

2014 Southwest Border Encounters: Three-Year Cohort Outcomes Analysis August 2018



After six years of steadily declining southwest border apprehensions—from 1.2 million in 2005 to 328,000 in 2011—apprehensions jumped back to 480,000 in 2014. An additional 253,000 aliens were found inadmissible at southwest border ports of entry (POEs), up from 193,000 in 2012. This 2014 border "surge" remains important, in part, because that year also marked a high point in a developing demographic shift. Historically, single Mexican adults accounted for the overwhelming majority of southwest border encounters, but growing numbers of encounters in recent years are non-Mexicans, unaccompanied alien children (UAC), family units (FMUA), and/or asylum-seekers. Moreover, as this report shows, existing laws and policies generally allow the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to respond quickly and effectively to traditional border enforcement challenges, but the system is less well equipped to meet the humanitarian and enforcement demands associated with these newer cases.

This DHS Office of Immigration Statistics (OIS) report utilizes a new Immigration Cohort Outcomes (ICO) methodology to analyze the end-to-end enforcement lifecycle for all aliens apprehended or found inadmissible along the southwest border in 2014 (i.e., for the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort). By linking records from U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), and the Department of Justice (DOJ) Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR), the methodology reports on what share of this cohort has been repatriated as of a given point in time, what share has been ordered removed but remains in the United States, what share remains in removal proceedings, and what share has been granted some form of relief. Because records are linked at the person-centric level, the methodology allows OIS to analyze how outcomes differ across specific sub-populations.

In short, the existing immigration enforcement system is especially well designed to repatriate single adults from Mexico and aliens who have been previously convicted of a crime. As of the end of 2017, 92 percent of single Mexican adults encountered in 2014 and 97 percent of criminal aliens encountered that year had been repatriated. But the system is less well designed to quickly repatriate—or to adjudicate claims for relief for—aliens falling outside these traditional sub-groups. For example, only three percent of non-Mexican UACs, 10 percent of FMUAs, and 33 percent of asylum-seekers (whose claims were ultimately found to be invalid) encountered in 2014 had been repatriated by 2017 year-end. Meanwhile, large pluralities of each of these groups remained in unresolved statuses.

The following section of this report summarizes the ICO methodology. Sections two and three describe the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort and summarize highlevel enforcement outcomes as of September 30, 2017. Section four reports on outcomes by country of origin. Sections five through eight focus on particular populations of interest, including convicted criminals, UACs, FMUAs, and asylumseekers. And section nine describes changes in enforcement outcomes over time, including by providing insight into the 2015 and 2016 southwest border enforcement cohorts.

This report is a special one-time analysis of the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort; the Department will begin publishing routine DHS-wide enforcement cohort outcome reports beginning in fiscal year 2019.

1. METHODOLOGY

The OIS Immigration Cohort Outcomes (ICO) methodology identifies enforcement outcomes for cohorts of initial enforcement actions.² In this report, the analysis focuses on the 570,698 cases that comprise the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort, i.e., the set of U.S. Border Patrol (USBP) apprehensions and CBP Office of Field Operations (OFO) inadmissibility determinations that occurred along the southwest border in 2014. (The ICO methodology is eventbased, meaning an individual who was apprehended, repatriated, and apprehended again during 2014 appears twice in that year's enforcement cohort.) Aliens often pass through more than one outcome between an initial action and a final resolution: for example, by applying for asylum, being detained, going before an immigration judge, being ordered removed, and then being repatriated. The ICO provides a snapshot of the final or most-current case dispositions at a given point in time. Except as otherwise indicated, all outcomes described in this report are current as of 2017 yearend (i.e., September 30, 2017).

OIS conducts the ICO analysis by linking records across 19 different DHS and DOJ data systems. Records are matched through a smart matching methodology that leverages numeric identifiers like Alien number and fingerprint ID number as well as text fields like first and last name. The resulting person-centric dataset includes information about each time an individual touches any of the included systems. Events associated with each individual are stacked in date order. The ICO methodology then searches systems sequentially to identify a single final or most-current status associated with each case on any given date.

¹ Throughout this report, all references to years are to the U.S. Government's fiscal year, which runs from October 1 of the previous calendar year through September 30. Fiscal year 2014 began October 1, 2013, and ended September 30, 2014.

² For reporting and analytic purposes, OIS defines "initial enforcement actions" to include ICE administrative arrests, USBP apprehensions, and OFO inadmissibility determinations. In general, all DHS removals and returns may be traced back to one of these "initial actions." Note, however, that these actions may not reflect an agency's first contact with an alien—as in the case of an ICE detainer request that precedes an administrative arrest, for example—and that aliens may be subject to multiple initial enforcement actions over time. In focusing exclusively on southwest border cases, the initial enforcement actions in this report exclude ICE administrative arrests.

Outcomes are divided into two high-level groups: "Repatriations," which includes all forms of removal and return, and "No Confirmed Departure," which includes any cases for which OIS cannot verify that a repatriation has occurred. Certain individuals in the "No Confirmed Departure" group may have left the United States on their own without notifying DHS. For this report, high-level outcome groups are subdivided into seven primary outcomes and ten sub-outcomes, as defined in Table 1.3

2. THE 2014 SOUTHWEST BORDER ENFORCEMENT COHORT

The 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort consists of 479,371 USBP apprehensions and 91,318 OFO inadmissibility determinations. Table 2 provides an overview of selected cohort characteristics.

Table 1.

Enforcement Outcome Definitions

Repatriations					
Primary Outcome	Sub-Outcome	Definition			
Removal	Expedited Removal	Alien removed pursuant to an order of expedited removal			
	Reinstatement of Removal	Alien removed pursuant to reinstatement of a prior removal order			
	Other Removal	Alien removed pursuant to administrative removal or a judicial order of removal			
Return	NA	Alien returned (i.e., repatriated without an order of removal); departure confirmed			
		No Confirmed Departure			
Primary Outcome	Sub-Outcome	Definition			
Final Order of Removal	Removal Order	Alien has been ordered removed by an immigration judge but has not been confirmed to have departed the country			
	Voluntary Departure Granted	Alien has accepted an offer of voluntary departure but has not been confirmed to have departed the country			
In Proceedings	EOIR Cases	Alien has been placed in removal proceedings before an immigration judge and case is on an EOIR docket			
	No EOIR Case	Alien was issued a Notice To Appear in immigration proceedings or has filed an application for asylum or other immigration benefit but no EOIR case has been opened			
Relief	Permanent Relief	Alien has been granted lawful permanent residence status, asylum, withholding of remova protection under the Convention Against Torture, Special Immigrant Juvenile status, cance of removal, or other permanent status			
	Temporary Relief	Alien has been granted a temporary form of relief from removal, including parole; DHS prosecutorial discretion; T, S, or U visa; Temporary Protected Status; or EOIR conditional grants			
Non-Removable	NA	Person has been found to be a U.S. citizen or lawfully present alien not subject to removal			
No Updated Status	NA	Initial enforcement action cannot be linked to a subsequent enforcement outcome			

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

Table 2.

FY2014 Southwest Border Enforcement Cohort by Selected Characteristics

	USBP Apprehensions	OFO Inadmissibles	Total				
Total	479,371	91,318	570,698				
Nationality							
Mexico	47%	64%	50%				
Northern Triangle	50%	11%	44%				
Guatemala	17%	4%	15%				
Honduras	19%	5%	17%				
El Salvador	14%	2%	12%				
Other	3%	24%	7%				
Other Characteristics							
Male	75%	56%	72%				
Criminal record	5%	NA	4%				
Unaccompanied Child	14%	5%	13%				
Family Unit	14%	NA	12%				
Asylum Seeker	10%	13%	10%				

Note: Data on criminal record and family unit status are not available for OFO inadmissibles.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

³ At a more granular level, the ICO methodology identifies a total of about 100 possible outcomes that may be aggregated in a variety of ways.

3. HIGH-LEVEL OUTCOMES

Figure 1 describes high-level outcomes for the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort. Almost two-thirds (65 percent) of initial enforcement actions resulted in a repatriation by 2017 year-end. Aliens apprehended by USBP were more likely to be repatriated than those found inadmissible by OFO (68 percent versus 48 percent). Overall, more than three-quarters of CBP repatriations were non-judicial removals, including 49 percent that were expedited removals and 32 percent that were reinstatements of removal; an additional 17 percent of repatriations were returns; and six percent were judicial or administrative removals.

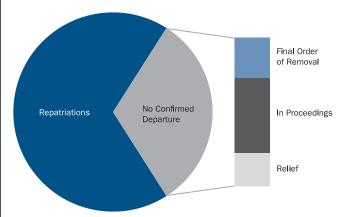
The remaining 35 percent of cases initiated in 2014 generally remained in the United States as of the end of 2017. Of these cases, 44 percent were still in proceedings, 24 percent were subject to unexecuted final orders of removal, and 20 percent had been granted some form of relief (see Figure 1).

4. COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

Figure 2 describes differences in enforcement outcomes by aliens' countries of citizenship.

As Figure 2 illustrates, almost all Mexicans (92 percent) were repatriated by the end of 2017. By contrast, fewer than half (43 percent) of aliens from the Northern Triangle countries of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras had been repatriated; and only 12 percent of aliens from all other countries were repatriated. (As noted in Table 2, Mexico and the Northern

Figure 1.
FY2014 Southwest Border Enforcement Cohort: Overall Outcomes



Note: Figure depicts final or most-current outcomes as of September 30, 2017. Final Order of Removal includes aliens who agree to voluntary departure but for whom no departure has been recorded. No Confirmed Departure cases also include aliens found to be non-removable and aliens for whom no most-current status was available.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

Triangle account for 50 percent and 44 percent of the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort, respectively.) Similar differences in repatriation rates by citizenship exist within almost every subset of aliens, including UACs, FMUAs, and asylum-seekers.

Beyond differences in repatriation rates, aliens from the Northern Triangle are also less likely than those from countries other than Mexico or the Northern Triangle to benefit from relief (five percent versus 54 percent), and more likely to be subject to an unexecuted final order of removal (17 percent versus seven percent). Similar shares of both groups remained in EOIR proceedings (28 percent and 23 percent, respectively).

5. CRIMINALITY

Five percent of aliens apprehended along the southwest border by USBP in 2014 were identified by USBP as having prior criminal convictions, and OFO did not collect data on criminality among aliens found inadmissible. Nonetheless, as Figure 3 illustrates, known criminals are among the cases most likely to have been deported by 2017.

The vast majority (97 percent) of criminal aliens apprehended by USBP were repatriated by 2017 year-end, compared to non-criminals who were repatriated at a rate of 64 percent.

Among aliens without a confirmed departure, criminal aliens were more likely than non-criminals to be subject to a final order of removal (24 percent versus 12 percent) and less likely to remain in proceedings (28 percent versus 44 percent).

Overall, just 35 out of 21,901 criminal aliens (0.2 percent) apprehended by USBP benefitted from any form of relief from removal. By comparison, 13,869 out of 457,470 non-criminals (7.2 percent) apprehended by USBP benefitted from some form of relief.

6. UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN

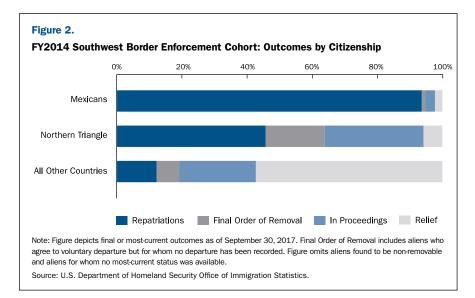
USBP apprehended 68,541 UACs along the southwest border in 2014, and OFO found an additional 4,218 UACs ineligible for admission.

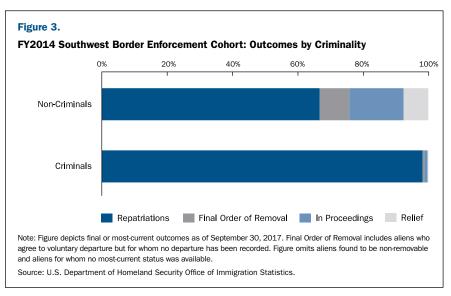
As Figure 4 illustrates, UAC outcomes differ substantially by country of citizenship, a finding driven in part by different policies under the Trafficking Victims Protection
Reauthorization Act of 2008 (TVPRA). Pursuant to the TVPRA, UACs from contiguous countries (including Mexico) who are not victims of severe forms of trafficking and who do not seek to apply for asylum may be permitted to voluntarily return to Mexico, should they make an informed decision to do so.

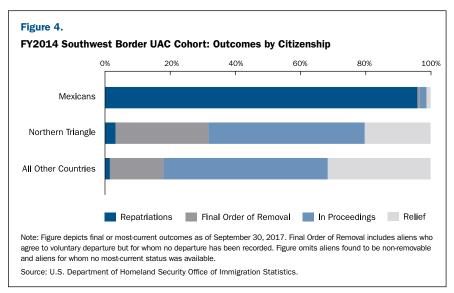
Among the 17,155 Mexican UAC cases in 2014, 15,767 (92 percent) were returned pursuant to these provisions. The remaining 1,388 Mexican UACs include 2.6 percent of the total who were removed or departed voluntarily, 0.6 percent subject to an unexecuted removal order, 1.9 percent who remained in removal proceedings, and 1.3 percent who had benefitted from some form of relief.

⁴ Here and throughout, data on unexecuted final orders of removal include aliens who agreed to voluntary departure but were not confirmed to have departed. Overall, 97 percent of people in this category had unexecuted removal orders and three percent had accepted voluntary departure.

⁵ An additional 0.7 percent of cases had accepted an offer of voluntary departure but had not been confirmed to have departed; two percent had been determined not to be removable; and three percent could not be linked to a subsequent enforcement outcome.







The TVPRA requires that UACs from non-contiguous countries be permitted to appear before an immigration judge and allows them to apply affirmatively for asylum while their EOIR cases are pending. These provisions mean that many UACs were granted some form of relief from removal, including 30 percent of UACs from countries other than Mexico or the Northern Triangle—countries that accounted for less than two percent of total UAC encounters—and 18 percent of UACs from the Northern Triangle. By contrast, just four percent of non-UACs from the Northern Triangle were granted relief as of 2017 year-end. The most common forms of relief for UACs encountered in 2014 were asylum (53 percent of relief cases) and Special Immigrant Juvenile status (45 percent).

In addition to being more likely to receive relief from removal, UACs from the Northern Triangle were less likely than non-UACs to have been repatriated (three percent versus 54 percent) and more likely than non-UACs to remain in EOIR proceedings (44 percent versus 24 percent) or to have unexecuted removal orders (26 percent versus 15 percent).

7. FAMILY UNITS (FMUA)

USBP apprehended 68,445 FMUA cases along the southwest border in 2014; OFO did not begin tracking FMUA cases until 2015.⁶

As Figure 5 illustrates, FMUA cases were much less likely to be repatriated by the end of 2017 than non-FMUA USBP apprehensions (10 percent versus 78 percent); but not substantially more likely to be granted relief from removal (three percent for both groups). Instead, large shares of FMUAs remained in EOIR proceedings (42 percent versus 12 percent of non-FMUA apprehensions) or were subject to an unexecuted final order of removal (33 percent versus

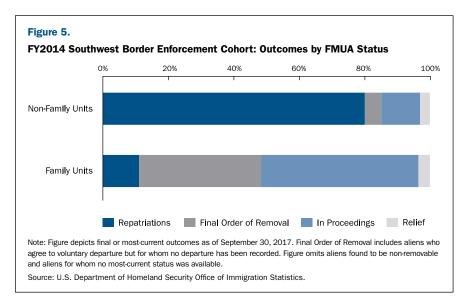
five percent of non-FMUA apprehensions). These differences are partly explained by the fact that FMUA aliens are much less likely than non-FMUA aliens to be subject to expedited removal (3.1 percent of FMUA apprehensions versus 38 percent of non-FMUA apprehensions) or reinstatement of removal (0.7 percent versus 29 percent).

A final noteworthy finding regarding the 2014 FMUA cohort is that 12 percent of these cases could not be linked to a final or most-current outcome, compared to just two percent of non-FMUA cases. Most of these cases (64 percent) were FMUAs who claimed fear and/or were booked into and out of ICE detention during the 2014 surge but for whom OIS is not able to locate an NTA or an EOIR case record. FMUA cases apprehended during the surge of arrivals in 2016 (but not those apprehended in 2015) were disproportionately likely to have similar missing case status updates.

8. ASYLUM-SEEKERS

Most aliens who arrive at a POE without valid travel documents or who are apprehended between ports are subject to expedited removal by DHS, but aliens seeking political asylum may be eligible to appear before an immigration judge if they are found to have a credible fear of persecution if returned to their home country (or reasonable fear of persecution, in the case of aliens subject to reinstatement of a prior order of removal). The immigration judge may grant asylum or some other form of relief from removal or may issue a final order of removal (for aliens without valid asylum claims). Among the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort, 59,458 aliens sought asylum by claiming fear at some point following their initial enforcement action.⁷

About half (47 percent) of aliens who claimed fear after being apprehended or found inadmissible along the southwest border in 2014 did so after departing CBP custody; aliens generally have up to a year after their arrival in the United States to make an asylum claim.

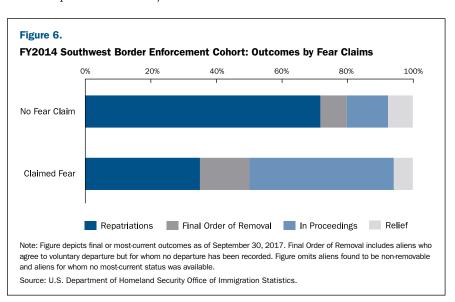


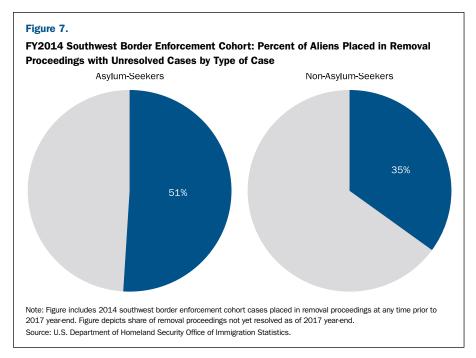
⁶ Family units (FMUAs) are defined as the number of individuals (either a child under 18 years old, a parent, or a legal guardian) apprehended with a family member. For example, a mother traveling with two minor children comprises three family units.

Asylum-seekers from the 2014 southwest border cohort were less likely than other aliens to be repatriated by the end of 2017, with a repatriation rate of 33 percent compared to 69 percent for non-asylum-seekers (Figure 6). Repatriation rates varied by citizenship, as 41 percent of Mexican asylum-seekers were repatriated, versus 36 percent of those from the Northern Triangle, and 16 percent of those from other countries.

As of year-end 2017, the difference in repatriation rates was not primarily explained by the rates at which asylum-seekers and non-asylum-seekers had been granted relief (five percent and seven percent, respectively) or were subject to unexecuted orders of removal (14 percent and eight percent, respectively). Rather, the most important difference is that asylum seekers are more likely to remain in removal proceedings three or more years after the initial enforcement action: 41 percent versus 12 percent for non-asylum-seekers.

This finding, in turn, reflects two characteristics of asylum cases. First, asylum-seekers are more likely to be placed in proceedings, as aliens who establish fear of persecution generally are eligible to appear before an immigration judge to seek relief from removal. Second, asylum cases tend to take longer to resolve than other types of immigration proceedings. As Figure 7 illustrates, among asylum-seekers in the 2014 cohort who were ever placed in removal proceedings, 51 percent remained in proceedings at the end of 2017 (i.e., more than three years later in many cases). By comparison, just 36 percent of non-asylum seekers who were placed in proceedings at some point after their initial encounters remained in proceedings by the end of 2017.





9. ENFORCEMENT OUTCOMES OVER TIME

To better understand the detailed enforcement lifecycle, OIS examined how 2014 southwest border cases were processed over time. OIS identified a category of "immediate repatriations," which is defined to include aliens who are repatriated within three days of an initial enforcement action. One reason a large share of Mexicans are repatriated (Figure 2) is that Mexicans subject to expedited removal or reinstatement of removal are often immediately processed and removed by CBP, whereas non-Mexicans, even if subject to a non-judicial form of removal, must be transferred to ICE until their travel can be arranged—a step that raises enforcement costs, delays repatriation, and may create opportunities for further delays. OFO also immediately returns or removes certain aliens who arrive with expired documents or are otherwise inadmissible. Not surprisingly, as Table 3 summarizes, the share of repatriations occurring within three days of an initial enforcement action varies substantially by nationality and type of case.

Table 3.

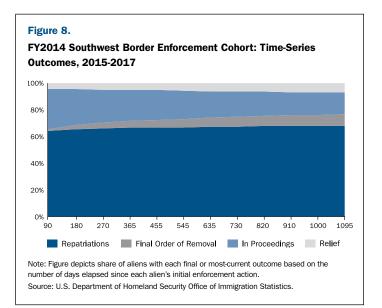
FY 2014 Southwest Border Enforcement Cohort: Share of Repatriations Occurring within Three Days of Initial Enforcement Action

	USBP Apprehensions	0F0 Inadmissibles	Total				
Total	52%	86%	56%				
Nationality							
Mexico	75%	88%	77%				
Northern Triangle	5%	47%	5%				
Guatemala	9%	57%	10%				
Honduras	1%	48%	2%				
El Salvador	0%	25%	1%				
Other	2%	48%	11%				
Other Characteristics							
Male	52%	82%	54%				
Criminal record	42%	NA	42%				
Unaccompanied Child.	89%	93%	89%				
Family Unit	77%	NA	77%				
Asylum-Seeker		2%	1%				

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

The ICO methodology provides a snapshot of final or mostcurrent outcomes at a particular point time, as noted above. By repeating the analysis for each of several points in time, OIS generates a "time-lapse" image that describes how outcomes evolve over time. Figure 8 depicts enforcement outcomes for the entire southwest border enforcement cohort beginning 90 days after each initial enforcement action and updating quarterly thereafter.

As Figure 8 illustrates, 59 percent of aliens apprehended or found inadmissible in 2014 had already been repatriated within 90 days of their initial enforcement action. Notably, this proportion only increased by another six percentage points over the following three years. During the same time period, the share of 2014 enforcement cases in removal proceedings fell from 27 percent to 16 percent; the share subject to a final order of removal increased from one percent to eight percent; and the share benefitting from some form of relief increased from four percent to seven percent.



This finding—that aliens who are not repatriated within the first few months of their initial enforcement action are unlikely to be repatriated within the first few years of that action—is strikingly consistent across diverse subsets of the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort. Figure 9 depicts the same time-lapse image of enforcement outcomes for a cross-section of enforcement cohorts: non-Mexican UACs; all non-humanitarian cases (i.e., excluding UACs, asylum-seekers, and FMUAs) from countries other than Mexico or the Northern Triangle; all Mexicans; and all asylum-seekers. In each case we observe movement after the first 90 days from the "in proceedings" category to the "removal order" or "relief" categories, but very few cases being added to the repatriated category.

Finally, to gain insight into how the enforcement system may have changed in recent years, OIS has also analyzed the 2015 and 2016 southwest border enforcement cohorts. (OIS will begin analyzing the 2017 enforcement cohort once 2018 year-end data are available.) To make an apples-to-apples comparison, Table 4 provides one-year snapshots of each southwest border enforcement cohort—i.e., the final or most-current outcomes of the 2014 cohort as of 2015 year-end, the final or most-current outcomes of the 2015 cohort as of 2016 year-end, and the final or most-current outcomes of the 2016 cohort as of 2017 year-end.

The most noteworthy observation from Table 4 is that the share of aliens repatriated by the end of the fiscal year following their apprehension fell from 64 percent for the 2014 cohort and 63 percent for the 2015 cohort to 52 percent for the 2016 cohort. The three years show very little variation in how aliens were repatriated—between 81 and 87 percent of repatriations for all three cohorts at the end of the following year consisted of expedited removals or reinstatements of removal. But the cohorts did vary somewhat in the one-year dispositions among aliens without a confirmed departure: higher shares of the 2014 and 2016 still-in-the-U.S. populations remained in proceedings at the end of the following year (57 percent and 60 percent, respectively, compared to 49 percent for the 2015 cohort)—a finding that likely resulted from the larger numbers of arrivals during each of those years. In addition, higher shares of the 2015 and 2016 still-in-the-U.S. populations benefitted from some form of relief (27 percent and 24 percent, respectively, compared to 14 percent for the 2014 cohort).

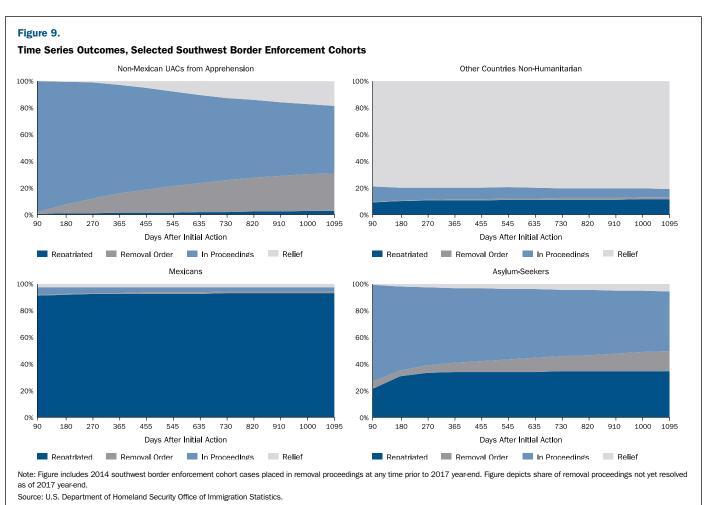


Table 4.

FY2014-FY2016 Southwest Border Enforcement Cohorts: One Year Snapshots

	2014 Cohort	2015 Cohort	2016 Cohort
Total Initial Actions	570,689	445,817	559,680
Repatriations	365,188	279,798	291,373
Removals	302,234	243,957	257,605
Expedited	179,415	141,876	144,399
Reinstatement	116,812	96,482	107,919
Other	6,007	5,599	5,287
Returns	62,954	35,841	33,768
No Confirmed Departure	205,501	166,019	268,307
Final Order/voluntary Departure	34,653	24,368	24,807
Removal Orders	33,762	23,574	24,363
Voluntary Departure Granted	891	794	444
In Proceedings	116,622	81,167	161,148
EOIR Cases	100,636	72,809	138,283
No EOIR Case	15,986	8,358	22,865
Relief	29,514	44,041	63,168
Permanent	9,816	15,044	17,043
Temporary	19,698	28,997	46,125
Non-Removable	3,848	3,198	1,355
Data Pending	20,864	13,245	17,829

Note: See Table 1 for definitions of outcome categories.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics

10. CONCLUSION

This report re-examines the 2014 southwest border enforcement cohort by describing final or most current outcomes as of the end of 2017. Overall, DHS repatriated 65 percent of aliens encountered in 2014, with the majority (80 percent) of these repatriations occurring as expedited removals or reinstatements of previous removal orders. Among the roughly one-third of the entire cohort that had no confirmed repatriation three or more years after their initial enforcement actions, 44 percent were in immigration proceedings, 24 percent had been ordered removed or agreed to voluntary departure, and 20 percent had been granted some form of relief.

Apart from these overall numbers, the analysis reveals important distinctions across sub-groups of aliens. Existing enforcement measures are highly efficient at repatriating Mexicans, convicted criminals, and single adults who do not seek humanitarian relief (repatriation rates of 92 percent,

97 percent, and 87 percent, respectively). But non-Mexican UACs, FMUA aliens, and asylum-seekers are unlikely to be repatriated (three percent, 10 percent, and 33 percent repatriation rates) or to be granted relief (15 percent, three percent, and five percent, respectively)—though large shares of these groups remain in proceedings three or more years after their initial enforcement actions and some may be granted relief in the future.

In short, aliens who are not subject to expedited removal or reinstatement of a previous removal order—including most aliens in these potentially humanitarian categories—are likely to remain in unresolved statuses. This finding also means that aliens who are not repatriated within 90 days of their initial enforcement action typically go for long periods in unresolved statuses. With Mexicans accounting for a falling share of border encounters and with UACs, FMUAs, and asylumseekers accounting for a growing share, these findings highlight important challenges for the Department.