

# ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF FEDERAL IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

*in Los Angeles County*



INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED ECONOMICS  
Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation

January 2026

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## IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

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January 2026

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We are grateful to the Los Angeles Economic Equity Accelerator & Fellowship (LEEAF) and the University of Southern California's Equity Research Institute (ERI) for their contributions and assistance.

This research was commissioned by the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity, with special acknowledgment and appreciation going to Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors Chair Hilda Solis for leading the County's response to the recent immigration enforcement activities.

The LAEDC Institute for Applied Economics provides objective economic and policy research for public agencies and private firms. The group focuses on economic impact studies, regional industry analyses, economic forecasts, and issue studies, particularly in workforce development, transportation, infrastructure, and environmental policy.

Every reasonable effort has been made to ensure that the data contained herein reflect the most accurate and timely information possible and they are believed to be reliable.

The report is provided solely for informational purposes and is not to be construed as providing advice, recommendations, endorsements, representations, or warranties of any kind whatsoever.

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# Executive Summary

## Background

In June 2025, the federal government intensified enforcement of national immigration policies in Los Angeles County through increasingly aggressive efforts to arrest and detain unauthorized immigrants. These actions included workplace raids across Los Angeles, the deployment of approximately 4,000 California National Guard troops and 700 U.S. Marines, and large-scale operations such as the July 7 sweep through MacArthur Park. This report, commissioned by the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity, documents the economic impacts of these enforcement activities on businesses, workers, families, and communities across the County.

## Scale of Economic Contribution and Vulnerability

Los Angeles County's approximately 3.5 million immigrants—representing 35 percent of the total population—contribute fundamentally to the regional economy. Among them, an estimated 948,700 undocumented immigrants work in sectors critical to the County. Data from USC's Equity Research Institute show that the largest concentrations of undocumented workers include retail trade (23.4 percent of undocumented workers), construction (16.2 percent), other services (14.5 percent), and manufacturing (13.3 percent). These four industries alone account for nearly two-thirds of all undocumented employment in the County. With respect to the dependency of industries on undocumented labor, agriculture shows the highest reliance at 31 percent of its total workforce, followed by construction (28.7 percent), manufacturing (17.5 percent), wholesale trade (16.0 percent), retail trade (15.4 percent), and transportation and warehousing (11.8 percent).

Our analysis estimates that undocumented workers in Los Angeles County generate approximately \$253.9 billion in total economic output, representing about 17 percent of the County's overall economic activity. This activity supports over 1.06 million jobs both directly and through multiplier effects.

Our geographic and sectoral analysis also reveals that vulnerability to immigration enforcement is not uniformly distributed. Communities with high concentrations of Latino immigrants, Spanish speakers, renter households, and non-citizen workers face disproportionate exposure to enforcement activities and their economic consequences. The Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) identifies areas such as Mission Hills-Panorama City, Bell, Pico Rivera, Southeast Los Angeles, and neighborhoods around downtown Los Angeles as particularly vulnerable.

## Documented Business and Community Impacts

Data from LAEDC's business impact survey show that 82 percent of respondents from across the County reported being negatively affected, with 52 percent experiencing reduced daily sales or revenue and 51 percent reporting decreased customer traffic. Among businesses experiencing revenue losses, 44 percent reported decreases exceeding 50 percent, while another 31 percent experienced losses between 26 and 50 percent. More than two-thirds of respondents made operational adjustments, including reducing hours, closing on certain days, and delaying expansion plans.

The pervasive climate of fear across impacted neighborhoods, documented through 178 business interviews conducted by the Los Angeles Economic Equity Accelerator & Fellowship (LEEAF), fundamentally altered consumer behavior, with customers staying home, avoiding certain areas, and reducing spending across immigrant communities. Fear-related terminology was used 298 times by business leaders when describing community impacts, far exceeding other emotional descriptors. This climate of fear drove reduced consumer activity, with customers avoiding public spaces and businesses, ultimately contributing to revenue losses.

Workforce impacts also proved significant, with businesses reporting employees expressing fear about coming to work, reduced productivity due to anxiety, and difficulty finding replacement workers. Sixty-seven percent of businesses experiencing workforce changes characterized the impact on business operations as major or moderate.

Moreover, our analysis of LA METRO bus ridership data shows that lines serving high-vulnerability areas experienced a sharp relative decline of approximately 17,000 monthly riders during the peak enforcement period. Additionally, international arrivals at LAX declined on a year-over-year basis throughout 2025, potentially reflecting concerns about the treatment of immigrants and foreign visitors.

## Analysis of Downtown Los Angeles Curfew

The June 2025 Downtown Los Angeles nightly curfew, imposed from June 10 to June 16, 2025, in response to protests tied to intensified federal immigration enforcement, provides a case study of concentrated disruption impacts. Under the baseline scenario of short-term disruption with rapid recovery, the curfew is estimated to have resulted in approximately \$840 million in total output losses, 3,920 job-years of lost employment, and \$312 million in lost labor income. More extended disruption scenarios suggest that impacts could be substantially higher, with recurring disruptions potentially generating losses exceeding \$2.5 billion in total output and nearly 12,000 job-years.

Our analysis indicates that service-oriented and consumer-facing industries experienced the greatest impacts across all scenarios, reflecting their high dependency on in-person activity and foot traffic. The most affected sectors included accommodation and food services, professional and technical services, and other services such as personal care and repair businesses.

## Key Findings

**Economic Contribution:** Undocumented workers in Los Angeles County generate \$253.9 billion in economic output (17 percent of total County output), support 1.06 million jobs, contribute \$80.4 billion in labor income, and account for \$147.4 billion in value-added (roughly 57.5 percent of the statewide contribution attributable to undocumented labor).

**Business Disruption:** Eighty-two percent of surveyed businesses experienced negative effects, with 44 percent of affected businesses reporting revenue losses exceeding 50 percent. Thirty-eight percent of businesses reported major negative impacts to short-term financial stability, and 47 percent expressed being very concerned about long-term viability.

**Workforce Impacts:** Thirty-three percent of businesses reported employees expressing fear about coming to work, 28 percent experienced reduced productivity due to worker anxiety, and 27 percent faced difficulty finding replacement workers.

**Community-Level Effects:** Seventy-three percent of businesses reported negative effects on their customer base, including loss of regular customers and reduced foot traffic. Bus ridership on high-vulnerability lines declined by approximately 17,000 monthly riders compared to baseline. More than 2 million County residents are either undocumented or live with at least one undocumented family member, amplifying the reach of enforcement impacts.

**Geographic Vulnerability:** Areas with the highest IEVI scores include Mission Hills-Panorama City (91402), Bell (90201), Pico Rivera (90660), Southeast Los Angeles (90011), and neighborhoods around downtown Los Angeles. These areas are characterized by higher concentrations of foreign-born populations from Latin America, renter households, non-citizen workers, and Spanish speakers.

## Policy Implications and Recommendations

The analysis demonstrates that immigration enforcement activities carry substantial economic costs that extend well beyond the individuals directly targeted for detention or removal. The disruptions affect citizens and non-citizens alike, impact businesses across all sectors, reduce tax revenues at all levels of government, and undermine the economic vitality of communities across Los Angeles County.

The report offers recommendations for policymakers across four key areas:

**Economic Support and Business Resilience:** Consider expanding access to emergency business assistance programs and creating flexible loan and grant programs that balance accountability with accessibility concerns identified through this research.

**Workforce Development and Retention:** Explore opportunities to support businesses facing workforce challenges through existing workforce development programs, including subsidized training, remote work facilitation, and assistance with employee-related costs.

**Community Trust and Service Delivery:** Examine current outreach methods to identify opportunities to rebuild trust and encourage service utilization. Consider delivering county services through trusted community intermediaries, including small businesses and nonprofit organizations.

**Information Sharing and Coordination:** Develop coordinated communication strategies to provide accurate, timely information about enforcement activities and available resources. Establish regular communication mechanisms between the county and business communities in areas experiencing significant disruption.

## Conclusion

This comprehensive analysis documents the far-reaching economic consequences of intensified federal immigration enforcement in Los Angeles County. The findings reveal substantial disruptions to businesses, workers, and communities, with impacts that extend well beyond those directly targeted by enforcement

actions. Moving forward, targeted interventions to support affected businesses, workers, and communities could help mitigate these impacts and strengthen regional economic resilience. Such efforts should be informed by the geographic and sectoral vulnerability patterns documented in this analysis and should prioritize resources for the most heavily affected areas and industries. Continued monitoring of enforcement patterns and economic indicators will be essential to track evolving conditions and inform appropriate policy responses.

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# 1 Introduction

## Escalation of Federal Immigration Enforcement

In June 2025, the federal government intensified its enforcement of national immigration policies, particularly in Los Angeles County, through increasingly aggressive efforts to arrest and detain unauthorized immigrants. Agents from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) conducted a series of workplace raids across Los Angeles, including in the Fashion District and in Westlake, and they targeted individuals in retail sites, day labor locations, carwashes, and other settings like bus stops. As residents of the County protested these actions, the federal government heightened tensions by deploying approximately 4,000 California



Photo Credit: U.S. Northern Command

National Guard troops and 700 U.S. Marines to Los Angeles. These federal resources, deployed ostensibly to protect federal buildings and provide support to DHS, also were used in large-scale operations such as the July 7 sweep through MacArthur Park that involved military personnel and Border Patrol agents on horseback.

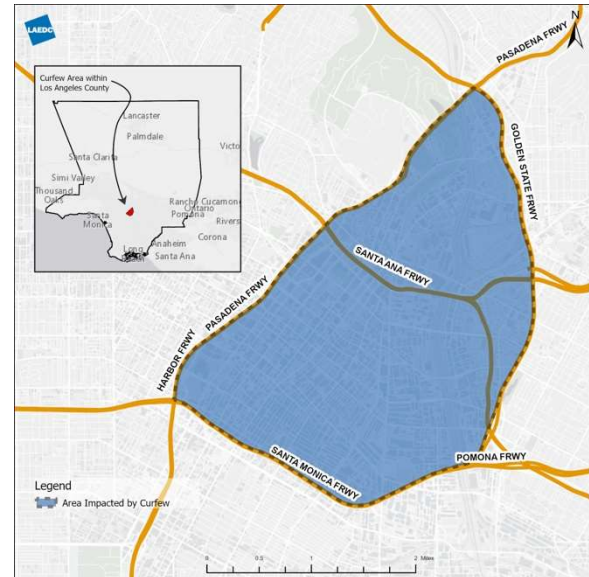
These federal immigration enforcement actions have significantly disrupted businesses and households in communities across Los Angeles County. By detaining some workers and instilling fear in others—forcing them to stay home or otherwise remain in hiding—the federal government effectively curtailed the labor force in the County, hampering business operations and household incomes as a result. At the same time, as undocumented and immigrant families stayed at home for fear of being targeted, they cut back their spending on goods and services across the County, further impacting local businesses.

The protests surrounding federal enforcement have in some cases also resulted in vandalism and property losses to businesses. Extensive property damage in Downtown Los Angeles led to the imposition by Mayor Karen Bass of a weeklong curfew over a 1 square mile area of the city (see **Exhibit 1.1** below) The curfew kept restaurants and other businesses shuttered during their prime operating hours.

While large-scale federal activity across the region has subsided, aggressive immigration enforcement continues today. Recent examples that have made the headlines include:

- On October 21, 2025, in Los Angeles, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents fired “defensive shots” at a citizen journalist from Mexico who posts about immigration enforcement activities. Federal officials say that the journalist rammed his car into law enforcement vehicles while trying to evade arrest, was subsequently shot in the elbow, and that a deputy U.S. Marshal was hit in the hand with a ricochet bullet.<sup>1</sup>
- On October 28 in Ontario, an ICE agent shot a 25-year-old U.S. citizen, who reportedly was a bystander asking federal agents to move away from a bus stop where schoolchildren would soon be gathering.<sup>2</sup>
- On November 9 in Santa Ana, a Fullerton police officer intervened when he saw a man in plain clothes pointing a gun at a female driver on a busy street. The man later identified himself as an immigration agent and accused the driver of “following him” during an “operation.”<sup>3</sup>
- On January 9, 2026, in Santa Ana, a protester was permanently blinded in their left eye after a DHS officer fired a nonlethal round from close range during a confrontation outside the federal building in Santa Ana.<sup>4</sup>
- On January 14, Supervisor Hilda Solis reported that two Latino Los Angeles County employees from the Department of Parks and Recreation were physically assaulted and racially profiled by federal immigration agents while on duty at Whittier Narrows Recreation Area in South El Monte.<sup>5</sup>
- On January 15, federal agents swept Downtown Los Angeles’s Fashion District, rattling workers and shoppers while forcing some businesses to close, deepening fears from last summer’s raids.<sup>6</sup>

**Exhibit 1.1**  
Curfew Area in Downtown Los Angeles



<sup>1</sup> Ding, J. (2025, October 21). Immigration agents shot a suspect after he rammed their vehicle during LA stop, DHS says. *Associated Press*. <https://apnews.com/article/california-immigration-shooting>

<sup>2</sup> Karlamangla, S. (2025, November 3). Man shot by ICE was not trying to run over agent, lawyers say. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/11/03/us/ontario-ice-agent-shooting.html>

<sup>3</sup> Mejia, B., & Uranga, R. (2025, November 10). Fullerton police stop man pointing gun at female driver, only to learn he is ICE agent. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2025-11-10/ice-agent-points-gun-at-female-fullerton-police-stop-not-knowing-the-identity-of-the-armed-male>

<sup>4</sup> Emery, S. (2026, January 13). Protester blinded after getting shot by Homeland Security officer in Santa Ana, he says. *Orange County Register*. <https://www.ocregister.com/2026/01/13/protester-blinded-after-getting-shot-by-homeland-security-officer-in-santa-ana-he-says/>

<sup>5</sup> Scauzillo, S. (2026, January 14). Federal immigration agents stop, question two LA County employees at Whittier Narrows Park. *Los Angeles Daily News*. <https://www.dailynews.com/2026/01/14/federal-immigration-agents-stop-question-two-la-county-employees-at-whittier-narrows-park/>

<sup>6</sup> Hussain, S., & Vives, R. (2026, January 17). Immigration sweep rattles L.A.'s fashion district, deepening fears, slumping sales. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2026-01-17/immigration-sweep-rattles-l-a-s-fashion-district-deepening-fears-slumping-sales>

And the impacts continue to be felt as well, not just in Los Angeles County but across the state. An ongoing analysis of Current Population Survey data by the UC Merced Community and Labor Center finds that federal immigration enforcement has disrupted California’s economy. The latest (September) data suggest that federal immigration enforcement has caused private sector employment to drop by 1.5 percent for the state’s citizens and by 9.7 percent for noncitizens.<sup>7</sup>

## About This Report

In June 2025, the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity (DEO) tasked the Institute for Applied Economics (IAE) at the Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation (LAEDC) to analyze the economic impacts of federal immigration enforcement efforts in Los Angeles County and report back to it on a monthly basis. The intent behind the analysis was to quantify and understand the cascading economic effects across small businesses, key industries, informal work sectors, and households—especially those in immigrant and mixed-status communities—resulting from these enforcement efforts.

Specifically, LAEDC was tasked with the following to better understand the impacts of federal immigration enforcement in Los Angeles County:

- Assess the economic impact on small businesses due to loss of workforce, including identifying the most impacted areas and most impacted types of businesses in Los Angeles County;
- Assess the economic impact of property damage and imposed curfews; and
- Identify available supportive services for impacted small business and ways to make them available in a manner that is responsive to their language and immigration needs.<sup>8</sup>

This report compiles IAE’s analyses and monthly updates to the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity undertaken since the summer of 2025 and it provides a summary of our findings. The analyses contained herein used the most current data available at the time.

The report is laid out as follows:

Section 2 describes the federal immigration enforcement activities witnessed in Los Angeles County, providing context for the economic and other impacts discussed throughout this report. This includes arrest and detention patterns, notable legal responses by the courts and California legislature, and ancillary immigration policy changes and their implications for the local economy.

Section 3 discusses the business and community impacts for federal immigration enforcement in Los Angeles County. This section draws on the responses to a business impact survey developed by LAEDC as well as on interviews and town hall discussions conducted by the Los Angeles Economic Equity Accelerator & Fellowship (LEEAF).

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<sup>7</sup> Orozco Flores, E., Cossyleon, J. E., & Monterrey, K. L. (2025, December). *The effects of recent federal immigration enforcement on private sector employment in California and Washington, D.C.* UC Merced Community and Labor Center. [https://clc.ucmerced.edu/sites/g/files/ufvvh626/f/page/documents/effects\\_of\\_federal\\_immigration\\_enforcement\\_dec.pdf](https://clc.ucmerced.edu/sites/g/files/ufvvh626/f/page/documents/effects_of_federal_immigration_enforcement_dec.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> To complete this task, LAEDC prepared in collaboration with the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity an Immigration Resource Guide for small businesses and workers. See <https://opportunity.lacounty.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/Los-Angeles-Immigration-Resource-Directory-for-Small-Businesses.pdf>

Section 4 describes the communities and businesses across Los Angeles County that are the most vulnerable with respect to aggressive federal immigration enforcement. This assessment is based on demographic characteristics of the resident populations and on the workforces in various industries and businesses developed by the USC Equity Research Institute (ERI).

Section 5 addresses the economic contributions of undocumented workers in Los Angeles County. This section discusses presents demographic and economic profiles of undocumented immigrants in the County based on USC ERI data and quantifies what is at stake for the region from workforce disruptions caused by federal immigration enforcement activities.

Finally, Section 6 quantifies the economic impacts resulting from the June 2025 curfew in Downtown Los Angeles. The section uses IMPLAN, a widely used input-output model, to explore three potential scenarios of disruption and recovery for the downtown area.

## 2 Federal Immigration Enforcement Activities

The federal government began aggressively enforcing national immigration policies in Los Angeles County in June 2025. This section describes the enforcement activities witnessed in the County, providing context for the economic and other impacts discussed throughout this report. This section also describes some of the notable legal responses by the courts and by the state government to the changing environment. Additionally, this section addresses some of the federal government’s ancillary immigration policy changes and their implications for the local economy.

### Arrest and Detention Patterns

#### ***Federal Deportation Goals***

President Trump has claimed that his administration will “... complete the largest deportation operation in American history.” In January, the Trump administration stated its goal was for ICE to make at least 1,200 arrests per day nationwide.<sup>9</sup> However, this goal was reported in May to be a minimum of 3,000 arrests per day.<sup>10</sup>

One way the administration has attempted to meet its quotas is by expanding the number and location of non-citizens eligible for detention and removal. They have done this by removing temporary protected status and humanitarian parole designations for over 1 million people<sup>11</sup>, allowing arrests at “sensitive locations” such as schools or hospitals<sup>12</sup>, loosening standards to issue Notices to Appear for deportation<sup>13</sup>, and requiring no-bond detention of certain non-citizens for even minor convictions such as shoplifting<sup>14</sup>. The administration has also increased the resources available for immigration enforcement by pushing for the establishment of a homeland security task force in each state<sup>15</sup>, pressing federal agents from other agencies<sup>16</sup> and the National Guard<sup>17</sup> into immigration enforcement actions, and securing approximately \$165 billion in new funding for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)<sup>18</sup>.

The administration has further sought to increase the number of deportations of non-citizens from the country. One way they have accomplished this is by expanding the use of expedited removal for apprehended undocumented immigrants who were in the country for under 2 years, where the previous precedent was under 14 days and within 100 miles from the border.<sup>19</sup> Undocumented immigrants must also be able to

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/2025/01/26/ice-arrests-raids-trump-quota/>. The administration has since denied such a quota exists in court: [https://www.politico.com/news/2025/08/03/white-house-doj-immigration-quota-mismatch-00490406?utm\\_campaign=RSS\\_Syndication&utm\\_medium=RSS&utm\\_source=RSS\\_Feed](https://www.politico.com/news/2025/08/03/white-house-doj-immigration-quota-mismatch-00490406?utm_campaign=RSS_Syndication&utm_medium=RSS&utm_source=RSS_Feed)

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.axios.com/2025/05/28/immigration-ice-deportations-stephen-miller>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/report/mass-deportation-trump-democracy/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2025/01/21/statement-dhs-spokesperson-directives-expanding-law-enforcement-and-ending-abuse>

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/policy-alerts/NTA\\_Policy\\_FINAL\\_2.28.25\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/policy-alerts/NTA_Policy_FINAL_2.28.25_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-bill/5>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/29/2025-02006/protecting-the-american-people-against-invasion>

<sup>16</sup> <https://immpolicytracking.org/policies/dhs-grants-broader-immigration-arrest-powers-to-justice-dept-federal-agents/#/tab-policy-documents>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.newsweek.com/map-shows-states-national-guard-deployed-support-ice-2112503>

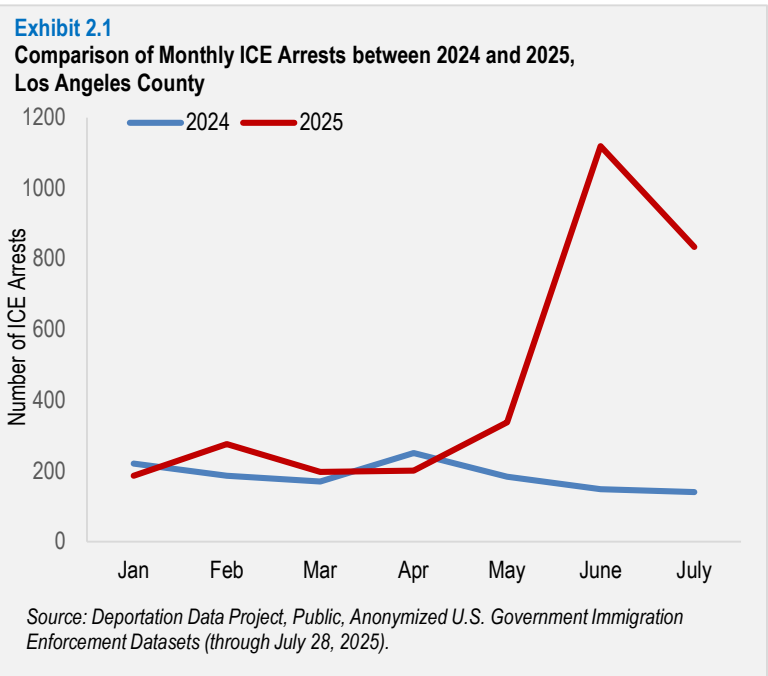
<sup>18</sup> <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2025/07/04/secretary-noem-commends-president-trump-and-one-big-beautiful-bill-signing-law>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/24/2025-01720/designating-aliens-for-expedited-removal>

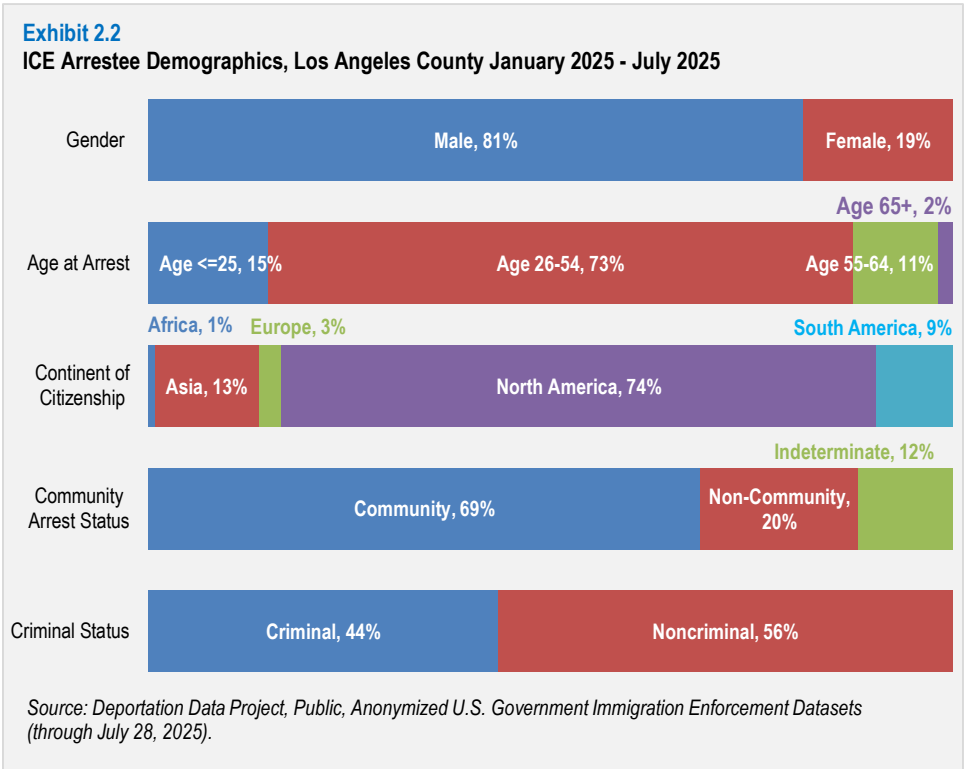
affirmatively prove they were present in the country for at least 2 years, or else they may be subject to expedited removal. The Department of Justice has also terminated federally funded programs that provide legal services to non-citizens.<sup>20</sup>

**Number of ICE Arrests and Detentions**

Since the beginning of President Trump’s second term in office, there has been a significant increase in immigration enforcement in Los Angeles County. We estimated the number and nature of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) arrests made in Los Angeles County and subsequent detentions from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2024 to July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2025 using Deportation Data Project data.<sup>21</sup>



The data show there were 3,151 arrests by ICE in Los Angeles County in 2025 through July, representing a 143 percent year-over-year increase. **Exhibit 2.1** indicates that there was a large surge in arrests starting in June. This corresponds with the administration’s stated intention in May to increase the minimum daily quota of ICE arrests 3,000 nationwide. While arrests appeared to slow in July, they were well above the previous year’s level. The slowdown in July may have been in part caused by a July 11<sup>th</sup> court ruling, which stated that ICE cannot coordinate arrests in the greater Los Angeles area using factors they had been



<sup>20</sup> <https://immpolicytracking.org/policies/reported-doj-orders-federally-funded-legal-service-providers-to-stop-work-on-the-legal-orientation-program-immigration-court-helpdesk-and-counsel-for-children-initiative/#/tab-policy-documents>

<sup>21</sup> See <https://deportationdata.org/>. While this dataset does not directly indicate the county of arrest, we were imputed this value for 97 percent of observations using the apprehension landmark variable.

found to use such as race, spoken language, accent, and place of work.

That said, the July slowdown was short-lived. An August 27 update from DHS indicates that ICE made over 5,000 arrests in the Los Angeles area since June.<sup>22</sup>

With respect to who was impacted, **Exhibit 2.2** shows the demographics of those arrested by ICE starting in 2025. This chart displays that arrestees were predominately male, of prime working age (age 26-54), had original citizenship in North America, and did not have a criminal history upon arrest. The “Community Arrest Status” row in this chart indicates the percentage of arrests that occurred in the “community,” such as at work or at home.

**Exhibit 2.3** indicates that the most common country of citizenship among arrestees by far was Mexico. This was followed by other countries from North America, Asia, and South America.

**Exhibit 2.4** below displays how many of those arrested by ICE in Los Angeles County after September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2023 were in detention. The chart shows that detentions rose around the surge in ICE arrests in June. This exhibit also conveys a significant increase in detention for those arrested without a criminal history (the blue line) in June, to the point where these arrestees outnumber those arrested with a criminal history (the green line).

The most recent arrest and detention reports concern seven counties in the greater Los Angeles region<sup>23</sup>, where DHS claimed that ICE and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) made a total of 4,163 arrests between June 6<sup>th</sup> and August 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>24</sup> Earlier reports from DHS claimed that ICE and CBP made 2,792 between June 6<sup>th</sup> and July 8<sup>th</sup> in the greater Los Angeles region.<sup>25</sup> This implies that between July 8<sup>th</sup> and August 7<sup>th</sup>, ICE and CBP made 1,371 arrests. While these numbers

**Exhibit 2.3**

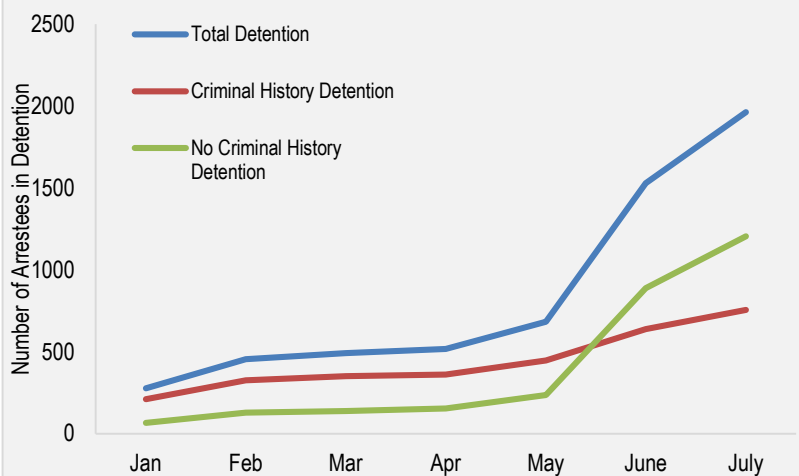
**Top 10 Countries of Citizenship for ICE Arrests, Los Angeles County January 2025 - July 2025**

Country	# of Arrests	% of Total Arrests
Mexico	1,311	42%
Guatemala	459	15%
El Salvador	223	7%
Nicaragua	186	6%
China	180	6%
Colombia	145	5%
Honduras	127	4%
Iran	81	3%
Peru	56	2%
Venezuela	53	2%

Source: Deportation Data Project, Public, Anonymized U.S. Government Immigration Enforcement Datasets (through July 28, 2025).

**Exhibit 2.4**

**Number in Detention of Those Arrested by ICE in Los Angeles County After September 2023, January 2025 - July 2025**



Source: Deportation Data Project, Public, Anonymized U.S. Government Immigration Enforcement Datasets (through July 28, 2025).

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2025/08/27/despite-riots-and-assaults-ice-and-border-patrol-arrest-worst-worst-criminal>

<sup>23</sup> This refers to Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties.

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2025-08-07/federal-arrests-of-undocumented-immigrants-in-l-a-drop-in-july-dhs-says>

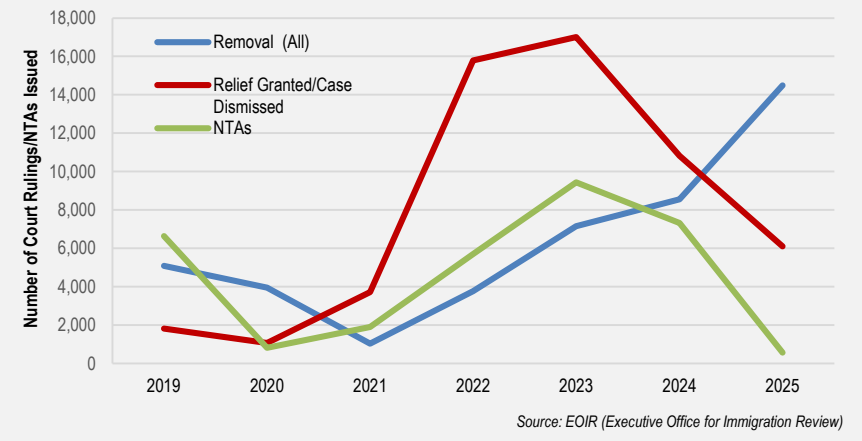
<sup>25</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2025-07-08/federal-arrests-in-la-are-accelerating-homeland-security>

suggest a slowdown in arrests for July relative to June, the number of inmates in ICE detention centers around the Los Angeles area remained elevated. For example, the Adelanto ICE Processing Center saw an increase in average daily population from about 315 on April 28<sup>th</sup> to about 1,664 on July 21<sup>st</sup>.<sup>26,27</sup>

**Surge in Immigration Court Removal Orders**

In addition to the increased arrests and detentions, there was also an increase in rulings from immigration court judges that ordered the speedy removal of defendants from the country. **Exhibit 2.5** shows this surge in “removal orders” became particularly noticeable since the beginning of President Trump's second term in office. In the first eight months of 2025, removal orders were up 70 percent for Los Angeles County residents compared to the first eight months of 2024.

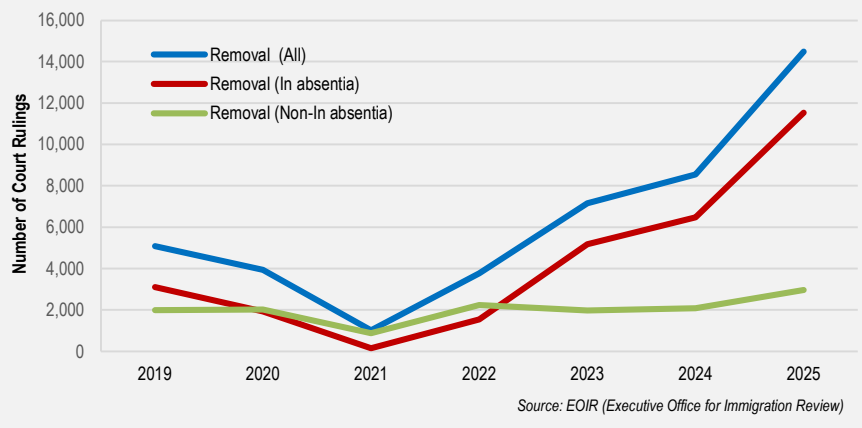
**Exhibit 2.5**  
**Removal Case Outcomes and NTAs for Immigration Court**  
 January-August of Each Year, 2019-2025, Los Angeles County Residents



This jump may be partially attributed to specific actions taken by the Trump administration, such as the reinstatement of the “Return to Mexico” program<sup>28</sup>, which forces non-Mexican asylum seekers crossing the Mexican border to remain in Mexico while their case is decided; removing guidance to use “administrative closure”<sup>29</sup>, which paused ongoing immigration court proceedings to allow judges to focus on higher priority cases; and increasing the scope and speed at which a ruling must be made for cases on the “Dedicated Docket”<sup>30</sup> in immigration court, among several others. Exhibit 2.5 also indicates a decline in relief-granted orders, where an immigration court judge rules that a defendant can remain in the United States, as well as removal case dismissals.

**Exhibit 2.6** shows that most of the increase in removal orders appears to be driven by in absentia cases, where the defendant does not appear in court to defend

**Exhibit 2.6**  
**Removal Orders by In Absentia Status**  
 January-August of Each Year, 2019-2025, Los Angeles County Residents



<sup>26</sup> [https://detentionreports.com/facility/ADELANTO\\_ICE\\_PROCESSING\\_CENTER.html](https://detentionreports.com/facility/ADELANTO_ICE_PROCESSING_CENTER.html)

<sup>27</sup> <https://journalistsresource.org/home/for-journalists-who-cover-immigration-better-ice-detention-data-now-available/>

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/trump-administration-reinstating-remain-mexico-program-2025-01-21>

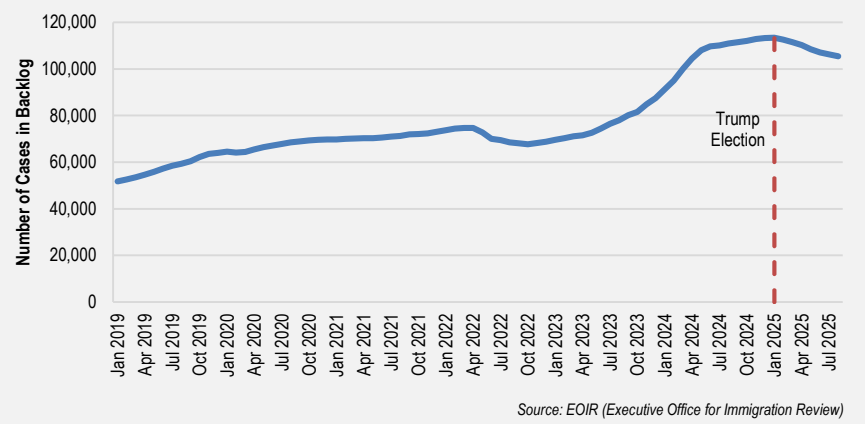
<sup>29</sup> [https://iptp-production.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/2025.03.21\\_EOIR\\_25-27\\_Cancellation\\_of\\_DM\\_23-01\\_and\\_Reinstatement\\_of\\_PM\\_19-13.pdf](https://iptp-production.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/2025.03.21_EOIR_25-27_Cancellation_of_DM_23-01_and_Reinstatement_of_PM_19-13.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/media/1411511/>

themselves. One reason defendants may not in court is due to fears of immigration enforcement, as ICE officers have been reported conducting courtroom arrests this year.<sup>31</sup>

While issuing a Notice to Appear (NTA) is the first step in starting a removal case in immigration court, Exhibit 2.5 shows that NTA issuance has not increased significantly during President Trump's second term. Instead, it appears that the surge in removal

**Exhibit 2.7**  
**Monthly Immigration Court Case Backlog**  
 2019-2025, Los Angeles County Residents



orders has not come from recently issued NTAs, but from rulings on the backlog of immigration court cases.<sup>32</sup> This relationship is illustrated in **Exhibit 2.7**, which shows an increase in the number of backlog cases in immigration court up until January 2025, after which the number of backlog cases begins to decline.

It should be noted that while Exhibits 2.5 through 2.7 concern only Los Angeles County residents, similar patterns have been observed throughout the United States.<sup>33</sup>

## Early Fallout

The federal government’s immigration enforcement actions generated wide-ranging responses across Los Angeles County. These included undocumented and naturalized workers not showing up to work, business owners reducing operating hours, consumers limiting their shopping, and concerned citizens engaging in protests. The direct economic impacts resulting from these responses are discussed in detail elsewhere in this report. However, federal actions and local responses also generated indirect and unanticipated impacts that affect the quality of life in the County.

### Public Safety

The Los Angeles Times reported that emergency dispatch data showed a major decrease in Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) calls for service during June 2025, during the weeks when sweeps by ICE and other federal agencies were met by large street protests in downtown Los Angeles. Specifically, in the two weeks after June 6, when the immigration raids kicked off, LAPD calls for service fell 28 percent compared with the same period last year. That amounted to an average of roughly 1,200 fewer calls per day.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/feb/18/trump-immigration-dragnet>

<sup>32</sup> A backlog court case in any month is one that was received by the court that month or before but was not ruled on in that month.

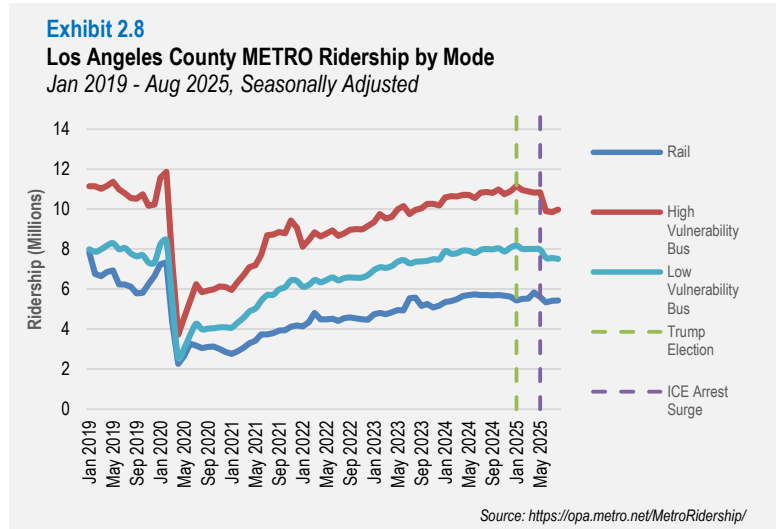
<sup>33</sup> <https://tracreports.org/immigration/tools/>

<sup>34</sup> Jany, L., & Wang, H. (2025, September 20). As ICE raids surged this summer, emergency calls to LAPD plummeted. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2025-09-20/ice-raids-911-calls>

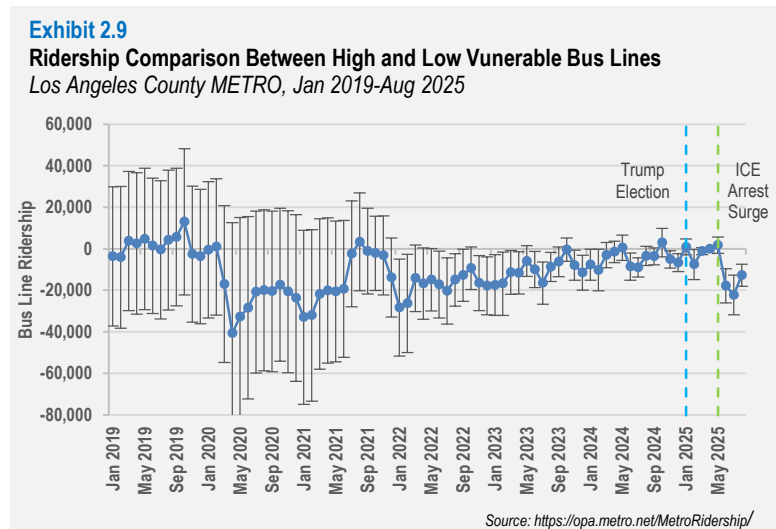
The concern for residents, workers and businesses is that public safety could be compromised, particularly in high immigrant areas in the County. The reluctance to report crimes or request police assistance could engender more crime in a community, adversely impacting its quality of life and its economic environment.

**Decline in LA METRO Bus Ridership**

Aggressive federal immigration enforcement has affected public transit in Los Angeles County. Beginning in May 2025, bus ridership for the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (METRO) faced a sharp decline. As **Exhibit 2.8** details, seasonally adjusted METRO bus ridership for a constant sample of 91 bus lines began to cool in January and incurred a steep decline in ridership in June.<sup>35</sup> The seasonally adjusted ridership for 4 METRO rail lines was mostly steady throughout 2025. The data marked as “High Vulnerability Bus” are bus lines whose operating area puts them in the top 50 percent of LAEDC’s Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) values (see Section 4) while the data marked “Low Vulnerability Bus” are in the bottom 50 percent of the IEVI values.<sup>36</sup> Higher values of this index indicate a greater propensity to be targeted by immigration enforcement activities.



To quantify the difference between high and low vulnerability bus ridership, we estimated a regression that compares monthly bus line ridership between these two groups in **Exhibit 2.9**. Each dot in Exhibit 2.9 measures the difference in average ridership between bus lines with high and low immigration enforcement vulnerability, relative to this difference at baseline. We have chosen April 2025 as our baseline, as it is right before the surge in immigration enforcement. Averaging the estimates at June, July, and August 2025, we found that the difference in average ridership between high and low vulnerability bus lines was about 17,000 monthly riders below the difference in April. This is the lowest difference from baseline since early 2023 and reverses the upward trend going into 2025. Consistent with Exhibit 2.8 the



<sup>35</sup> Note that this exhibit does not include total METRO bus ridership. Instead, it displays data from a sample of 91 bus lines and 4 rail lines to facilitate comparison between the same lines over time.

<sup>36</sup> Full details on the construction of each bus line’s vulnerability index, along with details on the regression presented in Exhibit 2.9, is given in Appendix A.

summer decline appears to be driven by a sharp, relative drop for high-vulnerability lines in June, followed by little recovery in July and August.

Several factors may have been responsible for the initial drop in ridership from May to June. Ridership may have declined more for buses that service high-vulnerability areas if patrons attempted to avoid immigration enforcement, as confirmed reports circulated in June that ICE was targeting public transit stops, along with a swelling of ICE arrests in June.<sup>37</sup> Los Angeles also saw the deployment of the National Guard, large-scale immigration-focused protests, and a temporary curfew in June. These activities could have impacted bus lines servicing high-vulnerability areas more than low-vulnerability areas, causing the large drop in ridership. However, bus ridership remained depressed in July and August, after most of these events concluded, while ICE arrests remained elevated.



**Year-Over-Year Decline in Passengers on International Flights at LAX**

The number of international visitors to Los Angeles appears to be affected by the actual and perceived treatment of immigrants and other foreign residents. This has broader implications for the health of the Los Angeles County economy, as visitor spending supports hotels, restaurants, and arts and entertainment establishments.

The number of passengers on international flights at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) in 2025 was mostly been below 2024 levels. **Exhibit 2.10** shows that for international flights departing and arriving at LAX, the year-over-year (YOY) change in passenger counts was mostly negative in 2025, except for January and April. This was the first time since March 2021 that the YOY change in passenger counts for international arrival and departure flights has been negative.

Multiple reasons may have contributed to this YOY decline. For example, the YOY passenger change for international flights has been trending downwards since the middle of 2022, as the recovery in passenger volume from the COVID-19 pandemic began to dampen. Additionally, the Los Angeles County wildfires in January 2025 could have scared off visitors. That said, the policies of the Trump administration likely have also impacted international travel to the Los Angeles area, including the heightening of immigration enforcement throughout the greater Los Angeles area starting in May and the administration’s deployment of the National Guard to Los Angeles in June.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2025-06-20/new-immigration-crackdown-sparks-fear-among-public-transit-riders-ridership-has-dropped-up-to-15>

## Legal Developments

Federal enforcement actions in Los Angeles County and elsewhere also provoked responses from the courts as well as from state and local governments. Some of the more notable responses are described below.

### ***Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) Ruling***

On September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2025, SCOTUS placed a stay on a July 11<sup>th</sup>, 2025 ruling by District Judge Maame Ewusi-Mensah Frimpong, allowing the return of “roving patrols” by ICE.<sup>38</sup> The original ruling by Judge Frimpong placed a temporary restraining order (TRO) on ICE from coordinating arrests in the greater Los Angeles<sup>39</sup> area using factors they had been found to use, such as race, spoken language, accent, and place of work, as these factors did not demonstrate enough “reasonable suspicion” for ICE to detain a suspect.<sup>40</sup> After SCOTUS’s decision was made public, the DHS x.com account posted, “DHS law enforcement will continue to FLOOD THE ZONE in Los Angeles.”<sup>41</sup>

The SCOTUS ruling and DHS post raised fears of a surge in immigration enforcement throughout the Los Angeles area. Some outdoor celebrations that might have been targeted by ICE subsequently were canceled, such as the Dia de Los Muertos Parade and Arte y Ofrendas Festival in Long Beach.<sup>42</sup> However, other events, such as East Los Angeles’s Mexican Independence Day Parade and South Los Angeles’s Anti-ICE Block Party, continued despite heightened concerns.<sup>43,44</sup>

### ***Major California Legislation***

On September 20, Governor Gavin Newsom signed into law a package of bills designed to protect school children and hospital patients from federal immigration enforcement activities, as well as to limit the tactics employed by the Trump administration that cause fear in communities. These bills included:

- Assembly Bill (AB) 49, the California Safe Haven Schools Act, which prohibits immigration enforcement officers from entering school campuses without proper identification and a valid judicial warrant or court order and also prohibits schools from disclosing personal information about students, their families, teachers, or school staff to immigration authorities;<sup>45</sup>
- Senate Bill (SB) 81, which prohibits health care providers from disclosing information such as patients’ current and prior immigration status and place of birth for immigration enforcement, and which prohibits health care providers from allowing any person access to nonpublic areas of the

<sup>38</sup> [https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/24pdf/25a169\\_5h25.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/24pdf/25a169_5h25.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> This includes Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo counties.

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/07/11/federal-judge-blocks-roving-immigration-arrests-amid-los-angeles-crackdown-00449914>

<sup>41</sup> <https://x.com/DHSGov/status/1965096915319902465>

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2025-09-14/long-beach-cancels-dia-de-los-muertos-parade-fears-immigration-raids>

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.cbsnews.com/losangeles/video/east-las-mexican-independence-day-parade-still-draws-crowds-despite-fear-of-ice-operations/>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.foxla.com/video/1707373>

<sup>45</sup> [https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260AB49](https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260AB49)

provider's facilities for immigration enforcement purposes without a judicial warrant or court order;<sup>46</sup>

- SB 98, which requires elementary, secondary, and postsecondary schools to notify families, students, faculty and staff when immigration enforcement enters or is expected to enter a campus;<sup>47</sup>
- SB 627, the “No Secret Police Act,” which prohibits law enforcement officers including immigration enforcement officers from wearing masks in the performance of their duties except when necessary;<sup>48</sup> and
- SB 805, the “No Vigilantes Act,” which requires a law enforcement officer operating in California that is not uniformed to visibly display identification that includes their agency and either a name or badge number to the public when performing their enforcement duties.<sup>49</sup>

Additionally, on October 8 Gov. Newsom signed into law SB 635, the Street Vendor Business Protection Act. The Act is intended to protect the data of street vendors from immigration enforcement agencies. It does so by prohibiting the disclosure of sensitive information such as citizenship and immigration status.<sup>50</sup>

## Ancillary Policy Changes

The Trump administration's aggressive posture towards immigrants and immigration impacts Los Angeles County businesses beyond detaining undocumented workers and instilling fear in consumers. It also includes making it more costly for businesses that hire foreign workers for specialty occupations, such as through the H-1B process.

### ***Los Angeles County's Exposure to the New H-1B Visa Fee***

Los Angeles County hosts many H-1B visa holders, regularly adding thousands of new H-1B workers every year. On September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2025, President Trump signed a proclamation instituting a \$100,000 fee for employers applying for an H-1B visa on behalf of their potential employee<sup>51</sup>, which is much larger than the previous fee of between \$2,000 and \$5,000.<sup>52</sup> Employers applying for a change in H-1B status for their employee who already holds an H-1B visa are exempt from the fee.<sup>53</sup> However, it is still unclear which new H-1B applicants must pay the \$100,000 fee. The new fee could jeopardize Los Angeles County's robust growth of H-1B visa workers, as employers may become unwilling to pay the fee and forgo undertaking the H-1B path to hire.

We used U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS) data (USCIS data) and Freedom of Information Act data sourced from USCIS by Bloomberg (Bloomberg data) to estimate the number of new H-1B visas in Los Angeles County per year, along with industry, occupation, salary, and employer concentrations of H-1B workers. While the USCIS data gives comprehensive data on the number of new H-1B visas issued, new H-1B visa issuance is geocoded using the employer's address, which may not necessarily be the worksite where the visa holder is located. On the other hand, while the Bloomberg data has geocoding by visa holder

<sup>46</sup> [https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260SB81](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260SB81)

<sup>47</sup> [https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260SB98](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260SB98)

<sup>48</sup> [https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260SB627](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260SB627)

<sup>49</sup> [https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260SB805](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260SB805)

<sup>50</sup> [https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=202520260SB635](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202520260SB635)

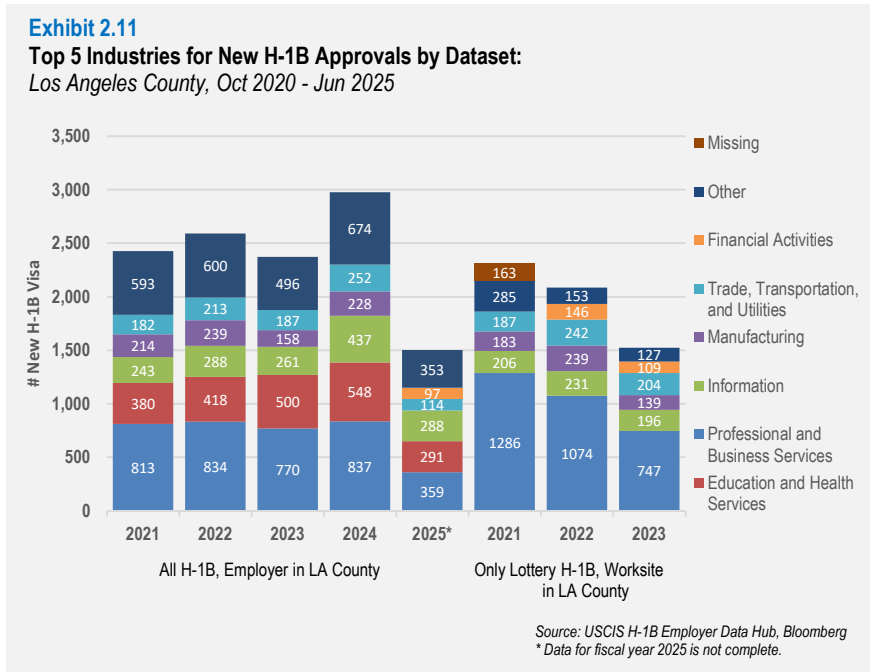
<sup>51</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/09/restriction-on-entry-of-certain-nonimmigrant-workers/>

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/blog/trump-100000-fee-h1b-visa>.

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.uscis.gov/newsroom/alerts/h-1b-faq>

worksite, it only contains information on H-1B lottery registrants. It does not include information on H-1B visa holders exempt from the lottery.<sup>54</sup> Together, these datasets can characterize new H-1B visa holders associated with Los Angeles County.

**Exhibit 2.11** shows the number of new H-1B visas issued to employers associated with Los Angeles County by industry. Using the USCIS data, we estimated that employers with a listed address in Los Angeles County incurred between 2,300 and 2,900 new H-1B approvals over fiscal years<sup>55</sup> 2021 to 2024. The Bloomberg data shows that between 1,600 and 2,100 new H-1B lottery winners who got their visa approved worked in Los Angeles County over fiscal years 2021 and 2023. The exhibit also conveys that the industrial composition of new H-1B visas is similar between the two datasets. However, the Education and Health Services industry only appears as a top industry in the USCIS dataset because many employees in this industry are exempt from the H-1B lottery.



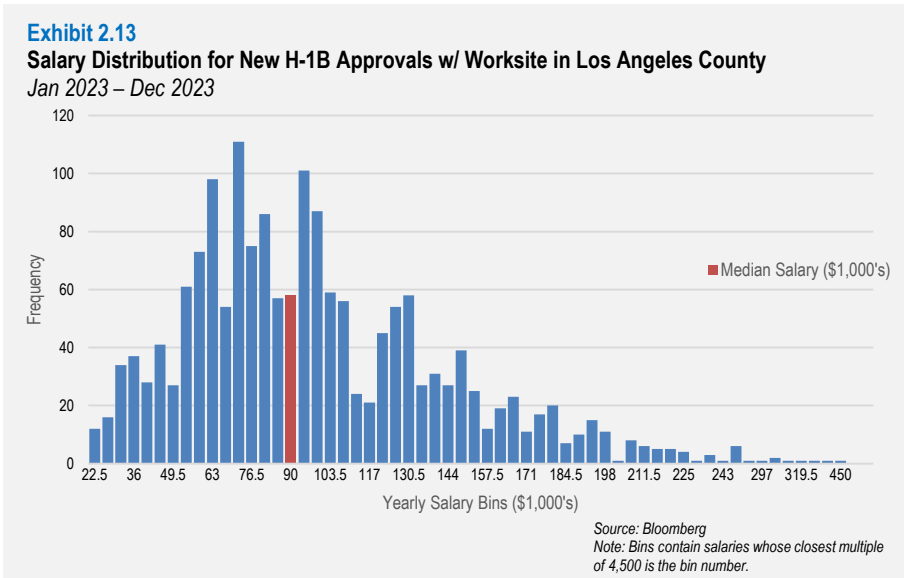
We also estimated the top 10 occupations and employers using the Bloomberg data for new H-1B lottery winners with worksites in Los Angeles County in **Exhibit 2.12**. In 2023, we estimated the most popular occupations to be in business analytics and accounting, with 36 percent of H-1B workers belonging to the top two occupations. However, there is no similar concentration among employers, as the top 10 employers employ only 11 percent of new H-1Bs. These top employers are mostly tech businesses and a few consulting and manufacturing businesses.

Occupation	Occupation % of New H-1B	Employer	Employer % of New H-1B
Occupations in Systems Analysis and Programming	27.58%	Amazon.com Services LLC	2.42%
Accountants, Auditors, and Related Occupations	9.03%	Snap, Inc.	1.52%
Other Computer-Related Occupations	4.67%	Google LLC	1.15%
Other Occupations in Administrative Specializations	4.48%	V-Soft Solutions Inc	1.09%
Architectural Occupations	4.00%	Riot Games, Inc.	1.03%
Budget and Management Systems Analysis Occupations	3.33%	Niagara Bottling, LLC	0.91%
Occupations in Economics	3.33%	Deloitte & Touche LLP	0.85%
Occupations in Mathematics	3.27%	TikTok Inc.	0.85%
Commercial Artists: Designers and Illustrators, Graphic Arts	3.15%	KPMG LLP	0.79%
Other Occupations in Architecture, Engineering, And Surveying	2.67%	Meta Platforms, Inc.	0.79%

Source: Bloomberg

<sup>54</sup> Employees working for employers such as schools or non-profits are usually exempt from the H-1B lottery.  
<sup>55</sup> A fiscal year is defined using USCIS’s fiscal year definition, which starts in October of the previous year.

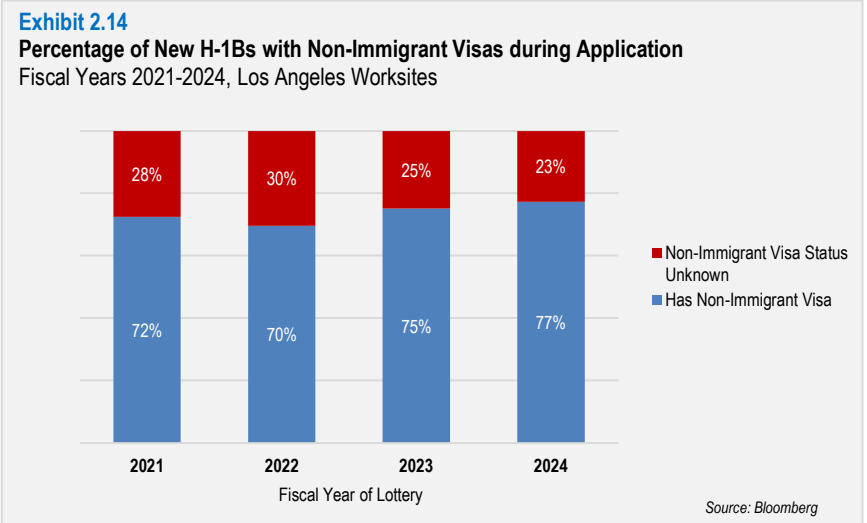
Finally, **Exhibit 2.13** uses the Bloomberg dataset to show the salary distribution for new H-1B lottery winners who have a worksite in Los Angeles County in 2023. Note that smaller salary amounts in the distribution may reflect work that is not intended to last more than a few months. Our estimates suggest that many H-1B worker salaries are concentrated around the median salary of \$90,740. However, the distribution’s large standard deviation of \$46,722 is owed to outlier salaries in the distribution’s right tail. While workers in Los Angeles County had an average salary of \$76,004<sup>56</sup> in 2023, new H-1B holders had a higher average salary of \$98,907.



**\$100,000 H-1B Visa Fee Update**

At the time of President Trump’s September 19<sup>th</sup> proclamation instituting a \$100,000 H-1B fee, it was unclear whether H-1B visa applications from individuals currently in the United States on a non-immigrant visa, other than an H-1B, would be subject to the new fee. On October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2025, USCIS clarified that employers sponsoring a potential employee who is switching from another non-immigrant visa, such as students on an F-1 visa, to an H-1B visa will not be charged the new \$100,000 fee when applying.<sup>57</sup> However, employers sponsoring applicants without non-immigrant visas may still be required to pay the \$100,000 fee.

We used Freedom of Information Act data sourced from USCIS by Bloomberg to estimate the number of new H-1B visa holders who already held a non-immigrant visa when applying for their H-1B visa. This is displayed in **Exhibit 2.14**. Most applicants granted an H-1B visa with a worksite in Los Angeles County already had a nonimmigrant visa when applying during fiscal years 2021-2024. However, Exhibit 2.14 also indicates that approximately 25 percent of H-1B



<sup>56</sup> <https://labormarketinfo.edd.ca.gov/data/oes-employment-and-wages.html#OES>

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/blog/uscis-implements-h1b-100000-fee/>

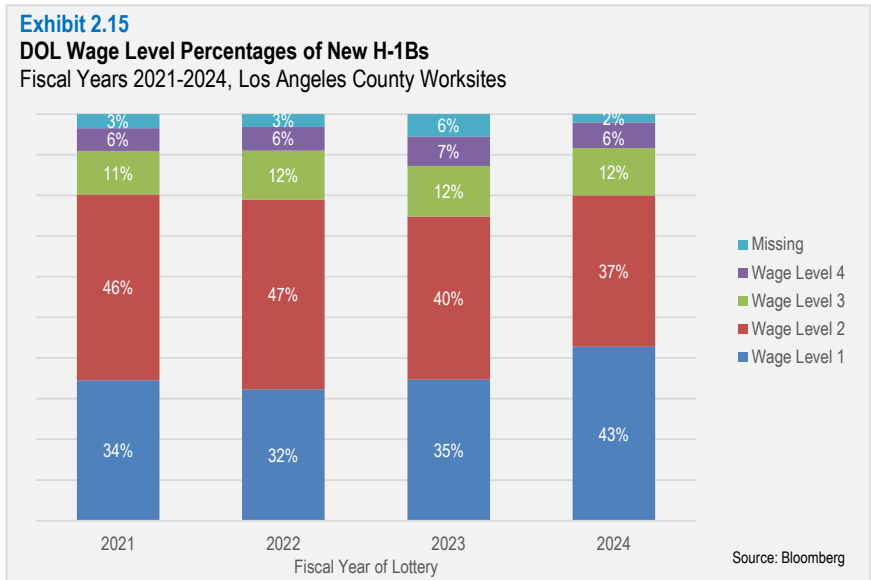
grantees had unknown non-immigrant status when applying. A significant number of potential H-1B holders may then not find an employer willing to pay \$100,000 to sponsor their future employment.<sup>58</sup>

**New Proposed Rule Regarding H-1B Lottery**

On September 24th, 2025, DHS announced a proposed rule to adjust the H-1B lottery process.<sup>59</sup> Currently, the H-1B lottery is held annually by randomly selecting a portion of entrants who have signed up for the lottery. The proposed rule by DHS would alter the lottery to assign weights to each entrant based on their Department of Labor (DOL) “wage level.”

The DOL assigns a wage level to each H-1B applicant based on several factors related to the position, including required experience and education, level of supervision, and occupational classification. There are four possible wage levels, with the lowest level (Level 1) typically assigned to entry-level positions and the highest level (Level 4) usually assigned to more senior positions. Under the proposed rule, applications with higher wage levels would have a significantly higher chance of being selected. For the nationwide distribution of H-1B visas, DHS has estimated a 48 percent decrease in H-1 B visas granted for wage level 1 applications, a 3 percent increase for wage level 2 applications, a 55 percent increase for wage level 3 applications, and a 107 percent increase for wage level 4 applications.<sup>60</sup>

Using the Bloomberg data, we estimated the wage level distribution for new H-1B visas with a worksite in Los Angeles County over fiscal years 2021-2024, as presented in **Exhibit 2.15**. As shown, around 32 percent to 43 percent of new H-1Bs are wage level 1. This suggests many of the potential H-1B grantees may be negatively impacted by the proposed regulation. Exhibit 2.15 also shows that few new H-1Bs are in wage levels 3 or 4, suggesting that the extra weight afforded them by the proposed rule may have a small impact on the resulting distribution of new H-1B wage levels.



<sup>58</sup> While this data includes many new H-1B visa holders, it does not include information on H-1B visa holders exempt from the lottery. As such, employees working for employers such as schools or nonprofits, which are typically exempt from the H-1B lottery, are not included in our dataset.

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/09/24/2025-18473/weighted-selection-process-for-registrants-and-petitioners-seeking-to-file-cap-subject-h-1b>

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2025-09-24/pdf/2025-18473.pdf>

### 3 Business and Community Impacts

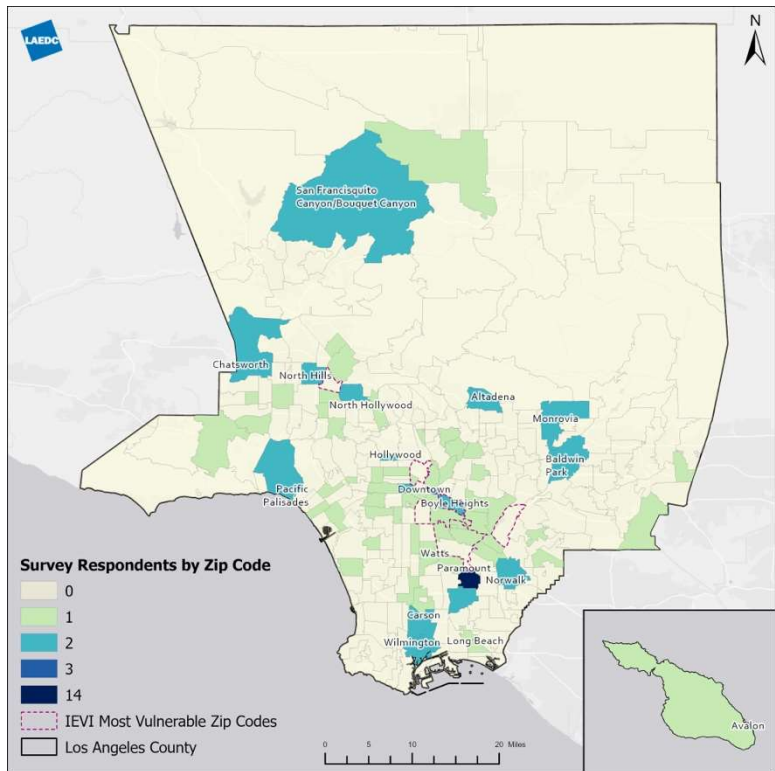
Community engagement was a major component of LAEDC’s research to understand how recent federal immigration enforcement activities have affected local businesses and workers in Los Angeles County. LAEDC developed and administered a business impact survey to ascertain how business operations and finances suffered and how these businesses adapted as a result. Additionally, LAEDC partnered with the Los Angeles Economic Equity Accelerator & Fellowship (LEEAF) to conduct interviews and town halls with businesses and community stakeholders to gather qualitative insights to help create a more complete picture of local needs and challenges.



#### Business Impact Survey

LAEDC conducted a business impact survey open to businesses in Los Angeles County to understand how recent federal immigration enforcement activities have directly affected local businesses and workers in Los Angeles County. This survey ran for approximately two months from mid-September 2025 to mid-November 2025 and was administered online. The survey was advertised by LAEDC, LEEAF, and the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity through their websites, email contacts, and social media networks. The survey instrument is presented in Appendix B.

**Exhibit 3.1**  
Business Impact Survey Respondents by Zip Code



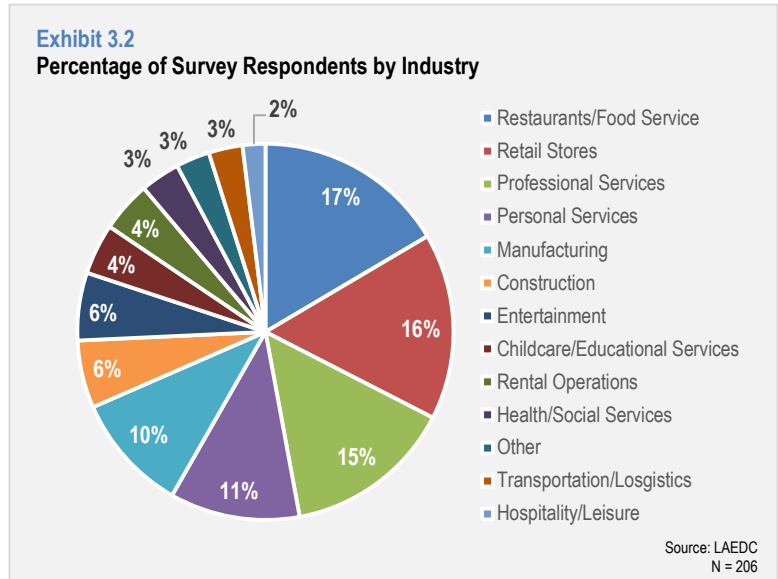
#### Summary Statistics

The survey attracted 311 individual respondents. While the survey stressed that participation was completely voluntary and confidential and that no identifying information would be shared or published, 217 of these individuals provided at least partial responses. This drop-off was to some extent expected given the sensitivity of the subject and the fact that the most directly impacted businesses—those owned by or

employing immigrants—could be reluctant to share any information under the looming threat of immigration raids.

Not all respondents provided the zip code location of their businesses. Those who did indicate that respondents were located across Los Angeles County, as shown in **Exhibit 3.1** above.

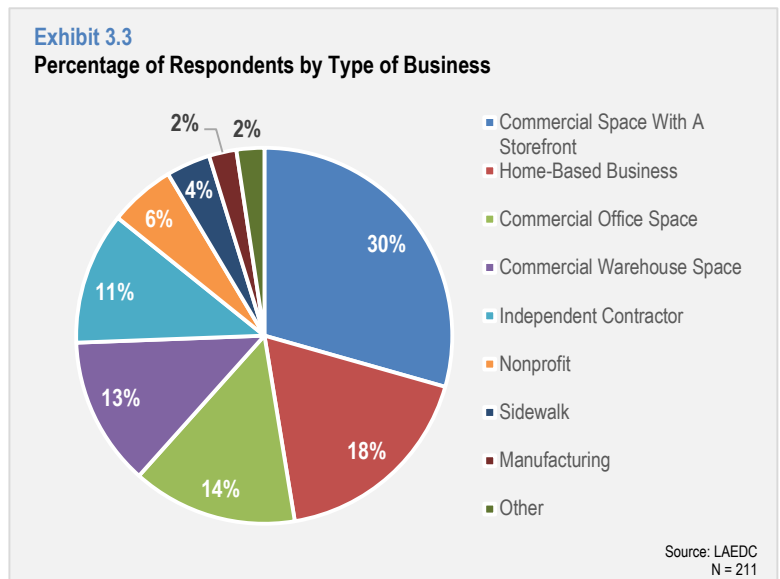
**Exhibit 3.2** shows that of the respondents who provided their industry, nearly 70 percent of them were in just five industries: Restaurants/Food Service (17 percent); Retail Stores (16 percent); Professional Services (15 percent); Personal Services (11 percent); and Manufacturing (10 percent).



With respect to the ages of the businesses responding (not exhibited), the respondents generally had well-established businesses. Approximately 37 percent of the 198 respondents to the question have been operating for more than 20 years. Another 21 percent have been in operation for 11 to 20 years, and 17 percent for 6 to 10 years. Only 6 percent reported being in business for less than one year.

**Exhibit 3.3** indicates that most of the businesses surveyed operated out of some type of commercial space. This includes businesses in commercial space with a storefront (30 percent), commercial office space (14 percent), or commercial warehouse space (13 percent). That said, the second largest category of respondents was home-based businesses (18 percent). Independent contractors (11 percent), nonprofits (6 percent), and sidewalk vendors (4 percent) were the next largest categories, followed by manufacturing (2 percent) and other (2 percent).

The respondents also indicated that they were primarily local serving (not exhibited). Approximately 40 percent of the 187 respondents answered that at least 75 percent of their customers are drawn from the local neighborhood or community. Another 21 percent reported that 51 percent to 75 percent of their customers come from the local neighborhood/community. About 16 percent answered that between 25 percent and 50 percent of their customers are local, while 23 percent answered that less than 25 percent of their customers are local.

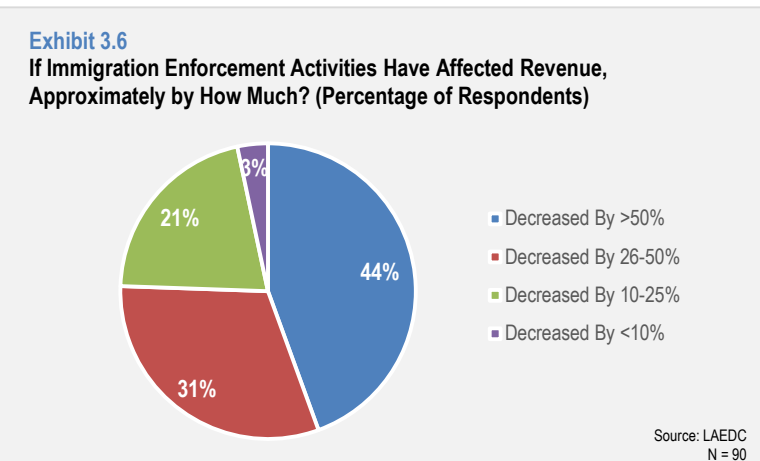
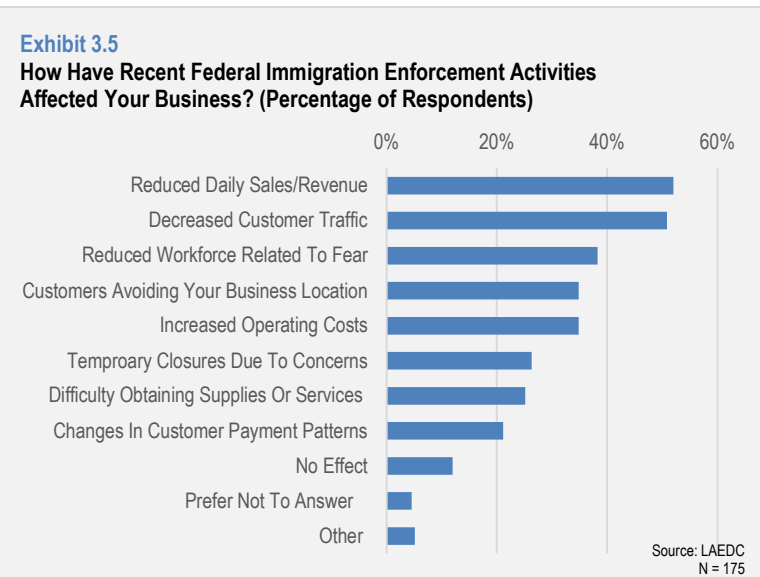
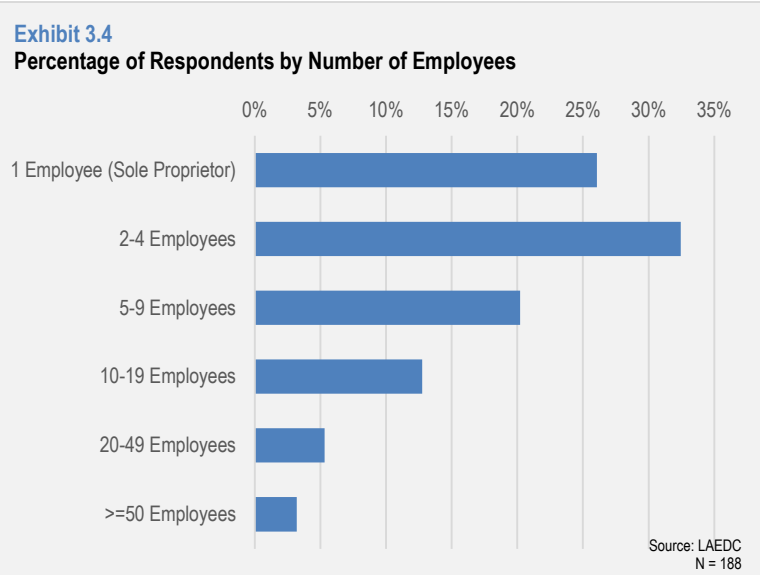


Most of the respondents were very small businesses. **Exhibit 3.4** shows that nearly 60 percent were either sole proprietors (26 percent) or had two to four employees (32 percent). Another 20 percent of firms had five to nine employees while 13 percent had ten to nineteen employees. Only 8 percent of businesses had more than twenty employees.

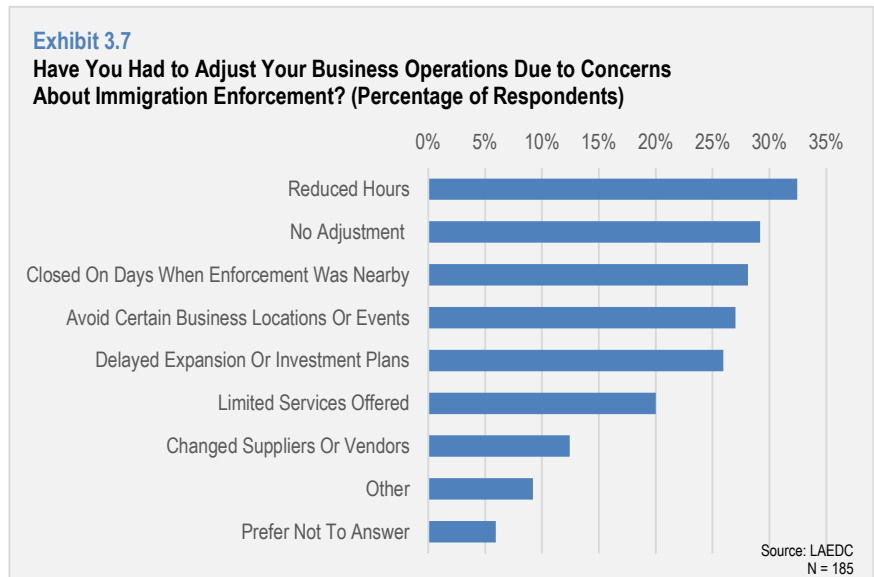
**Economic Impact from Recent Immigration Enforcement Activities**

We asked businesses how recent federal immigration enforcement activities in their area have affected them, if at all. The overwhelming number of respondents (82 percent) indicated that they have been negatively affected in one or more ways. **Exhibit 3.5** shows that 52 percent of respondents experienced reduced daily sales or revenue and that 51 percent experienced decreased customer traffic. A second tier of impacts included a reduced workforce related to fear (38 percent), customers avoiding the business location (35 percent), and increased operating costs (35 percent). A third tier of impacts included temporary closures due to community concerns (26 percent), difficulty obtaining supplies or services from usual vendors (25 percent), and changes in customer payment patterns (21 percent).

Of those businesses that were impacted by reduced daily sales or revenue, about 44 percent indicated that at least half of their revenue has been affected, as shown in **Exhibit 3.6**. Another 31 percent of businesses indicated that revenue has decreased between 26 percent and 50 percent, and 21 percent of businesses saw decreases of 10 percent to 25 percent. Only 3 percent of businesses experienced revenue losses of less than 10 percent.



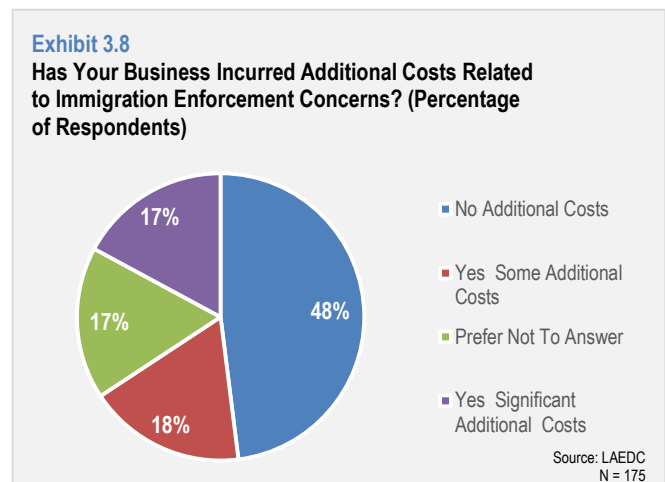
We also asked businesses whether and how they had to adjust their operations due to concerns about immigration enforcement. A somewhat smaller percentage of respondents (62 percent) reported that they had made at least one adjustment. **Exhibit 3.7** illustrates that 32 percent of respondents reduced their hours of operation; 28 percent closed on days when enforcement activities were nearby; 27 percent avoided certain business locations or events; and 26 percent delayed their expansion or investment plans. Smaller percentages reported offering only limited services (20 percent) or changing their suppliers or vendors (12 percent). It should be noted, however, that about 29 percent of respondents—the second largest category in Exhibit 3.7—indicated that they made no adjustments to their business operations.

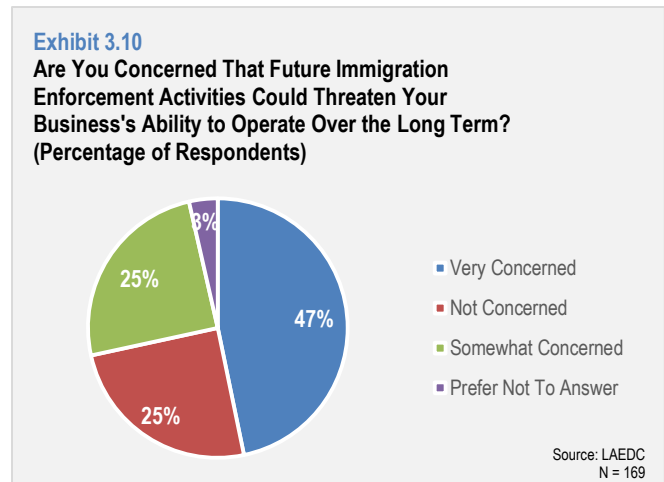
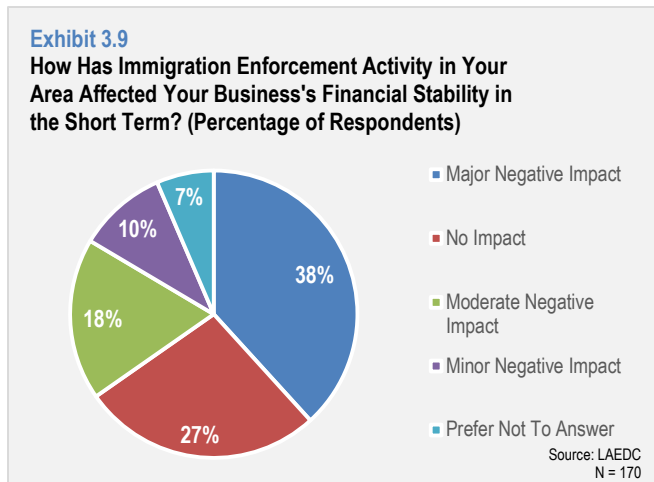


We asked an open-ended question allowing respondents to elaborate on the business adjustments they made. A number of respondents described closing early or altogether on some days and reducing staff hours and, in some cases, laying off workers. Some respondents discussed increasing the monitoring of their areas and the entrances to their businesses, as well as increasing their communication with other organizations and vendors. Some described cutting back on spending for marketing and capital investments due to unreliable cash flow. Still other business owners mentioned assisting their workers, such as by providing private transportation so workers could avoid public transit, and by picking up lunches and needed business materials to keep their workers out of certain areas.

**Exhibit 3.8** shows that about 35 percent of respondents indicated they incurred additional costs related to immigration enforcement concerns. Approximately equal numbers incurred significant additional costs (17 percent) and some additional costs (18 percent). Nearly half of respondents (48 percent) reported incurring no additional costs.

An open-ended question on the types of additional costs related to immigration enforcement concerns revealed additional legal expenses in some cases. Some legal expenses were to support detained workers, some were to ensure compliance with respect to provided services, and others were to help address collections for unpaid bills. Other expenses involved increasing advertising and marketing to attract more business; increasing wages to attract replacement workers; banking expenses for loans to cover lost revenue; and added employee expenses for food deliveries and gas cards.





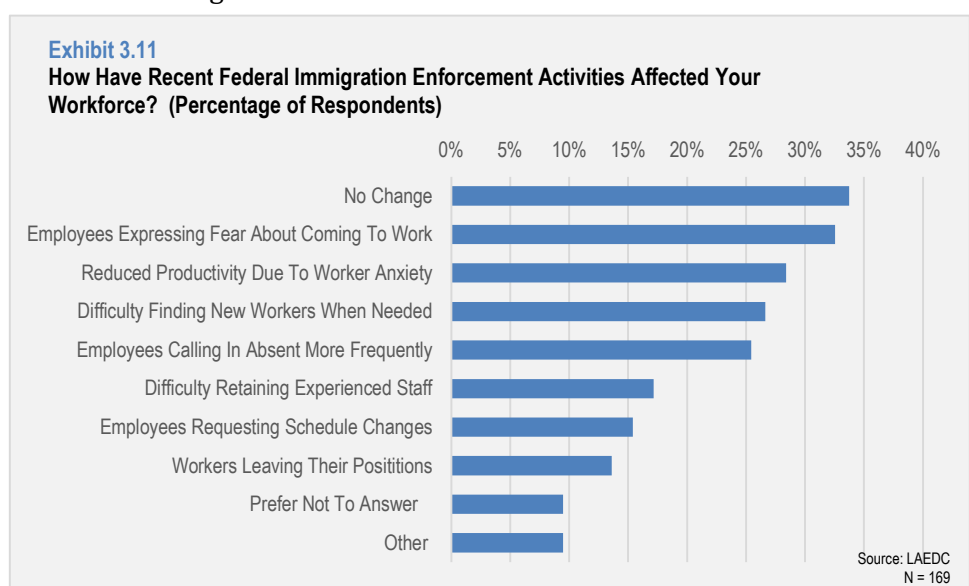
**Exhibit 3.9** addresses whether immigration enforcement activity in the area has affected the financial stability of businesses in the short term. It shows that most respondents reported that their financial stability would be negatively impacted. This includes 38 percent who expect a major impact, 18 percent who expect a moderate impact, and 10 percent who expect a minor impact. Just over a quarter of respondents (27 percent) felt that there would be no impact to their short-term financial stability.

We asked businesses if they were concerned that future immigration enforcement activities could threaten their ability to operate over the long term. **Exhibit 3.10** suggests that there is ongoing concern. Nearly three quarters of respondents indicated that they were very concerned (47 percent) or somewhat concerned (25 percent). Again, a quarter of respondents believed that there would be no impact to their long-term business operations.

**Workforce Impact**

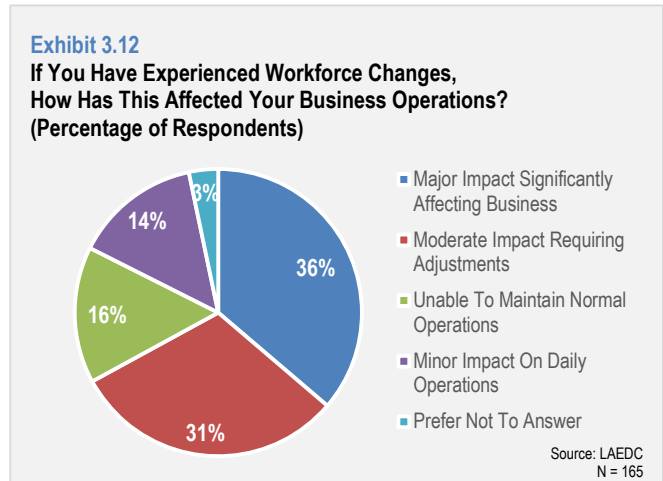
We asked businesses how recent federal immigration enforcement activities have affected their workforce.

As shown in **Exhibit 3.11**, nearly equal numbers of respondents reported there has been no impact (34 percent) or that current employees have expressed concerns or fear about coming to work (33 percent). Smaller numbers reported that they had experienced reduced productivity due to worker anxiety (28 percent), difficulty finding new workers when needed (27 percent), and employees

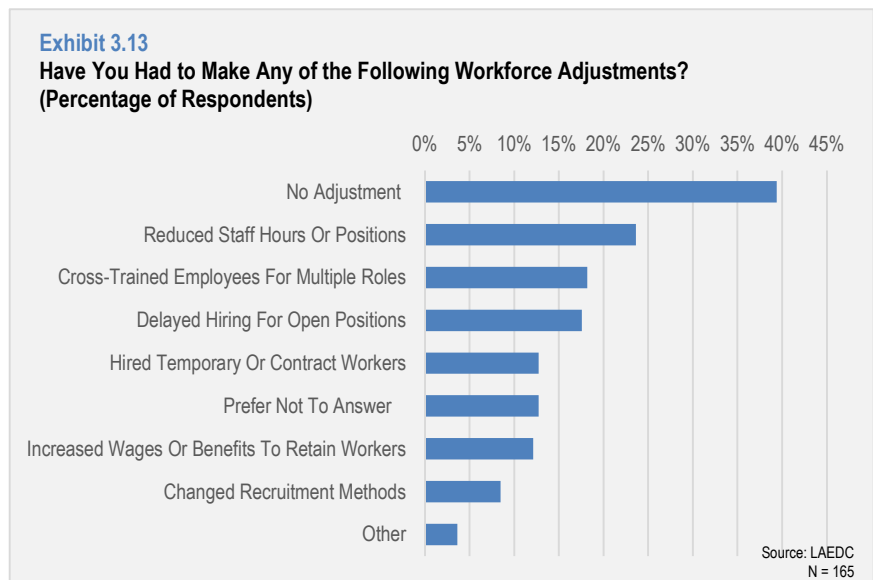


calling in absent more frequently (25 percent). Only 14 percent of respondents reported that workers had left their positions, but a slightly higher number (17 percent) suggested that the losses were of experienced staff.

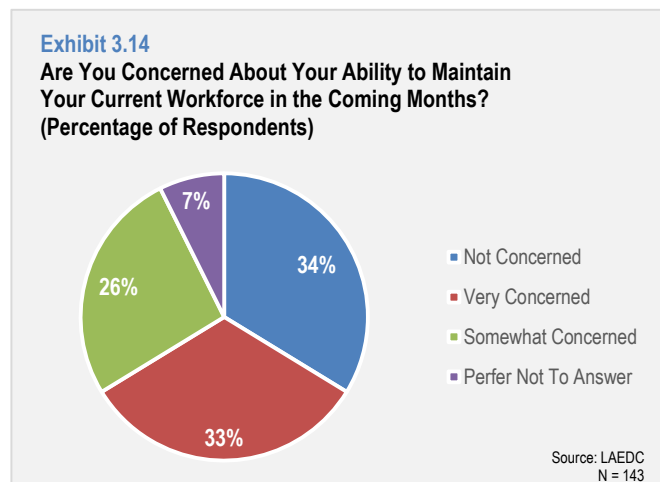
For those who have experienced workforce changes, **Exhibit 3.12** addresses how these changes have affected business operations. It shows that two-thirds of respondents have experienced major impacts to their business operations (36 percent) or moderate impacts (31 percent). Approximately 16 percent said they were unable to maintain normal operations while only 14 percent considered the impacts to be minor.



**Exhibit 3.13** describes the various types of workforce adjustments businesses have had to make. Approximately 39 percent of respondents, the largest category, reported making no workforce adjustments. For those that have made adjustments, the most common action taken has been the reduction of staff hours or positions (24 percent). This was followed by cross-training employees for multiple roles (18 percent) and delaying hiring for open positions (18 percent). About 13 percent hired temporary or contract workers, while 12 percent increased wages or benefits to retain workers, and 8 percent changed their recruitment methods.

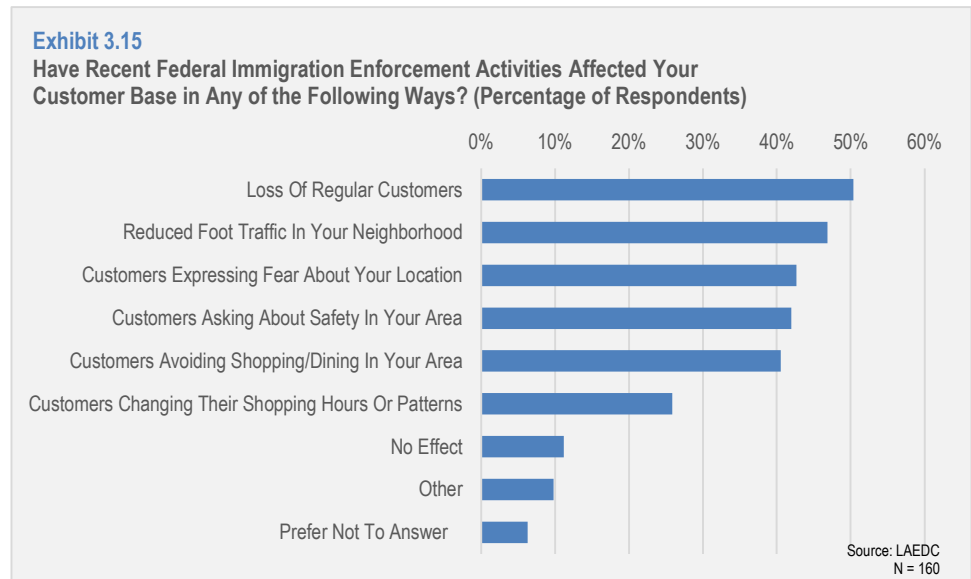


**Exhibit 3.14** indicates that nearly 60 percent of businesses are concerned about their ability to maintain their current workforce in the coming months. This includes 33 percent who are very concerned and 26 percent who are somewhat concerned. Roughly 34 percent of respondents expressed no concerns with respect to their current workforce.

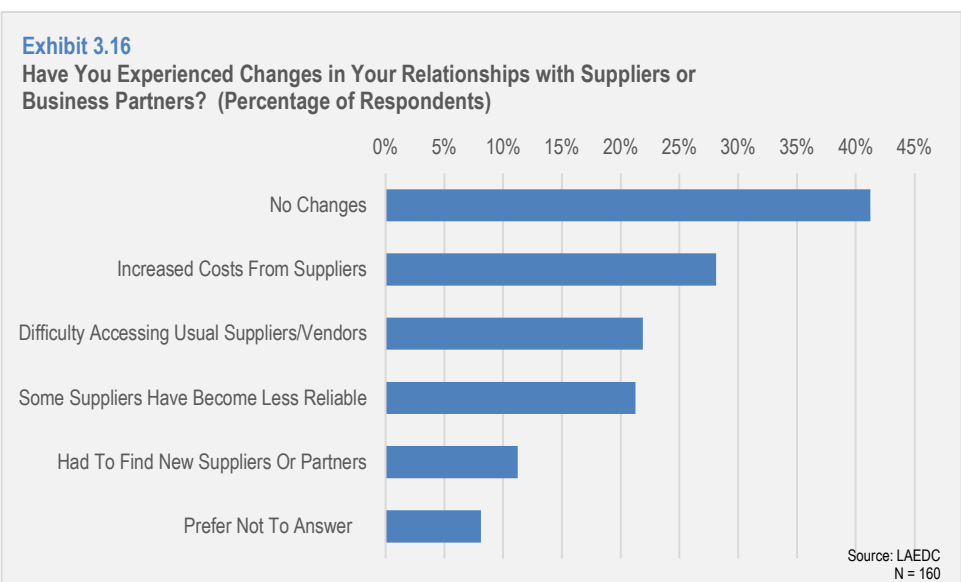


### Community-Level Impact

Additionally, we asked businesses how recent federal immigration enforcement activities have affected their communities. This includes their customer base, and approximately 73 percent of respondents indicated that their customer base had been negatively affected in one or more ways. As shown in **Exhibit 3.15**, 50 percent of respondents indicated a loss of regular customers, and 47 percent indicated reduced foot traffic in their local neighborhood. Businesses reported that customers expressed fear about their location (43 percent), that customers asked about safety in the neighborhood (42 percent), and that customers have avoided shopping or dining in their area. Fewer businesses noted that customers were changing their shopping hours or patterns (26 percent) or that they had not noticed an effect (11 percent).



About 51 percent of respondents indicated that they had experienced a negative change in their relationships with their suppliers. **Exhibit 3.16** shows that these changes were manifested in a few different ways. Approximately 28 percent of respondents noted that they faced increased costs from their suppliers. Businesses reported having difficulty accessing their usual suppliers and vendors (22 percent) and that some suppliers had become less reliable (21 percent). About 11 percent of businesses indicated having to find new suppliers or partners. It should be noted that 41 percent of respondents experienced no changes.



Finally, we asked whether businesses believed that the aggressive federal immigration enforcement activities have impacted the ability for their communities to thrive over the long term. **Exhibit 3.17** indicated that nearly three quarters of respondents believed this would be the case. About 44 percent expected a major

long-term impact, while 18 percent and 11 percent expected moderate or minor long-term impacts, respectively. Only 21 percent of respondents expected no long-term impacts from federal immigration enforcement.

## Business and Community Interviews and Town Halls

### Channels of Engagement

LEEAF conducted outreach and community engagement in Los Angeles County on the impacts of federal immigration enforcement in the summer and fall of 2025. LEEAF's work occurred through three main channels: interviews with small business leaders, community town halls, and organization interviews.

#### Small Business Interviews

For the small business interviews, LEEAF connected with 178 business leaders from LEEAF's network of 13,000 businesses across Los Angeles County. LEEAF wanted to understand how immigration enforcement impacts their business, the businesses around them, and the broader community. The interview guide for these interviews is included in Appendix C.

#### Community Town Halls

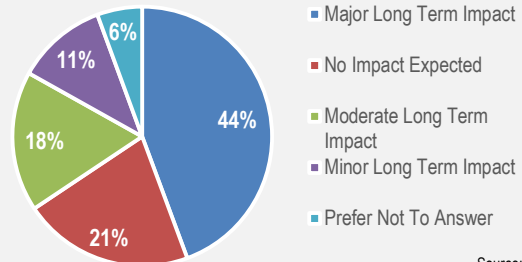
LEEAF led three community town halls, one in person and two virtual, to bring together key stakeholders to engage economic and broader community impacts of ICE enforcement. The registration showed a high interest and a steady dropoff from interest to attendance:

1. November 12 (virtual): 20 registered, 11 attended
2. November 20 (in person): 29 registered, 15 attended
3. December 2 (virtual): 35 registered, 17 attended

The registration numbers represent roughly 20 percent of clicks on the registration link, compared to 40 percent average for prior LEEAF events. The low registration and attendance at the first event inspired LEEAF to dedicate additional resources to outreach and to hold an additional virtual event. However, those efforts were only partially successful. LEEAF reached out to business leaders in its network who did not attend these events and found the following factors influencing turnout:

- Sensitive issues in public. Several business leaders shared that they were reluctant to share opinions publicly on an issue that could lead them to be targeted. Instead, they were open to one-on-one conversations and small-group discussions with LEEAF staff.
- No clear impact from speaking up. The LEEAF team fielded several questions from business leaders about how their attendance would impact the issue or directly shape policy or resource delivery.
- Fatigue on the issue. Nearly everyone approached from October to the end of the year expressed fatigue on the issue of immigration enforcement, with several expressing a lack of hope that the issue would change while the current federal administration was in power.

**Exhibit 3.17**  
Do you Believe Immigration Enforcement Activities Have Affected the Long-term Ability of Your Community to Economically Thrive?  
(Percentage of Respondents)



Source: LAEDC  
N = 160

### *Organization Interviews*

LEEAF spoke with leaders in 22 nonprofits and community organizations across the region who provide a range of services including business support, public health, legal services, worker resources, policy advocacy, and basic needs. Conversations with these organizations from August through November explored economic impacts of ICE along with broader community impacts and the specific impacts on social safety net organizations. The list of organizations interviewed is provided in Appendix C.

### **Findings from Outreach**

#### *Climate of Fear*

In the small business interviews, respondents shared insights that showed how mental and emotional factors combine with economic factors to drive deep impacts on businesses and their communities. When asked about how immigration enforcement impacted their business, many shared experiences of revenue loss, with 108 businesses (61 percent) reporting losses of 10 percent or greater to monthly revenue and 50 (28 percent) reporting losses of 50 percent or more. Further, 62 percent reported that their workers were impacted by raids and 33 percent said they had to close their business temporarily to adjust .

**I see the fear in my neighbors, in my family, and my business community.**

Social and economic impacts of immigration enforcement were deeply linked in the experiences of these business leaders. When asked about how raids had impacted their community, 104 business leaders (78 percent) mentioned mental and emotional health. In a count of the emotion-related words used by these business leaders, words related to fear appeared 298 times in their responses (afraid, scared, and scary along with fear itself) anxiety appearing 41 times, sadness 27 times. No other common emotions appeared more than 10 times across 179 interviews.

The climate of fear they described reached across their communities and fueled economic outcomes, driving losses in revenue and worker capacity along with impacts on trust and community cohesion. The owner of a media company described an “uneasiness that is permeating everywhere” and multiple businesses spoke of people afraid to go out, attend events, or shop. Affects reached beyond immigrants, with one respondent noting that “mental health is also being impacted whether you are an immigrant or were born here. We are watching and listening to all the bad stuff all around, all the chaos, and that is causing mental health problems.”

Dozens of business leaders drew a direct line between fear in their communities and revenue loss for their businesses. Many respondents described how customers who used to visit in person were now staying inside, with community events that used to drive revenue either poorly attended or closed altogether. The owner of an insurance business told us that customers are “hesitant to spend money at this time because they don't know what's going to happen to themselves or their families.” Respondents also told of dramatic changes in streets and commercial corridors once packed with customers and community life. The owner of a closing business shared that “where our streets used to be filled with people shopping, there is now a lot of emptiness.”

Fear also affected worker outcomes. “We currently are not offering enough hours to our employees. Right now we only have myself and another family member working the business and many are out of work.” The

owner of a spa described a domino effect financially where “If employees are afraid to go to work they cannot provide for their family and they will eventually go through financial hardships.”

Finally, the climate of fear affected business behavior, reducing the willingness to invest and take risks. A retail business owner described how the businesses she knows are “less likely to register or apply for services and resources to help their businesses grow and succeed” because they are “fearful that the information they share will be used against them to target them.” Several business leaders described avoiding locations or even canceling contracts, with one respondent noting that “because I am not willing to take that risk I lose potential revenue and business growth from not connecting with clients.”

### *Impacts of Mistrust*

From the small business interviews, LEEAF found that business leaders were united in the assessment that ICE raids have damaged trust, with 90 percent of respondents seeing distrust growing across both federal and local governments and only 7 percent distinguishing between federal and local governments. More than a dozen respondents described this distrust as intense, like the owner of a flower shop who stated “we feel the federal and local government is out to get us.” The owner of a clothing store echoed this sentiment, saying “business owners don’t feel protected or supported, it feels like the system is working against us.”

**We feel the federal and local government is out to get us. We don't trust our government to assist us, instead we feel they are asking for our information to deport us and separate us from our families.**

The few who did distinguish between federal and local government expressed appreciation for the way local officials stood up for communities, like the cafe owner who said that “People confide in the local government. It has always been there for people and actually fought for the people they serve.”

LEEAF found that there was an increased hesitation for community members to access or use public resources or programs. Specific barriers to resource use included in-person attendance requirements and the need to give private information to access services. The leader of a community program shared that more than 50 percent of their usual clients have opted out of receiving services in person. Another nonprofit leader indicated that “resources ask for a lot of information like address, income, etc. I understand why they need it, but people aren’t going to trust them with their personal information out of fear that it will be used against them.”

**Families are stressed, kids pick up on that energy, and people pull back from public life.**

Respondents traced the decline in community use of resources to schools and youth programs, despite very public efforts of educational institutions to shield youth and families from enforcement actions. One respondent indicated her friends and neighbors were “worried about sending their children to school,” and the owner of a bakery spoke of how ICE raids have “not only affected businesses but also recreational activities, families, and the community,” noting that fewer kids are showing up even to her daughter’s sports teams.

### *Challenges and Adaptations to Support Networks*

Organizations echoed the business leaders about the economic impact of recent enforcement. One respondent spoke of workers “not wanting to leave their home, not being able to socialize the ways they typically do because of the day-to-day fear.” The leader of a housing assistance program described the financial problems facing families, noting how “many people are having their basic utilities shut off.” Another

described opening a cash support fund online that was depleted in 2 minutes from the overload of applicants. Six respondents told of intense impacts on families of street vendors and day laborers whose families have lost their primary source of income in recent months.

The organizations saw a long-term impact on small business owners, with many owners dropping out of support programs and foregoing resources and others forced to close. One business support program saw a “huge dropoff” in Spanish-language entrepreneurship courses. Another business leader shared the impact on participation in a program that helped entrepreneurs earn business licenses: “We’d been excited to get them connected with resources, but then with the new administration they have to look after their families and basic needs, so formalizing their small businesses also fell to the side.”

**We’d been excited to get them connected with resources, but then with the new administration they have to look after their families and basic needs, so formalizing their small businesses also fell to the side.**

Community support organizations faced impacts to their own work, with nearly every respondent agreeing that their capacity had decreased in 2025. The leader of a youth program spoke of “trying to maintain staff so we don’t have to cut beyond what we already have” and a health organization spoke of staff “having to work remotely, reducing hours or having to drop out of the workforce.”

Four respondents shared that resource gaps forced them to end programs in the middle of execution, and three more reported having to switch away from planned programs to focus on the basic needs of their participants.

Many organizations told of struggling to sustain funding for core programs. Cuts to federal grants, especially to legal and immigrant services, forced layoffs of critical staff. Three respondents described hesitation in applying for further federal grants that may come with “strings attached,” forbidding advocacy for civil rights or even carrying the risk of compromising private information shared by their clients. The leader of an economic equity program told how “donor fatigue has diminished resources. We gave over \$2 million in direct relief funding after the fires. When the immigration raids came, there wasn’t as much. Funders hesitate knowing that it goes on their permanent record to give funds to organizations that support immigrants.”

### ***Businesses as Community Resource Hubs***

Many business leaders told us how they went the extra mile to provide vital information and resources, build safe spaces, and turn care into effective action. Brick and mortar businesses were most strongly represented, but there were multiple business leaders who leveraged their entrepreneurial skills, connections, and care to serve as a resource even without a physical space.

Building connections and safe spaces was the most common theme for these respondents. The owner of a retail store shared that “sometimes we are people’s only point of interaction outside their family in a day” and noted they had been intentional to “build rapport with the businesses on my block. It starts with making personal connections, joining WhatsApp groups, and then you are

#### **Right now, businesses are...**

- **Hosting events to create safe spaces for connection and resource sharing**
- **Joining rapid response networks to share reliable, verified information**
- **Marking private spaces to deter raids from reaching customers and employees**
- **Partnering with local nonprofits and government to connect people with services**

ready to support action.” A restaurant owner described delivering groceries and medications to neighbors who are afraid to go outside.

Businesses are also directly contributing resources to support community resilience. One shared that “we lost 50 percent of revenue in July, but we also looked around us to the street vendors and realized they were suffering even more. We created a community fundraiser and raised \$2,000 to support local street vendors.” Others told us of lobbying city council members to support residents, and giving their goods for free-food and juices to community members affected by the raids. One respondent shared that she picked up a side job in order to keep her workers employed, paying them with the revenue from her other job. Nearly every respondent expressed the desire to do more.

## Engagement Takeaways

### Key Findings

This on-the-ground research has shown significant disruption to Los Angeles County businesses and communities resulting from recent federal immigration enforcement activities. The extensive community engagement through the business impact survey and the interviews and town halls has provided evidence of quantifiable impacts to business operations and finances as well as broader community effects.

### *Economic Impact on Businesses*

The survey data demonstrates widespread negative impacts on business operations. Eighty-two percent of respondents reported being negatively affected, with the most common impacts being reduced daily sales or revenue (52 percent) and decreased customer traffic (51 percent). Among businesses experiencing revenue losses, 44 percent reported decreases exceeding 50 percent, while another 31 percent experienced losses between 26 and 50 percent.

Beyond immediate revenue impacts, businesses made significant operational adjustments. Sixty-two percent of respondents modified their operations, with 32 percent reducing hours, 28 percent closing on days when enforcement activities occurred nearby, and 26 percent delaying expansion or investment plans. These adjustments reflect both direct disruptions and precautionary measures adopted in response to an uncertain environment.

### *Workforce Challenges*

Immigration enforcement activities created substantial workforce challenges for local businesses. While 34 percent of respondents reported no workforce impact, 33 percent indicated that employees expressed fear about coming to work, 28 percent experienced reduced productivity due to worker anxiety, and 27 percent faced difficulty finding new workers. Among those experiencing workforce changes, 67 percent characterized the impact on business operations as major or moderate.

The forward-looking indicators suggest ongoing concern. Fifty-nine percent of businesses expressed worry about maintaining their current workforce in coming months, with 33 percent very concerned and 26 percent somewhat concerned about workforce stability.

### *Community-Level Effects*

The research documents impacts that extend beyond individual businesses to their broader communities. Seventy-three percent of respondents reported negative effects on their customer base, including loss of

regular customers (50 percent) and reduced foot traffic in neighborhoods (47 percent). Supply chain disruptions affected 51 percent of businesses, manifesting as increased costs from suppliers (28 percent) and difficulty accessing usual suppliers or vendors (22 percent).

The qualitative research through business interviews and town halls also revealed a pervasive climate of fear affecting economic activity. Business leaders used fear-related terminology 298 times when describing community impacts, far exceeding other emotional descriptors. This climate of fear drove reduced consumer activity, with customers avoiding public spaces and businesses, ultimately contributing to revenue losses.

### *Institutional Trust and Service Access*

The research identifies declining trust in government institutions as a significant concern. Ninety percent of business interview respondents perceived growing distrust across federal and local governments. This erosion of trust manifested in reduced willingness to access public resources or programs, even when families faced economic hardship. Multiple respondents reported hesitation among community members to utilize services requiring personal information or in-person attendance.

The impact extended to educational participation, with business leaders noting families expressing concern about sending children to school despite public assurances from educational institutions. This suggests that fear and mistrust may create barriers to accessing essential services beyond immediate economic support.

### **Recommendations for Policymakers**

Based on these findings, we offer the following recommendations for consideration by policymakers across Los Angeles County:

#### *Economic Support and Business Resilience*

Consider expanding access to emergency business assistance programs designed to help small businesses manage revenue volatility. The data showing 44 percent of affected businesses experiencing revenue losses exceeding 50 percent suggests that targeted financial assistance could help prevent business closures in significantly impacted commercial corridors.

Evaluate the feasibility of creating or expanding flexible loan and grant programs that do not require extensive documentation that may deter participation among affected business communities. Program design should balance accountability requirements with accessibility concerns that emerged during this research.

#### *Workforce Development and Retention*

Explore opportunities to support businesses facing workforce challenges through existing workforce development and business assistance programs. This might include subsidized training programs that allow businesses to cross-train employees for multiple roles, addressing the 18 percent of respondents who adopted this strategy. It could include training and assistance that facilitates remote work in those businesses where it is feasible. It could also include business assistance to help business cover the costs of employee-related gas cards and lunch deliveries.

### ***Community Trust and Service Delivery***

Examine current outreach methods for county services to identify opportunities to rebuild trust and encourage service utilization. The research finding that 90 percent of business interview respondents perceived declining trust suggests that conventional approaches may require some modification.

Consider how county services might be delivered through trusted community intermediaries. This could include small businesses that emerged in this research as community resource hubs; multiple business leaders described taking on roles distributing information, connecting neighbors to resources, and creating safe spaces for community gathering. It could also include supporting nonprofit and community organizations who provide services to affected communities. The research documented these organizations facing their own operational challenges while experiencing increased demand, with several reporting the need to suspend planned programs or reduce services.

Review information-sharing requirements for county programs to determine whether documentation needs could be minimized while maintaining program integrity. The reported hesitation to provide personal information, even for beneficial services, warrants examination of whether current requirements are essential or could be modified.

### ***Information Sharing and Coordination***

Develop coordinated communication strategies to provide accurate, timely information about enforcement activities and available resources. The research documented business leaders joining rapid response networks and WhatsApp groups to share information, suggesting demand for reliable information channels.

Consider establishing regular communication mechanisms between the county and business communities in areas experiencing significant disruption. Such channels could facilitate early identification of emerging challenges and enable more responsive policy adjustments.

### ***Monitoring and Research***

Support continued research to track on an ongoing basis economic indicators in areas most affected by enforcement activities. Regular assessment of business formation rates, closure rates, and employment trends in affected commercial districts could flag deepening economic distress as well as improving conditions. The research could also include a periodic resurvey of businesses to assess whether conditions have improved, stabilized, or deteriorated over time.

## 4 Most Vulnerable Communities and Businesses

Identifying the most vulnerable communities and businesses in Los Angeles County requires an understanding of the number and location of immigrants in the County and where they work. This section presents the demographic characteristics of the resident populations and employment profiles of immigrants in Los Angeles County. The section also analyzes geographic vulnerability in the County as well as particularly impacted industries and businesses.

### Demographic Profile of Immigrants in Los Angeles County

Los Angeles County's economy is significantly shaped by its large immigrant population. Based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey and from USC's Equity Research Institute, the County is home to approximately 3.5 million immigrants, representing about 35 percent of the total population as shown in **Exhibit 4.1**. These immigrants engage as workers across multiple sectors, as entrepreneurs and business owners, and as consumers across the region.



**Exhibit 4.2** below shows the share of residents in each census tract of Los Angeles County who were born outside the United States.<sup>61</sup> The highest concentrations of foreign-born individuals are found in the San Gabriel Valley, Central and South Los Angeles, and the San Fernando Valley. In these areas, the foreign-born population often exceeds 50 percent, reflecting long-standing immigrant communities and recent patterns of migration.

**Exhibit 4.3** below focuses on the share of residents who are foreign born and have not become U.S. citizens. This includes lawful permanent residents, individuals on temporary visas, and those without legal immigration status. The highest percentages are seen in neighborhoods such as Pico-Union, Westlake, Koreatown, Boyle Heights, and parts of El Monte, South Los Angeles, and the San Fernando Valley. While some of these areas overlap with high

**Exhibit 4.1**

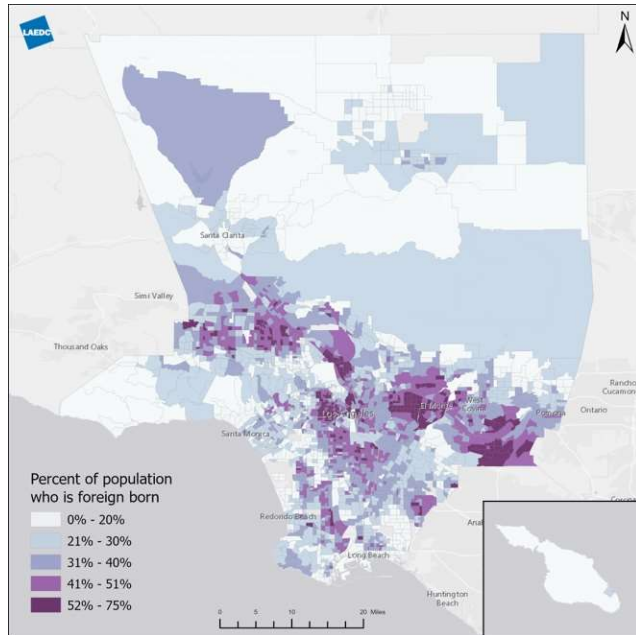
Immigrant Population in Los Angeles County

Race	Total Population	Number of Immigrants and Share of Total Population		Number of Undocumented Immigrants and Share of Immigrant Population	
		Number of Immigrants	Share of Total Population	Number of Undocumented Immigrants	Share of Immigrant Population
White	2,498,300	481,900	19.3%	37,700	7.8%
Black	749,400	57,000	7.6%	7,300	12.8%
Latino	4,962,000	1,981,800	39.9%	795,000	40.1%
Asian American	148,660	977,500	657.5%	100,400	10.3%
Pacific Islander	19,100	6,200	32.5%	-	-
Native American	18,100	-	-	-	-
Other/mixed race	386,600	58,500	15.1%	7,800	13.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,120,000</b>	<b>3,563,900</b>	<b>35.2%</b>	<b>948,700</b>	<b>26.6%</b>

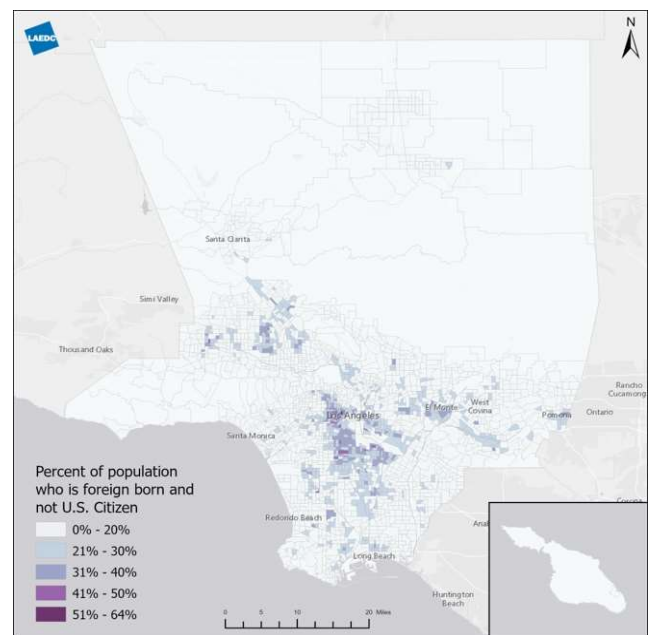
Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

<sup>61</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2023 5-Year Estimates, Table B05002

**Exhibit 4.2**  
Percent of Population Who is Foreign Born



**Exhibit 4.3**  
Percent of Population Who is Foreign Born and Not a U.S. Citizen



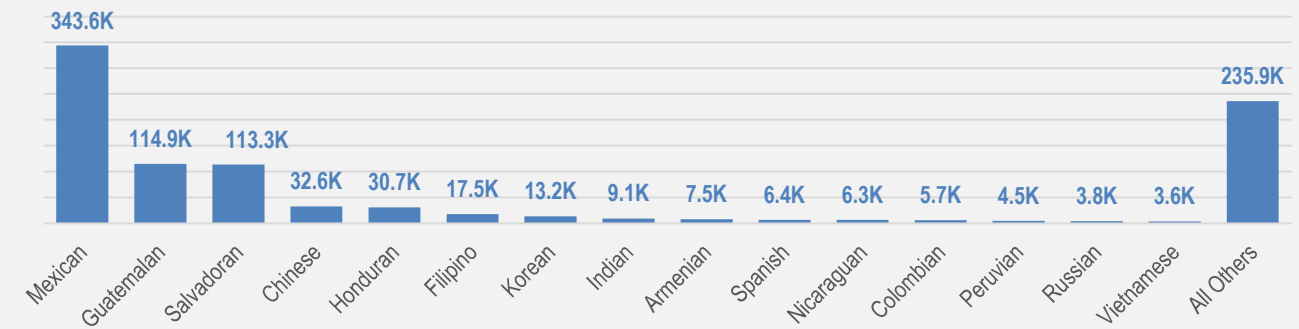
foreign-born concentrations in Exhibit 4.2, the overall percentages are lower, indicating that many foreign-born residents in the county have gone on to naturalize.

These neighborhoods that are home to diverse, resilient communities, may also draw increased attention from federal immigration authorities given the concentration of foreign-born residents. Communities with higher shares of non-citizen residents may face additional challenges related to immigration enforcement. These can include increased fear, reluctance to access services, and disruptions to family and community life.

As shown in Exhibit 4.1, of the 3.5 million immigrants in Los Angeles County, an estimated 948,700 are undocumented. This accounts for roughly 27 percent of the County's immigrant population. While immigration status varies across demographic groups, Latino immigrants have the highest proportion of undocumented residents, at about 40 percent. This is followed by Black and Other/Mixed Race immigrants (13 percent each), Asian American immigrants (10 percent), and white immigrants (8 percent).

Within the undocumented population, ancestry patterns are diverse but dominated by a few large groups, as detailed below in **Exhibit 4.4**. Mexican-origin residents make up the largest share by far, numbering approximately 343,600, or more than one-third of all undocumented immigrants in the County. Other sizeable Latino-origin groups include Guatemalans (114,900) and Salvadorans (113,300), reflecting long-established migration corridors from Central America to Southern California. Several Asian-origin communities also have notable undocumented populations, including Chinese (32,600) and Filipino (17,500) residents, along with Korean (13,200) and Indian (9,100) residents. Hondurans (30,700), Armenians (7,500), and Spanish nationals (6,400) also represent important groups within the population. The "All Others" category encompasses about 236,000 individuals from a broad range of Latin American, Asian, European, and African origins. This composition reflects both the strong Latino presence and the significant Asian and multi-ethnic dimensions of the County's undocumented community, illustrating the wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds represented within this population.

**Exhibit 4.4**  
Undocumented Immigrants by Ancestry, Los Angeles County 2019-2023



Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

The reach of immigration enforcement extends beyond undocumented individuals themselves. More than 2 million County residents are either undocumented or live with at least one undocumented family member, as shown in **Exhibit 4.5**. The majority of this population is Latino, with approximately 1.69 million residents living in mixed-status households. Asian Americans make up about 208,000 residents in this category, followed by whites (81,000), other or mixed race (20,000), and Black residents (15,000).

**Exhibit 4.5**

Mixed Status Households in Los Angeles County

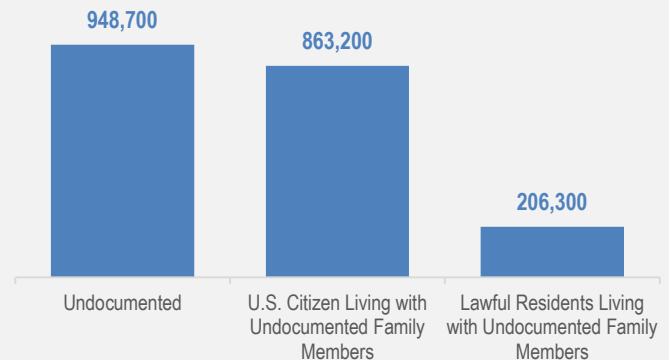
Race	Number of Undocumented and Family Members Living with Them
White	81,000
Black	15,000
Latino	1,691,000
Asian American	208,000
Other/mixed race	20,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,018,000</b>

Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

Within the mixed-status population, **Exhibit 4.6** shows that there are approximately 948,700 undocumented residents, 863,200 U.S. citizens living with undocumented family members, and 206,300 lawful residents living with undocumented family members. Many of the U.S. citizens in these households are children, and the proportion of children ages 0 to 17 living in mixed-status families is notably high, underscoring that the presence of undocumented family members is a significant feature of the County’s demographic landscape.

**Exhibit 4.6**

Undocumented Immigrants and Residents Living with Undocumented Family Members, Los Angeles County 2019-2023



Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

The undocumented population in Los Angeles County is largely settled, with **Exhibit 4.7** below showing that nearly three-quarters have lived in the United States for more than a decade. Within this group, 27 percent have been in the country for 11 to 20 years, 28 percent for 21 to 30 years, and 18 percent for 31 years or more. The relatively small

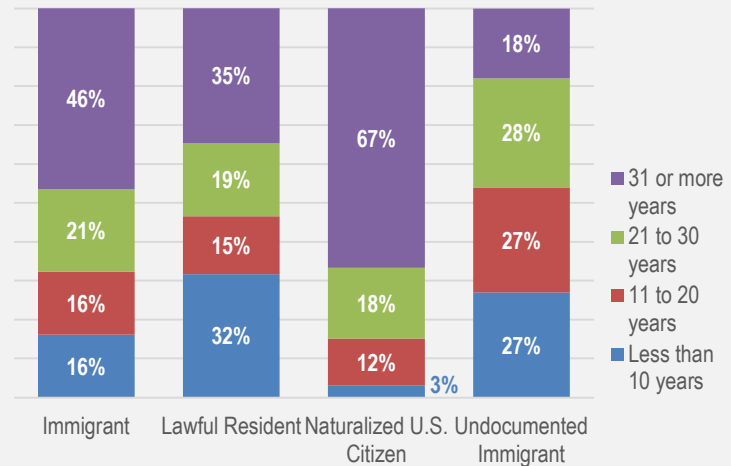
share, 27 percent, who have arrived within the past 10 years illustrates the long-term presence of most undocumented residents. These patterns reflect deep economic and social connections in local communities.

The age profile of undocumented residents, presented in **Exhibit 4.8**, further underscores their integration into the labor force, with more than 90 percent in the prime working-age range of 18 to 64. Over half, 54 percent, are between the ages of 35 and 54, while 30 percent are between 18 and 34. Smaller shares are children under 18 (6 percent), adults aged 55 to 64 (9 percent), and seniors aged 65 and older (1 percent).

**Exhibit 4.9** shows that 80 percent of undocumented immigrants in Los Angeles County are renters, compared to 55 percent of the broader immigrant population and 49 percent of U.S.-born residents. This greater reliance on rental housing means that any loss of income can quickly affect housing stability.

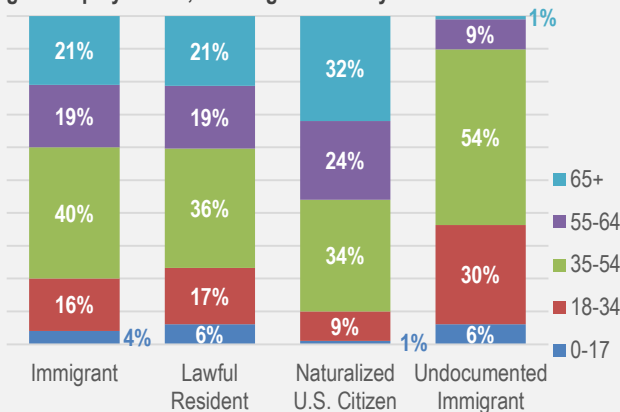
**Exhibit 4.10** below shows that 72 percent of undocumented immigrants are limited English proficient, which is substantially higher than the 58 percent among the overall immigrant population and far above the 5 percent among U.S.-born residents.

**Exhibit 4.7**  
Share of Immigrants by Recency of Arrival and Immigration Status, Los Angeles County 2019-2023



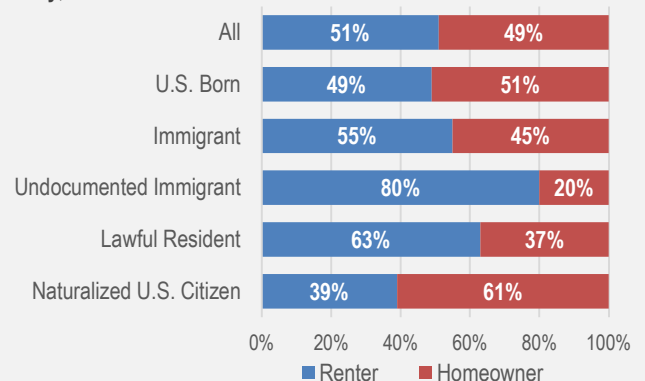
Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

**Exhibit 4.8**  
Age Group by Status, Los Angeles County 2019-2023



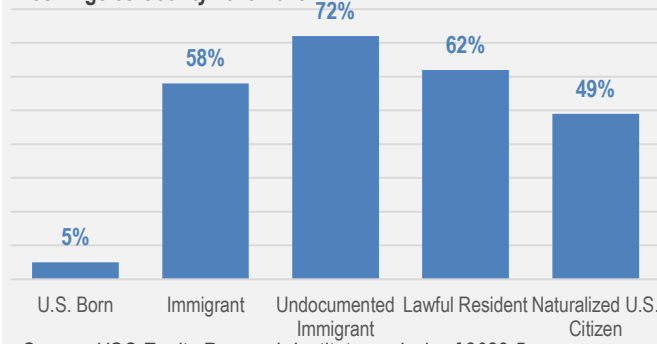
Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

**Exhibit 4.9**  
Homeownership by Immigration Status, Los Angeles County, 2019-2023



Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

**Exhibit 4.10**  
Limited English Proficient by Immigration Status  
Los Angeles County 2019-2023



Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

**Exhibit 4.11**  
Top Languages Spoken (aside from English) by  
Undocumented Immigrants in Los Angeles County

Language	Number of Undocumented Immigrants	Share of Undocumented Immigrants
Spanish	763,300	80%
Filipino, Tagalog	19,700	2%
Chinese	16,100	2%
Mandarin	15,200	2%
Korean	13,500	1%
Armenian	7,700	1%
Russian	6,500	1%
Portuguese	4,600	0.5%
Cantonese	4,400	0.5%
Vietnamese	4,100	0.4%
Hindi	3,500	0.4%
Persian, Iranian, Farsi	2,600	0.3%
All Other	38,500	4%

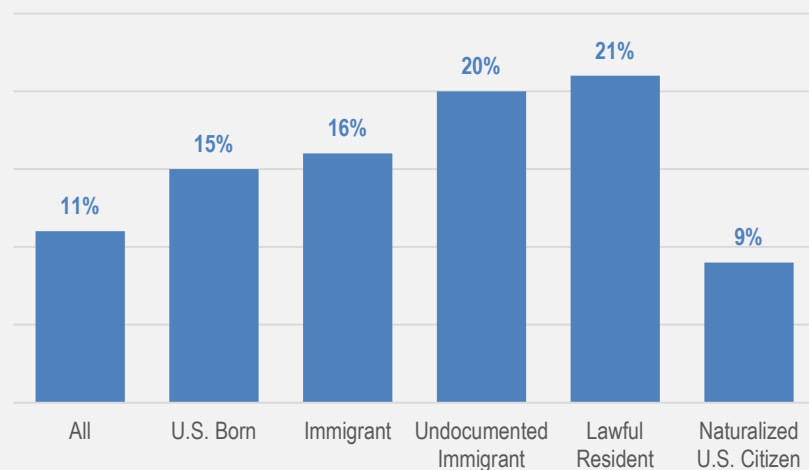
Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

Finally, **Exhibit 4.11** details languages spoken, with Spanish being the most common, spoken by approximately 763,300 undocumented residents, or 80 percent of the total. Other languages include Tagalog (19,700), Chinese (16,100), Mandarin (15,200), Korean (13,500), Armenian (7,700), and Russian (6,500), along with smaller numbers speaking Portuguese, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Hindi, and Persian. These linguistic patterns are geographically concentrated, with certain neighborhoods exhibiting both high shares of undocumented residents and high levels of linguistic isolation.

## Employment Profile of Immigrants in Los Angeles County

Employment among immigrants in Los Angeles County spans a wide range of industries and occupations, but certain sectors have particularly high shares of undocumented workers. **Exhibit 4.12** from the USC Equity Research Institute (ERI) analysis shows that 20 percent of undocumented immigrants aged 25 to 64 are self-employed, a rate higher than the 11 percent overall share for the County’s workforce and above the 15 percent for U.S.-born workers. This self-employment rate is also higher than the average for

**Exhibit 4.12**  
Share of People Age 25-64 Self-Employed by Immigration Status,  
Los Angeles County 2019-2023

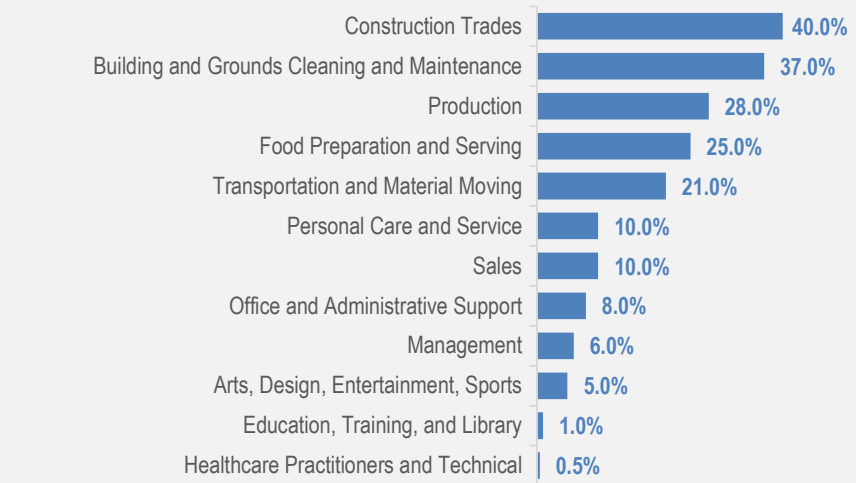


Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

immigrants overall (16 percent) and only slightly below that of lawful permanent residents (21 percent).

Undocumented workers are also heavily concentrated in specific occupations. According to **Exhibit 4.13** from USC ERI, the largest occupational group is construction trades, employing 40 percent of undocumented workers in Los Angeles County. This is followed by building and grounds cleaning and maintenance (37 percent), production (28 percent), food preparation and serving (25 percent), and transportation and material moving (21 percent). Smaller but still notable shares are found in personal care and service and in sales, each accounting for 10 percent of undocumented workers.

**Exhibit 4.13**  
Top Occupations With Over 200K Workers Among Undocumented Immigrants, Los Angeles County 2019-2023



Source: USC Equity Research Institute analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey microdata from IPUMS USA and the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation

The distribution of non-citizen workers across occupations using PUMS data, shown in **Exhibit 4.14**, provides a broader perspective beyond undocumented immigrants. Non-citizens make up nearly half of the workforce in cleaning and maintenance occupations (46.5 percent) and more than 40 percent of the workforce in construction and extraction (43.7 percent). High shares are also found in production (35.4 percent), food preparation and serving (28.9 percent), and transportation and material moving (25.5 percent). Several other occupational categories, including installation and repair, protective service, and health support, have substantial non-citizen representation, reflecting the diverse roles immigrants fill in the regional economy.

Industry-level patterns also demonstrate the concentration of non-citizen workers in certain sectors. **Exhibit 4.15** shows that non-citizens account for 38 percent of the construction workforce and over 30 percent of workers in administrative and support and waste management

**Exhibit 4.14**  
Top Occupations with Over 130K Workers by Share of Non-Citizen Workforce

PUMS Occupation Category	Share of Workforce U.S. citizen by naturalization	Share of Workforce Not a citizen of the U.S.
Cleaning and Maintenance	24.2%	46.5%
Construction and Extraction	16.1%	43.7%
Production	25.4%	35.4%
Food Preparation and Serving (Eating)	15.4%	28.9%
Transportation and Material Moving	20.5%	25.5%
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair (Repair)	23.2%	23.7%
Health Support	31.7%	18.5%
Protective Service	22.6%	17.1%
Community and Social Services	21.0%	14.5%
Sales and Related Occupations	19.1%	14.3%
All Others	16.9%	10.6%
<b>Total, All Occupations</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>15.2%</b>

Source: LAEDC analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey PUMS

services. Other industries with high non-citizen representation include other services (27.5 percent), accommodation and food services (27.4 percent), and manufacturing (25 percent). Sectors such as transportation and warehousing, retail trade, and health care also employ large numbers of non-citizens, though with lower proportional shares.

Taken together, these data show that immigrant and undocumented workers are critical to several core sectors of the Los Angeles County economy, particularly in construction, cleaning and maintenance, production, food services, and certain manufacturing and transportation-related occupations. The relatively high rate of self-employment among undocumented immigrants further reflects their economic participation not only as workers but also as business owners, including in informal sectors such as street vending.

**Exhibit 4.15**

**Top Industries with Over 200K Workers by Share of Non-Citizen Workforce**

NAICS Supersectors	Share of Workforce U.S. citizen by naturalization	Share of Workforce Not a citizen of the U.S.
Construction	17.1%	38.0%
Administrative and Support and Waste Management	19.1%	30.1%
Other Services (except Public Administration)	24.4%	27.5%
Accommodation and Food Services	15.6%	27.4%
Manufacturing	25.3%	25.0%
Transportation and Warehousing	23.0%	20.1%
Retail Trade	17.6%	16.2%
Health Care and Social Assistance	28.3%	11.9%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	18.6%	11.2%
Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	11.3%	9.5%
Information	11.2%	8.4%
Educational Services	17.2%	7.7%
Public Administration	24.4%	6.5%
All Others	15.6%	11.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>15.3%</b>

Source: LAEDC analysis of 2023 5-year American Community Survey PUMS

## Geographic Vulnerability

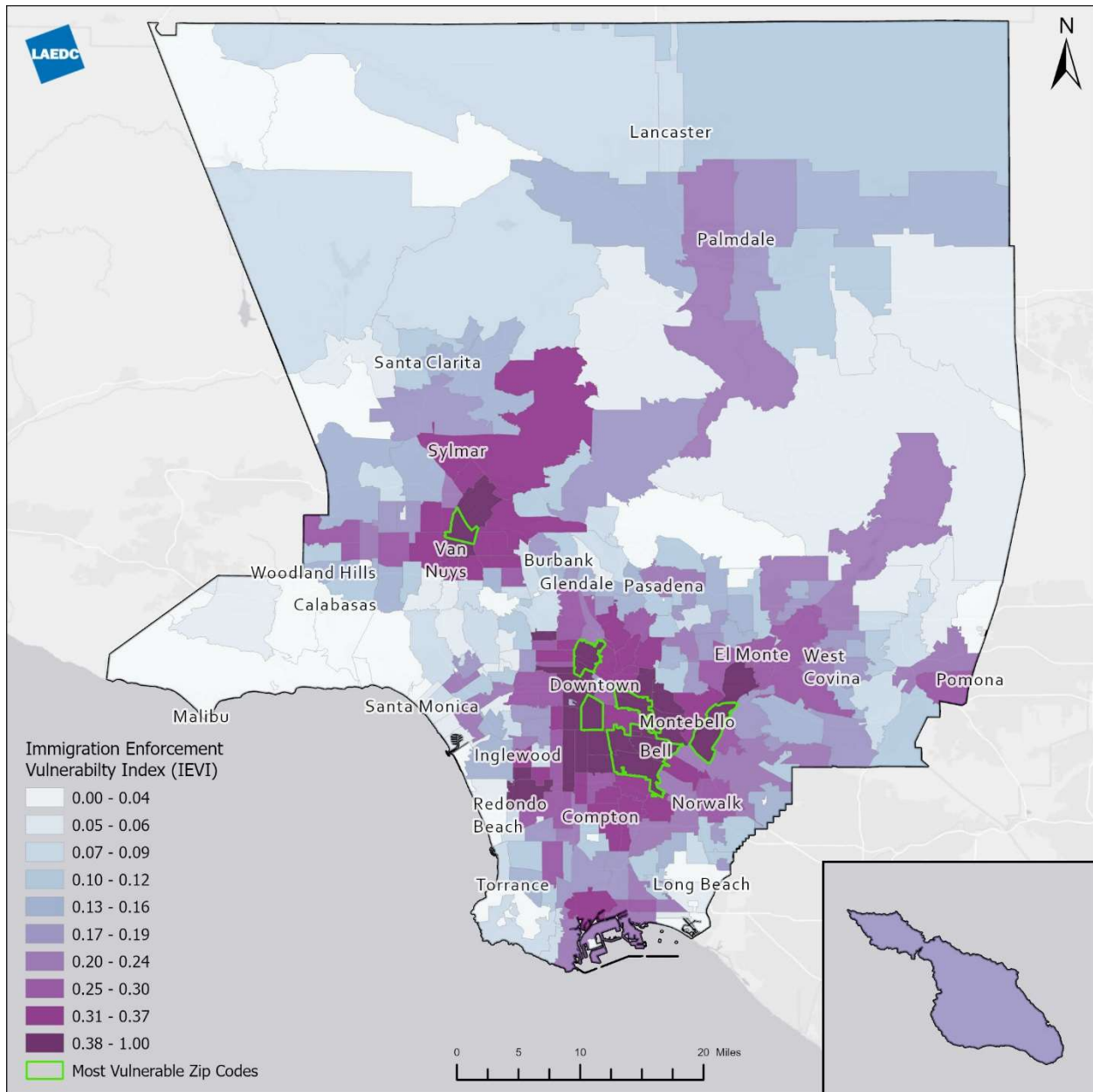
Based on the demographic and employment profiles of immigrants in Los Angeles County provided above, IAE developed the *LAEDC Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI)*. The IEVI aggregates multiple risk factors tied to immigration enforcement into a single score for each ZIP code in Los Angeles County. The objective is to quantify underlying vulnerability associated with observed immigration enforcement activity in a way that is transparent, reproducible, and suitable for mapping and comparison over time.

We developed the IEVI by correlating selected American Community Survey (ACS) attributes with enforcement reports from the Los Angeles Rapid Response Network (LARRN). We used diagnostic testing to determine our final set of four vulnerability predictors:

- Share of Foreign-Born Population from Latin America
- Share of Renter-Occupied Households
- Share of Non-Citizen Workforce (by industry location)
- Share of Spanish Speakers

The methodology underlying the IEVI is presented in Appendix D.

**Exhibit 4.16**  
Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) in Los Angeles County



**Exhibit 4.16** above illustrates the results of the IEVI in map form across all of Los Angeles County.

**Exhibit 4.17** presents the top ten zip codes that we consider to be the most vulnerable with respect to immigration enforcement activity. The most vulnerable is 91402, representing the Mission Hills-Panorama City-North Hills area in the San Fernando Valley. This is followed by 90201, 90660, 90011, and 90026, representing Bell, Pico Rivera, Southeast Los Angeles, and the Silver Lake-Echo Park-Elysian Valley area, respectively. The remaining 5 zip codes in Exhibit 5 are clustered around downtown Los Angeles. These

include 90255, 90057, 90280, 90023, and 90270, representing Huntington Park, Westlake, South Gate, Boyle Heights and Maywood.

Exhibit 4.17

Top 10 Zip Codes in Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI)

Zip Code	City / City of Los Angeles Community Planning Area (CPA)	Share of Foreign-born Population from Latin America	Share of Renter-occupied Households	Share of Non-Citizen Workforce by Industry Location	Share of Spanish Speakers	LAARN Immigration Enforcement Activity Incidents as of 8/7/2025
91402	Mission Hills - Panorama City - North Hills (LA)	35.5%	65.5%	22.6%	63.4%	40
90201	Bell	40.8%	77.5%	29.8%	91.3%	14
90660	Pico Rivera	27.1%	29.2%	20.1%	72.4%	18
90011	Southeast Los Angeles (LA)	44.5%	71.9%	33.6%	86.2%	8
90026	Silver Lake - Echo Park - Elysian Valley (LA)	20.2%	75.4%	22.7%	32.8%	16
90255	Huntington Park	45.4%	69.9%	26.3%	94.0%	6
90057	Westlake (LA)	39.8%	96.6%	24.4%	52.1%	7
90280	South Gate	40.8%	54.9%	23.3%	89.2%	7
90023	Boyle Heights (LA)	40.0%	74.7%	28.1%	88.5%	5
90270	Maywood	49.0%	71.9%	34.6%	95.3%	1

## Industry/Business Vulnerability

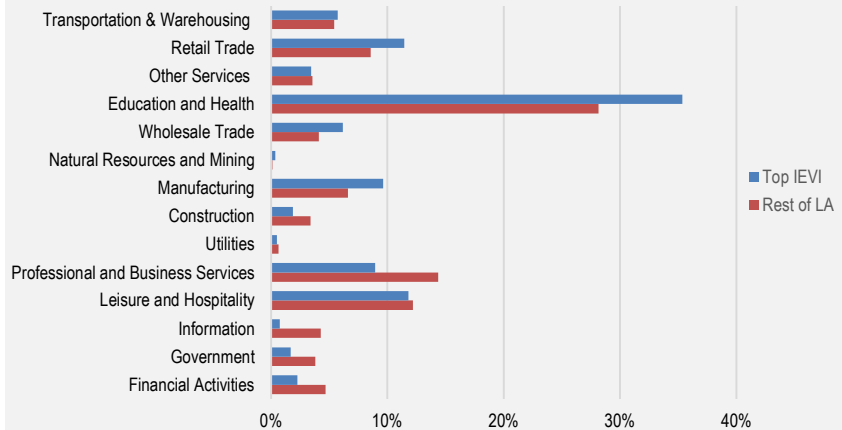
### Employment Change in the Highest-IEVI Zip Codes

Using the IEVI, we identified the 10 ZIP codes most targeted by immigration enforcement (the “top IEVI zip codes”). We then compared these areas with the rest of Los Angeles County using 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) data to identify the economic characteristics that distinguished them prior to heightened enforcement.

The first characteristic we examined was employment shares by super sector. Using QCEW data, we calculated establishment-level average employment in 2024 and aggregated these values to the super-sector level. **Exhibit 4.18** shows that the top IEVI zip codes are notably overrepresented in Education and Health Services (+7.2 percentage points difference), Manufacturing (+3.0), Retail Trade (+2.9), and Wholesale Trade (+2.1), while being underrepresented in Professional and Business Services (-

Exhibit 4.18

### Industry Employment Share for Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes vs Rest of Los Angeles County, Q1 2024 - Q4 2024



Source: CA EDD, QCEW

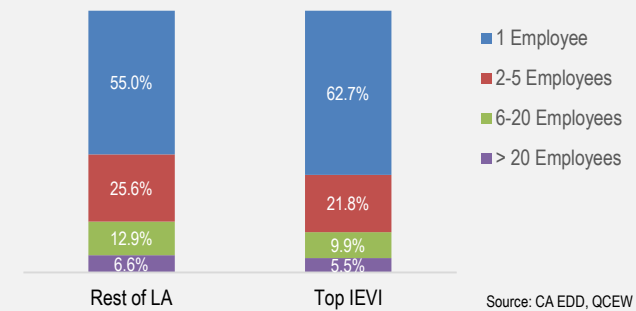
5.4), Information (-3.5), Financial Activities (-2.4), and Construction (-1.5). As shown in Section 5, undocumented workers have a sizable presence in the Retail Trade and Manufacturing industries, making the top IEVI zip codes relatively more exposed to potential immigration enforcement activity.

We next examined typical establishment size, measured as the establishment-level average employment in 2024. The top IEVI zip codes comprise 4.4% of establishments in Los Angeles County and have an average establishment size of 6.1 employees, compared with 8.6 employees in the rest of the county. **Exhibit 4.19** suggests these averages are influenced by outliers, as the most common establishment size is 1 employee in both areas. The exhibit also shows that the top IEVI zip codes have a disproportionately high share of one-employee establishments (+7.8 percentage point difference) and lower shares of 2-5 employee establishments (-3.8), 6-20 employee establishments (-2.9), and establishments with more than 20 employees (-1.1).

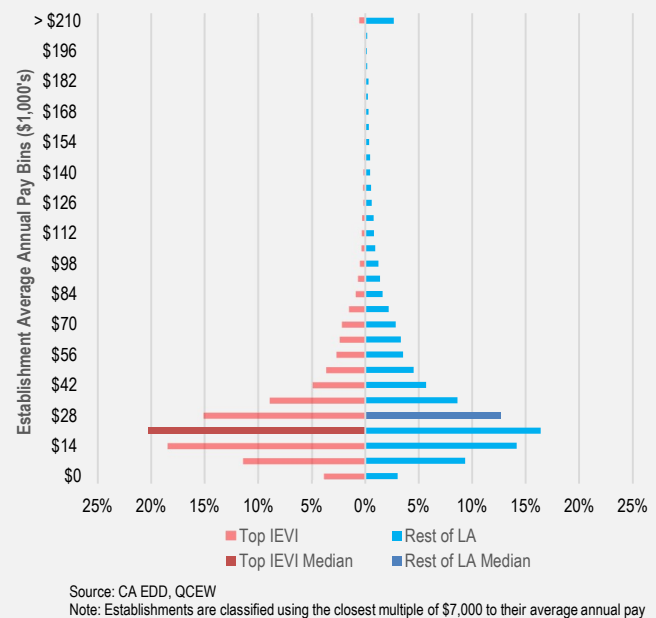
Finally, we compared establishment-level average annual pay across the two geographies. For each establishment, we calculated average annual pay by dividing total employee payments in 2024 by average employment. The median establishment-level average annual pay was \$23,031 in the top IEVI zip codes, below the \$28,143 median for the rest of Los Angeles County. **Exhibit 4.20** indicates that this gap is driven by an overrepresentation of establishments in the lower tail of the pay distribution in the top IEVI zip codes, while the rest of the county has higher shares in the upper end of the distribution. In particular, the rest of Los Angeles County has 4.8 times the share of establishments with average annual pay exceeding \$206,500 (represented by the “> \$210,000” annual pay bin) than top IEVI zip codes.

Taken together, these exhibits show that areas facing heightened immigration enforcement differ from the rest of Los Angeles County and appear more economically vulnerable. In addition to a distinct industry composition that is prone to contain many undocumented workers, these areas have smaller establishments and lower average annual pay.

**Exhibit 4.19**  
Establishment Average Employment Count Share for Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes vs Rest of Los Angeles County, Q1 2024 - Q4 2024



**Exhibit 4.20**  
Establishment Average Annual Pay Share for Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes vs Rest of Los Angeles County, Q1 2024 - Q4 2024

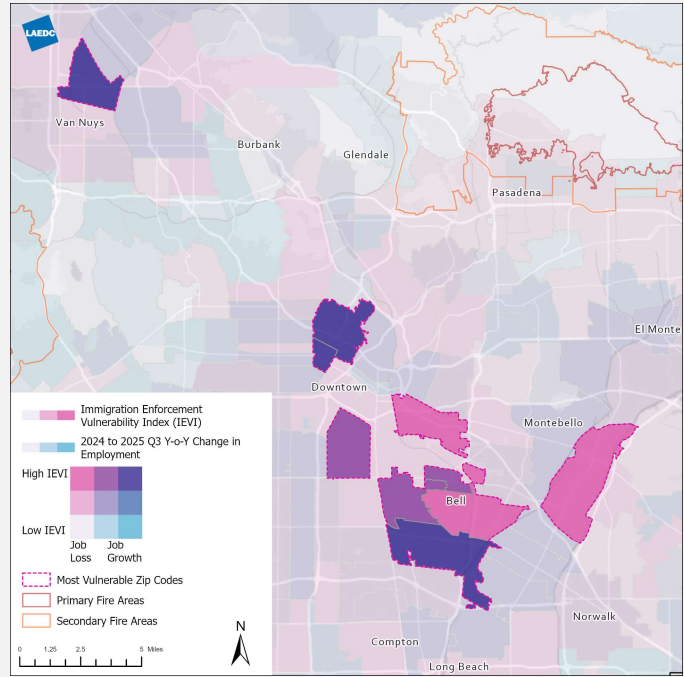


### Variation in Employment Change Across the Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes

This section uses QCEW data to examine year-over-year employment change from Q3 2024 to Q3 2025 in the top 10 IEVI zip codes. Results are presented as a geographic comparison across these zip codes, a sector view for industries with the highest non-citizen workforce shares countywide, and a benchmark against the rest of Los Angeles County (excluding primary fire area zip codes).

The employment outcomes presented here are based on QCEW reported payroll jobs, which capture employment reported through the unemployment insurance system and do not measure informal work arrangements such as day labor or cash-paid work that is not reflected in payroll reporting. As a result, enforcement-related disruption may be larger than what is observable in QCEW data if job losses occur outside payroll employment, or if work shifts from payroll jobs to informal arrangements, and impacts may be undercounted for workers and households less likely to appear in administrative payroll records.

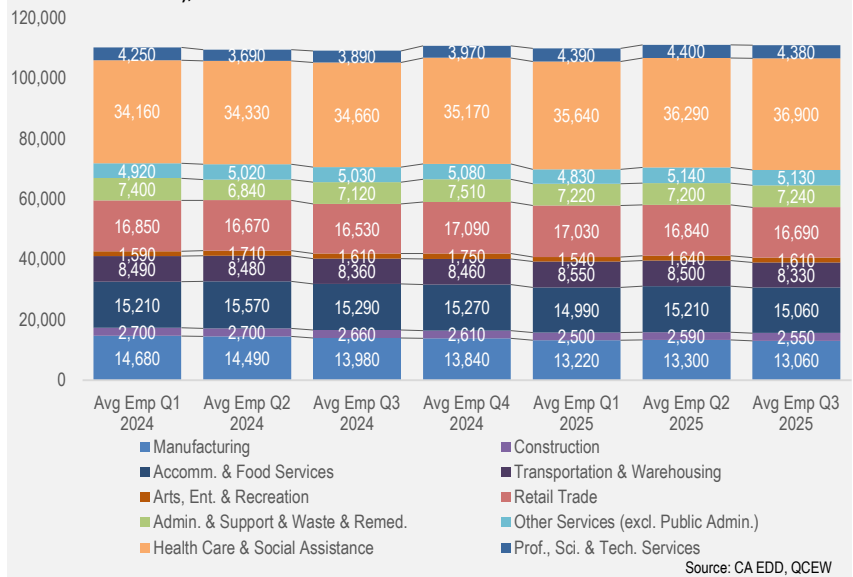
**Exhibit 4.21**  
Bivariate Map of the Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes and YoY Employment Change, Q3 2024 to Q3 2025



The map in **Exhibit 4.21** uses 3x3 bivariate symbology to show the top 10 IEVI zip codes alongside Q3 2024 to Q3 2025 YoY employment change. Even within this highest-vulnerability group, outcomes are mixed. Some zip codes fall into the high IEVI and job loss cell of the legend, while others fall into high IEVI and job growth. This indicates that vulnerability is not uniform across the top 10 IEVI zip codes, and that some of these communities have experienced clearer employment stress than others over the past year.

To provide industry context, we summarize quarterly average employment within the top 10 IEVI zip codes for the ten sectors with the highest shares of non-citizen workers in Los Angeles County, as shown in **Exhibit 4.22**. From Q3 2024 to Q3 2025, total employment across these sectors increased modestly from 109,130 to 110,950 (a net gain of 1,820 jobs, +1.7%). Beneath that net change, shifts are uneven across industries. Goods-producing and locally serving sectors declined,

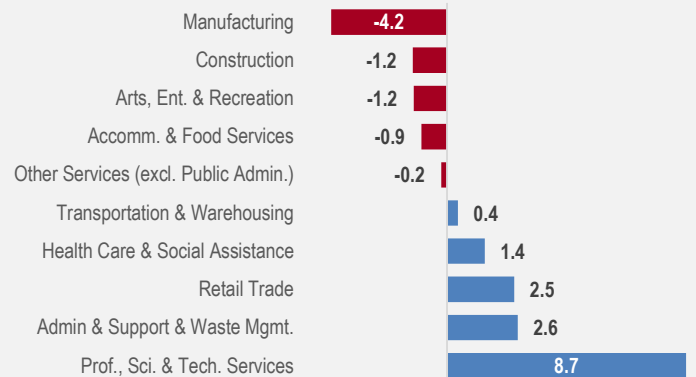
**Exhibit 4.22**  
Quarterly Average Employment in top 10 IEVI Zip Codes (Sectors with Highest Share of Non-Citizen Workforce), Q1 2024 to Q3 2025



including Manufacturing (-920 jobs, -6.6%), Construction (-110, -4.1%), and Accommodation and Food Services (-230, -1.5%). These declines were outweighed by growth in large service sectors, led by Health Care and Social Assistance (+2,240, +6.5%) and Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services (+490, +12.6%), with smaller gains in Retail Trade (+160, +1.0%), Administrative and Support and Waste Management (+120, +1.7%), and Other Services (+100, +2.0%). Overall, differences in local industry concentration and sector performance help explain why employment outcomes vary across the top 10 IEVI zip codes.

To benchmark performance, **Exhibit 4.23** compares year-over-year sector employment change in the top 10 IEVI zip codes with the rest of Los Angeles County, excluding primary fire area zip codes. The results show that differences are sector-specific rather than uniform. Relative to the remainder of the county, the top 10 IEVI zip codes underperform most clearly in Manufacturing (-4.2 percentage points), Construction (-1.2), Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation (-1.2), and Accommodation and Food Services (-0.9). At the same time, they outperform in several service sectors, led by Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services (+8.7 percentage points), Administrative and Support and Waste Management (+2.6), Retail Trade (+2.5), and Health Care and Social Assistance (+1.4). Overall, the comparison indicates uneven vulnerability within the top 10 IEVI zip codes, with relative weakness concentrated in select sectors even as others remain resilient.

**Exhibit 4.23**  
**Difference in YoY Employment Change Between Top 10 IEVI Zip Codes and Rest of Los Angeles County, Q3 2024 to Q3 2025**



Source: CA EDD, QCEW

## 5 Economic Impacts of Undocumented Workers

The economic impacts to Los Angeles County from increased federal immigration enforcement primarily come through industries whose workforces become disrupted. These are industries that rely heavily on undocumented workers. Consequently, understanding where these workers are concentrated across the County as well as their industries of employment is important to assessing both their economic contributions and the industries most vulnerable to changes in immigration enforcement policy.

### Undocumented Immigrants in Los Angeles County

#### Geographic Distribution

The roughly 948,700 million undocumented residents of Los Angeles County comprise 9.4 percent of the County’s total population and represent the second largest segment of foreign-born residents (**Exhibit 5.1**). Understanding where they live and work across the County, as well as their specific demographic characteristics, is important to understanding their economic contribution to the region.

To help obtain this insight, LAEDC partnered with the USC Equity Research Institute (ERI) which developed for this report a unique set of demographic statistics on undocumented residents. ERI applied its own methodology to U.S. Census Bureau 2023 5-Year American Community Survey estimates to break down the undocumented population by Los Angeles County Supervisorial District. These statistics are presented in Exhibit 5.1 below and more detailed demographic characteristics are shown in Appendix E.

**Exhibit 5.1**  
**Resident Demographics by Los Angeles County Supervisorial District**  
*Los Angeles County, 2023 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates*

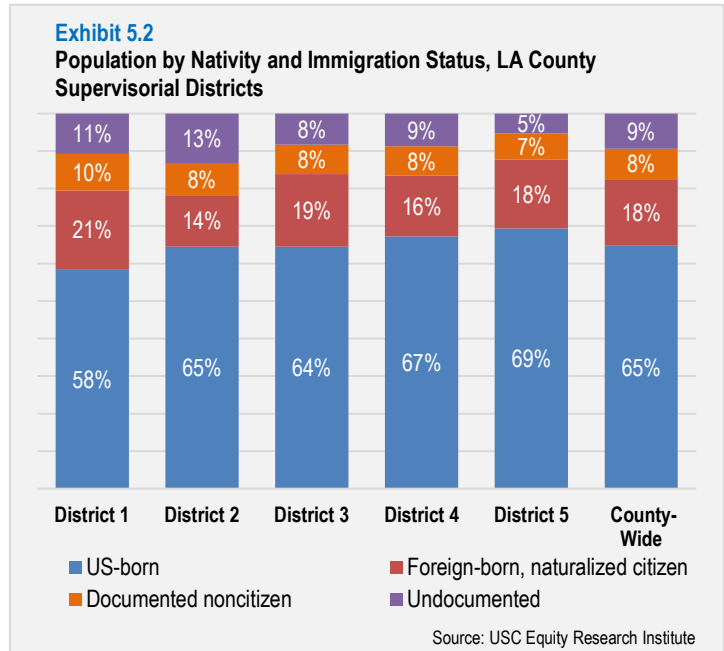
Category	District Number					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Total Population	2,002,357	2,046,295	2,084,792	2,094,205	1,892,389	10,120,038
Total Households	653,606	692,470	797,678	673,423	663,157	3,480,334
<b>Citizenship Status (Count and % of Population)</b>						
US-Born	1,170,978 (58.5%)	1,320,396 (64.5%)	1,344,296 (64.5%)	1,408,092 (67.2%)	1,312,372 (69.4%)	6,556,134 (65.2%)
Foreign-born, Naturalized	421,378 (21.0%)	280,092 (13.7%)	403,347 (19.3%)	338,374 (16.2%)	347,634 (18.4%)	1,790,825 (17.8%)
Citizen	182,398 (9.1%)	158,185 (7.7%)	145,400 (7.0%)	157,573 (7.5%)	119,994 (6.3%)	763,550 (7.6%)
Lawful Permanent Resident	215,885 (10.8%)	274,842 (13.4%)	173,038 (8.3%)	183,571 (8.8%)	101,334 (5.4%)	948,670 (9.4%)
Undocumented						
<b>Status of Foreign-born Residents (Count and % of Foreign-born Population)</b>						
Naturalized Citizen	421,378 (50.7%)	280,092 (38.6%)	403,347 (54.5%)	338,374 (49.3%)	347,634 (59.9%)	1,790,825 (50.4%)
Lawful Permanent Resident	182,398 (21.9%)	158,185 (21.8%)	145,400 (19.6%)	157,573 (23.0%)	119,994 (20.7%)	763,550 (21.5%)
Student Visa Holder	10,173 (1.2%)	11,392 (1.6%)	15,442 (2.1%)	4,247 (0.6%)	9,138 (1.6%)	50,392 (1.4%)
Undocumented	215,885 (26.0%)	274,842 (37.9%)	173,038 (23.4%)	183,571 (26.8%)	101,334 (17.5%)	948,670 (26.7%)

*Source: USC Equity Research Institute*

### Demographic Profile by Supervisorial District

In this section, the district-level perspective on undocumented residents across Los Angeles County's five supervisorial districts are presented based on the newly released ERI demographic data. While undocumented immigrants are present in every district, the analysis focuses in revealing the substantial geographic variation in the size, concentration, demographic composition, and workforce roles of the undocumented immigrant population. Examining these differences by supervisorial district provides critical context for understanding how immigration policies and enforcement actions may affect communities differently across the county.

Los Angeles County's population is relatively evenly distributed across the five supervisorial districts, with each district housing between approximately 1.9 million and 2.1 million residents. This relatively balanced population base provides an important context for understanding how immigration status, and particularly undocumented status, varies spatially across the county. As shown in **Exhibit 5.2**, although undocumented residents make up about 9 percent of the countywide population, their distribution varies notably by district. District 2 has the largest undocumented population both in number and share (about 274,800 residents, or 13 percent), followed by District 1 with roughly 215,900 residents (11 percent). Districts 3 and 4 have more moderate and near-countywide-average shares, at about 8 percent (173,000) and 9 percent (183,600), respectively, while District 5 has the lowest concentration, with approximately 101,300 undocumented residents, or 5 percent of its population.



Across districts, the undocumented population shares common patterns of ancestry but varies in composition as shown in **Exhibit 5.3**. Mexican-origin residents are the largest group in every district, though their share ranges widely, from about 30 percent in Districts 3 and 5 to over 50 percent in District 4. Districts 1, 2, and 3 have the most diverse profiles. District 2 and District 3 stand out for their especially strong Central American presence, with Salvadoran and Guatemalan residents comprising a substantial share of the undocumented population. District 1 has a notable Asian-origin presence among the

**Exhibit 5.3**  
Share of Undocumented Immigrants by Top 10 Ancestry, LA County Supervisorial Districts

District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5
Mexican (38.0%)	Mexican (34.7%)	Mexican (30.2%)	Mexican (52.2%)	Mexican (31.3%)
Guatemalan (13.8%)	Salvadoran (15.6%)	Salvadoran (15.1%)	Salvadoran (8.2%)	Salvadoran (11.0%)
Chinese (8.3%)	Guatemalan (14.9%)	Guatemalan (13.4%)	Guatemalan (5.9%)	Guatemalan (7.7%)
Salvadoran (7.9%)	Honduran (3.8%)	Honduran (2.4%)	Honduran (3.6%)	Chinese (7.2%)
Honduran (1.8%)	Korean (1.9%)	Filipino (2.3%)	Filipino (2.4%)	Armenian (5.0%)
Filipino (1.8%)	Filipino (1.0%)	Chinese (1.4%)	Korean (1.3%)	Filipino (2.5%)
Korean (1.3%)	Chinese (0.8%)	Russian (1.0%)	Chinese (1.0%)	Honduran (1.9%)
Spanish (1.0%)	Nicaraguan (0.7%)	Korean (0.9%)	Nicaraguan (0.7%)	Korean (1.5%)
Nicaraguan (1.0%)	Colombian (0.5%)	Armenian (0.8%)	Peruvian (0.6%)	Spanish (1.1%)
Vietnamese (0.8%)	Spanish (0.4%)	Colombian (0.8%)	Colombian (0.5%)	Peruvian (0.9%)

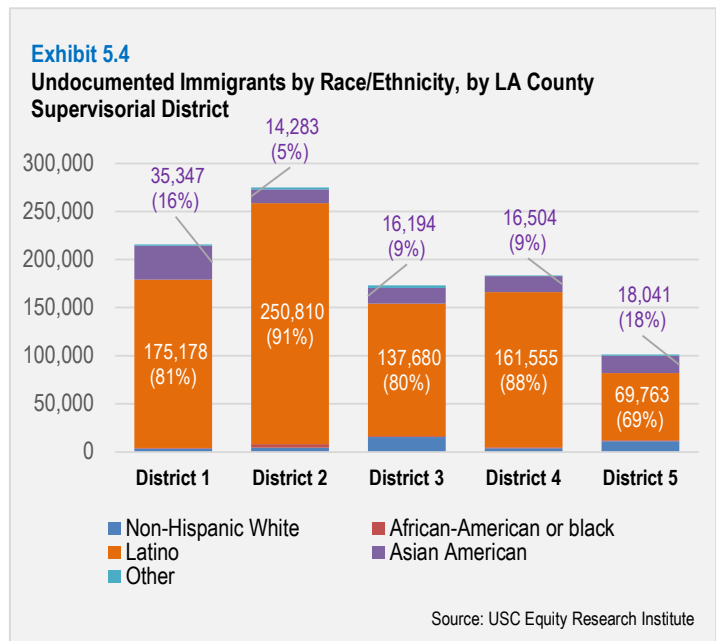
Source: USC Equity Research Institute

undocumented residents, particularly Chinese, Filipino, and Korean residents. District 5, though with a smaller overall undocumented population, has a distinct mix combining a lower Mexican share with relatively higher proportions of Chinese and Armenian residents compared with other districts.

**Exhibit 5.4** presents the racial and ethnic profile of the undocumented residents. Latino residents comprise the majority of the undocumented population in every district, though the degree of concentration varies. Latino undocumented residents account for over 90 percent in District 2, compared to about 69 percent in District 5, where the undocumented population is more racially diverse. Asian American undocumented residents represent a notable share in Districts 1, 3, 4, and 5, while undocumented Black residents are most concentrated in District 2.

There are also observable differences across supervisorial districts in age structure and length of residence of the undocumented population. Countywide, the undocumented population is predominantly of working age, with roughly half (about 50 to 56 percent) between ages 35 and 54. District 4 has the highest concentration within this age range. Districts 3 and 5, by contrast, have slightly higher shares of younger adults (ages 18–34), at roughly 32 to 33 percent. Patterns of length of residence also vary across districts. Districts 1 and 2 have larger numbers of long-term undocumented residents who have lived in the U.S. for more than two decades, indicating deeper community and labor market ties. Although District 4 has a relatively smaller undocumented population compared to Districts 1 and 2, it has the highest share (53 percent) of long-term residents.

Household characteristics of the undocumented population further highlight geographic variation (see **Exhibit 5.5** below). Homeownership among undocumented residents is low countywide, at about 20 percent, compared with a population-wide average of 49 percent. District 5 stands out with a notably higher homeownership rate, at about 30 percent, among undocumented residents, while the remaining districts cluster closer to the countywide average for the undocumented residents. Indicators of social vulnerability also vary: rates of digital divide and limited English proficiency are highest in Districts 1 and 2 and lowest in District 5. Housing cost pressures are widespread among undocumented-headed households across the county, with some variations across the districts. District 2 has the highest number of affected households at both the 30 percent and 50 percent rent-burden thresholds, reflecting its larger undocumented renter population. District 3 stands out for severity, with the highest shares of undocumented-headed households that are rent-burdened (68 percent) and severely rent-burdened (41 percent). Intensified immigration enforcement actions can exacerbate existing affordability challenges by disrupting employment and income as undocumented household heads avoid work or shift hours.



**Exhibit 5.5**

**Indicators of Housing and Socioeconomic Vulnerability among Undocumented Residents, by LA County Supervisorial District**

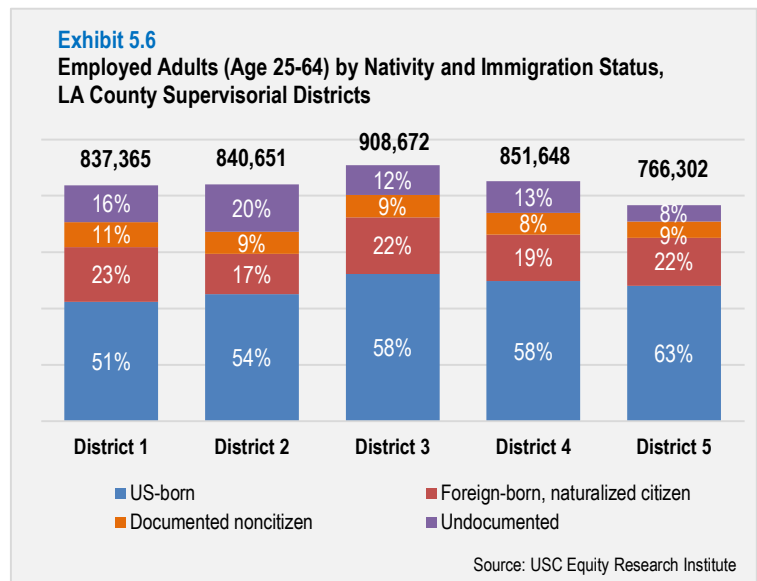
	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	County-Wide
Person is Not a Homeowner (Undocumented)	174,202	221,974	140,472	142,741	69,675	749,064
Share of Total Undocumented Reporting	81.7%	81.1%	82.2%	78.1%	69.7%	79.7%
Person is Digitally Divided (Undocumented)	101,905	126,240	67,199	70,968	34,169	400,481
Share of Total Undocumented Reporting	47.8%	46.1%	39.3%	38.9%	34.2%	42.6%
Limited English Proficient (Undocumented)	158,868	210,241	114,122	131,147	66,927	681,305
Share of Total Undocumented Reporting	73.6%	76.5%	66.0%	71.4%	66.0%	72.3%
Household 30% Rent Burdened & Head of HH is Undocumented	37,582	51,443	35,378	33,174	15,708	173,285
Share of Total Undocumented-Headed Renter Household	60.9%	63.7%	68.0%	63.1%	65.1%	63.9%
Household 50% Rent Burdened & Head of HH is Undocumented	20,287	28,280	21,497	17,561	8,946	96,571
Share of Total Undocumented-Headed Renter Household	32.9%	35.0%	41.3%	33.4%	37.1%	35.6%

Source: USC Equity Research Institute

**Employment Profile by Supervisorial District**

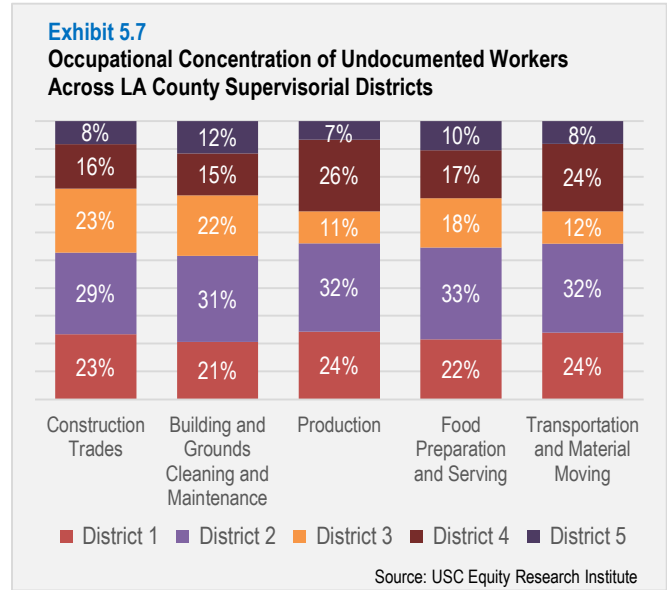
Undocumented immigrants play a significant role in the Los Angeles County workforce, particularly among prime working-age adults. Countywide, approximately 576,000 undocumented residents ages 25 to 64 are employed, accounting for about 13.7 percent of all employed adults in this age group, comparing to the 9.4 percent of undocumented residents in the population. Their participation in the labor market is comparatively high across all supervisorial districts, reflecting both strong labor force attachment and the essential roles they fill in key industries.

District 2 has the largest number of undocumented workers (168,453) and the highest share of its employed population (20 percent) among adults ages 25–64 (as shown in **Exhibit 5.6**). District 1 also has a sizable undocumented workforce, with 131,026 workers, representing 16 percent of employed residents in this age group. Districts 3 and 4 have moderately lower shares, 12 percent and 13 percent, respectively, despite having relatively large overall employment bases. District 5 has the smallest undocumented workforce both in number (57,877) and share (8 percent). This District has a workforce more heavily dominated by U.S.-born and naturalized residents.

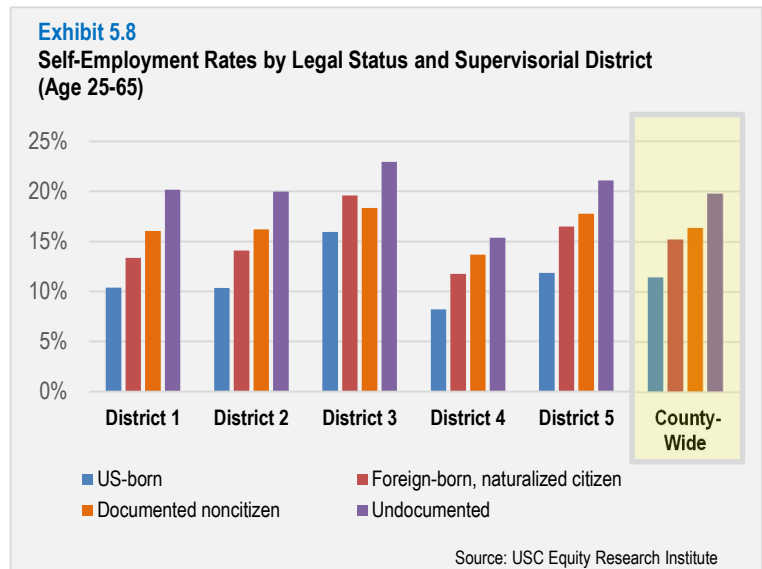


Undocumented workers are concentrated in a core set of labor-intensive occupations that underpin many of Los Angeles County’s key industries, including construction trades; building and grounds cleaning and maintenance; production; food preparation and serving; and transportation and material moving. Undocumented workers in these top five occupations account for about 56 to 68 percent of the undocumented workforce. While these occupational patterns appear across all supervisorial districts, the relative concentration within each district varies.

As shown in **Exhibit 5.7**, District 2 stands out as having the largest share of undocumented employment across all major occupations, accounting for roughly 29 to 33 percent of countywide undocumented workers in each category. This reflects both the district’s large undocumented population and its strong concentration of jobs in construction, services, manufacturing, and logistics. District 1 also has a substantial presence, with relatively balanced representation across the top five occupations, indicating a diversified employment base for undocumented workers. District 3 exhibits a more mixed profile, with moderate concentrations in construction and building services but notably lower shares in production and transportation. District 4 shows a comparatively higher concentration in production and transportation and material moving, while construction and building services account for a smaller share relative to Districts 1, 2 and 3. District 5 consistently has the lowest share of undocumented employment across all major occupational groups, generally under 12 percent, consistent with its lower undocumented population and employment base.

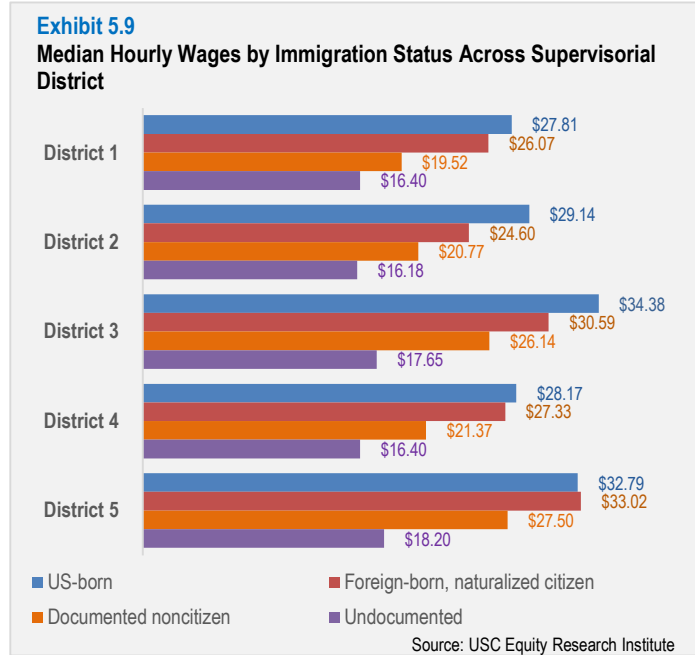


As shown in **Exhibit 5.8**, Self-employment is substantially more common among undocumented workers than among the workforce overall, both countywide and across districts. Countywide, about 20 percent of undocumented adults ages 25–65 are self-employed, compared with roughly 16 percent for all workers, 11 percent for U.S.-born workers, and 15 percent for naturalized citizens. There is also noticeable variation across districts. The share of undocumented workers who are self-employed is highest in District 3 (23 percent), followed by District 5 (21 percent). Districts 1 and 2 is close to the county average at 20 percent, while District 4 has a comparatively lower rate at 15 percent.



Even in districts with lower shares, undocumented workers consistently exhibit higher self-employment rates than U.S.-born workers. These higher rates indicate a greater reliance on self-employment across all districts, reflecting that undocumented residents play important roles not only as employed workers but also as independent workers and small business operators in the regional economy.

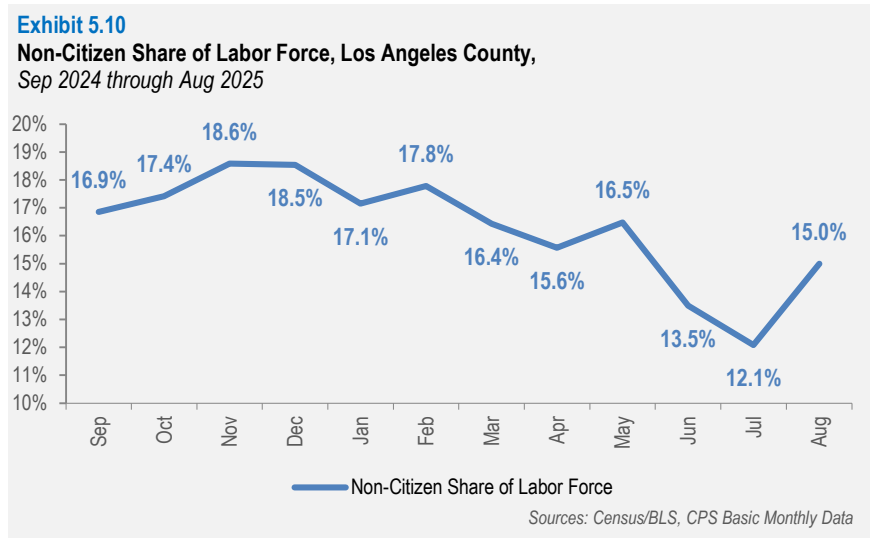
Finally, median wages for undocumented workers are consistently the lowest across all districts (see **Exhibit 5.9**). Undocumented median wages range from about \$16 to \$18 per hour, well below district-wide medians (from about \$24 to \$31 per hour) and substantially below wages for U.S.-born (\$27 to \$34 per hour), naturalized (\$24 to \$33 per hour), and documented noncitizen (\$19 to \$28 per hour) workers. Across districts, District 5 has the highest median wage for undocumented workers (\$18.20), followed by District 3 (\$17.65). Districts 1, 2, and 4 cluster at roughly \$16.40. Even in districts with relatively higher wages, undocumented workers earn far less than other groups, reflecting the persistent wage disparities faced by undocumented workers across all districts.



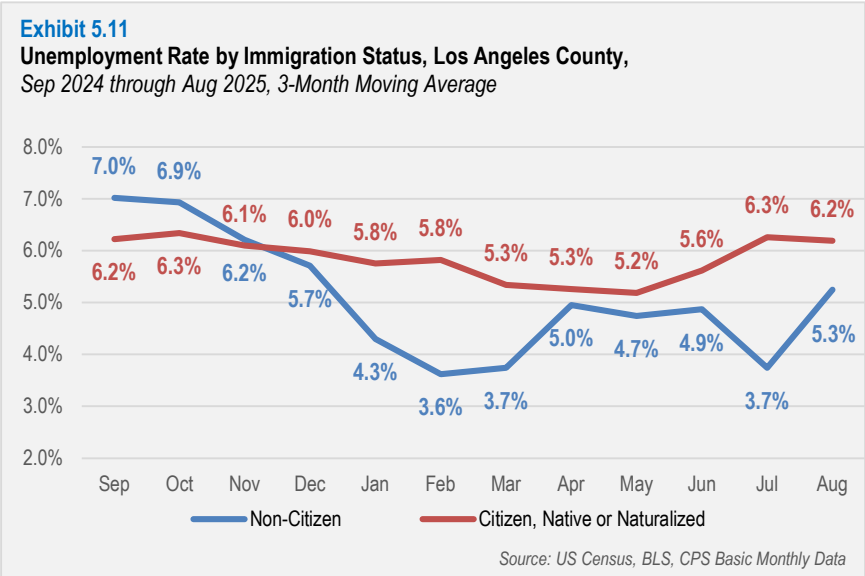
## Changes in Undocumented Labor Force and Unemployment

Operating outside of legal employment, undocumented workers do not show up in official government employment and unemployment statistics. However, understanding how they augment the Los Angeles County labor force is important to understanding their impacts to local businesses and contributions to the regional economy, particularly considering increased immigration enforcement. We analyzed changes in the labor force and in unemployment with respect to non-citizen workers as an approximation to help provide this insight.

**Exhibit 5.10** shows the non-citizen share of the Los Angeles County labor force from September 2024 through August 2025. Non-citizen workers made up a stable segment of Los Angeles County’s labor force in November and December, measuring 18.6 to 18.5 percent, respectively. This then eased through the spring to 16.5 percent in May. After immigration enforcement activity ramped up in June, the non-citizen share fell sharply to 13.5 percent in June and 12.1 percent in July, before a partial rebound to 15.0 percent in August. The timing points to enforcement coinciding with an accelerated pullback of non-citizens from the measured labor force, likely through reduced job search, movement into informal work, or relocation.



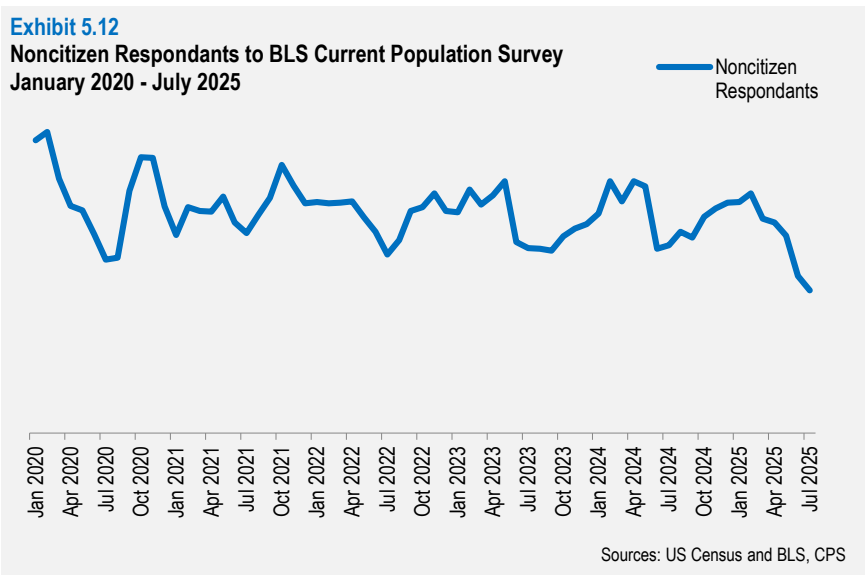
The three-month average unemployment rate for non-citizens in Los Angeles County fell from about 7.0 percent in September 2024 to 3.6 percent in February 2025, as shown in **Exhibit 5.11**. It then rose to the 4.7 to 4.9 percent range in May and June, before dipping to 3.7 percent in July and rebounding to 5.3 percent in August. By contrast, the three-month average unemployment rate for citizens stayed in a tighter band of roughly 5.2 to 6.3 percent, ending near 6.2 percent.



While the overall difference in trends between unemployment rates for citizens and non-citizens is informative, the month-to-month readings should be interpreted cautiously. These estimates come from the Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly household survey jointly administered by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS Basic Monthly data for Los Angeles County—and the very small sample sizes that are used to produce these estimates—create volatility and less precision in these estimates.<sup>62</sup> Consequently, the July 2025 dip to 3.7 percent and the subsequent rebound in August to 5.3 percent could be artificially driven by sample and nonresponse effects.

In fact, the CPS in 2025 did record a sharp decline in the number of noncitizen respondents in Los Angeles County, coinciding with the recent intensification of federal immigration enforcement efforts (**Exhibit 5.12**). Whereas the CPS consistently included 300 to 350 noncitizen respondents per month in the early 2020s, participation has fallen to new lows in 2025, with only 242 respondents in June and 220 in July. These are the lowest levels observed since tracking began in 2010. This downward shift in participation reflects the broader impact of enforcement policies on immigrant communities, suggesting that more restrictive environments may be discouraging noncitizens from engaging with official surveys.

The decline in respondent counts highlights the importance of



<sup>62</sup> In July, the survey interviewed far fewer non-citizens in L.A. County (about 220 to 240 vs roughly 300 to 380 earlier in 2025) and the median weight per respondent rose to about 5,000, making the unemployment estimate more volatile.

considering enforcement contexts when examining labor force outcomes for immigrant populations. Nevertheless, the sharper summer movement in unemployment among non-citizens, coinciding with stepped up DHS and ICE activity in June, is consistent with some workers leaving or avoiding the measured labor market as opposed to an uptick in hiring.

### Industry Distribution of Undocumented Workers

**Exhibit 5.13** provides a detailed breakdown of undocumented immigrant employment across major industries in Los Angeles County in 2021. The first two numerical columns report the estimated number and share of undocumented workers in each industry. The next column shows the total size of workforce in each industry, while the last column shows the percentage of undocumented workers relative to total employment in the corresponding industry. **Exhibit 5.14** illustrates this distribution for ease of comparison.

**Exhibit 5.13**

**Undocumented Immigrant Workers by Industry in Los Angeles County (2021)**

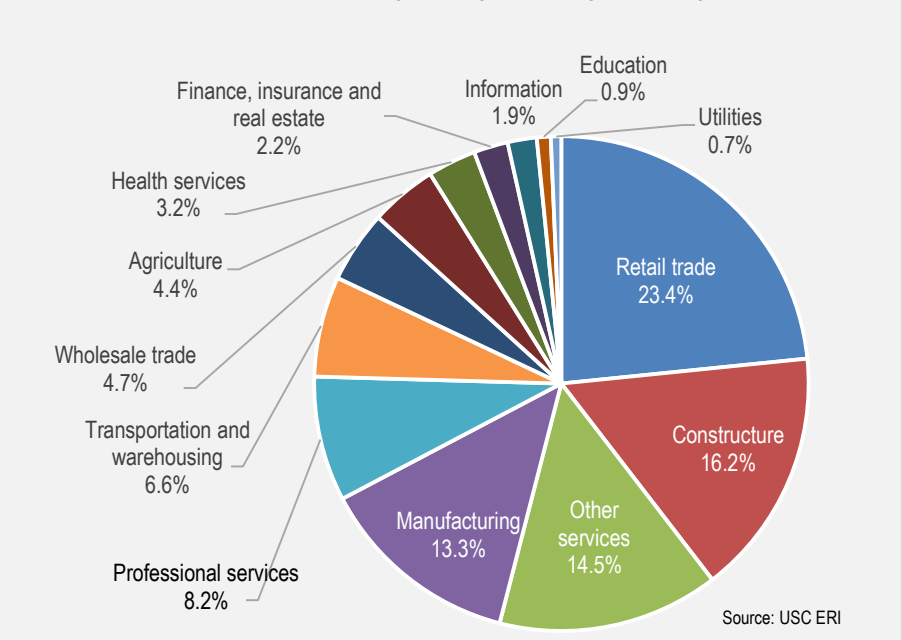
Industry	Undocumented Worker	% of Total Undocumented Workers	Total Workforce	% Total Workforce
Retail trade	125,692	23.4%	815,460	15.4%
Constructure	86,980	16.2%	302,813	28.7%
Other services	77,758	14.5%	717,003	10.8%
Manufacturing	71,378	13.3%	408,371	17.5%
Professional services	43,876	8.2%	560,005	7.8%
Transportation & warehousing	35,318	6.6%	298,682	11.8%
Wholesale trade	25,301	4.7%	158,571	16.0%
Agriculture & mining	23,458	4.4%	75,754	31.0%
Health services	17,129	3.2%	458,450	3.7%
Finance, insurance & real estate	11,996	2.2%	279,108	4.3%
Information	10,139	1.9%	174,905	5.8%
Education	4,965	0.9%	411,989	1.2%
Utilities	3,657	0.7%	47,281	7.7%
Public administration	0	0.0%	172,914	0.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>537,647</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4,881,306</b>	<b>11.0%</b>

Source: USC ERI California Immigrant Data Portal

Out of an estimated total 537,647 undocumented workers in the county, the largest concentration is in retail trade, which accounts for 125,692 workers, or 23.4 percent of the total. This is followed by construction, employing nearly 87,000 undocumented workers (or 16.2 percent of the total). These two industries alone account for nearly 40 percent of all undocumented immigrant employment in Los Angeles County. Other industries with particularly high concentrations of undocumented workforce include other services (including a range of personal services, repair, and maintenance services), which employs roughly 77,800 undocumented workers (14.5 percent) and

**Exhibit 5.14**

**Distribution of Undocumented Workers by Industry in Los Angeles County, 2021**



manufacturing, with more than 71,300 undocumented workers (13.3 percent). Together, these four industries account for nearly two-thirds of all undocumented employment in the county.

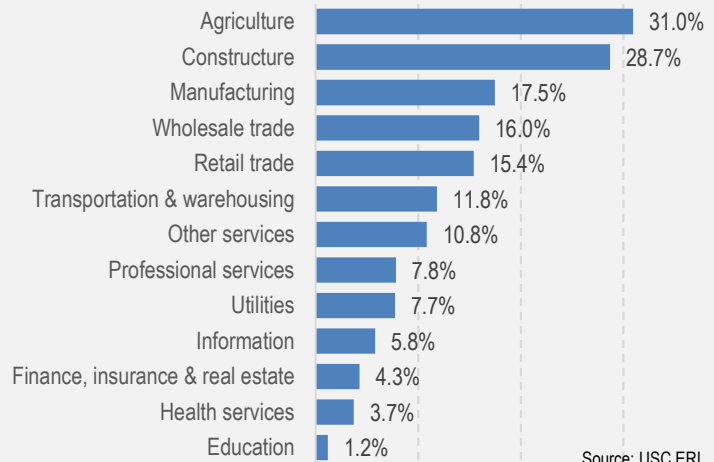
Beyond these top industries, undocumented workers are also spread across professional services (8.2 percent), transportation and warehousing (6.6 percent), wholesale trade (4.7 percent), and agriculture (4.4 percent). Smaller but still notable shares are found in health services (3.2 percent) and finance (2.2 percent).

Meanwhile, sectors such as information, education, and utilities employ relatively small numbers of undocumented workers, each representing less than 2 percent of the total undocumented workforce.

The share of undocumented workers as a percentage of the total workforce of a specific industry (see in Exhibit 5.13) highlights those with the highest dependency on undocumented labor (also see **Exhibit 5.15**). Agriculture stands out most prominently: while the sector employs a relatively small absolute number of undocumented workers, they represent 31 percent of its total workforce, indicating its heavy dependence on immigrant labor. Construction shows a similar pattern, with undocumented workers comprising 28.7 percent of the workforce. High concentrations of undocumented labor are also observed in manufacturing (17.5 percent) and wholesale trade (16.0 percent). Overall, undocumented immigrants make up about 11 percent of the total county workforce.

**Exhibit 5.15**

**Industry Dependence on Undocumented Labor in Los Angeles County, 2021**



## Economic Contribution of the Undocumented Workforce

To estimate the economic contribution of undocumented workers in Los Angeles County, we first estimated their numbers for 2023. The total undocumented immigrant population in the county grew from approximately 809,476 in 2021<sup>63</sup> to 948,700 in 2023,<sup>64</sup> an increase of about 17 percent. Applying this growth rate to the undocumented workforce base of 537,647 workers in 2021, we estimate there were about 630,118 undocumented workers in Los Angeles County in 2023.

For purposes of economic modeling, we assumed that the industry distribution of undocumented workers remained unchanged between 2021 and 2023. In other words, the industry shares of undocumented workers shown in the second numerical column of Exhibit 5.12 were applied to the estimated total of 630,118 undocumented workers in 2023. These adjusted 2023 workforce estimates by industry were then used as inputs in the IMPLAN input-output model to quantify the total economic contribution of undocumented workers in Los Angeles County. (The methodology used mirrors that shown in Appendix F.)

<sup>63</sup> USC ERI. 2024. *California Immigrant Data Portal*. <https://immigrantdata.org/indicators/immigration-status>.

<sup>64</sup> USC ERI. 2025. *Undocumented Immigrants in LA County*, p.5. [https://dornsife.usc.edu/eri/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2025/07/USC\\_ERI\\_LA\\_County\\_Undoc\\_Estimates\\_July2025.pdf](https://dornsife.usc.edu/eri/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2025/07/USC_ERI_LA_County_Undoc_Estimates_July2025.pdf).

**Exhibit 5.16** illustrates the significant economic contribution of undocumented workers to the Los Angeles County economy. In total, undocumented workers generate an estimated \$253.9 billion in output, representing about 17 percent of Los Angeles County’s overall economic activity. This impact is not limited to direct production contributed by the undocumented workers in their respective industries. It also includes indirect activity in the county economy generated through supply chain linkages (indirect effects) and induced spending as these workers and others supported along the supply chain spend their earnings in the local economy (induced effects). Direct contributions account for roughly \$159 billion, while an additional \$49.6 billion is generated through indirect effects and \$45.4 billion via induced channels.

**Exhibit 5.16**  
**Estimated Economic Contribution of Undocumented Workers in Los Angeles County (2023)**

<b>Output (\$ millions)</b>	<b>\$253,878.6</b>
<i>Direct</i>	\$158,804.7
<i>Indirect</i>	\$49,634.5
<i>Induced</i>	\$45,439.3
<b>Employment (jobs)</b>	<b>1,062,550</b>
<i>Direct</i>	630,120
<i>Indirect</i>	194,800
<i>Induced</i>	237,630
<b>Labor income (\$ millions)</b>	<b>\$80,443.9</b>
<i>Direct</i>	\$47,696.8
<i>Indirect</i>	\$16,725.9
<i>Induced</i>	\$16,021.2
<b>Value added (\$ millions)</b>	<b>\$147,361.0</b>
<i>Direct</i>	\$88,388.8
<i>Indirect</i>	\$30,040.2
<i>Induced</i>	\$28,932.1

Source: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

The employment contribution is similarly substantial. Undocumented workers support more than 1.06 million jobs, or 16 percent of county total employment. Roughly 630,120 of these jobs represent direct employment held by undocumented workers, while an additional 194,800 jobs are sustained indirectly in industries in the supply chain, and about 237,630 jobs result from induced economic effects.

These figures highlight that undocumented labor not only fills direct positions but also supports broader employment, benefiting both citizens and non-citizens, through their contribution to regional economic activity.

**Undocumented workers generate an estimated \$253.9 billion in output, representing about 17 percent of Los Angeles County’s overall economic activity.**

Labor income contributions amount to \$80.4 billion, or 15 percent of the county total. This includes \$47.7 billion in direct labor income to undocumented workers, supplemented by \$16.7 billion and \$16.0 billion in indirect and induced labor income for households across the county. In terms of value added (a measure closely aligned with gross county product), undocumented workers account for \$147.4 billion, or 16 percent of the county’s total. According to a report by the Bay Area Council Economic Institute, undocumented labor contributes an estimated \$278 billion to California’s gross state product (GSP).<sup>65</sup> Based on this, **undocumented workers in Los Angeles County account for roughly 57.5 percent of the statewide GSP contribution attributable to undocumented labor.**

When interpreting the results of this analysis, several caveats should be kept in mind. First, using counts of undocumented workers as the sole inputs into the IMPLAN model assumes these jobs are equivalent to

When interpreting the results of this analysis, several caveats should be kept in mind. First, using counts of undocumented workers as the sole inputs into the IMPLAN model assumes these jobs are equivalent to

<sup>65</sup> Bay Area Council Economic Institute and UC Merced. June 2025. *The Economic Impact of Mass Deportation in California*. <https://www.bayareaeconomy.org/report/economic-impact-of-mass-deportation-in-california/>.

average industry positions in terms of hours worked, wages, and productivity. In practice, undocumented workers are often more likely to work fewer hours, hold seasonal or multiple jobs, and earn below industry-average wages. These factors could lead the model to overstate labor income and value-added. Furthermore, while IMPLAN estimates induced effects based on household spending, undocumented workers may remit a portion of their earnings outside the local economy, creating leakages that reduce local spending and potentially leading to overestimation of the induced impacts. On the other hand, the analysis may underestimate contributions due to possible undercounting of undocumented employment and untracked informal or cash-based economic activity. Considering all of these potential upward and downward factors, results in the above analysis should be viewed as indications of the size and scale of economic contributions rather than precise measures of the net contribution by the undocumented labor in Los Angeles County.

## 6 Downtown Los Angeles Curfew

Mayor Karen Bass imposed a nightly curfew in downtown Los Angeles from June 10, 2025 to June 16, 2025 in response to protests tied to intensified federal immigration enforcement. The curfew covered an approximately one-square-mile area bounded by the 5, 10, and 110 freeways. While the curfew was effective in protecting businesses, residents, and the local community, it also resulted in lost business hours and disruptions to economic activity.

### Baseline Economic Contribution of Curfew Area

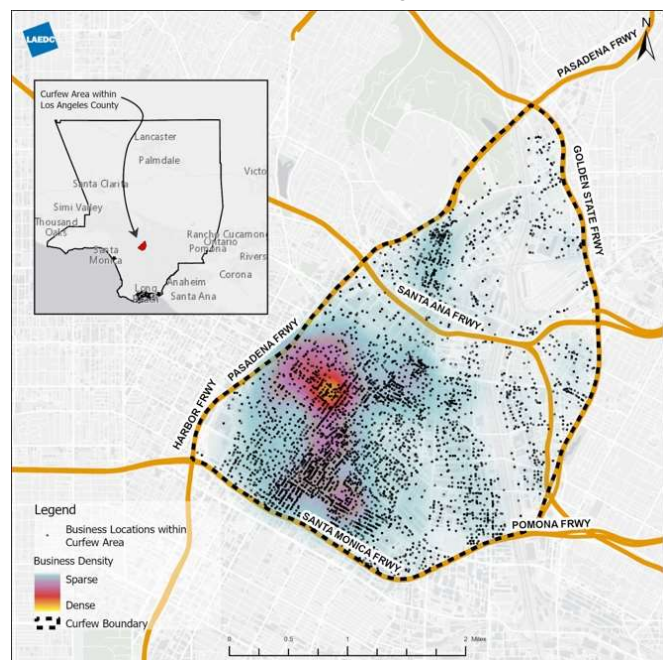
Based on business-level data from Dun & Bradstreet, we estimate that the curfew in Downtown Los Angeles potentially impacted a total of 19,461 businesses. The concentration of potentially affected businesses is shown in the map in **Exhibit 6.1**. Each point in the map represents a business location, while the heatmap shows business density, with the highest concentrations in the central and southwestern parts of the curfew zone. These areas include key commercial corridors that support a large number of small and locally owned businesses.

The 19,461 businesses represent approximately 3.3 percent of all business establishments in the County.<sup>66</sup> However, we also estimate that these businesses employ a total of 253,713 workers, representing about 6.5 percent of the County's average monthly employment. This means that the curfew, while intended to address public safety concerns, may have disrupted economic activity in one of Los Angeles's most commercially active neighborhoods.

We estimate that the total economic output for the curfew zone is approximately \$72.6 billion, supporting around 284,580 jobs. (See Appendices F and G for the detailed methodology.) The sectors contributing the most to overall economic output include Wholesale Trade, which ranks highest with about \$19.9 billion (27.5 percent of total output). This is followed by Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services at \$9.6 billion (13.3 percent), Utilities at \$9.0 billion (12.4 percent), Finance and Insurance at \$6.6 billion (9.0 percent), and Retail Trade at \$5.9 billion (8.1 percent). These figures underscore the area's strong concentration of economic activity in professional services, commerce, and essential infrastructure sectors.

Employment, however, is distributed somewhat differently across industries. Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services sector ranks as the top employer, supporting 45,855 jobs (16.1 percent). It is followed by

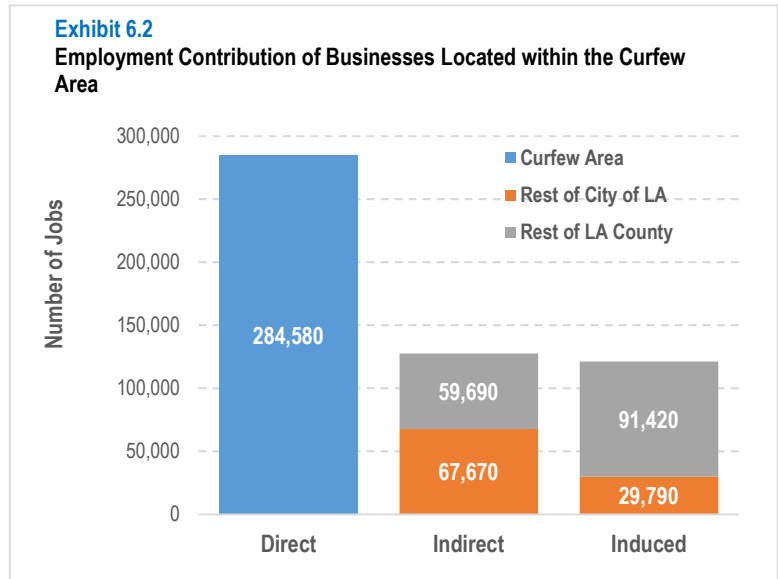
**Exhibit 6.1**  
Business Locations in Downtown Los Angeles Curfew Area



<sup>66</sup> U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, Los Angeles County, 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter, 2024

Accommodation and Food Services with 32,302 jobs (11.4 percent), Retail Trade with 24,737 jobs (8.7 percent), Government Enterprises with 24,034 jobs (8.5 percent), and Utilities with 23,173 jobs (8.1 percent). This distribution reflects a blend of high-skill, knowledge-based industries alongside labor-intensive service sectors, both of which play a critical role in supporting a significant share of the workforce in the area.

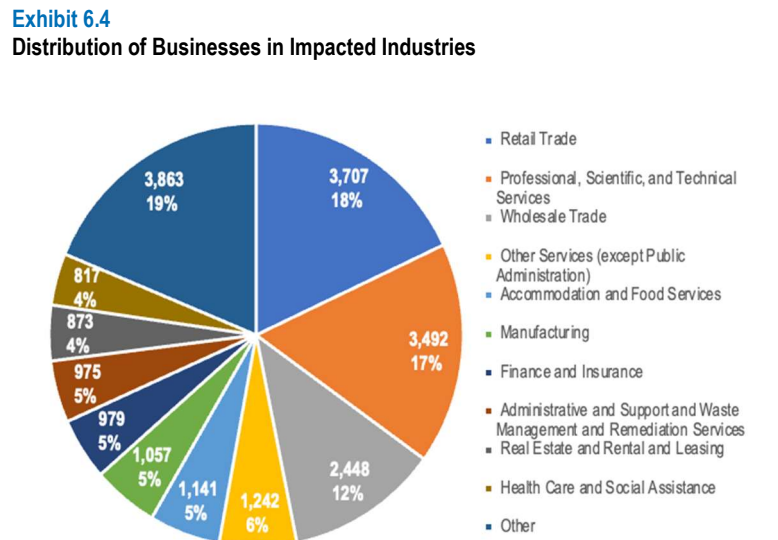
Note that this baseline contribution of economic activity in the curfew zone includes not only the direct operations of businesses within the area, but also their indirect and induced effects (i.e., the ripple or multiplier effects) on the rest of the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County economies through supply chain purchases and employee household spending. When counting indirect and induced effects, businesses in the curfew area support a total of 533,150 jobs across Los Angeles County. These include 127,360 indirect jobs (67,670 in the rest of the City of Los Angeles and 59,690 in the rest of Los Angeles County) as well as 121,210 induced jobs (29,790 jobs in the rest of the City of Los Angeles and 91,420 jobs in the rest of Los Angeles County). This is illustrated in **Exhibit 6.2**.



**Exhibit 6.3**  
Largest Impacted Industries by Number of Businesses

NAICS Sector	Industry Description	Businesses
44-45	Retail Trade	3,707
54	Professional, Scientific, and Tech Services	3,492
42	Wholesale Trade	2,448
81	Other Services (except Public Admin)	1,242
72	Accommodation and Food Services	1,141
31-33	Manufacturing	1,057
52	Finance and Insurance	979
56	Administrative and Support Services	975
53	Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	873
62	Health Care and Social Assistance	817
---	Other	3,863
<b>Total</b>		<b>19,461</b>

**Exhibit 6.3** shows the largest impacted industries by the number of businesses, while **Exhibit 6.4** highlights the distribution across these industries. It indicates that Retail Trade was the most impacted industry with a total of 3,707 businesses (18 percent). This was followed by Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services with 3,492 businesses (17 percent), Wholesale Trade with 2,448 businesses (12 percent), and Other Services (except Public Administration) with 1,242 businesses (6 percent). Many of the businesses in



Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services are located in the Downtown high rises.

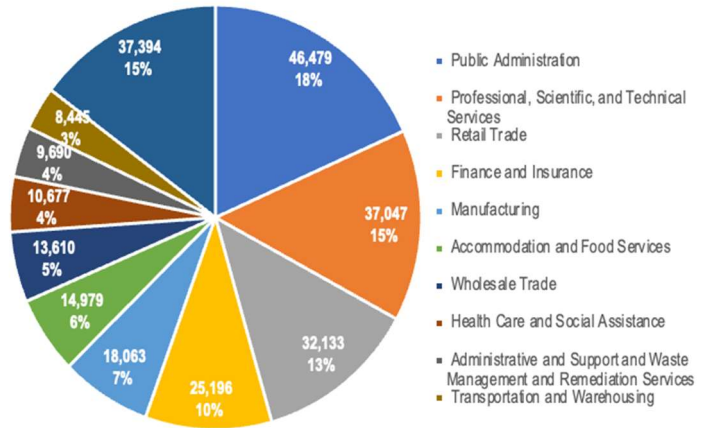
**Exhibits 6.5** and **6.6** present the largest impacted industries by the number and distribution of employees. They show that the largest impacted industry is Public Administration, with 46,479 employees (18 percent). This is not surprising given the high concentration of government facilities in Downtown. Second is Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services with 37,047 employees (15 percent), followed by Retail Trade with 32,133 employees (13 percent), Finance and Insurance with 25,196 employees (10 percent), and Manufacturing with 18,063 employees (7 percent).

Some of these businesses experienced vandalism and property losses in addition to disruptions. While there currently is little publicly available data on vandalism and property losses, the Los Angeles City Controller estimates that federal enforcement actions so far have cost Los Angeles taxpayers \$1.4 million for cleaning up damage to public properties.<sup>67</sup>

**Exhibit 6.5**  
Largest Impacted Industries by Number of Employees

NAICS Sector	Industry Description	Employees
92	Public Administration	46,479
54	Professional, Scientific, and Tech Services	37,047
44-45	Retail Trade	32,133
52	Finance and Insurance	25,196
31-33	Manufacturing	18,063
72	Accommodation and Food Services	14,979
42	Wholesale Trade	13,610
62	Health Care and Social Assistance	10,677
56	Administrative and Support Services	9,690
48-49	Transportation and Warehousing	8,445
---	Other	37,394
<b>Total</b>		<b>253,713</b>

**Exhibit 6.6**  
Distribution of Employees in Impacted Industries



## Changes in Downtown Visitors

IAE undertook an analysis of historical foot traffic in the downtown Los Angeles curfew areas. The analysis sought to quantify overall the extent to which consumer activity in the downtown area decreased during the curfew, as well as the length that it took to rebound. The analysis also explored whether decreased consumer activity can be discerned by industry sectors (e.g., Retail Trade, Accommodation and Food Services).

Our analysis of foot traffic in the downtown Los Angeles area indicates that the disruptions from the curfew were significant. In addition, the disruptions extended beyond the start and stop dates of the curfew itself. **Exhibit 6.7** shows in blue a 7-day moving average of daily foot traffic (visits) in the downtown Los Angeles area where the curfew took place (“curfew area”) between January 1 and September 30, 2025. The grey shaded areas illustrate periods of heightened federal immigration enforcement activity around downtown, including a week-long ICE operation from May 4 to 10, 2025 that resulted in 239 arrests in the greater Los

<sup>67</sup> <https://x.com/lacontroller/status/1936144809166860374>

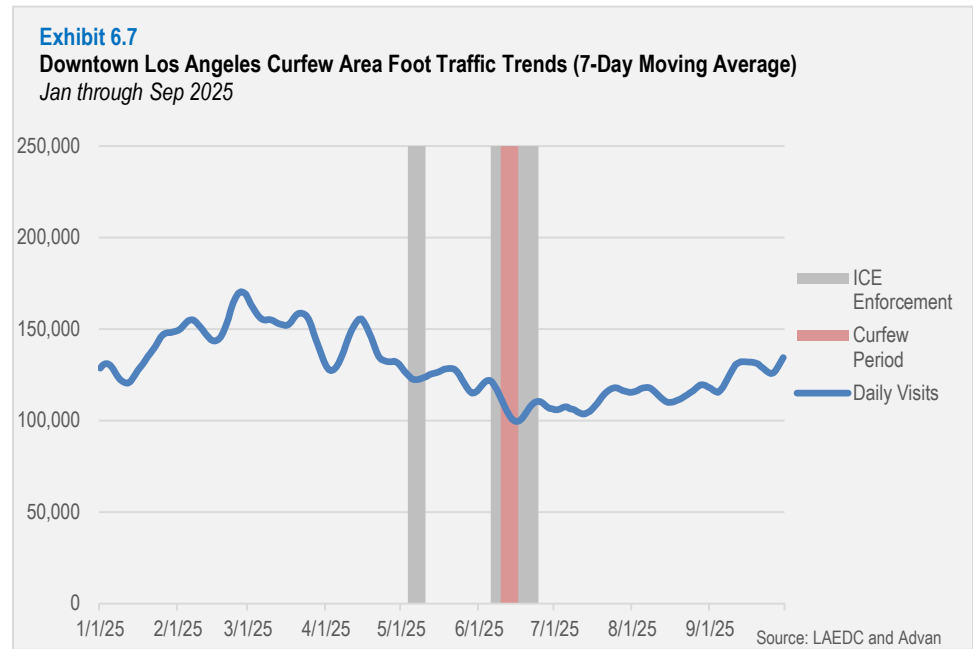
Angeles area,<sup>68</sup> and the June 6 to 24, 2025 period that began with immigration raids at the Los Angeles Fashion District and other areas<sup>69</sup> and culminated with large protests after masked agents detained several people near East 9th Street and South Spring Street.<sup>70</sup> The orange shaded area illustrates the curfew period from June 10 through June 16, 2025.

Care must be taken in interpreting any foot traffic trends over time—

especially in an area as large as the downtown Los Angeles curfew area—since many factors can influence day-to-day visitation, ranging from weather to economic conditions to large sporting or entertainment events. That said, **Exhibit 6.7** shows that during the curfew period, foot traffic in the downtown curfew area declined by 10.3 percent, denoted by a steep drop.

The data also show that the curfew, while necessary to protect businesses and residents in the area, exacerbated an already worsening situation with respect to visitation. While the week of May 4 to May 10 was associated with only a 0.5 percent decline in foot traffic in the downtown curfew area, foot traffic began to decline significantly in the beginning of June. Over the June 6 to June 24 period, foot traffic decreased by 8.7 percent. Additionally, over the entire month of June, foot traffic in the curfew area was down 9.8 percent.

**Exhibits 6.8** and **6.9** below illustrate changes in monthly visitors to individual businesses located in the downtown curfew area from January to August 2025. Rather than just capturing visitors who entered the curfew area, these data are more specific in that they measure visitors in and around individual business establishments.



<sup>68</sup> U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2025, May 14). *ICE Los Angeles announces 239 illegal aliens were arrested during recent operation* [Press release]. <https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/ice-los-angeles-announces-239-illegal-aliens-were-arrested-during-recent-operation>

<sup>69</sup> Romo, V. (2025, June 10). *After ICE raids in LA, families of those detained are desperate for answers*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2025/06/10/nx-s1-5428568/ice-raids-la-fashion-district-immigration>

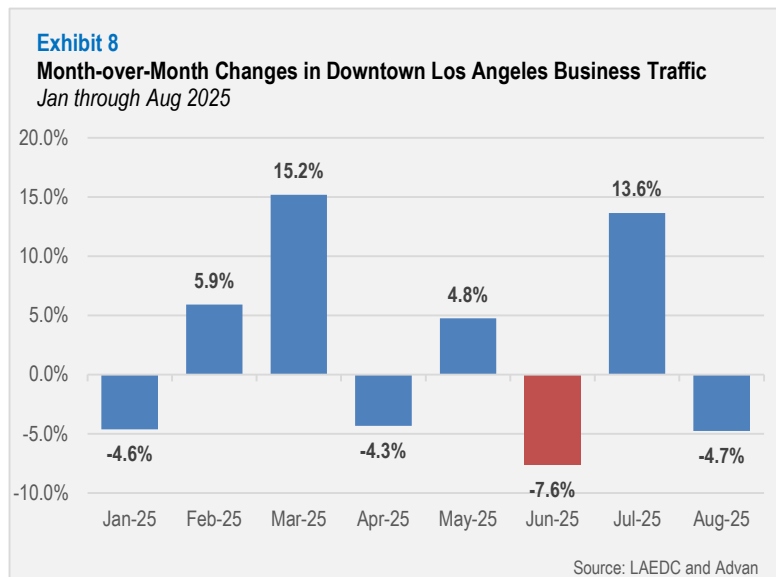
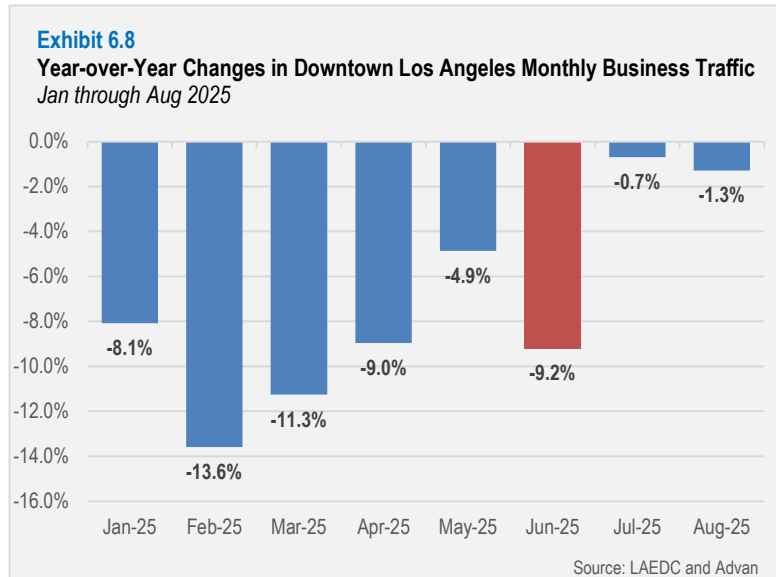
<sup>70</sup> NBC Los Angeles. (n.d.). *Angry crowds confront federal agents in downtown LA*. <https://www.nbclosangeles.com/news/local/angry-crowds-confront-federal-agents-detaining-immigrants-in-downtown-la/3731468/>

Exhibit 6.8 shows that on a year-over-year basis (i.e., January 2024 to January 2025), monthly visitation across all businesses tracked in the curfew area was down 9.2 percent in June. For context, year-over-year visitation was down in all months shown, and was down substantially from January through April, likely due to suppressed economic activity in the aftermath of the Eaton and Palisades fires. Business traffic was also down in May but had improved compared to earlier months. June, by contrast, showed a noticeable worsening of the situation.

Exhibit 6.9 corroborates this assessment on a month-over-month basis. Compared to December 2024, businesses in the curfew area experienced a 4.6 percent decrease in visitors in January 2025, likely due to the Eaton and Palisades fires. Visits rebounded in February and March by 5.9 percent and 15.2 percent, respectively, before fluctuating modestly in April and May. In June, businesses in the curfew area saw a 7.6 percent drop in visitation, consistent with the increased immigration activity enforcement and the resulting protests and curfew. Visits rebounded again in July by 13.6 percent before declining modestly in August by 4.7 percent.

Focusing specifically on June 2025, **Exhibit 6.10** presents the changes in monthly visitation to businesses in the downtown Los Angeles curfew area broken out by selected industries. Changes in monthly visitation are given in both year-over-year and month-over-month bases to account for seasonality while examining short-term differences in visitation.

Exhibit 6.10 shows that visits to businesses in the downtown curfew area in June 2025 were down compared to June 2024 for all industries except retail trade. Overall, the decrease in traffic measured 10.6 percent. Particularly hard hit were the Accommodation and Food Services sector and the Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation sector, which experienced year-over-year declines of 21.3 percent and 16.3 percent, respectively. Transportation and Warehousing declined 11.8 percent while Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services declined 10.4 percent.



Compared to May 2025, business visitations decreased for all industries, with an overall decline of 6.5 percent. Accommodation and Food Services was the hardest hit, registering a 19.1 percent decline. This makes sense given that the nighttime curfew would have disproportionately impacted restaurants. Other Services (except Public Administration), which includes personal care services like barber shops and nail salons, saw the second biggest decline at 6.1 percent. This was followed by Health Care and Social Assistance (-4.5 percent), Manufacturing (-4.2 percent), and Finance and Insurance (-4.2 percent).

**Exhibit 6.10**

**Changes in Monthly Visitation to Downtown Los Angeles Curfew Area**  
*June 2025, by Selected Industries*

NAICS Sector	Year-over-Year	Month-over-Month
31-33 – Manufacturing	-3.7%	-4.2%
44-45 – Retail Trade	13.7%	-1.9%
48-49 – Transportation and Warehousing	-11.8%	-1.8%
51 – Information	-9.1%	-1.1%
52 – Finance and Insurance	-5.5%	-4.2%
54 – Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	-10.4%	-3.7%
61 – Education	-2.4%	-1.4%
62 – Health Care and Social Assistance	-4.4%	-4.5%
71 – Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	-16.3%	-1.0%
72 – Accommodation and Food Services	-21.3%	-19.1%
81 – Other Services (except Public Administration)	-4.4%	-6.1%
Total	-10.6%	-6.5%

Source: LAEDC and Advan

### Economic Impact Analysis - Three Scenarios

Using a combination of business-level foot traffic data, regional input-output modeling, and scenario development, the study quantifies the impacts on employment, labor income, total output, and fiscal revenues across three geographic scales: the curfew area, the rest of the City of Los Angeles, and the rest of Los Angeles County.

#### Scenario Development

To capture the range of possible economic impacts associated with the curfew, three alternative scenarios were developed. Each scenario draws upon observed visitation data for businesses within the curfew zone, as well as considerations on characteristics of business operations, consumer behavior, and broader environment of immigration enforcement activities in the region.

Analysis of location-based foot traffic data revealed that the curfew had an immediate and substantial impact on visitation to downtown businesses. On a year-over-year basis, total monthly visitors to establishments in the curfew area were down 8.7 percent in June 2025 compared to June 2024.<sup>71</sup> While visitation levels had already declined earlier in the year due to lingering economic effects from the Eaton and Palisades wildfires, the June curfew reversed the steady improvement that had been observed in April and May.<sup>72</sup>

**Total monthly visitors to establishments in the curfew area were down 8.7 percent in June 2025 compared to June 2024.**

<sup>71</sup> When calculating the year-over-year changes in foot traffic within the curfew area, we first excluded visit counts associated with NAICS 71 (Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation). Foot traffic to these venues tends to fluctuate significantly depending on the timing and frequency of major events, such as sporting events, concerts, or festivals, which can create irregular spikes or dips unrelated to broader economic or mobility trends.

<sup>72</sup> We modeled the monthly year-over-year change in foot traffic within the curfew zone using data from February through May, applying a linear functional form to capture the underlying trend. This fitted relationship was then extrapolated to June to estimate the expected level of foot traffic in the absence of the curfew. The model predicts a year-over-year change of -0.5 percent, suggesting that without the disruption from curfew, physical visitation in June 2025 would have been expected to return nearly fully to its normal level, comparable to those observed in June 2024.

Following the significant drop in foot traffic in June, visitation data indicate a gradual but steady recovery in the following months. Year-over-year changes improved to -2.6 percent in July and -4.2 percent in August, respectively, reflecting a partial rebound in visitation. By September and October, foot traffic had nearly returned to pre-disruption levels, with year-over-year declines narrowing to -0.1 percent and -0.8 percent, respectively. These trends suggest that most consumers and workers resumed normal activity in the downtown area within approximately three months after the restrictions were lifted. However, interpreting these data requires caution: foot traffic alone does not fully capture the economic magnitude of disruption, as there can be varying relationship between physical visitation and sales volume across businesses. Still, these metrics provide a credible benchmark for estimating the relative magnitude and duration of curfew-related impacts.

The following scenarios are developed to capture the possible range of economic impacts associated with the curfew-related business disruptions:

- **Scenario 1: Short-Term Disruption and Rapid Recovery.** Scenario 1 represents the baseline recovery trajectory, assuming that the economic disruptions were largely limited to the curfew week and its immediate aftermath. This scenario closely follows the observed foot traffic trends, showing a sharp 8.7 percent decline in June, followed by a steady and rapid rebound that reaches near-normal levels by September to October 2025. It reflects conditions in which most affected businesses quickly resumed operations and consumer confidence rebounded, allowing spending and visitation patterns to return to typical levels within a few months after the temporary restrictions were lifted.
- **Scenario 2: Extended Recovery with Lingering Impacts.** This scenario models a more extended recovery trajectory, taking into consideration that even short-lived curfews can have lingering effects on business operations and visitor perceptions. Following periods of civic disruption, consumers may hesitate to return to areas perceived as unstable or alter their spending patterns altogether. At the same time, businesses, particularly small and service-oriented establishments, often face operational and financial challenges that prevent an immediate rebound once disruptions subside. Under this scenario, we assume the curfew triggered an 8.7 percent initial decline in foot traffic across businesses in June, but recovery of visitations is assumed to be slower and more gradual, extending over six months until returning to the normal levels by the end of December 2025.<sup>73</sup>
- **Scenario 3: Recurring Disruption.** This scenario builds on Scenario 2 to simulate the potential impacts if a similar disruption occurs again later in the year. Under this scenario, visitations follow the same gradual recovery pattern described in Scenario 2, but another similar disruptive event is assumed to occur in early December 2025, leading to another similar decline in foot traffic as taking place in June. Recovery would then follow a similar path as described in Scenario into 2026, gradually normalizing by midyear. This scenario represents the worst case among the three scenarios modeled, exploring the cumulative impacts of repeated shocks and extended recoveries.

The methodology for examining these three scenarios is presented in Appendix H.

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<sup>73</sup> The recovery path between June and December is modeled using a slightly concave, logarithmic function. This shape better reflects real-world post-curfew recovery patterns than a linear path, capturing the relatively quick initial rebound in activity as restrictions lift, followed by a slower, tapering recovery as consumer confidence gradually returns.

### Economic Impact Results

Scenario 1 assumes that the curfew’s economic effects were largely confined to the month of June 2025, and that recovery took place quickly afterward. In Scenario 1, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 3,920 job-years,<sup>74</sup> \$312 million in labor income, and \$840 million in total output.

**In Scenario 1, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 3,920 job-years, \$312 million in labor income, and \$840 million in total output.**

Of these totals, approximately 2,200 job-years, \$184 million in labor income, and \$484 million in output losses occurred directly within the curfew zone caused by reduced foot traffic and shortened hours of operation. The indirect impacts, totaling about 880 job-years, \$70 million in labor income, and \$186 million in output losses, stem from reduced purchasing by downtown firms from suppliers located elsewhere in the city and county. The induced effects, representing household spending reductions because of the reduced labor income, contributed an additional 840 job-years, \$58 million in labor income, and \$170 million in output losses (**Exhibit 6.11**).

The associated fiscal revenue losses totaled \$127 million, including \$30 million in local, \$30 million in state, and \$67 million in federal tax impacts (**Exhibit 6.12**).

Scenario 2 explores a more extended recovery trajectory, in which the curfew’s immediate impacts are followed by a slow rebound in visitation, spending, and business activities over a six-month period. In this scenario, overall economic activity in the curfew area remains below baseline levels through the end of 2025. In Scenario 2, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 6,000 job-years, \$477 million in labor income, and \$1.29 billion in total output.

**Exhibit 6.11**  
Economic Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 1

Impact	Employment (job-years)	Labor Income (\$M)	Value Added (\$M)	Output (\$M)
Direct (Curfew Area)	2,200	\$184	\$306	\$484
Indirect	880	\$70	\$110	\$186
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	470	\$39	\$61	\$103
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	410	\$31	\$49	\$83
Induced	840	\$58	\$111	\$170
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	210	\$14	\$31	\$46
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	630	\$44	\$80	\$124
<b>Total (Direct+Indirect+Induced)</b>	<b>3,920</b>	<b>\$312</b>	<b>\$527</b>	<b>\$840</b>
Curfew Area	2,200	\$184	\$306	\$484
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	680	\$53	\$93	\$149
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	1,040	\$75	\$129	\$207

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

**Exhibit 6.12**  
Fiscal Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 1 (millions \$)

Fiscal Impact	Local	State	Federal	Total
Direct (Curfew Area)	\$21	\$18	\$36	\$76
Indirect	\$3	\$5	\$16	\$24
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$2	\$2	\$8	\$11
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$2	\$3	\$9	\$13
Induced	\$6	\$6	\$14	\$27
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$2	\$2	\$3	\$7
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$4	\$5	\$11	\$20
<b>Total (Direct + Indirect + Induced)</b>	<b>\$30</b>	<b>\$30</b>	<b>\$67</b>	<b>\$127</b>
Curfew Area	\$21	\$18	\$36	\$76
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$3	\$4	\$11	\$18
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$6	\$7	\$20	\$33

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

<sup>74</sup> One job-year represents one job held for an entire year. Even though the business disruptions may last only a few weeks or months, we annualize the effects so that employment impacts are comparable across scenarios and industries. Using this measure is also consistent with how economic models report results. For example, a three-month disruption for 100 workers would equal 25 job-years.

**Exhibit 6.13**

**Economic Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 2**

Impact	Employment (job-years)	Labor Income (\$M)	Value Added (\$M)	Output (\$M)
Direct (Curfew Area)	3,370	\$281	\$468	\$740
Indirect	1,340	\$107	\$168	\$284
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	720	\$59	\$94	\$157
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	620	\$48	\$74	\$127
Induced	1,290	\$89	\$170	\$260
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	320	\$22	\$48	\$71
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	970	\$67	\$122	\$189
<b>Total (Direct+Indirect+Induced)</b>	<b>6,000</b>	<b>\$477</b>	<b>\$806</b>	<b>\$1,285</b>
<i>Curfew Area</i>	3,370	\$281	\$468	\$740
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	1,040	\$81	\$142	\$228
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	1,590	\$114	\$197	\$317

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

**Exhibit 6.14**

**Fiscal Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 2 (millions \$)**

Fiscal Impact	Local	State	Federal	Total
Direct (Curfew Area)	\$32	\$28	\$55	\$116
Indirect	\$5	\$7	\$25	\$37
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$2	\$3	\$12	\$17
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$2	\$4	\$13	\$19
Induced	\$10	\$10	\$22	\$41
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$3	\$3	\$5	\$10
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$7	\$7	\$17	\$31
<b>Total (Direct + Indirect + Induced)</b>	<b>\$47</b>	<b>\$45</b>	<b>\$102</b>	<b>\$194</b>
<i>Curfew Area</i>	\$32	\$28	\$55	\$116
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$5	\$6	\$16	\$27
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$9	\$11	\$30	\$51

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

Of these, 3,370 job-years, \$281 million in labor income, and \$740 million in output are the losses directly associated with businesses in the curfew zone. The indirect impacts, affecting businesses across the region that serve in the supply-chain of the directly affected businesses, are estimated to be 1,340 job-years, \$107 million in labor income, and \$284 million in output losses. Moreover, reduced consumer spending by affected employees and contractors is estimated to result in another 1,290 job-years employment impact, \$89 million in labor income and \$260 million in output losses (**Exhibit 6.13**).

**In Scenario 2, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 6,000 job-years, \$477 million in labor income, and \$1.29 billion in total output.**

Fiscal impacts are estimated to increase to approximately \$194 million, including \$47 million for local governments, \$45 million for the state, and \$102 million for the federal government (**Exhibit 6.14**).

Scenario 3 represents the worst case among the three modeled, extending the analysis in Scenario 2 by modeling the effects of a second curfew or comparable disruption occurring in early December 2025. Compounding the earlier summer event, this scenario simulates the conditions that continued volatility and recurring disruptions in business operations scale up the impacts and further delay full recovery into 2026. In Scenario 3, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 11,730 job-years, \$932 million in labor income, and \$2.5 billion in total output.

**In Scenario 3, we estimate the total losses to the Los Angeles County economy to be approximately 11,730 job-years, \$932 million in labor income, and \$2.5 billion in total output.**

The direct impact within the curfew zone alone accounts for 6,590 job-years, \$549 million in labor income, and \$1.45 billion in total output losses. These effects also ripple across the city and county’s economies through indirect and induced channels. The indirect impacts, representing losses among suppliers to directly affected businesses, are estimated at 2,620 job-years, \$209 million in labor income, and \$556 million in output. Meanwhile, reduction in household spending by workers affected by the curfew contributes an additional 2,520 job-year decline, \$174 million in labor income, and \$509 million in output losses (**Exhibit 6.14**).

**Exhibit 6.14**  
**Economic Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 3**

Impact	Employment (job-years)	Labor Income (\$M)	Value Added (\$M)	Output (\$M)
Direct (Curfew Area)	6,590	\$549	\$915	\$1,447
Indirect	2,620	\$209	\$329	\$556
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	1,410	\$116	\$183	\$307
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	1,210	\$93	\$145	\$249
Induced	2,520	\$174	\$333	\$509
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	620	\$43	\$94	\$139
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	1,900	\$131	\$239	\$370
Total (Direct+Indirect+Induced)	11,730	\$932	\$1,576	\$2,512
<i>Curfew Area</i>	6,590	\$549	\$915	\$1,447
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	2,030	\$159	\$277	\$446
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	3,110	\$224	\$385	\$619

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

**Exhibit 6.15**  
**Fiscal Impacts of Business Disruptions in the Curfew Area – Scenario 3 (millions \$)**

Fiscal Impact	Local	State	Federal	Total
Direct (Curfew Area)	\$63	\$55	\$108	\$227
Indirect	\$9	\$14	\$48	\$72
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$5	\$7	\$23	\$34
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$5	\$8	\$26	\$38
Induced	\$19	\$19	\$43	\$81
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$5	\$5	\$9	\$20
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$13	\$14	\$33	\$61
Total (Direct + Indirect + Induced)	\$91	\$89	\$199	\$379
<i>Curfew Area</i>	\$63	\$55	\$108	\$227
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	\$10	\$11	\$32	\$53
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	\$18	\$22	\$59	\$99

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

From a fiscal perspective, Scenario 3 projects total tax revenue losses approaching \$379 million, with approximately \$91 million borne by local governments, \$89 million by the state, and \$199 million at the federal level (**Exhibit 6.15**).

**Impact by Industry**

**Exhibit 6.16** below presents the estimated total economic impacts of curfew-related business disruptions by major industry sector in Los Angeles County across the three modeled scenarios. The results reflect that service-oriented and consumer-facing industries are expected to experience the greatest impacts across all scenarios, reflecting their high dependency on in-person activity and foot traffic.

Under Scenario 1, the industries most affected by employment losses include Accommodation and Food Services (600 job-years), Professional and Technical Services (470 job-years), and Other Services (390 job-years).<sup>75</sup> In terms of output, the largest declines occur in Wholesale Trade (\$153.7 million), Professional and Technical Services (\$103.3 million), and Finance and Insurance (\$91.8 million), reflecting both the concentration of these sectors in the downtown area and their linkages with consumer-facing activity.

As the duration and persistence of disruptions extend in Scenario 2, Accommodation and Food Services (910 job-years), Professional and Technical Services (720 job-years), and Other Services (600 job-years) remain the most affected industries by employment. Output losses are greatest in Wholesale Trade (\$235.1 million), Professional and Technical Services (\$158.0 million), and Finance and Insurance (\$140.5 million).

Under Scenario 3, the largest employment effects are again observed in Accommodation and Food Services (1,790 job-years), Professional and Technical Services (1,400 job-years), and Other Services (1,160 job-

**In all scenarios, service-oriented and consumer-facing industries are expected to experience the greatest impacts.**

<sup>75</sup> “Other Services” include a range of primarily “consumer-facing activities such as repair and maintenance services, personal care services, dry-cleaning and laundry services, and membership organizations. These businesses tend to rely heavily on in-person interactions and are therefore particularly sensitive to disruptions in foot traffic and local access.

**Exhibit 6.16****Estimated Economic Impacts by Industry of Curfew-Related Business Disruptions on the Los Angeles County Economy**

	Scenario 1		Scenario 2		Scenario 3	
	Employment (job-years)	Output (\$ M)	Employment (job-years)	Output (\$ M)	Employment (job-years)	Output (\$ M)
Agriculture	0	\$0.1	0	\$0.1	0	\$0.3
Mining, and oil and gas extraction	0	\$0.3	0	\$0.5	0	\$1.0
Utilities	80	\$33.1	120	\$50.6	240	\$99.0
Construction	20	\$5.3	40	\$8.1	70	\$15.8
Manufacturing	70	\$26.3	110	\$40.3	210	\$78.8
Wholesale trade	150	\$153.7	230	\$235.1	440	\$459.8
Retail trade	280	\$56.4	430	\$86.4	840	\$168.9
Transportation and warehousing	290	\$29.0	440	\$44.4	870	\$86.9
Information	110	\$49.6	170	\$75.9	330	\$148.4
Finance and insurance	270	\$91.8	420	\$140.5	820	\$274.8
Real estate and rental and leasing	200	\$71.8	310	\$109.8	610	\$214.8
Professional and technical services	470	\$103.3	720	\$158.0	1,400	\$309.1
Management of companies	70	\$25.7	110	\$39.3	210	\$76.8
Administrative and waste services	240	\$28.0	360	\$42.8	700	\$83.7
Educational services	80	\$5.3	120	\$8.1	240	\$15.9
Health care and social assistance	250	\$31.3	390	\$47.8	760	\$93.5
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	150	\$26.7	230	\$40.9	450	\$79.9
Accommodation and food services	600	\$57.6	910	\$88.1	1,790	\$172.3
Other services	390	\$28.4	600	\$43.5	1,160	\$85.0
Government	190	\$15.9	290	\$24.3	580	\$47.6
<b>Total All Industries*</b>	<b>3,920</b>	<b>\$839.6</b>	<b>6,000</b>	<b>\$1,284.6</b>	<b>11,730</b>	<b>\$2,512.3</b>

Source: Estimates by LAEDC; \*Totals may not sum due to rounding.

years). Corresponding output losses are most significant in Wholesale Trade (\$459.8 million), Professional and Technical Services (\$309.1 million), and Finance and Insurance (\$274.8 million).

While Professional and Technical Services and Finance and Insurance appear among the top sectors by magnitude of output impact due to their high concentration of firms in the downtown area, their overall sensitivity to foot traffic reductions is comparatively lower. Many businesses in these sectors possess greater operational flexibility, such as remote work capability, online client servicing, and rescheduling potential, allowing more rapid recovery or deferral of lost activity relative to consumer-facing industries.

Overall, the analysis shows that employment and output impacts are most significant in sectors dependent on in-person interactions, particularly Accommodation and Food Services and Other Services. In contrast, sectors such as Professional and Technical Services and Finance and Insurance exhibit high measured output impacts largely due to their economic scale and downtown concentration, rather than vulnerability to foot traffic reductions.

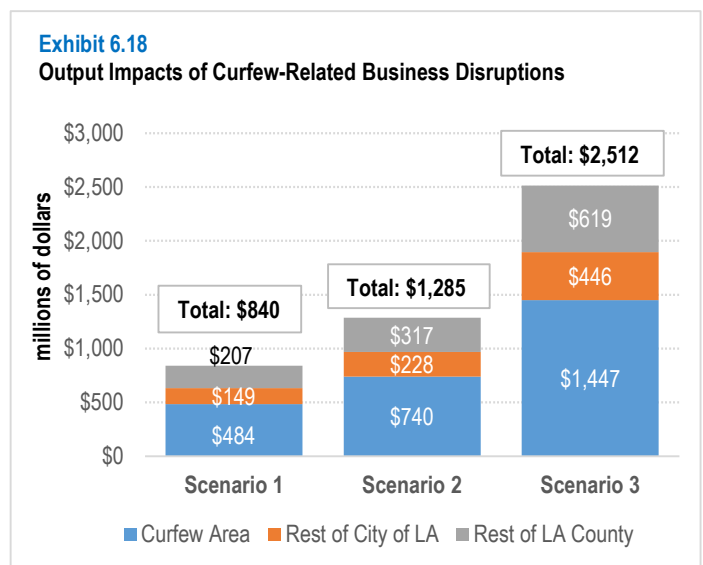
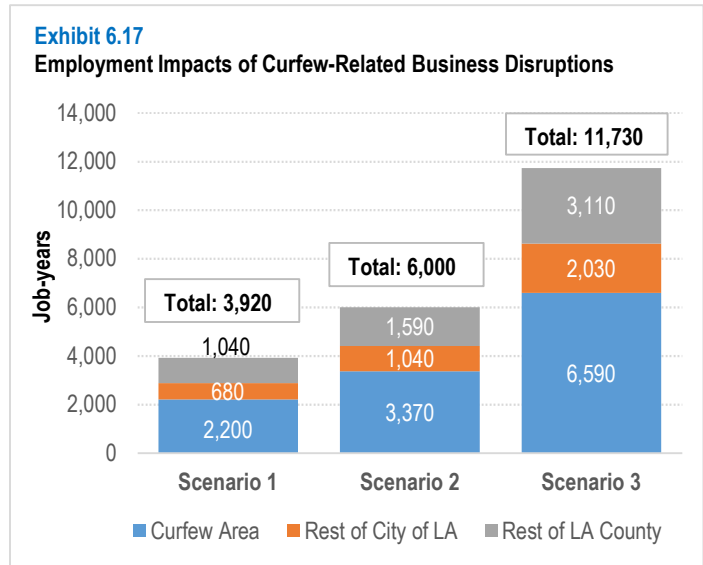
### Summary of Total Impacts

**Exhibit 6.17** and **Exhibit 6.18** below summarize the estimated economic impacts of curfew-related business disruptions within the directly affected curfew zone, as well as the broader ripple effects across the rest of the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. The results indicate that total countywide employment losses range from approximately 3,920 job-years under Scenario 1, representing a short disruption and rapid

recovery, to 11,730 job-years under Scenario 3, which assumes a recurrence of disruption later in the year and a more extended recovery path. Correspondingly, total output losses are estimated between \$0.84 billion and \$2.51 billion, with the curfew area itself accounting for more than half of the total losses in each scenario.

While the direct effects are most concentrated within the curfew zone, reflecting disrupted business operations, reduced spending, and lost sales, the economic impacts extend well beyond the immediate area. In each scenario, the indirect and induced effects combined contribute nearly 40 percent of total countywide output losses, reflecting the interconnected nature of the Los Angeles economy. Sectors dependent more on in-person activity, such as accommodation, food services, arts and entertainment, and personal services, experience the largest proportional declines.

The three scenarios indicate the sensitivity of the Los Angeles economy to disruptions in its urban core. Even a short-term curfew produces measurable losses through direct interruptions to business operations and cascading supply chain and household spending effects. The results also highlight that as the duration and frequency of disruptions increase, total economic losses rise accordingly, reflecting compounding challenges in consumer confidence and business recovery. Coordinated recovery efforts, particularly those that provide targeted assistance to small and customer-facing businesses, along with initiatives aimed at restoring consumer confidence, can play an important role in mitigating the adverse economic impacts of such disruptions.



## 7 Conclusion

The intensification of federal immigration enforcement activities in Los Angeles County beginning in June 2025 has generated substantial and measurable economic disruptions across the region. This comprehensive report, commissioned by the Los Angeles County Department of Economic Opportunity, documents the far-reaching consequences of these enforcement actions on businesses, workers, families, and communities throughout the County.

### Scale of Economic Contribution and Vulnerability

Los Angeles County's approximately 3.5 million immigrants—representing 35 percent of the total population—contribute fundamentally to the regional economy. Among them, an estimated 948,700 undocumented immigrants work in important sectors to the region including construction, manufacturing, retail trade, accommodation and food services, and other services. Our analysis estimates that undocumented workers generate approximately \$253.9 billion in total economic output, representing about 17 percent of the County's overall economic activity, while supporting over 1.06 million jobs both directly and through multiplier effects.

The geographic and sectoral analysis reveals that vulnerability to immigration enforcement is not uniformly distributed. Communities with high concentrations of Latino immigrants, Spanish speakers, renter households, and non-citizen workers face disproportionate exposure to enforcement activities and their economic consequences. The Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) identifies areas such as Mission Hills-Panorama City, Bell, Pico Rivera, Southeast Los Angeles, and neighborhoods around downtown Los Angeles as particularly vulnerable, with businesses in these areas experiencing both immediate operational disruptions and longer-term economic pressures.

### Documented Business and Community Impacts

The report describes the many ways in which immigration enforcement has disrupted economic activity in Los Angeles County. Survey data from 311 local businesses shows that 82 percent reported being negatively affected, with 52 percent experiencing reduced daily sales or revenue and 51 percent reporting decreased customer traffic. More than two-thirds of surveyed businesses made operational adjustments, including reducing hours, closing on certain days, and delaying expansion plans. The pervasive climate of fear documented through 178 business interviews fundamentally altered consumer behavior, with customers staying home, avoiding certain areas, and reducing spending across immigrant communities.

Workforce impacts also proved significant, with businesses reporting employees expressing fear about coming to work, reduced productivity due to anxiety, and difficulty finding replacement workers. Analysis of LA METRO bus ridership data shows that lines serving high-vulnerability areas experienced a sharp relative decline of approximately 17,000 monthly riders during the peak enforcement period, suggesting widespread changes in mobility patterns. International arrivals at LAX declined on a year-over-year basis throughout 2025, potentially reflecting concerns about the treatment of immigrants and foreign visitors.

The June 2025 Downtown Los Angeles curfew provides a case study of concentrated disruption impacts. Under our baseline scenario of short-term disruption with rapid recovery, the curfew is estimated to have resulted in approximately 3,920 job-years of employment impact, \$312 million in lost labor income, and \$840 million in total output losses. More extended disruption scenarios suggest that impacts could be substantially higher, with recurring disruptions potentially generating losses exceeding \$2.5 billion in total output and nearly 12,000 job-years.

## Broader Implications and Path Forward

The analysis in this report demonstrates that immigration enforcement activities carry substantial economic costs that extend well beyond the individuals directly targeted for detention or removal. The disruptions affect citizens and non-citizens alike, impact businesses across all sectors, reduce tax revenues at all levels of government, and undermine the economic vitality of communities across Los Angeles County. As policymakers, business leaders, and community stakeholders consider responses to ongoing enforcement activities, this analysis provides useful data on the scope and scale of economic impact.

Moving forward, targeted interventions to support affected businesses, workers, and communities could help mitigate these impacts and strengthen regional economic resilience. Such efforts should be informed by the geographic and sectoral vulnerability patterns documented in this analysis and should prioritize resources for the most heavily affected areas and industries. Equally important is continued monitoring of enforcement patterns, as data becomes available, and economic indicators to track evolving disruption and to help policy responses evolve appropriately.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Construction of the Bus Line Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index and Regression Details

In the “Decline in LA METRO Bus Ridership” section, we presented evidence that the surge in immigration enforcement and other Los Angeles County-specific events in June of this year may have caused a sharp decline in bus ridership, and particularly so for lines with high immigration enforcement vulnerability relative to those with low vulnerability. To determine whether a bus line was of high or low vulnerability, we first mapped all 91 bus lines we were considering onto our Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) map. The ZIP codes’ IEVI value that each bus line crossed through were then collected, along with the distance of the bus line in each ZIP code. The vulnerability index for each bus line was then calculated by taking the weighted average of all assigned ZIP codes’ IEVI values, weighted by the distance the bus line runs in the corresponding ZIP code. This weighting scheme then gives more weight to IEVI values that a bus line has greater exposure to. A table with the bus lines we considered, and their weighted vulnerability score is given below, along with whether they were considered “low” or “high” vulnerability.

**Exhibit A1. Los Angeles County METRO Bus Line Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index Values by “High” and “Low” Vulnerability Status**

Low Vulnerability Line #	Low Vulnerability IEVI	High Vulnerability Line #	High Vulnerability IEVI
2	0.27	10	0.32
4	0.21	14	0.31
16	0.23	18	0.34
20	0.20	30	0.32
28	0.23	35	0.32
33	0.25	40	0.28
76	0.27	45	0.35
78	0.24	51	0.33
90	0.19	53	0.31
92	0.25	55	0.38
94	0.23	60	0.30
102	0.27	62	0.29
105	0.24	66	0.38
120	0.27	70	0.29
128	0.25	81	0.31
150	0.16	108	0.29
154	0.23	110	0.34
155	0.13	111	0.38
158	0.27	115	0.28
161	0.06	117	0.33
164	0.23	125	0.29
165	0.27	127	0.31
180	0.18	152	0.38

**Exhibit A1. Los Angeles County METRO Bus Line Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index Values by “High” and “Low” Vulnerability Status**

205	0.20	166	0.34
209	0.24	167	0.32
210	0.24	169	0.29
212	0.23	202	0.33
217	0.25	204	0.38
218	0.07	206	0.36
222	0.15	207	0.30
224	0.26	211	0.30
232	0.15	230	0.28
233	0.27	234	0.32
236	0.24	251	0.38
237	0.22	258	0.34
246	0.21	260	0.32
267	0.16	265	0.33
268	0.17	266	0.30
344	0.11	460	0.30
487	0.22	550	0.33
501	0.15	605	0.40
577	0.20	611	0.47
601	0.18	665	0.37
602	0.06	754	0.38
720	0.19	910	0.27
901	0.25		

We also estimated a regression in the “Decline in LA METRO Bus Ridership” section. This regression is formally known as a difference-in-differences event study. Below is the equation that we estimated:

$$y_{l,t} = \sum_{j=1, j \neq 76}^{80} \beta_j \times treat_{l,j} + \alpha_l + \delta_t + \gamma \times X_{l,t} + \epsilon_{l,t}$$

Where  $l$  is an index for bus line and  $t$  is an index for time. The variable  $y_{l,t}$  measures bus ridership for line  $l$  at time  $t$ ,  $treat_{l,j}$  takes a value of one at time  $j$  if line  $l$  is a high vulnerable bus line and zero otherwise,  $\alpha_l$  are line fixed effects,  $\delta_t$  are time fixed effects, and  $X_{l,t}$  is the average yearly bus stops for a line  $l$  at time  $t$ .<sup>76</sup> The coefficient  $\beta_j$  is represented by the dots in Exhibit 3, and measures the difference in average ridership between bus lines with high and low immigration enforcement vulnerability, relative to this difference at baseline (April 2025 or  $j = 76$ ), conditional on controls mentioned above. The baseline period is omitted to avoid perfect collinearity with the set of treatment dummies. The regression controls for factors that are

<sup>76</sup> Data on yearly stops is collected from <https://developer.metro.net/gis-data/>.

constant within a bus line throughout the period using line fixed effects ( $\alpha_l$ ), factors that affect all bus lines each month using time fixed effects ( $\delta_t$ ), and the yearly average number of stops a bus line has ( $X_{l,t}$ ).

## Appendix B: Business Impact Survey Instrument

### Business Impact Survey

#### Economic Effects of Recent Immigration Enforcement Activities in Los Angeles County

##### Introduction

We are academic researchers from the Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation (LAEDC) conducting a study to understand how recent federal immigration enforcement activities have affected local businesses and workers in Los Angeles County. This research aims to document the economic impacts on our community's business sector.

**Your participation is completely voluntary and confidential.** We are not a government agency, and your responses will be used to inform a larger economic impact research report commissioned by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and Department of Economic Opportunity. All individual responses will be kept strictly confidential, and no identifying information will be shared or published. Results will only be reported in aggregate form.

**Please note, we are not asking about anyone's immigration status.** This survey focuses only on business operations and economic impacts. You may skip any question you prefer not to answer.

The survey takes approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Your insights are valuable in helping us understand the economic effects of these activities on our local business community.

Thank you for your time and participation.

##### Section 1: Business Characteristics

###### 1. What type of industry is your business?

- Restaurant/Food service
- Retail store
- Entertainment
- Rental operations
- Hospitality/Lodging
- Construction/Contracting
- Healthcare/Social assistance
- Childcare/Educational services
- Manufacturing
- Personal services (salon, cleaning, etc.)
- Professional services
- Transportation/Logistics
- Other (please specify):

###### 2. What type of business do you operate? (Select all that apply)

- Commercial space with a storefront
- Commercial warehouse space
- Commercial office space

- Independent contractor that works on location
- Sidewalk vendor
- Home-based business
- Nonprofit
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**3. How many years has your business been operating?**

- Less than 1 year
- 1-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-20 years
- More than 20 years

**4. What is the approximate size of your workforce?**

- Just myself (sole proprietor)
- 2 to 4 employees
- 5 to 9 employees
- 10 to 19 employees
- 20 to 49 employees
- 50 or more employees

**5. What percentage of your customers are from the local neighborhood/community?**

- Less than 25%
- 25-50%
- 51-75%
- More than 75%

**Section 2: Economic Impact from Recent Immigration Enforcement Activities**

**6. Have recent federal immigration enforcement activities in your area affected your business in any of the following ways? (Select all that apply)**

- Decreased customer traffic
- Reduced workforce related to fear
- Reduced daily sales/revenue
- Temporary closures due to community concerns
- Difficulty obtaining supplies or services from usual vendors
- Increased operating costs
- Changes in customer payment patterns
- Customers avoiding your business location
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- Prefer not to answer

**7. If immigration enforcement activities have affected your revenue, approximately how much has it changed?**

- No impact on revenue
- Decreased by less than 10%
- Decreased by 10-25%
- Decreased by 26-50%

- Decreased by more than 50%
- Prefer not to answer

**8. Have you had to adjust your business operations due to concerns about immigration enforcement?** (Select all that apply)

- Reduced business hours
- Closed on certain days when enforcement was reported nearby
- Limited services offered
- Delayed expansion or investment plans
- Avoided certain business locations or events
- Changed suppliers or vendors
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- No adjustments needed
- Prefer not to answer

**9. How have you adjusted your business operations?**

**10. Has your business incurred additional costs related to immigration enforcement concerns?**

- Yes, significant additional costs
- Yes, some additional costs
- No additional costs
- Prefer not to answer

**11. If your business has incurred additional costs related to immigration enforcement concerns, what are they for?**

**12. How has immigration enforcement activity in your area affected your business's financial stability in the short term?**

- No impact
- Minor negative impact
- Moderate negative impact
- Major negative impact
- Prefer not to answer

**13. Are you concerned that future immigration enforcement activities could threaten your business's ability to operate over the long term?**

- Not concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Very concerned
- Prefer not to answer

**Section 3: Workforce Impact**

**14. Have recent federal immigration enforcement activities affected your workforce in any of the following ways?** (Select all that apply)

- Employees calling in absent more frequently
- Difficulty finding new workers when needed
- Current employees expressing concerns and fear about coming to work

- Reduced productivity due to worker anxiety
- Employees requesting schedule changes
- Workers leaving their positions
- Difficulty retaining experienced staff
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- No workforce changes experienced
- Prefer not to answer

**15. If you have experienced workforce changes, how has this affected your business operations?**

- Minor impact on daily operations
- Moderate impact requiring adjustments
- Major impact significantly affecting business
- Unable to maintain normal operations
- Prefer not to answer

**16. Have you had to make any of the following workforce adjustments? (Select all that apply)**

- Increased wages or benefits to retain workers
- Hired temporary or contract workers
- Reduced staff hours or positions
- Cross-trained employees for multiple roles
- Delayed hiring for open positions
- Changed recruitment methods
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- No workforce adjustments needed
- Prefer not to answer

**17. What specific workforce adjustments did you make?**

**18. Are you concerned about your ability to maintain your current workforce in the coming months?**

- Not concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Very concerned
- Prefer not to answer

**Section 4: Community-Level Impact**

**19. Have recent federal immigration enforcement activities affected your customer base in any of the following ways? (Select all that apply)**

- Customers avoiding shopping/dining in your area
- Reduced foot traffic in your neighborhood
- Customers changing their shopping hours or patterns
- Loss of regular customers
- Customers expressing fear about visiting your business location
- Customers asking about safety in your area
- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- Prefer not to answer

**20. Have you experienced changes in your relationships with suppliers or business partners?**

- No changes
- Some suppliers have become less reliable
- Difficulty accessing usual suppliers/vendors
- Had to find new suppliers or partners
- Increased costs from suppliers
- Prefer not to answer

**21. Do you believe immigration enforcement activities have affected the long-term ability of your community to economically thrive?**

- No impact expected
- Minor long-term impact
- Moderate long-term impact
- Major long-term impact
- Prefer not to answer

-----

**22. What is the name of your business? (Optional)****23. What is the zip code of your business location? (Optional)**

Thank you for your participation in this important research. Your responses will help document the economic impacts of immigration enforcement activities on Los Angeles County's business community.

## Appendix C: LEEAF Notes on Methodology

### Business Interviews

LEEAF conducted interviews with 178 business leaders from August 1 to September 30 focused on the effects of ICE raids on their businesses and their communities as a whole. The sample of respondents drew from LEEAF's network of over 13,000 businesses and roughly matched the demographic profile of the business owners in the LEEAF network, reaching an estimated 51% Hispanic/Latine respondents and 78% women. The business leaders who shared their insights in these interviews ranged widely by industry and geography, reaching across all Supervisor Districts in LA County and focusing on areas heavily impacted by ICE raids including Downtown Los Angeles along with greater South and East LA.

Interviews were conducted largely by phone with some in-person conversations, led by members of Facilitator and Outreach Teams trained in rapport-building and deep listening. The interviews were bilingual, with 28% conducted in Spanish and the remainder in English. Interviewers took notes during the conversation, pausing and reading back key quotes to ensure accuracy. The interviews were semi-structured, including a core set of questions but also opening space for business leaders to express their full experience and for interviewers to follow up to clarify and explore generative responses. The analysis in this report focused on responses to these questions:

1. We know there has been a large uptick in ICE raids and protests, do you know any businesses that have been affected - what kind of effects have you seen?
2. How do you think workers and employees are going to be impacted? [Follow up]: Do you know of any businesses that are experiencing labor shortages?
3. How has your business been impacted by the protests in response to the raids? [If unanswered]: How long did the city take to clean up after the protests? Were you able to open back up quickly?
4. Have the raids/protests forced you to adapt in ways that have impacted your business?
5. In the last few months, would you say your revenue has been impacted? [Multiple choice with options revealing ]
6. Besides the economy and business, what other impacts do you see these raids having on the community?

Further questions focused on specific impacts to inform future reporting:

1. We've talked to thousands of business owners and have seen that many of them are hesitant to sign up for government services for their businesses—how do you think these raids are going to affect trust in government services?
2. How do you think the ICE raids/protests are impacting foot traffic in the area?
3. Did you have to temporarily or permanently close your business due to ICE raids? Did you have to temporarily or permanently close your business due to the protests?
4. Is there anything else you would like to let us know about these raids and their impact on the community?

Researchers coded the interview notes and collaboratively refined a set of core themes through iterative discussion to ensure consistency and validity. Illustrative quotes were selected to exemplify key themes and

to give voice to participant experiences while maintaining confidentiality and adhering to ethical research standards.

## Organization Interviews

### Interview Guide

**Crucial note:** Interviews with key organizations serving both businesses and the communities affected by immigration enforcement are key to understand needs and advocate for change. These interviews will be semi-structured with an emphasis on flexibility and exploration, following up with questions tailored to the individual. The below establishes only themes and phrasings, establishing a minimum framework of topics to discuss in order to support a great conversation.

### Your Organization's Perspective

1. Could you tell me a little about your organization and how you've been experiencing the ICE raids in past months?
  - a. How has your organization responded to the ICE raids and connected issues?
2. One of the things we've been asked to do is to look into economic impacts, including our local small businesses. Have you seen any impacts on small businesses, workers, and the economic life of the communities affected by these raids?
  - a. *(If they didn't mention, follow through on business closures, decreased revenue, and impact on employees)*
3. (FOR BUSINESS SUPPORT ORGS ONLY) One thing we've heard about from small business owners is the way their personal experience impacts their business capacity - the impacts on the individual drive impacts on the business.
  - a. What kind of challenges do you see individual business leaders facing?
  - b. How do these challenges affect the capacity and the future of the business?
  - c. Some small business owners that we have spoken to have indicated that current events can reduce overall community engagement, including seeking resources. What kinds of outreach strategies do you think are necessary to reach business owners that are now more reclusive?

### Broader Community Impacts

4. Many of the people we've talked with have mentioned the climate of fear they have experienced. Does that phrasing sound right to you? How would you describe this problem?
  - a. How do you think this climate has impacted the economic life of communities?
  - b. What other impacts do you see beyond economic impacts?
5. What challenges have you seen community-serving organizations like yours grapple with over the last couple of months? What support do you need to address this problem the way you want?
6. What are the longer-term impacts you see on the community, the impacts that will last beyond this year or even the next three years?

7. ICE raids have also inspired a positive community response including demonstrations, sharing goods and information, and coming together to warn about raids, like through the ICE Block app. What is the most important community response you see? What are the next steps and resources we need to better serve and uplift impacted communities?
  - a. Do you see ways that small businesses have been - or should be - stepping up to support the community?
8. What else do you think people should be considering when they think about the economic impacts - and the broader impacts - of these raids? What's left out of the conversation so far?

### Organizations Interviewed

Institution	Key Contact	Primary Type
CARECEN	Yaritza Gonzalez	Advocacy & empowerment
InnerCity Struggle	Ruby Rivera	Advocacy & empowerment
East LA Community Corporation (ELACC)	Elba Serrano	Advocacy & empowerment
Arts for LA	Gustavo Herrera	Small business support
Bella Entrepreneurs	Rocio Flores	Small business support
California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce (CAHCC)	Oscar Garcia	Small business support
CAMEO	Liza Riverra	Small business support
Conaxion	Oscar Aguayo	Small business support
Grid110	Juan Young	Small business support
Inclusive Action for the City	Andrea Avila	Small business support
Los Angeles Cleantech Incubator (LACI)	Kauleen Meanard	Small business support
ORALE	Jacqueline Perez Valencia & Gaby Hernandez	Small business support
SAJE	Karen Ramirez	Small business support
TMC Community Capital	Bobby Kobara	Small business support
UNITE-LA	Jasmin Sakai-Gonzalez	Small business support
Community Clinic Association of Los Angeles County (CCALAC)	Taryn Burks & Ericka Hobson-Griffin	Health, family, & community services
Dena Heals	Carola Secada	Health, family, & community services
North Valley Caring Services	Angela Wise	Health, family, & community services
SELA Collaborative	Dr. Wilma Franco	Health, family, & community services
YMCA LA	Jonathan Contreras	Health, family, & community services
Bresee Foundation	Alexandra Mayugba	Health, family, & community services
El Sereno GreenGrocer	Patricia Torres	Health, family, & community services

## Appendix D: LAEDC Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) Methodology

The Immigration Enforcement Vulnerability Index (IEVI) aggregates multiple risk factors into a single score for each ZIP code in Los Angeles County. The objective is to quantify underlying vulnerability associated with observed immigration enforcement activity in a way that is transparent, reproducible, and suitable for mapping and comparison over time.

We selected the unit of analysis as ZIP code polygons for Los Angeles County and joined American Community Survey attributes and enforcement reports from the Los Angeles Rapid Response Network (LARRN) to each record. LARRN notes that its map includes all reports of law enforcement activity tracked by the network, and that these reports represent only a fraction of law enforcement activity and reported sightings across Los Angeles, so the counts should be interpreted as a lower bound.

Candidate predictors were assembled from recent ACS data and refined using diagnostic testing to confirm signal and reduce redundancy.

The final set of vulnerability predictors reflects four dimensions that link to enforcement exposure:

- Share of Foreign-Born Population from Latin America
- Share of Renter-Occupied Households
- Share of Non-Citizen Workforce (by industry location)
- Share of Spanish Speakers

Each predictor was standardized using a z-score transform so coefficients are comparable across variables; predictors were sign-oriented so that higher values consistently indicate greater vulnerability (for the final four, signs were positive). Enforcement Activity was standardized to a z-score for integration as an exposure term. Variable screening used Exploratory Regression to test combinations and check fit, stability, and direction of effects, followed by a global Ordinary Least Squares model with the four standardized predictors and Enforcement Activity as the dependent variable. Diagnostic checks included multicollinearity statistics and a spatial autocorrelation test on residuals. Global Moran's I indicated no statistically significant residual clustering at the 95 percent level (Moran's I  $\approx$  0.0061,  $z \approx$  1.73,  $p \approx$  0.084), which supports use of OLS coefficients for weighting.

Weights were derived from the absolute OLS coefficients on standardized predictors and combined with a deliberate choice to include a standardized enforcement component as an additional exposure term.

### **Weights used in the published IEVI (Vulnerability with Observed Exposure):**

- LARRN Enforcement Activity (standardized): 0.50 (normalized: 0.333)
- Share of Foreign-Born Population from Latin America: 0.381 (normalized: 0.254)
- Share of Renter-Occupied Households: 0.248 (normalized: 0.165)
- Share of Non-Citizen Workforce (by industry location): 0.237 (normalized: 0.158)

- Share of Spanish Speakers: 0.134 (normalized: 0.089)

These weights sum to 1.50 because observed enforcement is intentionally up-weighted to reflect current exposure. For readers who prefer weights that sum to one across all components, the normalized values above divide each weight by 1.50.

The IEVI for each ZIP code is calculated as the weighted sum of the four standardized vulnerability inputs plus the enforcement exposure term. For presentation in maps, the composite score is rescaled to a 0 to 1 range using min-max normalization, which preserves relative spacing and improves legend readability. Classifications for mapping are produced using quantiles, with attention to highlighting the top 10 ZIP codes as priority areas.

To avoid circularity, primary validation was conducted using the vulnerability-only index. This four-variable composite shows a moderate linear association with LARRN enforcement reports (Pearson  $r = 0.469$ ) and stronger rank agreement (Spearman  $\rho = 0.583$ ,  $n = 297$ ), consistent with a monotonic but somewhat non-linear relationship. Distributionally, ZIP codes in the top decile of the vulnerability index recorded a median of 3.5 reports versus 0.0 in the bottom decile. Using add-one smoothing, the mean number of reports in top-decile ZIPs is 6.47 times the bottom decile, and on a variance-stabilized scale the geometric mean ratio is 4.96. Moreover, 96.7 percent of top-decile ZIPs had at least one report compared with 0.0 percent in the bottom decile. Leave-one-out sensitivity checks, which drop one predictor at a time and renormalize weights, indicate the composite is not driven by any single factor. Changes in correlation with LARRN enforcement were modest, while top minus bottom decile lift remained strong.

All field names, data vintages, coefficients, weights, and diagnostic statistics are documented to support reproducibility in future updates. The version published here, IEVI v1.0, reflects the ACS sources cited above, LARRN enforcement reports as a lower-bound indicator of activity, z-score standardization with sign orientation, OLS-derived vulnerability weights, addition of a standardized enforcement exposure term with a weight of 0.50, min-max normalization for visualization, and quantile-based mapping.

## Appendix E: Undocumented Resident Demographics by Supervisorial District

**Exhibit E.1** below presents demographic statistics on undocumented residents in Los Angeles County, broken out by supervisorial district. The statistics were developed for this report by the USC Equity Research Institute (ERI) using its own methodology applied to U.S. Census Bureau 2023 5-Year American Community Survey estimates.

**Exhibit E.1**

**Undocumented Resident Demographics by Los Angeles County Supervisorial District**

*Los Angeles County, 2023 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates*

Category	District Number					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Race/Ethnicity (Count and % of Undocumented Population)</b>						
Non-Hispanic White	3,209 (1.5%)	4,493 (1.6%)	15,223 (8.8%)	3,654 (2.0%)	11,080 (10.9%)	37,660 (4.0%)
African American or Black	745 (0.3%)	3,427 (1.2%)	1,203 (0.7%)	936 (0.5%)	982 (1.0%)	7,294 (0.8%)
Latino	175,178 (81.1%)	250,810 (91.3%)	137,680 (79.6%)	161,555 (88.0%)	69,763 (68.8%)	794,986 (83.8%)
Asian American	35,347 (16.4%)	14,283 (5.2%)	16,194 (9.4%)	16,504 (9.0%)	18,041 (17.8%)	100,370 (10.6%)
Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	114 (0.1%)	45 (0.0%)	41 (0.0%)	17 (0.0%)	73 (0.1%)	290 (0.0%)
Native American and Alaska Native	138 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)	38 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	46 (0.0%)	222 (0.0%)
Other or mixed race	1,153 (0.5%)	1,784 (0.6%)	2,658 (1.5%)	905 (0.5%)	1,349 (1.3%)	7,848 (0.8%)
<b>Age Group (Count and % of Undocumented Population)</b>						
Age 0-17	11,606 (5.4%)	15,935 (5.8%)	12,470 (7.2%)	9,722 (5.3%)	6,803 (6.7%)	56,538 (6.0%)
Age 18-34	66,438 (30.8%)	81,613 (29.7%)	57,845 (33.4%)	51,064 (27.8%)	32,303 (31.9%)	289,263 (30.5%)
Age 35-54	114,387 (53.0%)	148,927 (54.2%)	86,776 (50.1%)	102,018 (55.6%)	51,816 (51.1%)	503,924 (53.1%)
Age 55-64	21,075 (9.8%)	26,333 (9.6%)	14,534 (8.4%)	18,754 (10.2%)	9,003 (8.9%)	89,698 (9.5%)
Age 65+	2,379 (1.1%)	2,034 (0.7%)	1,413 (0.8%)	2,013 (1.1%)	1,409 (1.4%)	9,247 (1.0%)
<b>Time in US (Count and % of Undocumented Population)</b>						
Time in US <10 Years	57,982 (26.9%)	67,511 (24.6%)	58,503 (33.8%)	40,036 (21.8%)	34,578 (34.1%)	258,609 (27.3%)
Time in US 11-20 Years	57,256 (26.5%)	76,886 (28.0%)	45,701 (26.4%)	46,416 (25.3%)	25,533 (25.2%)	251,793 (26.5%)
Time in US 21-30 Years	61,376 (28.4%)	78,759 (28.7%)	41,483 (24.0%)	55,367 (30.2%)	25,919 (25.6%)	262,904 (27.7%)
Time in US >31 Years	39,271 (18.2%)	51,686 (18.8%)	27,351 (15.8%)	41,752 (22.7%)	15,304 (15.1%)	175,364 (18.5%)
<b>Language Barriers (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting)</b>						
Limited English Proficient (LEP)	158,868 (73.6%)	210,241 (76.5%)	114,122 (66.0%)	131,147 (71.4%)	66,927 (66.0%)	681,305 (72.3%)
Non-LEP	55,779 (26.4%)	63,031 (23.5%)	57,264 (34.0%)	51,370 (28.6%)	33,536 (34.0%)	260,980 (27.7%)
Undocumented Household Member is Linguistically Isolated (Household Count)	35,036 (31.7%)	48,471 (36.0%)	26,226 (28.9%)	26,443 (26.6%)	15,491 (28.2%)	151,667 (30.9%)
Undocumented Household Member is Not Linguistically Isolated (Household Count)	75,529 (68.3%)	86,064 (64.0%)	64,515 (71.1%)	72,956 (73.4%)	39,420 (71.8%)	338,483 (69.1%)
<b>Occupation (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting)</b>						

**Exhibit E.1**

**Undocumented Resident Demographics by Los Angeles County Supervisorial District**

*Los Angeles County, 2023 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates*

Management	6,864 (4.8%)	7,207 (3.9%)	7,640 (6.6%)	5,576 (4.6%)	4,254 (6.6%)	31,541 (5.0%)
Business Operations Specialists	1,588 (1.1%)	1,011 (0.6%)	1,236 (1.1%)	917 (0.8%)	1,195 (1.9%)	5,946 (0.9%)
Financial Specialist	287 (0.2%)	399 (0.2%)	438 (0.4%)	144 (0.1%)	177 (0.3%)	1,446 (0.2%)
Computer and Mathematical	1,277 (0.9%)	867 (0.5%)	1,766 (1.5%)	1,240 (1.0%)	1,127 (1.7%)	6,277 (1.0%)
Architecture and Engineering	867 (0.6%)	762 (0.4%)	1,112 (1.0%)	517 (0.4%)	615 (1.0%)	3,872 (0.6%)
Life, Physical, and Social Science	570 (0.4%)	335 (0.2%)	633 (0.5%)	126 (0.1%)	801 (1.2%)	2,465 (0.4%)
Community and Social Services	608 (0.4%)	897 (0.5%)	1,040 (0.9%)	809 (0.7%)	402 (0.6%)	3,756 (0.6%)
Education, Training, and Library	731 (0.5%)	731 (0.4%)	687 (0.6%)	575 (0.5%)	619 (1.0%)	3,342 (0.5%)
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports	3,674 (2.6%)	2,858 (1.6%)	3,192 (2.8%)	1,146 (0.9%)	1,914 (3.0%)	12,783 (2.0%)
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical	211 (0.1%)	430 (0.2%)	164 (0.1%)	249 (0.2%)	206 (0.3%)	1,259 (0.2%)
Healthcare Support	1,943 (1.4%)	1,952 (1.1%)	1,407 (1.2%)	1,332 (1.1%)	792 (1.2%)	7,427 (1.2%)
Protective Service	1,003 (0.7%)	1,226 (0.7%)	621 (0.5%)	753 (0.6%)	238 (0.4%)	3,840 (0.6%)
Food Preparation and Serving	14,923 (10.4%)	22,740 (12.4%)	12,297 (10.6%)	11,875 (9.7%)	7,249 (11.3%)	69,083 (11.0%)
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance	16,176 (11.3%)	24,385 (13.3%)	17,040 (14.7%)	11,855 (9.7%)	9,178 (14.2%)	78,635 (12.5%)
Personal Care and Service	5,248 (3.7%)	6,013 (3.3%)	5,088 (4.4%)	5,229 (4.3%)	2,282 (3.5%)	23,861 (3.8%)
Sales	10,461 (7.3%)	14,359 (7.9%)	7,232 (6.3%)	9,415 (7.7%)	4,843 (7.5%)	46,309 (7.4%)
Office and Administrative Support	10,986 (7.6%)	11,713 (6.4%)	8,063 (7.0%)	10,417 (8.5%)	6,358 (9.9%)	47,538 (7.6%)
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry	1,917 (1.3%)	1,439 (0.8%)	908 (0.8%)	1,051 (0.9%)	420 (0.7%)	5,735 (0.9%)
Construction Trades	24,016 (16.7%)	30,180 (16.5%)	23,669 (20.5%)	16,452 (13.5%)	8,536 (13.2%)	102,852 (16.4%)
Extraction Workers	24 (0.0%)	8 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	18 (0.0%)	47 (0.1%)	97 (0.1%)
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair	4,343 (3.0%)	5,805 (3.2%)	4,178 (3.6%)	5,022 (4.1%)	2,105 (3.3%)	21,453 (3.4%)
Production	17,991 (12.5%)	23,412 (12.8%)	8,471 (7.3%)	19,055 (15.6%)	4,941 (7.7%)	73,868 (11.7%)
Transportation and Material Moving	18,034 (12.5%)	24,099 (13.2%)	8,755 (7.6%)	18,261 (15.0%)	6,133 (9.5%)	75,282 (12.0%)
<b>Home Ownership (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting)</b>						
Person is Not a Homeowner	174,202 (81.7%)	221,974 (81.1%)	140,472 (82.2%)	142,741 (78.1%)	69,675 (69.7%)	749,064 (79.7%)
Person is a Homeowner	39,046 (18.3%)	51,573 (18.9%)	30,448 (17.8%)	39,913 (21.9%)	30,251 (30.3%)	191,232 (20.3%)
<b>Self-Employment Status (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting Employed)</b>						
Person (age 25-65) is Not Self-Employed	104,603 (79.8%)	134,836 (80.0%)	81,168 (77.0%)	95,565 (84.6%)	45,664 (78.9%)	461,836 (80.2%)
Person (age 25-65) is Self-Employed	26,423 (20.2%)	33,618 (20.0%)	24,189 (23.0%)	17,340 (15.4%)	12,213 (21.1%)	113,782 (19.8%)
<b>Employment Status (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting in Labor Force)</b>						
Employed (age 25-64)	131,026 (94.5%)	168,453 (94.6%)	105,357 (94.8%)	112,905 (94.0%)	57,877 (93.6%)	575,618 (94.4%)
Unemployed (age 25-64)	7,685 (5.5%)	9,559 (5.4%)	5,734 (5.2%)	7,255 (6.0%)	3,925 (6.4%)	34,158 (5.6%)
<b>Rent Burden (Head of Household is Undocumented) (Count and % of Undocumented Renter Households)</b>						
Household is Not 30% Rent Burdened	24,160 (39.1%)	29,326 (36.3%)	16,640 (32.0%)	19,380 (36.9%)	8,425 (34.9%)	97,930 (36.1%)

**Exhibit E.1**

**Undocumented Resident Demographics by Los Angeles County Supervisorial District**

*Los Angeles County, 2023 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates*

Household 30% Rent	37,582	51,443	35,378	33,174	15,708	173,285
Burdened	(60.9%)	(63.7%)	(68.0%)	(63.1%)	(65.1%)	(63.9%)
Household is Not 50% Rent	41,454	52,490	30,521	34,992	15,186	174,644
Burdened	(67.1%)	(65.0%)	(58.7%)	(66.6%)	(62.9%)	(64.4%)
Household 50% Rent	20,287	28,280	21,497	17,561	8,946	96,571
Burdened	(32.9%)	(35.0%)	(41.3%)	(33.4%)	(37.1%)	(35.6%)
<b>Rent Burden (Undocumented Member of Household) (Count and % of Undocumented Renter Households)</b>						
Household is Not 30% Rent	36,507	42,713	25,625	31,502	14,054	150,401
Burdened	(42.5%)	(39.8%)	(36.1%)	(41.5%)	(39.3%)	(40.0%)
Household 30% Rent	49,341	64,585	45,283	44,386	21,751	225,347
Burdened	(57.5%)	(60.2%)	(63.9%)	(58.5%)	(60.7%)	(60.0%)
Household is Not 50% Rent	60,867	72,868	44,643	53,000	23,915	255,293
Burdened	(70.9%)	(67.9%)	(63.0%)	(69.8%)	(66.8%)	(67.9%)
Household 50% Rent	24,981	34,430	26,266	22,888	11,890	120,454
Burdened	(29.1%)	(32.1%)	(37.0%)	(30.2%)	(33.2%)	(32.1%)
<b>Digital Connection Status (Count and % of Undocumented Reporting)</b>						
Person is Digitally Connected	111,331	147,307	103,720	111,686	65,756	539,802
	(52.2%)	(53.9%)	(60.7%)	(61.1%)	(65.8%)	(57.4%)
Person is Digitally Divided	101,905	126,240	67,199	70,968	34,169	400,481
	(47.8%)	(46.1%)	(39.3%)	(38.9%)	(34.2%)	(42.6%)
<b>Wage (\$/hour)</b>						
Median Wage	16.40	16.18	17.65	16.40	18.20	16.67

Source: USC Equity Research Institute

## Appendix F: Baseline Economic Contribution of Curfew Area

In response to rising tensions and protests related to intensified federal immigration enforcement, Mayor Karen Bass imposed a nightly curfew in downtown Los Angeles from June 10, 2025, to June 16, 2025. The curfew covered an approximately one-square-mile area bounded by the 5, 10, and 110 freeways. While the curfew was effective in protecting businesses, residents, and the local community, it also resulted in lost business hours, reduced consumer foot traffic, and disruptions to economic activity.

As a first step in estimating the economic impacts of the June curfew, we estimated the baseline level of economic activity that was occurring in the impacted area prior to the curfew. Detailed data on industry classifications, employment, and sales volumes for all businesses within the curfew zone were obtained from Data Axle. Several data refinements were made prior to using these figures in the economic impact modeling process, as summarized in Appendix G.

The baseline contribution of economic activity in the curfew zone includes not only the direct operations of businesses within the area, but also their indirect and induced effects (i.e., the ripple or multiplier effects) on the rest of the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County economies through supply chain purchases and employee household spending. In this analysis, *direct activities* refer to the immediate economic actions of businesses located within the curfew area, such as the purchase of materials and the hiring of employees. *Indirect effects* are that stem from the purchases made by these businesses and any of its suppliers, thereby supporting jobs and revenues in other industries. *Induced effects* represent the additional economic activity created when employees, whose wages are sustained by both direct and indirect business activity, spend their earnings on goods and services in the local economy.

A customized input-output model was developed for both the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County to quantify the baseline economic contribution of businesses in the curfew zone. These models measure economic contributions through multiple indicators, including total employment (number of jobs), labor income (wages and benefits), total economic output (gross sales revenue or production value), Gross Regional Product (GRP, which is the regional equivalent of GDP), and fiscal revenues generated for federal, state, and local governments. This approach ensures that the analysis captures not only the immediate footprint of the affected businesses but also the broader ripple effects across the regional economy. Additional details on the data sources, assumptions, and modeling methodology are provided in Appendix E.

**Exhibit F.1** presents the distribution of economic output and employment across major 2-digit NAICS industry sectors within the curfew area. The total economic output for the area is approximately \$72.6 billion, supporting around 284,580 jobs.

The sectors contributing the most to overall economic output include Wholesale Trade, which ranks highest with about \$19.9 billion (27.5% of total output). This is followed by Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services at \$9.6 billion (13.3%), Utilities at \$9.0 billion (12.4%), Finance and Insurance at \$6.6 billion (9.0%), and Retail Trade at \$5.9 billion (8.1%). These figures underscore the area's strong concentration of economic activity in professional services, commerce, and essential infrastructure sectors.

Employment, however, is distributed somewhat differently across industries. Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services sector ranks as the top employer, supporting 45,855 jobs (16.1%). It is followed by

**Exhibit F.1****Baseline Annual Economic Activities in the Curfew Area**

2-Digit NAICS Sector	Output (\$ millions)	% of Total	Employment (jobs)	% of Total
11 - Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	22	0.03%	183	0.06%
21 - Mining, Quarrying, and Oil and Gas Extraction	40	0.05%	148	0.05%
22 - Utilities	9,025	12.44%	23,173	8.14%
23 - Construction	772	1.06%	3,445	1.21%
31-33 - Manufacturing	5,159	7.11%	17,559	6.17%
42 - Wholesale Trade	19,947	27.49%	15,172	5.33%
44-45 - Retail Trade	5,899	8.13%	24,737	8.69%
48-49 - Transportation and Warehousing	1,445	1.99%	13,532	4.76%
51 - Information	2,505	3.45%	8,309	2.92%
52 - Finance and Insurance	6,550	9.03%	17,899	6.29%
53 - Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	1,461	2.01%	7,400	2.60%
54 - Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	9,620	13.26%	45,855	16.11%
55 - Management of Companies and Enterprises	1,775	2.45%	2,610	0.92%
56 - Admin and Support/ Waste Management/ Remediation	492	0.68%	5,275	1.85%
61 - Educational Services	189	0.26%	5,573	1.96%
62 - Health Care and Social Assistance	1,104	1.52%	11,273	3.96%
71 - Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	1,374	1.89%	7,486	2.63%
72 - Accommodation and Food Services	2,908	4.01%	32,302	11.35%
81 - Other Services (not gov't)	1,133	1.56%	18,612	6.54%
9A - Government Enterprises	1,147	1.58%	24,034	8.45%
<b>Total</b>	<b>72,566</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>284,577</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Sources: Data Axle; IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

Accommodation and Food Services with 32,302 jobs (11.4%), Retail Trade with 24,737 jobs (8.7%), Government Enterprises with 24,034 jobs (8.5%), and Utilities with 23,173 jobs (8.1%). This distribution reflects a blend of high-skill, knowledge-based industries alongside labor-intensive service sectors, both of which play a critical role in supporting a significant share of the workforce in the area.

The total economic contribution of businesses located within the curfew area extends well beyond the activities they directly generate. In addition to their own operations, these businesses stimulate indirect effects through supply-chain linkages and induced effects through household spending. Together, these direct, indirect, and induced effects create a substantial economic footprint across the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. These contributions, measured in terms of jobs, labor income, output, and value-added, are detailed in **Exhibit F.2**.

In total, businesses in the curfew area support 533,150 jobs in Los Angeles County. These include 284,580 direct jobs supported by the businesses located within the area. In addition, 127,360 indirect jobs (67,670 in the rest of the city and 59,690 in the rest of the county) are attributable to the spending of the businesses in

**Exhibit F.2****Annual Economic Contribution of Businesses Located in the Curfew Area**

Impact	Employment	Labor Income (\$M)	Value Added (\$M)	Output (\$M)
Direct	284,580	\$26,150	\$45,401	\$72,566
Indirect	127,360	\$10,230	\$16,076	\$27,139
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	67,670	\$5,605	\$8,847	\$14,794
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	59,690	\$4,625	\$7,229	\$12,344
Induced	121,210	\$8,375	\$15,994	\$24,486
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	29,790	\$2,070	\$4,470	\$6,639
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	91,420	\$6,304	\$11,524	\$17,847
Total (Direct + Indirect + Induced)	533,150	\$44,755	\$77,471	\$124,190
<i>Curfew Area</i>	284,580	\$26,150	\$45,401	\$72,566
<i>Rest of City of LA</i>	97,460	\$7,675	\$13,317	\$21,433
<i>Rest of LA County</i>	151,110	\$10,929	\$18,752	\$30,192

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

the curfew area. Indirect workers are individuals employed by companies that provide goods and services to businesses within the curfew area, as well as by the suppliers that serve those companies.

Moreover, both employees in the area and those in the rest of the city and the county supported indirectly earn wages and salaries, pay taxes, and spend their earnings on consumer goods and services. The spending supports additional sales, and therefore jobs, at businesses in other locations that supply them with consumer products. These induced spending effects are associated with 121,210 additional jobs, 29,790 jobs in the rest of the city and 91,420 jobs in the rest of the county. The employment contribution of businesses within the curfew area, along with the distribution of direct, indirect, and induced effects across different geographies, is presented in **Exhibit F.3**.

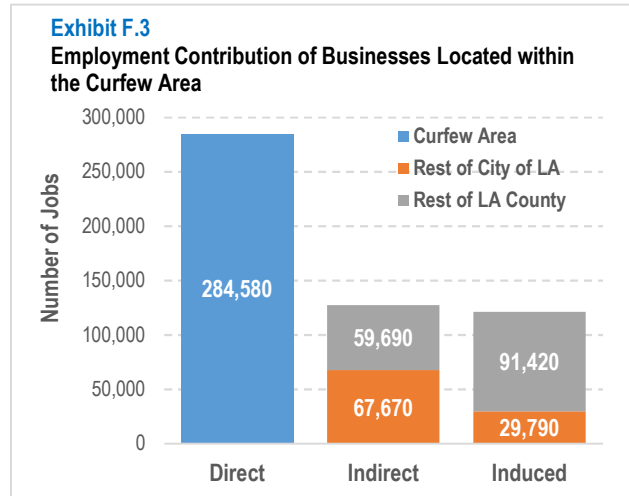


Exhibit F.2 also presents other indicators that measure the baseline economic contributions of the businesses in the curfew area. Total direct output (or sales revenue) generated in the curfew area amounts to \$72.6 billion. The rest of the City of Los Angeles benefits from an indirect output of \$14.8 billion, while the rest of the county experiences an indirect output of \$12.3 billion, reflecting further economic effects extending beyond the curfew area. The induced output, \$6.6 billion in the rest of the city and \$17.8 billion in the rest of the county, represents the additional economic activities resulting from the spending of income earned by the employees supported directly and indirectly. Total labor income contribution in the county is \$44.8 billion, about 58% earned by employees in the curfew area, and the other 17% and 24% earned by workers in the rest of the city and rest of the county, respectively. Finally, economic activities in the curfew area contribute \$77.5 billion to the gross county product (measured in value-added in Exhibit 2), with \$45.4 billion contributed directly by the businesses in the area, and \$13.3 billion in rest of the city and \$18.8 billion in the rest of county through indirect and induced effects.

Businesses within the curfew area also serve as important contributors to tax revenues at the local, state, and federal levels (as shown in **Exhibit F.4**).

In terms of direct effects, these businesses generate approximately \$11.6 billion in total tax revenues, with about 30% going to sub-county and county governments, 25% to the state, and 45% to the federal government. Beyond their direct contributions, these businesses create positive fiscal spillovers across the broader city and county. These ripple effects generate an additional \$7.4 billion in tax revenues, about \$2.6 billion from economic activities in the rest of the city and \$4.8 billion from activities in the rest of the county. Of these indirect and induced fiscal impacts, approximately 18%

**Exhibit F.4**

**Annual Tax Revenue Contribution of Business located in the Curfew Area (millions of 2025\$)**

Fiscal Impact	Local	State	Federal	Total
Direct	\$3,469	\$2,912	\$5,250	\$11,631
Indirect	\$460	\$706	\$2,366	\$3,532
Rest of City of LA	\$227	\$318	\$1,092	\$1,638
Rest of LA County	\$232	\$388	\$1,274	\$1,894
Induced	\$896	\$930	\$2,059	\$3,885
Rest of City of LA	\$252	\$236	\$450	\$937
Rest of LA County	\$644	\$694	\$1,609	\$2,948
Total (Direct + Indirect + Induced)	\$4,825	\$4,548	\$9,675	\$19,048
Curfew Area	\$3,469	\$2,912	\$5,250	\$11,631
Rest of City of LA	\$479	\$553	\$1,542	\$2,575
Rest of LA County	\$877	\$1,082	\$2,883	\$4,842

Sources: IMPLAN; estimates by LAEDC

of the revenues benefit local governments, 22% benefit the state, and 60% go to the federal government. The curfew, however, disrupted these revenue streams by limiting business operations and reducing the broader economic activity that sustains them.

## Appendix G: Baseline Economic Contribution Analysis Methodology and Assumptions

### ***Economic Contribution Analysis Methodology***

Economic contribution analysis is used to estimate the share of a region's economy attributable to an existing set of businesses or industries. In the context of this study, it measures the baseline economic activity generated by businesses located within the June 2025 Downtown Los Angeles curfew area, prior to the disruption. This approach assesses their value to the local and regional economy based on current production levels, spending patterns, and supply chain linkages.

The methodology captures value through backward linkages, which include purchases from suppliers, payments of wages and benefits to local employees, and tax revenues generated by both operations and multiplier effects. It answers questions such as: *How much economic activity is supported by these businesses, both directly and through the network of suppliers and household spending?*

Contribution analysis measures not only direct activity but also indirect and induced effects. These effects depend on payments made by the businesses to suppliers of goods and services, which ripple through the economy as these funds circulate to employees, business owners, and other establishments that supply these businesses. Moreover, the businesses also spend billions of dollars every year for the wages and benefits of employees and contingent workers. These workers, as well as the employees of all suppliers, spend a portion of their income on groceries, rent, vehicle expenses, healthcare, entertainment, and so on. This recirculation of household earnings multiplies the initial business spending through such indirect and induced effects.

The extent to which the initial expenditures multiply is estimated using economic models that depict the relationships between industries and among different economic agents (such as households and institutions).

These models are built upon actual data of expenditure patterns that are reported to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Data is regionalized so that it reflects and incorporates local conditions such as prevailing wages rates, expenditure patterns, and resource availability and costs. The model does not assess other factors related to these businesses outside of these measures, such as environmental, governmental, or social costs and benefits.

The magnitude of multiplier effects varies by region, depending on how much of the supply chain and household spending is retained locally. Regions with robust supplier networks and diverse local industries tend to have higher multipliers than those more dependent on imports from outside the area. Multipliers can also change over time as industry structures, labor costs, and production methods evolve.

The metrics used to determine the value of the economic contribution are employment, labor income, value-added and the value of output:

- *Employment* includes full-time, part-time, permanent, and seasonal employees and the self-employed, and is measured on a job-count basis regardless of the number of hours worked.
- *Labor income* includes all income received by both payroll employees and the self-employed, including wages and benefits such as health insurance and pension plan contributions.

- *Value-added* is the measure of the contribution to GDP made by the industry, and consists of compensation of employees, taxes on production and gross operating surplus.
- *Output* is the value of the goods and services produced. For most industries, this is simply the revenues generated through sales; for others, in particular wholesale trade and retail industries, output is the value of the services supplied.

Estimates are developed using software and data from IMPLAN, which traces inter-industry transactions and household spending patterns in a given region. The economic region of interest is the curfew area, the rest of the City of Los Angeles, and the rest of Los Angeles County. The IMPLAN regional economic model year is 2023, the most recent year for which a complete set of data is available. Estimates for labor income, value added, and output are expressed in 2025 dollars.

The total estimated economic contribution includes direct, indirect, and induced effects:

- *Direct* activity includes the materials purchased and the employees hired by the businesses themselves.
- *Indirect* effects are the economic activity supported at supplier firms providing goods and services to the curfew-area businesses and their supply chain.
- *Induced* effects are the additional activity created when employees of both direct and indirect businesses spend their earnings on items such as housing, food, transportation, and healthcare.

Unlike an economic impact analysis, which measures the change in activity from a new event or investment, an economic contribution analysis removes feedback linkages to avoid double-counting existing activity within the same industry group. This ensures the results represent the net baseline contribution of the businesses under study, rather than inflating figures through interindustry transactions already captured in direct activity.

### ***Data Sources and Data Refinements***

Direct baseline economic activity for businesses located within the curfew zone was estimated using industry classification, employment, and sales volume data obtained from Data Axle for all establishments in the area.

Before incorporating these data into the IMPLAN economic model, several refinements were made. In the Data Axle dataset, many businesses did not report sales revenue. For those reporting employment but not revenue, sales revenue was estimated using the average output-to-employment ratio of businesses within the same IMPLAN industry in the dataset. If no such ratio could be calculated (e.g., when no business in a particular IMPLAN industry reported sales revenue), the average output-to-employment ratio for that IMPLAN industry in the City of Los Angeles was applied to the reported employment figure to generate a revenue estimate.

For businesses with unclassified NAICS codes (coded as 999990 in the dataset), industry assignments were made by reviewing the Industry Description field and matching each establishment to the most relevant IMPLAN sector.

### ***Description Of Industry Sectors***

The industry sectors used in this report are established by the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). NAICS divides the economy into twenty sectors, and groups industries within these sectors according to production criteria. Listed below is a short description of each sector as taken from the

sourcebook, North American Industry Classification System, published by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (2022).

**Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting:** Activities of this sector are growing crops, raising animals, harvesting timber, and harvesting fish and other animals from farms, ranches, or the animals' natural habitats.

**Mining:** Activities of this sector are extracting naturally occurring mineral solids, such as coal and ore; liquid minerals, such as crude petroleum; and gases, such as natural gas; and beneficiating (e.g., crushing, screening, washing and flotation) and other preparation at the mine site, or as part of mining activity.

**Utilities:** Activities of this sector are generating, transmitting, and/or distributing electricity, gas, steam, and water and removing sewage through a permanent infrastructure of lines, mains, and pipes.

**Construction:** Activities of this sector are erecting buildings and other structures (including additions); heavy construction other than buildings; and alterations, reconstruction, installation, and maintenance and repairs.

**Manufacturing:** Activities of this sector are the mechanical, physical, or chemical transformation of material, substances, or components into new products.

**Wholesale Trade:** Activities of this sector are selling or arranging for the purchase or sale of goods for resale; capital or durable non-consumer goods; and raw and intermediate materials and supplies used in production and providing services incidental to the sale of the merchandise.

**Retail Trade:** Activities of this sector are retailing merchandise generally in small quantities to the general public and providing services incidental to the sale of the merchandise.

**Transportation and Warehousing:** Activities of this sector are providing transportation of passengers and cargo, warehousing and storing goods, scenic and sightseeing transportation, and supporting these activities.

**Information:** Activities of this sector are distributing information and cultural products, providing the means to transmit or distribute these products as data or communications, and processing data. This industry contains all aspects of motion picture recording and distribution as well as the sound and telecommunications industry.

**Finance and Insurance:** Activities of this sector involve the creation, liquidation, or change of ownership of financial assets (financial transactions) and/or facilitating financial transactions.

**Real Estate and Rental and Leasing:** Activities of this sector are renting, leasing, or otherwise allowing the use of tangible or intangible assets (except copyrighted works) and providing related services.

**Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services:** Activities of this sector are performing professional, scientific, and technical services for the operations of other organizations.

**Management of Companies and Enterprises:** Activities of this sector are the holding of securities of companies and enterprises, for the purpose of owning controlling interest or influencing their management decision, or administering, overseeing, and managing other establishments of the same company or enterprise and normally undertaking the strategic or organizational planning and decision-making of the company or enterprise.

**Administrative and Support and Waste Management and Remediation Services:** Activities of this sector are performing routine support activities for the day-to-day operations of other organizations, such as office administration, hiring and placing of personnel, document preparation and similar clerical services, solicitation, collection, security and surveillance services, cleaning, and waste disposal services.

**Educational Services:** Activities of this sector are providing instruction and training in a wide variety of subjects. Educational services are usually delivered by teachers or instructors that explain, tell, demonstrate, supervise, and direct learning. Instruction is imparted in diverse settings, such as educational institutions, the workplace, or the home through correspondence, television, or other means.

**Health Care and Social Assistance:** Activities of this sector are operating or providing health care and social assistance for individuals.

**Arts, Entertainment and Recreation:** Activities of this sector are operating facilities or providing services to meet varied cultural, entertainment, and recreational interests of their patrons, such as: (1) producing, promoting, or participating in live performances, events, or exhibits intended for public viewing; (2) preserving and exhibiting objects and sites of historical, cultural, or educational interest; and (3) operating facilities or providing services that enable patrons to participate in recreational activities or pursue amusement, hobby, and leisure-time interests.

**Accommodation and Food Services:** Activities of this sector are providing customers with lodging and/or preparing meals, snacks, and beverages for immediate consumption.

**Other Services (except Public Administration):** Activities of this sector provide services not specifically provided elsewhere in the classification system. Establishments in this sector are primarily engaged in activities, such as equipment and machinery repairing, promoting, or administering religious activities, grant-making, advocacy, and providing dry-cleaning and laundry services, personal care services, death care services, pet care services, photofinishing services, temporary parking services, and dating services.

## Appendix H: Methodology for Economic Impact Analysis of Curfew-Related Business Disruptions

To estimate the economic impact of the curfew-related business disruptions, we translated observed declines in foot traffic into percentage changes in industry output using industry-specific elasticities. Elasticity in this context measures the sensitivity of an industry's economic output (i.e., total sales or production value) to changes in physical visitation or foot traffic:

$$\% \text{ Output Change} = \text{Elasticity} \times \% \text{ Foot-Traffic Change}$$

A higher elasticity indicates that a decline in foot traffic results in a proportionally larger decline in output, which is typically the case for sectors that depend heavily on in-person customers. In contrast, lower elasticities correspond to sectors that can maintain operations despite reduced local visits.

This approach is intentionally conservative, as it assumes that the output of different industries varies in its sensitivity to fluctuations in visitation levels due to factors such as the degree of customer-facing activity, the ability to conduct business online or remotely, and the potential to reschedule or recapture lost sales at a later time. This differentiation helps avoid overestimating potential economic losses.

The following elasticity assumptions are adopted:

- Elasticity = 1.0 for Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation (NAICS 71), Accommodation and Food Services (NAICS 72), and Other Services (NAICS 81). In other words, a 10 percent decline in foot traffic for these sectors is translated to a 10 percent reduction in gross output. These sectors are highly customer-facing and depend almost entirely on in-person patronage. A decline in foot traffic directly translates into reduced business activity, with limited ability to shift transactions online or reschedule/recapture lost revenue.
- Elasticity = 0.5 for other service-producing industries (NAICS 42–62), including Retail Trade, Information, Finance and Real Estate, Professional and Administrative Services, Educational Services, and Health Care. This means a 10 percent decline in foot traffic for these sectors is translated to a 5 percent reduction in gross output. These sectors are partially insulated from foot traffic declines due to online service delivery, remote work capability, or rescheduling or recapturing lost revenue possibilities. For example, retailers may recoup some sales through e-commerce, and professional and financial services can continue operating remotely.
- Elasticity = 0.25 for non-service industries, including Agriculture, Mining, Utilities, Construction, and Manufacturing (NAICS 11–33). In this case, a 10 percent decline in foot traffic is translated to a 2.5 percent reduction in gross output of these sectors. These sectors have limited direct exposure to local visitation patterns, as their activities are largely production- or infrastructure-based rather than customer-facing. Curfews may temporarily disrupt operations or logistics, but such effects are expected to have modest impacts on the overall output of these sectors.

Baseline economic activity for businesses located within the curfew zone was estimated using industry classification, employment, and sales volume data obtained from Data Axle for all establishments in the area.

After estimating the direct impacts on businesses located within the curfew zone under each scenario, a customized input–output (I–O) model was developed for both the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County to quantify the total economic effects. The I–O framework traces how initial disruptions in one part of the economy ripple through the broader economy via inter-industry supply chain linkages and household spending effects.

The total estimated economic losses include direct, indirect, and induced impacts:

- **Direct impacts** represent the immediate loss of output and employment among businesses located in the curfew zone.
- **Indirect impacts** capture the reduced demand for goods and services supplied to those businesses by vendors elsewhere in the city and county.
- **Induced impacts** measure the decline in household spending when employees, whose wages depend on directly and indirectly affected business activity, experience reduced income.

Together, these different layers of impacts represent the multiplier effects of business disruptions, showing how localized shocks ripple outward through the broader regional economy. Economic results are expressed in terms of employment, labor income (wages and benefits), value added (regional GDP equivalent), and total output (sales revenue). Fiscal impacts were also estimated for local, state, and federal tax revenues associated with each scenario.



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