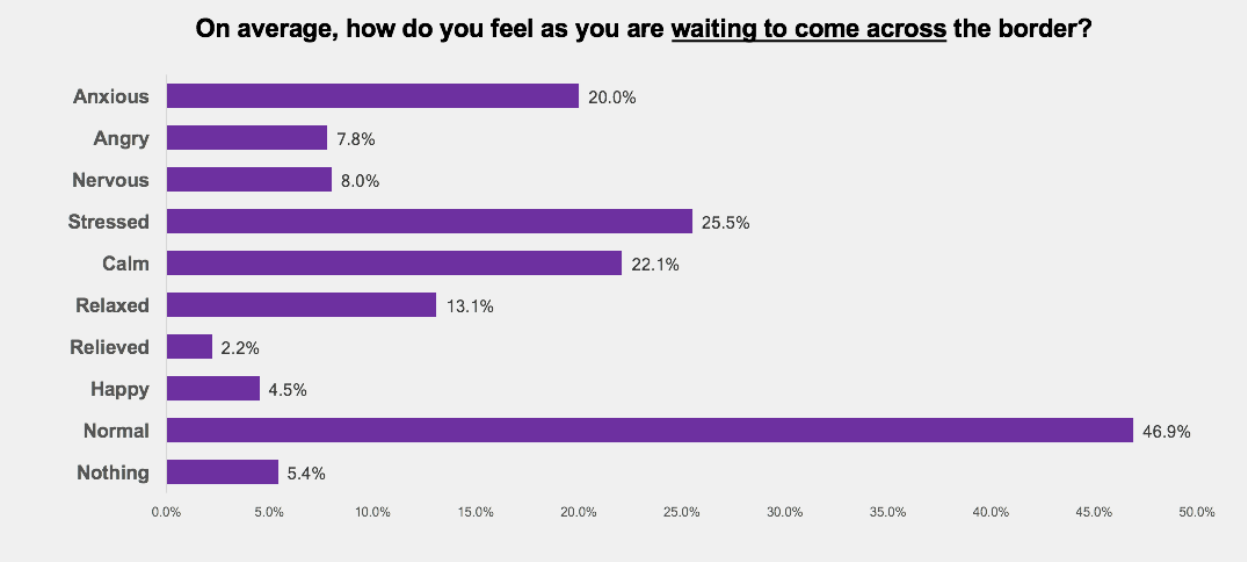
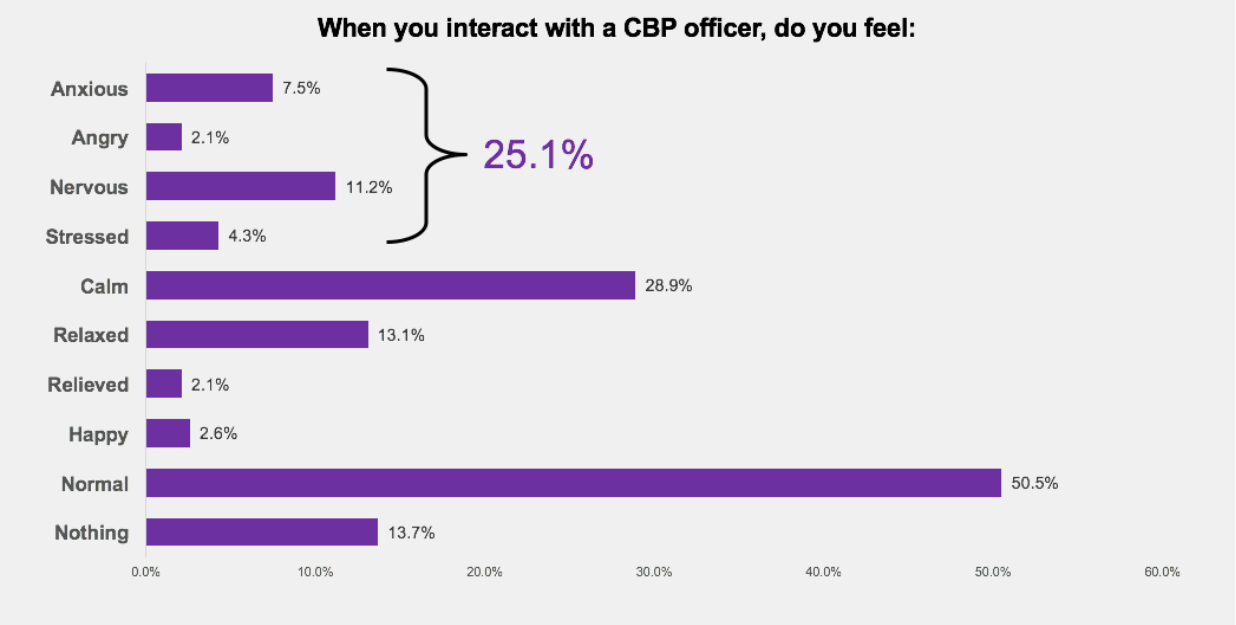


Figure 2: Emotions while interacting with CBP



Several participants included short descriptions of perceptions of power abuse from CBP officers in the additional comments portion of the survey, including:

"Some officers are arrogant and they want to intimidate you, sometimes they don't even have a reason." – Sara

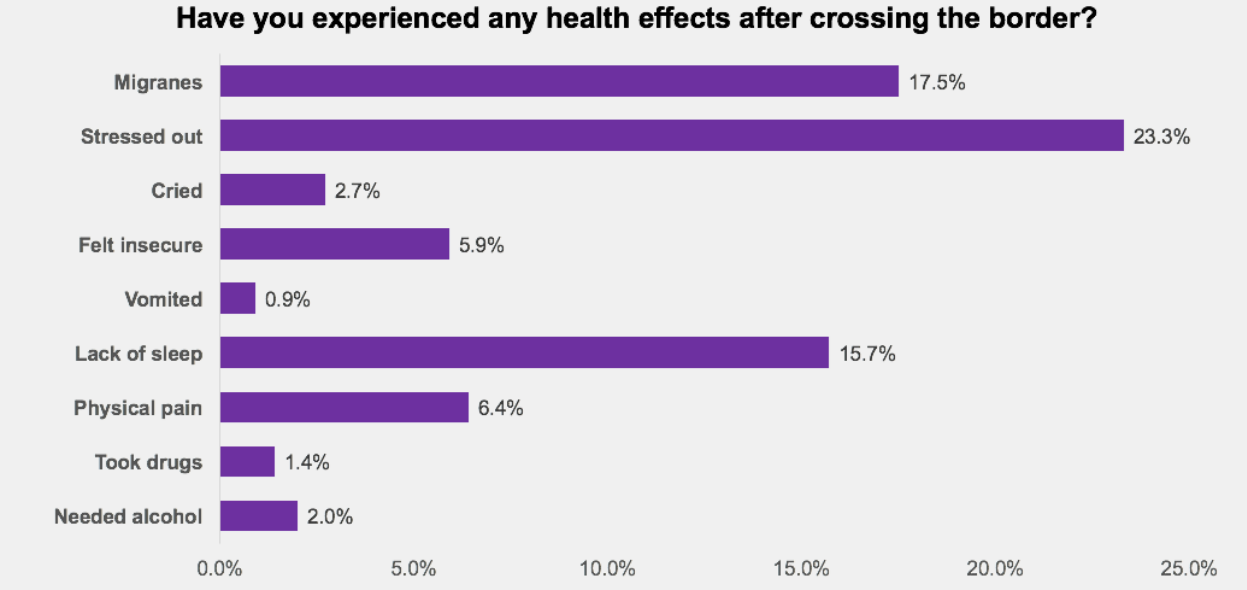
"The officers with little training on how to interact with border travelers. Where do they find them? It's their job but they are very aggressive. They abuse their power. They think that they always have the upper hand" - Jorge

These participants report that they perceive that CBP officers, like street-level bureaucrats, have the capacity to implement their own policies at the border, which may cause some cross-border commuters to feel stressed and anxious about the uncertainty of the treatment they will receive from CBP officers. Again, the majority of the respondents claim to feel normal or nothing while crossing the border, possibly because this is part of a daily routine. However, this project examines who is more likely to report and perceive discrimination, and what are the implications of these negative perceptions in cross-border commuters' attitude toward U.S. society and their overall political engagement. Since I do not have a randomized experiment, I do not demonstrate

which individuals experience actual discrimination.

Health Impacts:

Scholars have found that perceived discrimination has health impacts among minority groups (Pascoe and Richman 2009). Since the border takes a long time to cross and the interactions with border enforcement officers can vary, cross-border commuters reported a variation of health impacts associated with crossing the border. The most frequently reported health impacts included feeling stressed out, lack of sleep, and migraines. About 1.4% reported using drugs which is the most intense health impact associated with crossing the border.



One of the respondents reported the following comment at the end of the survey: "Once I had a medical emergency [while crossing the border]. I told the officers to call an ambulance and they did not do anything, so I had to wait in line for approximately one hour"- Jose. At the San Ysidro pedestrian checkpoints, there are no public restrooms so cross-border commuters must wait long hours before getting access to the restroom. Furthermore, as Jose reported on the survey, sometimes CBP officers deny medical services to cross-border commuters who request assistance.

For my second question, my dependent variables are levels of political engagement, which

I measure using three variables: 1) active political engagement: voted in the last election, called or wrote a letter to a government official, attended a march or a protest, attended a town hall meeting, or joined a community organization; 2) passive political engagement: followed the news on social media, radio or TV, or talked about politics on Twitter or Facebook; and 3) political engagement scale which I include both, passive and active engagement. I also include trust and inclusion as dependent variables which I measure through the following survey questions: "Do you think American society is more hostile or welcoming towards immigrants?" and "Have you experienced discrimination in the U.S.?" Again, the responses are self-reported and they provide initial insight into perspectives on societal based on their experience at the border.

Independent variables:

I recoded the survey responses into numeric values and using the raw data, I began exploring trends using descriptive statistics before developing statistical models. The first research question explores which cross-border commuters are more likely to report negative experiences at the border. I argue that U.S. citizens, individuals that have attained a college education, are currently students, and have a high socioeconomic status will feel more empowered to report negative interactions at the border. Thus, my key independent variables for my first hypothesis include:

a) Citizenship status: Participants were coded as either U.S. citizens or non-U.S. citizens. Approximately 62% of my sample are U.S. citizens. Although my sample includes U.S. Permanent Residents or Mexican nationals that hold tourist visas, both were treated the same under the non-U.S. citizen category because visa holders risk visa revocation by CBP officers. Therefore, they face more risk when crossing the border than U.S. citizens.

b) Level of educational attainment: I argue that cross-border commuters who have at least a college education will report more negative experiences at the border.

c) Currently a student: Individuals who are currently enrolled in high school or college will be more receptive to discrimination at the border possibly because they are more aware of their rights.

d) Socioeconomic status: Individuals with high socioeconomic status will report more negative encounters at the border. Socioeconomic status will be measured by: 1) weekly income and 2) crossing lane. I created five dummy variables for weekly income, less than 200 USD as the lowest and more than 1,000 USD as the highest. Since roughly 140 people did not report their weekly income, I created a dummy variable called "missing income." There are three pedestrian lanes through which commuters cross the border: 1) Standard lane; 2) Ready Lane; and 3) SENTRI lane. There is little to no difference between the standard and the Ready Lane in regards to the waiting time, however those that cross through the Ready Lane need to have a border crossing card, a U.S. passport, or a green card with an RFID chip. In theory, the RFID chip has more intelligence data that should expedite the time it takes to cross, but statistics show that there is little to no difference between those that cross in the Ready Lane and the Standard lanes. During peak hours, average waiting time is roughly 2.5 hours. On the other hand, in order to attain a SENTRI card, cross-border commutes must pay a fee (approximately 150 USD) and must undergo a rigorous application and interview process which includes an extensive background check and an interview. It is also the most expedited lane with an average time of 15 minutes during peak morning hours. Therefore, having a SENTRI card indicates high socioeconomic status.

e) English Fluency: Which is measured by a scale from Fluent to no English language skills.

For my second research question, I explore whether negative perceptions of border policing impact cross-border commuters' political efficacy and notions of trust and inclusion in U.S. society. My main independent variable for my analysis is the variable "Negative Border Experiences Scale," which is a scale (1 being the lowest, 6 being the highest) of all of the questions

related to negative interactions at the border which include: "How do you feel as you are waiting in line to cross the border?"; "When you cross the border, do you feel like your rights are respected?"; "How often, if ever, do you think border patrol officers act too strict or too aggressive?"; "Have you experienced any [health] effects from crossing the border?"; "When you interact with a border patrol officer, do you feel.."; "Do you think that the Border Patrol treats everyone equally?"; and "Generally, how do border patrol officers interact with you?" I combined these questions into a single count scale of negative experiences and modeled it using a poisson regression.

Control variables:

For my first research question, I control for gender, age, crossing frequency, and nativity. For my second research question, I control for all of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics including citizenship status, level of education, currently a student, socioeconomic status, gender, age, crossing frequency, and nativity.

RESULTS

Variation in Perceptions of Border Enforcement

On Table 1, I display the results of seven models examining the relationship between the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and reporting more negative border experiences. Models 1, 2, 3, 5, are logit regression models (the dependent variables are coded as coded a 1 if they report at least one of the negative outcomes). Then, in column 8, I display the result of the Poisson regression modeling the count of negative experiences at the border.

Table 1: Perceptions of Border Enforcement

	Neg Emotions at Border	Neg emotions w/ CBP	Health Impct	CBP Aggressive	Negative interaction CBP	Rights not Respected	Unequal Treatment	Neg Poisson Scale
	logistic	logistic	logistic	OLS	logistic	OLS	OLS	Poisson
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
US Citizen	0.582*	-0.101	0.499*	0.037	0.271	0.026	-0.021	0.135**
	(0.305)	(0.370)	(0.300)	(0.035)	(0.475)	(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.059)

College	0.133	0.585**	-0.073	0.042*	-0.286	0.057*	0.123***	0.128***
	(0.202)	(0.237)	(0.199)	(0.023)	(0.315)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.037)
Current Student	0.174	0.457*	-0.219	-0.019	-0.061	0.045	-0.017	0.034
	(0.223)	(0.265)	(0.221)	(0.026)	(0.340)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.042)
SENTRI	-1.036***	0.031	-0.661***	-0.004	-0.977**	-0.036	0.041	-0.164***
	(0.243)	(0.279)	(0.230)	(0.027)	(0.428)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.042)
English Fluency	0.371	-0.139	0.374	-0.049	0.108	-0.059	0.117***	0.079
	(0.284)	(0.345)	(0.280)	(0.033)	(0.430)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.053)
Income 200-400	0.021	0.001	0.030	0.005	-0.014	0.018	-0.031	-0.002
	(0.235)	(0.278)	(0.231)	(0.027)	(0.351)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.044)
Income 400-600	0.135	0.021	0.039	-0.027	-0.329	0.044	-0.016	-0.015
	(0.293)	(0.349)	(0.289)	(0.034)	(0.458)	(0.043)	(0.040)	(0.056)
Income over 600	0.169	-0.061	-0.042	0.047	0.098	0.070	-0.012	0.029
	(0.304)	(0.370)	(0.302)	(0.036)	(0.442)	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.055)
Female	0.579***	0.129	0.164	-0.013	-0.232	0.036	0.015	0.092***
	(0.191)	(0.229)	(0.188)	(0.022)	(0.285)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.035)
Foreign Born	0.088	-0.321	-0.035	0.046	-0.319	0.005	-0.009	0.024
	(0.259)	(0.320)	(0.256)	(0.030)	(0.408)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.048)
Age 30-45	0.047	0.121	-0.410	-0.035	0.101	0.067*	0.019	0.039
	(0.257)	(0.314)	(0.255)	(0.030)	(0.398)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.048)
Age 50-64	-0.445	0.064	-0.630**	-0.088**	-0.043	0.029	0.034	-0.132**
	(0.315)	(0.380)	(0.305)	(0.036)	(0.481)	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.063)
Age 65+	-0.438	-0.163	-1.325**	-0.135**	0.469	0.011	0.028	-0.245**
	(0.487)	(0.594)	(0.537)	(0.054)	(0.619)	(0.070)	(0.062)	(0.105)
Crossing Frequency	-0.246**	0.152	-0.291***	-0.025**	-0.161	-0.027*	-0.006	-0.064***
	(0.098)	(0.109)	(0.098)	(0.011)	(0.153)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.019)
Constant	-0.776*	-1.970***	0.117	0.683***	-1.535**	0.243***	0.329***	1.887***
	(0.432)	(0.526)	(0.424)	(0.051)	(0.664)	(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.084)
N	558	558	558	547	558	487	554	476
R^2				0.050		0.036	0.080	
Adjusted R^2				0.025		0.007	0.056	
Log Likelihood	-349.744	-264.547	-354.867		-189.259			-Inf.000
Residual Std. Error				0.246 (df = 532)		0.292 (df = 472)	0.296 (df = 539)	
F Statistic				1.990** (df = 14; 532)		1.260 (df = 14; 472)	3.336*** (df = 14; 539)	
AIC	729.489	559.093	739.733		408.517			Inf.000

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

After controlling for gender, nativity, age, and crossing frequency in each of the seven possible dependent variables there is at least one significant association that supports my first hypothesis. Citizenship status and high educational attainment appear to be the most consistently significant results. U.S. citizenship is positively associated with reporting at least one way that

health is impacted by the border, and experiencing negative emotions while crossing the border. One explanation could be that U.S. citizens may feel more legally entitled because they are more aware of their rights, and unlike non-U.S. citizens, they are not deportable and cannot be denied entry into the U.S. Therefore, they may expect that they should not be subjected to the same enforcement practices as everyone given that they are entitled to more rights that legal permanent residents or Mexican nationals. In his study of Canadian's perceptions of discrimination, Dion (2001) states that as sense of entitlement increases, tolerance for inequality diminishes and in some cases, disappears. A female survey participant who is a U.S. citizen reported the following:

"An officer once questioned me about my last name and why although my name is typically an Asian last name I of course look white. When I said I obtained the name through a marriage to an Asian-Indian person I was then asked why I was in Mexico and I stated that I am now divorced and my papers don't reflect my name change but that I visit Mexico to see my boyfriend. The officer then said, 'wow, first an Indian and now a Mexican; you sure are a masochist'….Not only was this extremely racist but also rude to say to me as a woman. This man had no right to judge my relationship choices or make comments about them but I felt as though I could not stick up for myself or say anything to him since he had the power to send me for more inspection and make my day more terrible." - Laura

As shown in Laura's testimony, she is aware of her rights and considers CBP policing as abusive. She also recognizes her racial privilege and that she should not to be treated differently or aggressively by CBP officers given her status as a woman and her lighter skin tone.

I also find support for high educational attainment as a factor that is positively associated with reporting more negative experiences at the border. I find the statistically significant results ($P < 0.1$) for college educated individuals who are more likely to report that CBP does not treat everyone equally at the border, which is an indicator of perceived discrimination. There is also a

positive association with reporting more negative emotions when interacting with CBP officers, perceiving that CBP acts aggressive, and that their rights are not respected at the border. Again, these results are possibly explained by higher awareness of their rights at the border, which supports the findings in research regarding educational attainment and more negative perceptions of police (Wu 2014).

Being a current student is only positively associated with reporting negative emotions when interacting with CBP officers. Although the vast majority of transborder students are U.S. citizens in the Tijuana-San Diego region, CBP officers could delay their entry by asking more questions and possibly forcing them to be late to school. It's also possible that younger students may feel more vulnerable when they are in front of a CBP officer because their ability to go to school and arrive on time depends on them. CBP officers are power holders (Lugo 2008) or boundary reinforcers (Bejarano 2010) who construct and solidify societal borders aimed at restricting access to all types of rights and benefits that belong to them (including legal, educational, or cultural) (Bejarano 2010, 396). Although access to education is a fundamental right for everyone, students must undergo ritualized violence to prove that their crossing purpose is legitimate (Bejarano 2010). Therefore, ability to attain upward social mobility and to access their right to education is restricted by the border, and controlled by the gatekeepers of the border who could delay or deny entry based on largely ambiguous border enforcement practices. Transborder students are also vulnerable because public education and access to federal and state financial aid is restricted only to individuals residing in the U.S. Although the vast majority are U.S. citizens, by virtue of residing in Tijuana disqualifies them from attending public K-12 schools or applying for federal grants to pay for college. In this sense, at educational institutions and at the border they are treated as "undocumented" whose pursuit of education is seen as illegitimate and even criminal (Bejarano 2010). One student reported the following the survey:

"As a child, I used to cross the border with my mother who was a Mexican national. I was attending public school in the U.S. and we knew that if we even got caught, my mom could have her visa revoked. One day, I left the country for an educational opportunity for a few days. When I returned, my mother told me that she was sent to secondary inspection and that after finding documents indicating that I was enrolled at a public high school in San Diego, CBP took away her border crossing card and was forced to sign a voluntary return form, meaning that she signed off to be deported because 'she was a fraud.' Although I am a U.S. citizens, as a Mexican national she was not supposed to take me to public schools in San Diego (only private). She could no longer cross the border so I had to begin crossing by myself. Every time I crossed and handed over my documents to a CBP officer, I felt fear, anger, and despair for separating my family. I will forever feel guilty that my mom got her visa confiscated by CBP because she applied for a benefit that would improve job and educational prospects for me."- Luisa

This testimony shows that negative contact with CBP officers is explained not only by the students' perception of their own vulnerability when interaction with a power holder at the border, but also the fear or prior experience or one of their family members being deported. Education is one of the ways many transborder students can attain upward social mobility and in some cases, their families depend on them to improve their quality of life. Therefore, the contact with CBP may impact not only their ability to arrive on time to school or even get access to education, it influences how transborder students see themselves and their ability to access rights that belong to them.

I did not find statically significant results for my socioeconomic variables, and contrary to my hypothesis, having a SENTRI pass is negatively associated with reporting negative border experiences. However, since individuals who have SENTRI have undergone extensive screening and background checks to prove their "low-risk traveler" status to the U.S. government, they do

not go through the same screening processes as individuals who cross in the standard lanes. Furthermore, the average wait time to cross the border for an individual with a SENTRI pass is usually under 15 minutes (compared to 30 minutes to two hours in the standard lanes). Although these individuals have higher socioeconomic status than those cross through the standard lanes, they do not undergo the same enforcement practices or endure the long wait times that most border crossers have to experience. A survey responded stated the following:

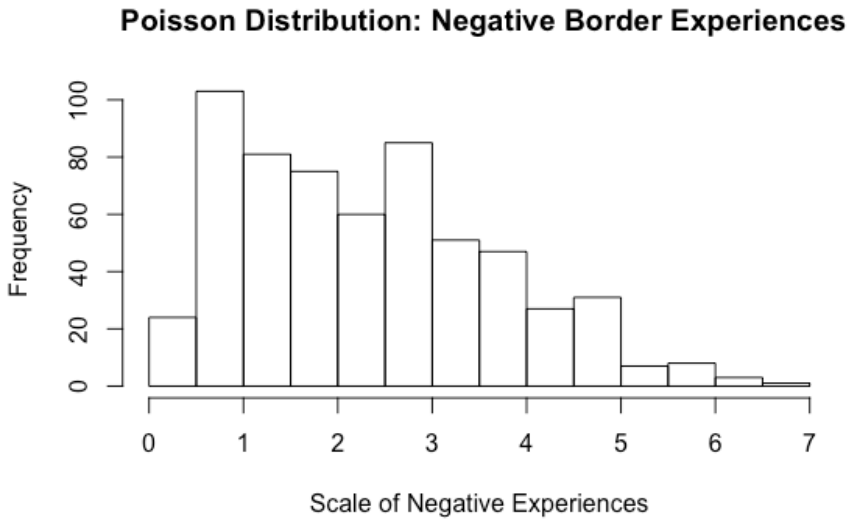
"Prior to having SENTRI, an officer sent me to secondary inspection. When I asked the other officer why had I been sent to secondary inspection he replied, 'the officer said that you gave him an attitude' even though he only asked me two questions and I answered like normal. However, with SENTRI, I very rarely get these negative encounters with CBP"-Dave

This testimony indicates that there is a significant change in the crossing experience when one transitions from non-SENTRI to SENTRI, who often receive preferential treatment from CBP officers.

English fluency is also positively correlated with perceptions of unequal treatment at the border, which also indicates a higher level of education and higher level of acculturation to U.S. society.

Lastly, I combined all of the negative outcomes into a Poisson scale in the 8th column. As shown in Figure 3, the distribution is negative border experience scale demonstrates a poisson distribution.

Figure 3: Distribution of Negative Border Experiences



In the Poisson regression, I also find support for citizenship status and college education as factors that are positively associated in reporting more negative encounters at the border. I do not find statistically significant results for current students, English fluency, or socioeconomic status, but SENTRI is negatively associated with reporting negative border experiences.

To summarize, I found partial support for my first hypothesis and the most consistent variables are citizenship status and college education.

Impact of negative border experiences on political behavior and attitudes towards U.S. society

Next, I explore the second hypothesis, whether negative border experiences are associated with lower levels of political engagement and lower notions of trust and inclusion in U.S. society. Again, I combined the seven questions in my first hypothesis that measured my dependent variable of negative border experiences, and converted them into a scale (0-7) which now represents my main independent variable for the second hypothesis. My dependent variables include active engagement (voting in an election, attended a protest, called or wrote a letter to a government official, joined a community organization), passive engagement (followed the news on social media, radio or TV, and talked about politics on Facebook or Twitter), engagement scale (a

combination of active and passive engagement), Neg U.S. Perception (do you think American society is welcoming or hostile towards immigrants?) which I treat as a proxy for 'trust', and Discrimination in US (Have you ever experienced discrimination in the U.S.?) which I treat as a proxy for 'inclusion.' While these two questions alone cannot fully demonstrate how the border experience impacts their notions of trust and inclusion in U.S. society, I will develop these questions with greater detail through my qualitative interviews.

Table 2: Impact of Negative Border Experiences on Political Engagement, Trust, and Inclusion

	Active Engagement	Passive Engagement	Engagement Scale	Neg US Perception	Discrimination in US
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Neg Border Experience Scale	0.021***	0.013	0.019***	0.053***	0.066***
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.012)
US Citizen	0.040*	0.085*	0.053**	0.030	0.109**
	(0.024)	(0.049)	(0.026)	(0.035)	(0.052)
College	0.059***	0.098***	0.070***	0.050**	0.016
	(0.016)	(0.032)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.034)
Current Student	0.030*	-0.050	0.007	0.004	-0.042
	(0.018)	(0.036)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.038)
SENTRI	0.036**	0.056	0.042**	0.028	-0.001
	(0.018)	(0.037)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.038)
English Fluency	0.039*	0.187***	0.082***	0.009	0.092*
	(0.022)	(0.046)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.048)
Income 200-400	0.022	-0.003	0.015	0.016	-0.017
	(0.018)	(0.038)	(0.020)	(0.027)	(0.040)
Income 400-600	0.016	0.042	0.023	0.012	-0.033
	(0.023)	(0.048)	(0.025)	(0.033)	(0.050)
Income over 600	0.035	-0.042	0.013	-0.001	0.069
	(0.023)	(0.048)	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.051)
Female	-0.001	0.021	0.005	-0.019	-0.069**
	(0.015)	(0.030)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.032)
Foreign Born	-0.042**	-0.038	-0.041*	-0.006	0.005
	(0.020)	(0.042)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.044)
Age 30-45	0.034*	0.020	0.030	0.011	0.061
	(0.020)	(0.042)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.044)
Age 50-64	0.045*	-0.019	0.026	0.019	0.008
	(0.025)	(0.052)	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.054)
Age 65+	0.068*	-0.094	0.021	0.050	-0.054
	(0.038)	(0.079)	(0.041)	(0.059)	(0.082)
Crossing Frequency	0.005	-0.013	0.0002	0.004	-0.023
	(0.008)	(0.016)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.017)

Constant	-0.093**	0.087	-0.041	0.256***	0.124
	(0.037)	(0.076)	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.080)
N	476	476	476	450	476
R^2	0.178	0.164	0.217	0.131	0.166
Adjusted R^2	0.151	0.136	0.192	0.101	0.138
Residual Std. Error	0.154 (df = 460)	0.319 (df = 460)	0.166 (df = 460)	0.216 (df = 434)	0.333 (df = 460)
F Statistic	6.652*** (df = 15; 460)	5.997*** (df = 15; 460)	8.502*** (df = 15; 460)	4.363*** (df = 15; 434)	6.089*** (df = 15; 460)

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

After controlling for citizenship status, educational attainment, nativity, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and crossing frequency, I find that negative border experiences are positively correlated with active engagement and overall political engagement (engagement scale). I do not find statistically significant result for passive political engagement. These finding support my original hypothesis, and they are consistent with the theories perceptions of discrimination and engagement among minorities in the U.S. (Oskooii 2016; DeSipio 2002). These results could indicate that cross-border commuters may become incentivized to civically participate in the U.S. as a reaction to their negative encounters with CBP.

Negative border experiences are positively associated with more negative perceptions of U.S. society (as being hostile towards immigrants) and reporting more experience with discrimination in the U.S. Although literature has found that perceptions of discrimination increases greater distrust for the U.S. government (Schildkraut 2005), the border represents the doorway into the U.S. society. While CBP officers might act as street-level bureaucrats and represent the U.S. government through their roles, the exclusionary practices at the border are also a direct reflection of overall U.S. immigration policy. As shown in my model, having more negative experiences at the border is positively associated with perceptions of how immigrants are treated in the interior of the U.S. While this question alone does not provide a full picture of the level of distrust or detachment towards U.S. society, the next stage of my project will involve

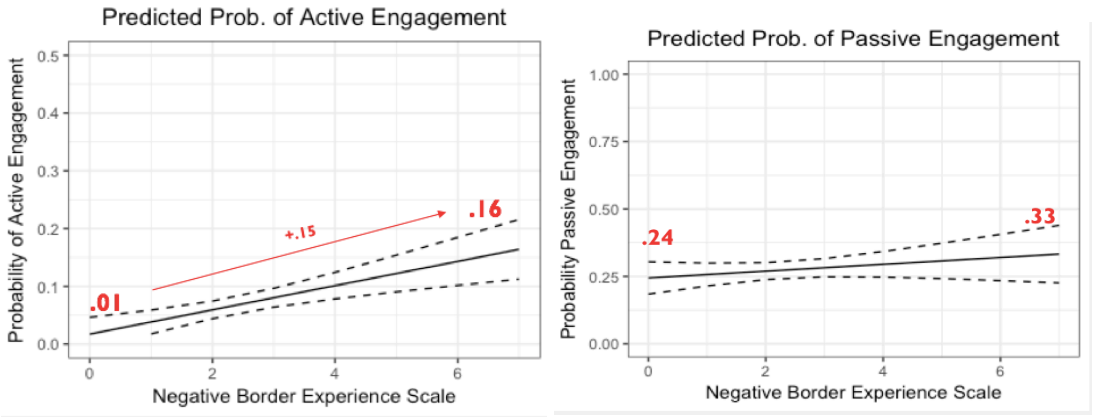
qualitative interviews where I will explore this concept more in depth.

Experiencing more negative encounters at the border is also positively associated with reporting experience with discrimination in the U.S. While I find statistically significant results, it is unclear whether discrimination refers to political (institution or policy based) or societal (interactions with the public) discrimination (Oskooii 2016). In future research, I will differentiate between the two types of discrimination to determine whether the experience at the border affects both. Furthermore, discrimination could be endogenous. If you had a negative experience at the border, it would follow that you would report experience with discrimination in the U.S. However, independently from this question, my results appear to be consistent with my hypotheses. An updated version of my survey will rephrase the wording to be more specific about perceptions of discrimination.

Predicted Probabilities of the Effect of Negative Experiences at the Border

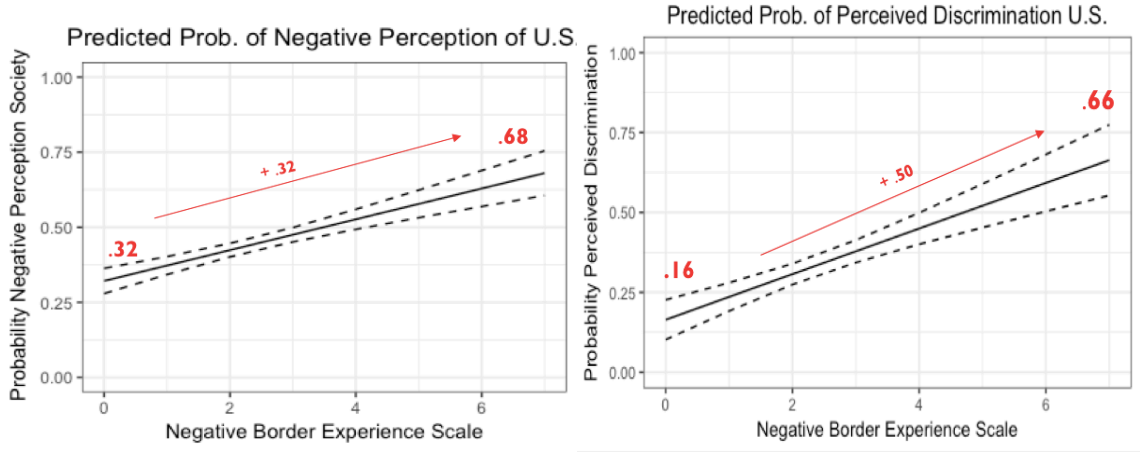
Next, I plot the predicted probabilities models for my dependent variables to visualize the effects of the negative border experience scale on the likelihood for political engagement and notions of trust and inclusion in the U.S. In the predicted probability of active engagement, among participants who reported 0 negative experiences at the border, there was a 1% probability that they would report active political engagement. If they reported all 7 negative border experiences, the probability of becoming actively politically engaged increases to 16%. Since passive engagement was not statistically significant in my regression model, I did not find a pattern in the predicted probability model as well.

Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities of Engagement Dependent Variables



In the predicted probabilities of negative perception of U.S. society, we see an increase from 32% points from reporting 0 negative experiences to 68 % when reporting all seven negative experiences and perceptions at the border. Similarly, there is an increase of 50% points from reporting no negative experiences to answering all 7 questions as negative experienced in the likelihood of reporting discrimination in the U.S.

Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities of Trust and Inclusion Dependent Variables



Again, discrimination in the U.S. could be endogenous to negative border experiences, but

after adding controls and comparing the results to other questions related to negative experiences, the results of discrimination still remain significant. Therefore, even if I change the question in future research, I expect the result to be similar.

Conclusion:

This project examined the factors that explain the variation in perceptions of border policing among cross-border commuters. Using my original survey, I find that U.S. citizenship, college education, being a current student, and English fluency, are factors that are positively associated with reporting more negative perceptions of border policing. These findings could demonstrate that social, political, and cultural identity of cross-border commuters are transformed by their border experiences. I did not find support for the income variables for socioeconomic status, but I found that having a SENTRI pass, the second indicator of socioeconomic status, is negatively associated with reporting negative perceptions of border policing. The latter could be explained by the screening process that they undergo in order to prove their low-risk status to the U.S. government and the minimal wait time it takes for SENTRI pass holders to cross the border. In future research, I will explore the socioeconomic status variables more closely and include other measures such as assets and household size.

One limitation of this project, particularly when measuring socioeconomic status, is that these are all pedestrian cross-border commuters so other than access to SENTRI lanes, I expect that there is less variation in socioeconomic status than individuals crossing through the vehicle lanes. While I suspect that there are differences in income among pedestrians, I think that differences in socioeconomic status can be best captured in the vehicle lanes.

I also examined the impact of negative encounters at the border on cross-border commuters' notions of trust and inclusion, and on their levels of political engagement in the U.S. With the exception of passive political engagement, I found statistically significant results for all

dependent variables. However, I need to further explore perceptions of discrimination and distrust through qualitative interviews to determine the extent to which the border impacts cross-border commuters' levels of inclusion in the U.S. society. Although they represent a heterogeneous population with diverse immigration statuses, cross-border commuters interact socially and politically in both country, which allow them to feel a certain level of attachment and inclusion even if some of them do not have citizenship.

Another dependent variable which should be explored further is the perception of whether rights are respected at the border. Although the U.S. courts have upheld warrantless searches and inspections at land ports of entry and within 100 miles of the border in the interior of the U.S., there are limited rights afforded to border travelers including the right to remain silent when being questioned, seek legal counsel when detained, film Border Patrol and CBP conducting their duties in public spaces, among others. However, the ACLU admits that making right claims at the border may complicate or in some cases deny entry into the U.S.[8] In the case of rights violations, border travelers, including cross-border commuters can file formal complaints through the Department of Homeland Security's Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and in some cases, they can speak to an on-site supervisor.[9] In my study, I explore which cross-border commuters are more likely to perceive that their rights are not respected at the border, however it is unclear which types of rights (civil rights, human rights, or overall rights at the border).

In Tijuana, and possibly in other Mexican border towns, individuals who have dual Mexican and U.S. citizens enjoy more benefits than individuals who only have Mexican nationality (Yeh 2017, 175). In order to fully function and be recognized as a resident in Mexico, individuals must have a form of documentation, whether it comes from Mexico or another country. However,

[8] American Civil Liberties Union of Texas. *Know your rights at the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Retrieved from: https://www.aclutx.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/KYRBORDERfinalprint.pdf
[9] U.S. Customs and Border Protection. *Civil Rights and Liberties* FAQs. Retrieved from: https://www.cbp.gov/about/civil-rights-liberties/faqs

having legal documentation that proves one's identity is not enough to have access to full democratic rights; socioeconomic status and physical appearance are attributes that increase the ability to enjoy rights in Mexico and have less confrontational interactions with the Mexican law enforcement officials (Yeh 2017, 176). In the interior checkpoints, Yeh finds that proving legality and legitimacy is an important part to interact with the checkpoints in Mexico set up by the Mexican state; however, they become redundant when one "appears" trustworthy either through physical appearance or socioeconomic status. This context is also relevant in the way cross-border commuters interact with CBP officers. While all individuals have the legal documentation to cross, cross-border commuters understand that CBP officers are trained to use psychology with enforcement practices and in many cases, engage in enforcement practices that take into account their physical appearance, race, and behavior (Chavez 2016). Therefore, through qualitative interviews I will explore whether their experience with authority figures in Mexico impacts their perceptions of CBP officers.

Although U.S. citizenship is the only variable that is positively associated with reporting a health impact at the border, I will explore through the interviews the psychological impact of crossing the border and proving their legitimacy to CBP on a regular basis, or whether there are situations where negative border experiences will increase (such as long wait times at the border).

In conclusion, this research makes empirical contributions to the study of transborder populations along the U.S.-Mexico border. My project provides a different perspective to examine how notions of trust, exclusion, and citizenship at the border transform Latino political behavior. Hence, I build on political behavior and Latino politics scholarship, and make theoretical and empirical contributions through original quantitative and qualitative data on an under-researched yet increasingly mobile population of Latinos. Furthermore, my research also contributes to the

advancement of trans-border identity, a transformative concept that is becoming increasingly relevant to explain political behavior among individuals of hybrid and trans-national identities.

My project has implications that extend beyond the border. My results serve as evidence that can be used to explain negative implications of experiencing similarly negative police encounters or experiencing systemic discrimination from interior immigration enforcement among minorities, refugees, and other migrants in the United States. My project examines how enforcement practices impact all sectors of society in the borderlands, and whether such practices prevent this distinct group of Latinos from fully participating in democratic processes or becoming socially integrated in the U.S. The implications of this research also extend beyond the U.S.-Mexico border to include analogous, highly-policed boundaries such as the Israel-Palestine, Colombia-Venezuela, and Turkey-Greece borderlands.

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Survey Instrument

This survey is completely anonymous and confidential. No personal information will ever be collected. Your participation is voluntary, but greatly appreciated. Thank you!

Sex: ☐M ☐ F **Age:** ☐18-29 ☐ 30-45 ☐50-64 ☐65+ **Born:** ☐US ☐MX ☐ Other_____
Education: ☐ Elementary School ☐ Middle School ☐ High School ☐ College
Where did you finish your education? ☐MX ☐USA **Currently student:** ☐ Yes ☐No
Reason crossing: ☐ Visit ☐ Work ☐ School ☐ Shopping ☐ Medical ☐ Other

1. How often do you cross the border into the U.S.?
☐ First time ☐ 1-2 times a week ☐ Several times per week ☐ Several times per month ☐ Only a few times per year

2. Which lane did you cross today? ☐ SENTRI ☐ Ready Lane ☐ Regular ☐ Other_____

3. Are you currently… ☐ U.S. Citizen ☐ U.S. Permanent Resident ☐ Tourist Visa ☐ Other: ___

4. Today, how long did it take to cross the border?
☐ 15 min or less ☐ 15 -30 min ☐ 30 – 60 min. ☐ More than 1 hour

5. Not today, but on average, how long does it take to cross the border in a typical visit?
☐ 15 min or less ☐ 15 -30 min ☐ 30 – 60 min. ☐ More than 1 hour

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6. How do you feel as you are <u>in line waiting</u> to come across the border? *Check all that apply*
☐ Anxious ☐ Relieved ☐ Nervous ☐ Calm ☐ Stressed ☐ Relaxed ☐ Angry
☐ Happy ☐ Normal ☐ Nothing

7. How do you feel <u>after you are done</u> and you have entered the U.S.? *Check all that apply*
☐ Anxious ☐ Relieved ☐ Nervous ☐ Calm ☐ Stressed ☐ Relaxed ☐ Angry
☐ Happy ☐ Normal ☐ Nothing

8. What questions did the CBP officer ask you today?
☐ Where are you going? ☐ What are you bringing? ☐ Do you have something to declare?
☐ What were you doing in Mexico? ☐ Where do you live? ☐ Other:_____

9. How long did the interaction last?
☐ 1 min or less ☐ 2 min ☐ 3-5 min. ☐ 5-10 min. ☐ More than 10 min. ☐ Other: _____

10. Was your interaction today….
☐ Very Positive ☐ Positive ☐ Neutral ☐ Negative ☐ Very Negative

11. Was today's experience about the same as other times you have crossed the border? Today was:
☐ More positive ☐ Same ☐ More negative ☐ Don't know

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12. Generally, how do border patrol officers interact with you? <u>*Check all that apply*</u>
☐ Welcome greeting ☐ Ask a few questions ☐ Ask a lot of questions
☐ Requests only my passport or visa ☐ Requests additional documents ☐ Polite behavior
☐ Aggressive behavior ☐ Don't know

13. After crossing the border, have you:
☐ Thanked the officer for their nice treatment ☐ Asked someone for help ☐ Filed a formal complaint
☐ Verbally complained about the way you were treated by the officers ☐ Spoke to a supervisor ☐ Called a friend to complain ☐ NA

14. When you interact with a border patrol officer, do you feel: <u>*Check all that apply*</u>
☐ Anxious ☐ Relieved ☐ Nervous ☐ Calm ☐ Stressed ☐ Relaxed ☐ Angry
☐ Happy ☐ Normal ☐ Nothing

15. Do you think the border patrol treat people who dress in nicer clothes:
☐ The same ☐ Much better ☐ Little better ☐ Little worse ☐ Much worse

16. Which of the following have you done to try and make your crossing experience easier or better: *Check all that apply*

☐ Smile ☐ Speak slow and calm ☐ Lower my voice ☐ Dress better ☐ Make eye contact ☐ Be very polite ☐ Never argue ☐ Nothing

17. Have you ever experienced any effects after crossing the border? ☐ Headaches/Migraines ☐ Stressed out ☐ Cried ☐ Felt more insecure or vulnerable

Check all that apply ☐ Vomited ☐ Lack of sleep ☐ Physical pain ☐ Taken drugs/medication ☐ Needed an alcoholic drink ☐ None

18. Do you think the border patrol treats everyone equally?

☐ Yes, always ☐ Yes, sometimes ☐ Not really ☐ No, not at all ☐ Don't know

19. How often, if ever, do you think border patrol officers act too strict or aggressive?

☐Very often ☐ Occasionally ☐ Not too often ☐ Never

20. In your experience, who receives the strictest or most negative treatment? *Check all that apply*

☐ Men ☐Women ☐ Younger people ☐ Older people ☐ Immigrants ☐ US citizens ☐ Those with darker skin ☐ Those with lighter skin ☐ Heavy accents ☐ No accent ☐ Poor people ☐ Wealthy/rich ☐ All treated the same

21. In your experience, which officers are the strictest? *Check all that apply*

☐ White ☐ African-Americans ☐ Latinos ☐ Asians ☐ Younger ☐ Older ☐Women ☐ Men ☐ They are all the same

22. Which of the following best describes your situation? *Select one answer*

☐ Crossing the border does not pose any significant challenge
☐ Crossing the border poses some challenges, but provides many opportunities in the U.S.
☐ Crossing the border poses a challenge and hardship
☐ Crossing the border is very challenging and there is little benefit or opportunity

23. Which of the following have you done in the past 12 months?
Check all that apply

In the U.S.
☐ Called or wrote a letter to a government official
☐ Attended protest or a march
☐ Voted in an election
☐ Followed the news on social media, radio, TV
☐ Attended a town hall meeting
☐ Joined a community organization
☐ Talked about politics on Facebook or Twitter

In Mexico:
☐ Called or wrote a letter to a government official
☐ Attended protest or a march
☐ Voted in an election
☐ Followed the news on social media, radio, TV
☐ Attended a town hall meeting
☐ Joined a community organization
☐ Talked about politics on Facebook or Twitter

24. How closely did you follow news about the 2016 U.S. Presidential election?

☐ Very closely ☐ Closely ☐ Not too closely ☐ Not close at all

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25. What is the most important issue in the U.S. that politicians need to address? *Select two choices*

☐ Immigration reform ☐ Improve economy ☐ Better jobs ☐ Access to health care ☐ Terrorism ☐ Women's rights ☐ Race relations/racism

☐ Border Security ☐ Crime and safety ☐ Improve/expedite border crossing ☐ Foreign policy ☐ Education ☐ Taxes ☐ Climate change

26. When you cross the border, do you feel that your rights are respected?

☐ Yes, always ☐ Occasionally ☐ Not that much ☐ Not at all ☐ Don't know

27. Do you think American society is more welcoming, or hostile towards immigrants?

☐ Very welcoming ☐ Welcoming ☐ Hostile ☐ Very hostile

28. Party affiliation in the U.S. ☐ Democrat ☐ Republican ☐ Neither, but closer to Democrats ☐ Neither, but closer to Republican ☐ Independent ☐ NA

29. Have you ever experienced discrimination in the U.S.?

☐ Yes, many times ☐ Yes, a few times ☐ Once ☐ Never

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32. Do you currently live: ☐ House that I own ☐ House that I rent ☐ Apartment that I own ☐ Apartment that I rent ☐ Something else

33. On average, how much money do you earn per week in USD: ☐Less than $200 ☐$200 - $400 ☐ $400 - $600 ☐ $600 - $800 ☐ $800 - $1000 ☐ Over $1000

34. Are you the main income earner in your home? ☐ Yes, I am the only income earner ☐ Others also earn, but less than me ☐ Others earn more than me

35. How well do you speak English ☐ Perfect – fluent ☐ Good ☐ A little ☐ Not at all

36. Do you own a car? ☐ Yes ☐ No

37. What is your race/ethnicity: ☐ Latino ☐ Black/ African American ☐ Asian ☐ Native American/Indigenous ☐ White ☐ Other:_____

38. Please describe any issues or problems you have ever had crossing the border:

39. Which of the following hands represents your skin tone? ***Circle the number below***