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Force Multiplied:
How ICE's Surging 287(g) Task Force Model Massively Expanded the Agency's Force While Promising Billions to Local Law Enforcement

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Executive summary

Updated numbers from FWD.us show partnerships between ICE and state and local law enforcement through the 287(g) program are surging, funding a rapid and unprecedented collaboration between federal immigration authorities and the criminal justice system. The downstream effects of this collaboration will far outlast this political moment, expanding the footprint of law enforcement for years to come with dangerous consequences for immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

The 287(g) program is a key lever in the administration's plan to have state and local law enforcement agencies carry out its immigration enforcement agenda, and its previously discredited Task Force Model program is now expanding even more quickly than anticipated. The latest estimates from FWD.us show the number of state and local officers tapped to work for ICE has doubled in size since February.

Over 29,000 state and local law enforcement officers across the country are now estimated to be deputized by ICE. This force well exceeds the 11,600 Deportation Officers currently employed by Enforcement Removal Operations at ICE. The impact of this dramatic growth is evident: the "shadow surge" in immigration arrests in June and July 2026 was buoyed by state and local law enforcement, who in some states accounted for over half of immigration arrests.

FWD.us is now projecting that state and local law enforcement agencies are eligible for at least $2 billion in funding through this program through FY 2026. This includes roughly $400 million in "start up costs," at least $170 million in "incentives" promised to agencies for meeting arrest quotas or policing unaccompanied immigrant children, and nearly $1.5 billion in newly announced stipends of $60,000 per deputized officer each year. Moving forward, total funding is projected to reach at least $1.8 billion per year, even if no additional agencies sign up. These funds would roughly double the largest federal grants to local police in FY 2024.

The taxpayer dollars fueling the 287(g) program are flowing without transparency, oversight, or accountability measures traditionally tied to Congressional appropriations. Instead, they form just one piece of an unprecedented $261 billion allocation to DHS to "supercharge" enforcement, passed through reconciliation packages on party-line votes and with no public accounting for how the money is spent. Congress has an opportunity to interrupt and reverse the runaway growth of this harmful, unaccountable program before its harms are fully entrenched. State and local actors for their part must closely track this influx of federal funds to law enforcement and, wherever possible, redirect the money to the life-saving and evidence-based health and safety programs that have been defunded in their wake.

Growth of the Task Force Model

KEY TAKEAWAYS:

- Over 1,850 local and state law enforcement agencies participate in the Task Force Model across 30 states and two U.S. territories as of October 1, 2026, with participation concentrated in small towns and cities, particularly in the South.
- One in three Americans live in a state where their state police or highway patrol agency participates in the Task Force Model.
- Between 26,000 and 33,000 state and local law enforcement officers in 30 states across the country are now estimated to be deputized by ICE to conduct immigration enforcement as a part of their daily jobs.

The 287(g) Task Force Model has soared in size from Jan. 30, 2025, when the first participating agency signed an MOU, to play an outsized role in immigration enforcement by the summer of 2026. **As of October 1, 2026, over 1,850 local and state law enforcement agencies participate in the Task Force Model across 30 states and two U.S. territories**, covering at least 136 million people, and the program continues to grow. Enticed by generous funding incentives and few, if any, guardrails on how to spend the funds, an average of six new agencies have signed up daily since June 2026. Taken together, Task Force Model agreements with county law enforcement agencies cover agencies policing a combined population of 57 million people in the U.S., while agreements with municipal agencies cover 10.8 million people.

What is the 287(g) program?

First established in 1996, the 287(g) program authorizes the federal government to delegate certain law enforcement duties concerning immigration to local and state law enforcement agencies.

Today's 287(g) program encompasses three models. The first two – the Warrant Service Officer program and the Jail Enforcement Model – broadly allow local and state law enforcement to serve administrative warrants on or interrogate and transport immigrants already in their local jails or prisons and transfer them to ICE. The third program, the Task Force Model, deputizes local officers to conduct civil immigration enforcement during the course of their routine work. This deputization model was discontinued in 2012 after the Department of Justice found evidence of widespread harms, including racial profiling among participating agencies Maricopa County, Arizona under Sheriff Joe Arpaio and in Alamance County, North Carolina.

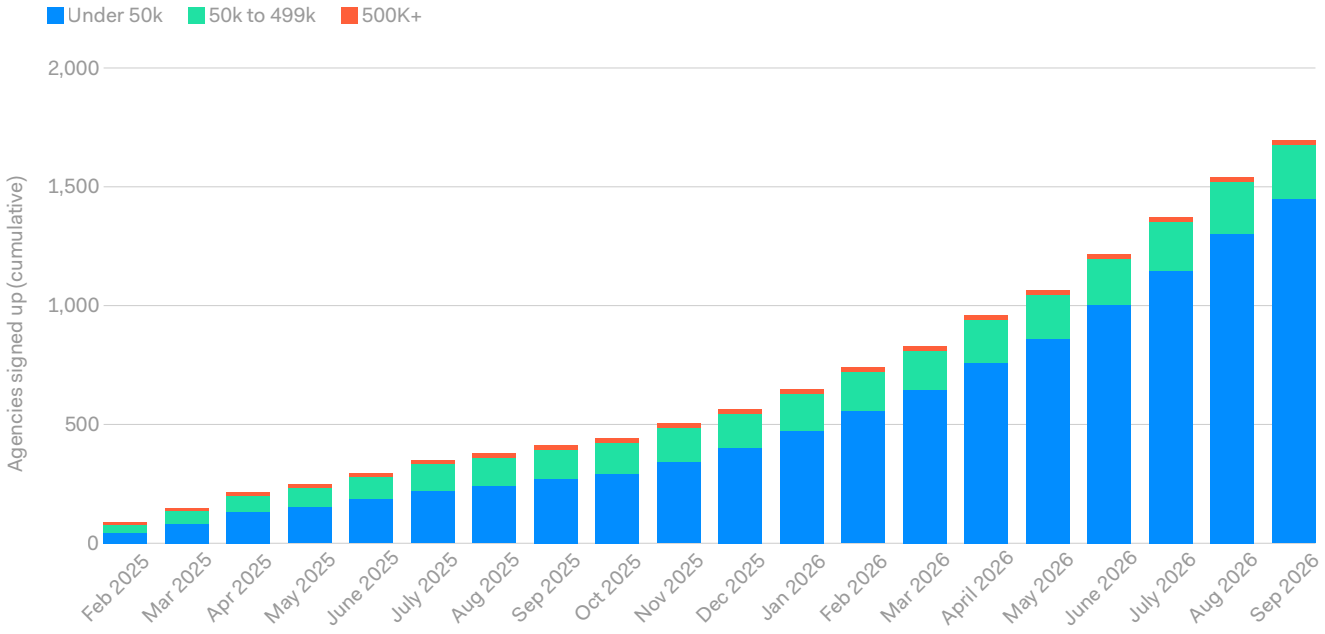
Since its revival on January 20, 2025, the Task Force Model has far overshadowed the other two programs. Under the Task Force Model, local cops, sheriffs deputies, and highway troopers alike can stop pedestrians or pull over vehicles during the course of their everyday jobs, inquire about immigration status, detain people they suspect of being undocumented, and turn them over to ICE custody. More than 80% of agencies enrolled in the 287(g) program in October 2026 are engaged in the Task Force Model. For more history on the 287(g) program read our Force Multiplier report, released in February 2026.

Who is signing up?

Smaller towns and cities: Law enforcement in smaller towns and cities make up the vast majority of agencies participating in the Task Force Model, and are responsible for the dramatic growth in the program since its revival. At least 1,450 agencies, or four out of five that participate in the Task Force Model, work in jurisdictions with populations under 50,000. On average, small agencies deputize around 50% of officers, compared to under 10% for agencies in larger cities or counties. The funding incentives offered and discussed below play a significant role in driving this participation.

Smaller towns and cities drive dramatic growth in Task Force Model participation

Cumulative Task Force Model sign-ups by month and size of agency jurisdiction, February 2025 - September 2026



Source: ICE via the Maxwell Commons Newsletter from Andrew Thrasher and Titus Consulting, and U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: Chart does not include state agencies or any local agencies without a corresponding jurisdictional population (e.g. university police departments).

Concentrated in the U.S. South: Participation in the Task Force Model is heavily concentrated in the South, where 75% of participating agencies are located. Across the South and Southeast, state governors and legislatures have prodded, incentivized, and in many cases mandated participation in one or more models of the 287(g) program, though the agencies and details of each directive vary greatly by state.[1] As of October 1, Texas led the nation with 337 distinct agencies participating in the Task Force Model, followed by Florida (279 agencies), Missouri (139), Pennsylvania (137), Arkansas (121), and Oklahoma (113). (See Appendix for a full count of participating agencies by state).

State police and highway patrol: States have likewise been active at enlisting their employees in federal immigration enforcement. **One in three Americans live in one of the 20 states where their state police or highway patrol agency (or the agencies that oversee them) participate in the Task Force Model**, turning routine traffic responses and highway patrols into civil immigration enforcement operations. At least three states – Florida, Georgia, and Oklahoma – have signed up every officer in their highway patrol force, deputizing thousands of troopers with jurisdiction over highways spanning their states. Arkansas has likewise enlisted nearly every member of their 600-person state police.

1 Examples of states encouraging or mandating collaboration with ICE include Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. This list is not exhaustive.

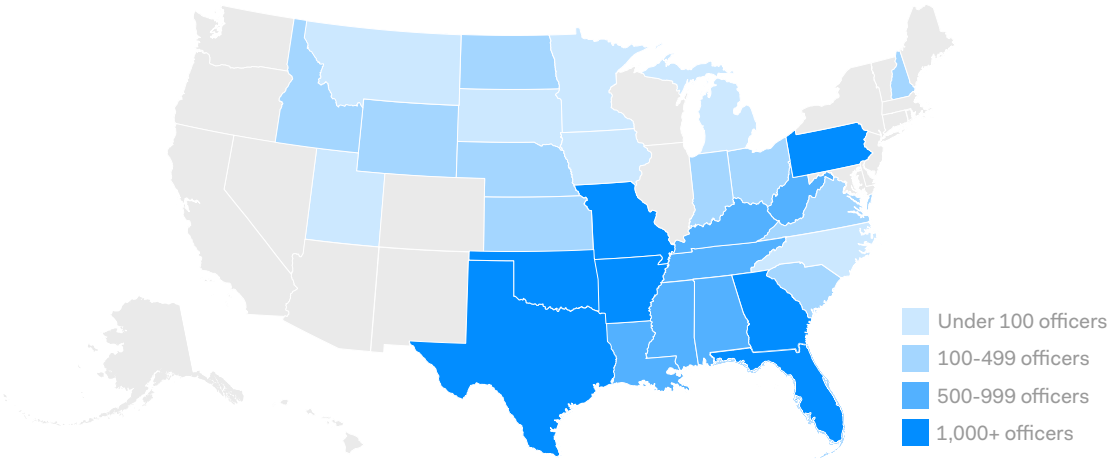
Unlikely immigration agents: Less traditional forces covering a wide range of jurisdictions and populations are also enlisting in the effort. Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida have each signed up their state wildlife, fisheries, and parks agencies.[2] Florida's agency alone credentialed over 760 officers wildlife conservation officers to undertake immigration enforcement. Such widescale enlistment in the enforcement operation led to a Florida Fish and Wildlife officer stopping a husband and wife walking their dog along a beach, prompting the husband's detention by ICE despite a pending asylum case. Another **17 police departments associated with college or university campuses across Florida have enrolled in the Task Force Model**, turning vulnerable college students into targets for enforcement. Several probation offices and a number of judicial districts have likewise deputized their staff to become Task Force Officers, drawing criminal justice system actors ever deeper into civil immigration enforcement efforts.

How large is this newly deputized force?

This rapid escalation of collaboration between law enforcement is quickly swelling the ranks of the nation's incognito immigration police. **FWD.us estimates between 26,000 and 33,000 state and local law enforcement officers in 30 states across the country are now deputized by ICE to conduct immigration enforcement as a part of their daily jobs.** A recent article from the *New York Times* reported the Department of Homeland Security's count at 29,300 deputized officers, compared to a midpoint estimate of 29,500 using FWD.us' methodology. FWD.us' estimate includes over 9,000 state and local officers in Florida, at least 4,000 estimated in Texas[3], and thousands more across Georgia, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Louisiana. This deputized force well exceeds the 11,600 Deportation Officers currently employed by Enforcement Removal Operations at ICE.[4] (See Appendix for estimates of deputized officers across all 30 states with active partnerships).

South and Southeast U.S. are home to the highest concentration of deputized Task Force officers

Estimated number of deputized Task Force officers by state, October 1, 2026



2 Virginia's Department of Wildlife was also an active participant in the 287(g) Task Force Model, before participation by state agencies was banned by executive order. Agencies in states that no longer permit collaboration with ICE and are no longer listed as active participants in the 287(g) program, including those previously reported as participating in the Task Force Model, have been excluded from nationwide and state-level estimates of task force officers and projections of future eligible funding.

3 This estimate is almost certainly an undercount, as no publicly reported figures were located nor estimates produced for state agencies in Texas, including the Texas Highway Patrol, which employs a force of over 2,800 officers. Refer to the methodology section for further information on data sources used and projections methods employed for this analysis.

4 In addition to ERO deportation officers, ICE personnel from Homeland Security Investigations as well as law enforcement personnel from across DHS and a number of other federal agencies, including the FBI, DEA, and ATF, have also carried out interior enforcement operations, as described in more detail by the ACLU and the Cato Institute. See methodology for more details.

Consequences of this rapid growth

KEY TAKEAWAYS:

- Immigration arrests through the 287(g) program rose from around 300 in January 2025 to over 6,600 in July 2026. By summer 2026, 287(g) programs accounted for 14-15% of all ICE arrests nationwide, up from 2.5% in January 2025.
- In states like Wyoming, New Hampshire, and Oklahoma, the 287(g) program has been responsible for more than half of ICE arrests in certain months.
- Florida and Texas account for more than 15,000 and 9,000 arrests, respectively, out of more than 47,000 immigration arrests conducted via the 287(g) program.

This dramatic escalation of collaboration between local law enforcement and federal immigration authorities has already resulted in striking upticks in immigration arrests made through the 287(g) program. Many more harms will likely manifest in less visible or quantifiable ways well into the future, from the downstream consequences of sudden disappearances of beloved immigrant community members to the vast sums of money distributed from the DHS to local law enforcement agencies concentrated in the South and Southeast. A prior iteration of the Task Force Model was shuttered after DOJ investigations by the Obama administration revealed that it led to widespread racial disparities in law enforcement behavior at checkpoints, traffic stops, arrests, and jailing. Researchers have also found spillover effects of the 287(g) program in the form of racial discrimination among agencies that hadn't signed up for the 287(g) program. By massively expanding the footprint of local and state law enforcement, these latest funds are very likely having similar spillover impacts on non-immigrant communities and especially those communities most commonly targeted by law enforcement like poor, Black and Brown communities.

How does the Task Force Model drive arrests?

Even as immigration enforcement activities ramp up at the federal level, state and local officers are responsible for an increasing number and share of ICE's immigration arrests.

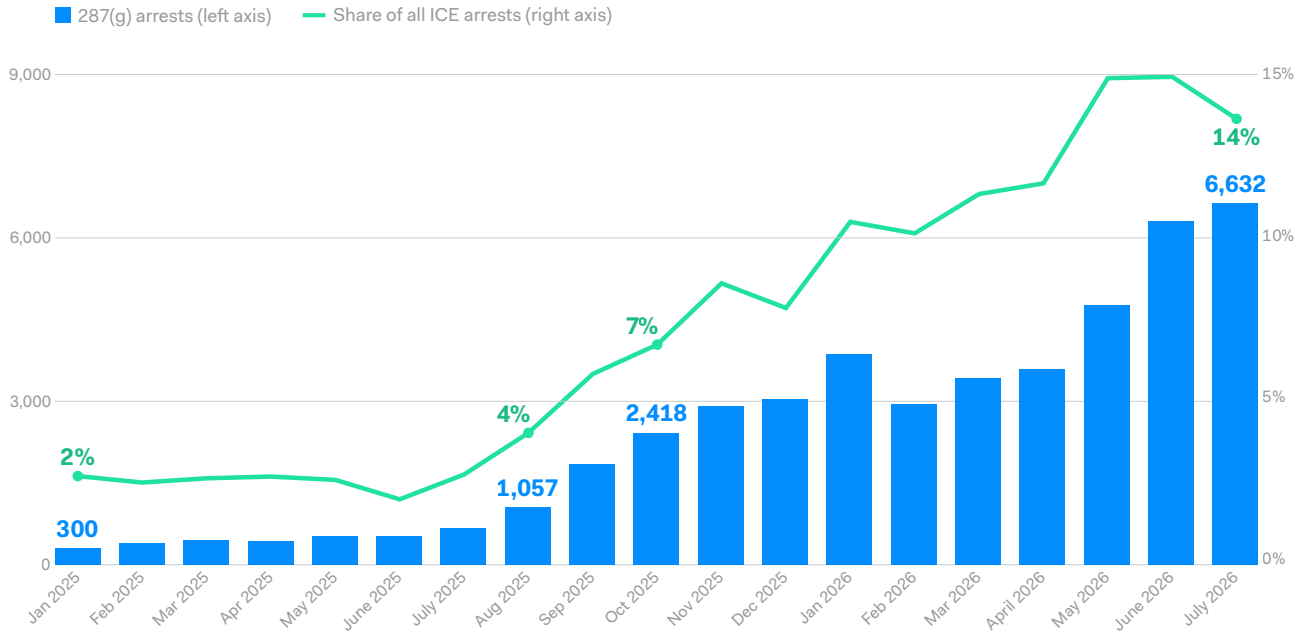
In January 2025, 287(g) agencies accounted for around 300 immigration arrests, or 2.5% of all ICE arrests. During May, June, and July 2026, when ICE undertook a quiet yet record-breaking surge in enforcement actions, 287(g) programs accounted for 14-15% of all immigration arrests nationwide. By July 2026, the last full month of data available, monthly arrests had grown over 2100% to more than 6,600. While this total encompasses all 287(g) arrests, it is almost certainly driven by the rapid expansion of the Task Force Model Program.[5] As the graph below shows, the share of arrests driven by 287(g) continued to grow even after overall arrests plateaued in February, March, and April amid public backlash to the Minneapolis surge and the violent killings of Renee Good and Alex Pretti.

5 While ICE does not distinguish arrests that resulted from the intervention of Task Force Model officers from the other jail-based 287(g) program models, it is clear from the data that arrests spiked not just alongside the growth in the Task Force Model, but in particular following the announcement of funding associated with Task Force Model participation, as discussed in greater detail below.

This trend is consistent when examining all arrests involving 287(g) officers, as well as when limiting 287(g)-related arrests to those individuals arrested for only "immigration violations," meaning no criminal convictions or pending criminal charges were identified. These arrests for immigration violations, which are less likely to happen through a Jail Enforcement Model or Warrant Service Officer program of 287(g), have grown from making up under 2% of all 287(g)-related arrests in the early months of the second Trump administration when most 287(g) agreements were Jail Enforcement Model agreements to between 47-58% of all 287(g)-related arrests in the months of May, June, and July 2026.

Monthly arrests through 287(g) program climbed 2,100% by July 2026, representing 14% of all ICE arrests

Number of 287(g) arrests and share of all ICE arrests attributed to 287(g), January 2025 - July 2026

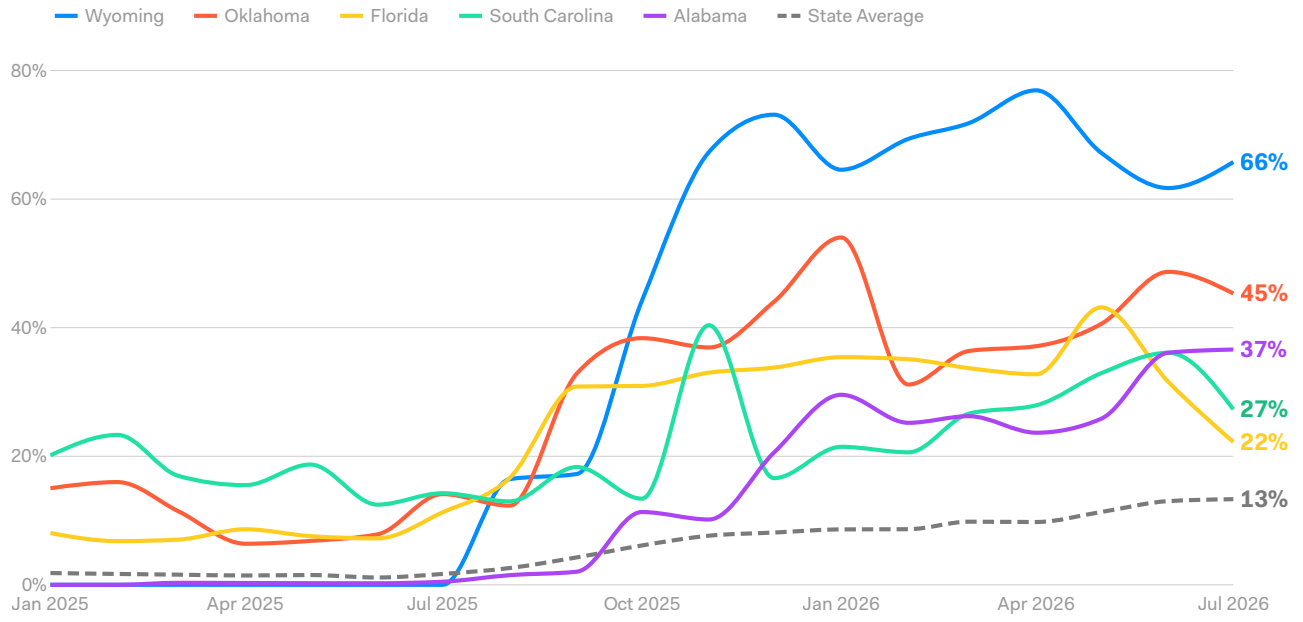


Source & Notes: Arrest data provided by ICE in response to a FOIA request, processed by the Deportation Data Project, and analyzed by FWD.us. Arrests were identified via reference to 287(g) in either the apprehension method or final program variables of dataset. Arrests totals may include arrests undertaken pursuant to any 287(g) program, including Jail Enforcement Model or Warrant Service Officer program.

In a number of states these programs play an even greater role in enforcement. In Wyoming, 287(g) programs accounted for 77% of immigration arrests in April 2026 and above 60% every month since. In New Hampshire, the programs were responsible for 60% of immigration arrests in June 2026. Nearly half of Oklahoma's immigration arrests in June likewise came from the 287(g) program.

287(g) program responsible for over two-thirds of ICE arrests in Wyoming in 2026

287(g) arrests as percent of ICE arrests in select states, January 2025 - July 2026



Source & Notes: Arrest data provided by ICE in response to a FOIA request, processed by the Deportation Data Project, and analyzed by FWD.us. Arrests were identified via reference to 287(g) in either the apprehension method or final program variables of dataset. Arrests totals may include arrests undertaken pursuant to any 287(g) program, including Jail Enforcement Model or Warrant Service Officer program.

Local law enforcement officers in Montana, Alabama, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Indiana, South Dakota, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Ohio have likewise contributed significantly to immigration arrests in their state, responsible for at least a quarter of immigration arrests in their state by July 2026. A full breakdown of the share of immigration arrests attributed to 287(g) officers during the summer surge can be found in the Appendix.

Two major players in immigration arrests

Major state and county agencies have deputized large swaths of officers, leading Florida and Texas to account for over 15,000 and 9,000 arrests, respectively, more than half of the over 47,000 immigration arrests conducted via the 287(g) program between January 2025 and early August 2026. While Florida has consistently reported over 1,000 monthly arrests through the 287(g) program for nearly every month since September 2025, Texas agencies were slower to embrace widespread arrests until late spring of 2026. By June and July, however, both states were responsible for well over 1,600 monthly arrests via the 287(g) program.

Massive funding with no oversight or accountability

KEY TAKEAWAYS:

- FWD.us projects that Task Force Model agencies are eligible for at least $1.9-$2.2 billion through FY 2026, and could reap at least $1.6-$2 billion annually in future years.
- Arrests and agency sign-ups took off after funding was announced. The number of arrests involving 287(g) officers more than doubled from just over 1,000 in August 2025, before funding was announced, to over 2,400 in October 2025, when the funding went into effect. Arrests topped 6,600 in July 2026, the latest full month of data.
- This massive funding, doubling prior federal funding for local law enforcement, has been spent without transparency or oversight, with little to no information available on how incentive funds for participating agencies are calculated, the breadth of the program for tracking down immigrant children, and how agencies are using the funds they receive.

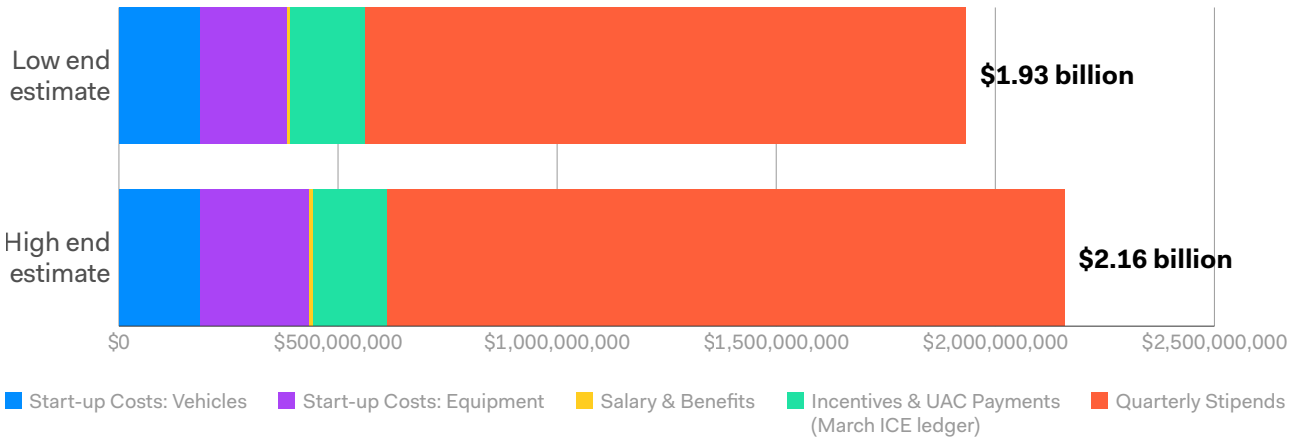
The July 2025 and June 2026 passage of reconciliation bills awarded the Department of Homeland Security unprecedented funding for increased enforcement. To fund this and other aspects of the administration's anti-immigrant agenda, Republicans in Congress slashed taxpayer dollars that were originally allocated to help families afford health care and groceries, putting health care jobs at risk, stripping millions of their food assistance, and pushing health care premiums sky-high.

These federal reconciliation dollars are a key catalyst of the growth of the Task Force Model and ICE's growing reliance on collaboration with local and state law enforcement, facilitating a financial incentive scheme that took effect in October 2025. Under the newly expanded Task Force Model, federal funds cover officer salaries for time spent on immigration enforcement, equipment, vehicles, and performance-based incentives for participating local agencies, including up to $22,500 for each unaccompanied immigrant child a Task Force Model officer conducts a so-called "safety verification." This "safety verification" involves locating and interrogating a child at their home, confirming school enrollment, and documenting possible grounds for prosecution, detention, or deportation of the child, their sponsor, or other members of their household.

FWD.us is now projecting that at least $1.9-$2.2 billion has been paid or obligated through this program through FY 2026. This includes roughly $400 million obligated in "start up costs," at least $170 million in "incentives" promised to agencies for meeting arrest quotas or policing unaccompanied immigrant children ("UAC"), an estimated $8 million for time spent by participating officers on immigration enforcement, and between $1.4-$1.5 billion dollars available through newly announced stipends of $60,000 per deputized officer. Moving forward, total funding is projected to reach at least $1.6-$2 billion per year, assuming no additional agencies sign up for the lucrative partnership and not including any additional incentive payments that may be allocated. This is significantly higher than the previous federal law enforcement funding high of nearly $1 billion per year for the COPS program in the late 1990s.

Agencies participating in Task Force Model eligible for estimated $1.9-$2.2 billion in funding through FY 2026

Projected funding reimbursements available to Task Force Model agencies



Source: Analysis by FWD.us. See methodology for more information on estimation methods.

Eligible funding ranges greatly depending on the number of agencies signed up and the number of law enforcement officers deputized. Agencies across Florida may already be eligible for at least an estimated $872 million, and could earn up to $1.4 billion in payments through the end of the 2027 fiscal year, over 1 in 3 total dollars handed out even though Florida holds only 1 in 15 U.S. residents. Texas, Georgia, and Oklahoma could each already qualify for between $100 and $250 million in payments, with each state eligible to have doubled their funding by the end of FY 2027.[6]

The overall projection of at least $1.9-$2.2 billion is larger than initially expected. In February, FWD.us projected the Task Force Model program could funnel an estimated $1.4-$2 billion to local and state law enforcement agencies. The current projection significantly improves these estimates by taking into account new information about how the funding operates:

- First, leaked and publicly released documents reveal that salary and benefits reimbursements for deputized officers cover only officer time spent conducting immigration enforcement activities, not full salary and benefits as originally projected.
- Second, the leaked ICE ledger as well as state-level reporting from Florida's State Immigration Enforcement Council provide far more reliable estimates of officer participation at the agency level than previously available.

6 This estimate is almost certainly an undercount for Texas, as described in detail in footnote 3 above.

- Third, the agency quietly introduced a new quarterly stipend program, which first appeared on the ICE website on August 15. Under the new stipends, agencies are eligible for $15,000 per deputized officer for each fiscal quarter after the initial quarter of the partnership, for a total of $60,000 each year. Given that these stipends do not depend on arrest numbers, they are much easier to accurately project.

ICE quietly introduced a new stipend program to grant agencies an additional $60,000 a year for each deputized officer



Source: ICE, https://www.ice.gov/doclib/about/offices/ero/287g/factsheet287gBenefits.pdf

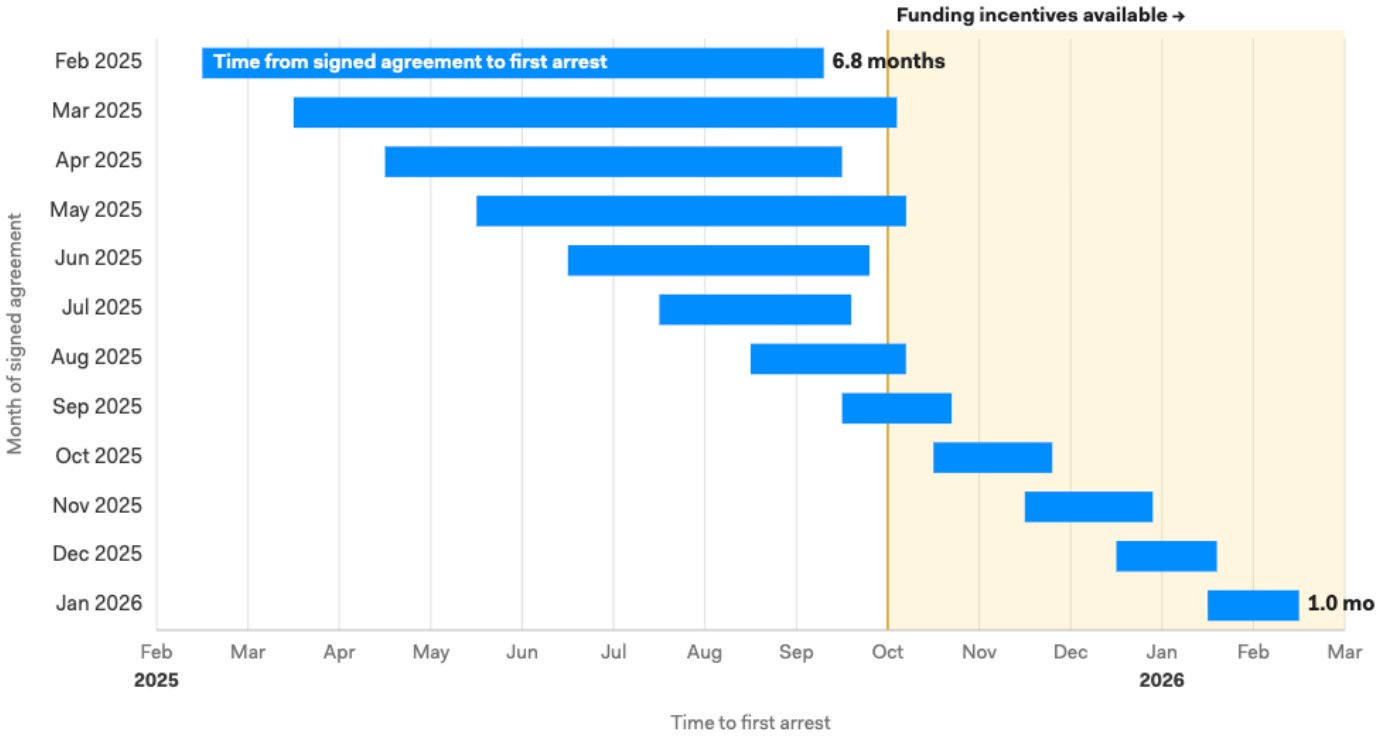
Using the new program information above, as well as Bureau of Justice Statistics data on law enforcement agency size, FWD.us estimated the total number of deputized officers by agency and state. FWD.us then analyzed the deputized officer estimates alongside 287(g) program enrollment and state-level arrest data to determine eligible payments based on start-up costs, salary and benefits, and the newly-announced per-officer stipends. To reach the final total, we included the specific line-item incentive and reimbursement payments outlined in the leaked ICE ledger from March. We did not include any additional projections on incentive payments or payments related to the so-called "safety verification" checks for immigrant children, given that there is extremely limited information on how these are calculated. Either of these types of payments could push the total allocation under this program much higher.

This estimate does not include funds paid out to other entities related to the 287(g) program such as the $63 million Koniag Government Services contract to build a call center to support 287(g) officers, the $382 million GardaWorld contract to transport Texans detained pursuant to 287(g) under armed guard, or the $3 billion in BIDEN grants that require law enforcement agencies to participate in 287(g) to be eligible to apply.

These funds, available to ICE because of the enormous $261 billion DHS funding packages passed through reconciliation in 2025 and 2026, are a major driver of agency participation and arrests. It is clear from the data that even where 287(g) agreements existed, few arrests were made until the funding incentives were announced in September 2025 and went into effect in October 2025.

Task Force Model partner agencies largely held off on arresting immigrants until funding incentives announced

Median time in months from signed Task Force Model agreement to first arrest by month of enrollment, Feb. 2025 - Jan. 2026



Source: ICE payment ledger analyzed by FWD.us.

The ICE payment ledger leaked earlier this year made clear that agencies had largely held off on arrest activity through the Task Force Model until the funding incentives were announced. According to the ledger, the participating agencies who signed up for the Task Force Model in its early months did not become "operational" by completing their first arrest until almost seven months later, just around the funding announcement. Agencies who subsequently signed up in the spring and summer months largely waited until the announcement and initiation of the financial incentives to begin arresting immigrants for ICE. Once the funding streams were available, agencies quickly began moving from enrollment to arrest in about a month's time.

Since funding became available, **the number of arrests involving 287(g) officers more than doubled from just over 1,000 in August 2025, before funding was announced, to over 2,400 in October 2025, when the funding went into effect.** Arrests have now grown to over 6,600 in July 2026, the latest full month of data available.

There is still a great deal to be learned about the 287(g) program and the Task Force Model specifically. Questions remain on how incentive funds for participating agencies are calculated, the breadth of the program for tracking down immigrant children, and how agencies are using the funds they receive. Local agencies have been instructed not to respond to requests for information or share any information about their participation in 287(g). Some agencies are doubling or more their normal budget with these funds, with little or no oversight as to how the money should be used.

In Tennessee, an un-salaried constable may have received hundreds of thousands of dollars from ICE for tracking down immigrant children in other states. In West Virginia, a police sergeant called the program a "no-brainer" as he eagerly awaits the delivery of his two new squad cars. Agencies in Arkansas and Pennsylvania

have detailed plans to use the funds to build a new police station or purchase their currently leased police headquarters. Meanwhile, one New Hampshire police chief said they were going to "save taxpayer money" by spending federal dollars on new radios, while the reality is that these are also taxpayer dollars — federal taxpayer dollars, going to subsidize whichever agencies sign up, clustered in the South and Southeast.

The harm these programs are doing

The rapidly surging collaboration between local and state law enforcement agencies and ICE has neither improved public safety nor addressed the affordability issues plaguing American families. Instead, these partnership agreements have been responsible for over 47,000 arrests and counting, each one with a family, a community, and a story behind them.

These arrests include:

- A mother whose arrest and deportation led directly to the death of her toddler son
- A mother and teenage daughter who were arrested while in the hospital after they were victims in a serious car crash
- A high school senior and soccer captain for "failure to maintain his lane of travel"
- An expectant father who had a routine fender-bender, now separated from his pregnant wife despite eight years attempting to adjust his immigration status
- A father whose truck blew a tire and overturned on his way to work
- A commercial truck driver who was arrested while in the hospital after getting stitches
- A woman who reported a former employer for possible insurance fraud and worked with a financial services detective for months before she was arrested in their office
- Three men picking berries in a park who were pursued with a K-9 unit and firearms drawn
- Three men who lacked the proper permits to enter a wildlife management area
- A Haitian pastor whose purportedly broken headlight triggered his deportation, leaving a wife and two young children behind
- An American citizen contractor who was stopped by local police because he "look[ed] like a Mexican"

and tens of thousands more.

In carrying out these arrests, the sheriffs, cops, wildlife police, highway patrol officers, and financial services detectives are each playing a role in a historic transfer of federal funds to local and state law enforcement agencies, the repercussions of which are just beginning to play out.

Prior to the introduction of the 287(g) funding incentives, the two largest pots of federal money going to local police and other state and local law enforcement were COPS spending at $665 million in FY 2024, and JAG-Byrne funds at $346 million in FY 2024. As was the case with our first round of funding estimates, the latest projections of funds eligible for payment would double these federal funds to local law enforcement.

The consequences of this funding are wide-ranging. As noted in our February report, ICE refers to these 287(g) agreements as "force multipliers," and **as the Task Force Model program continues to expand, it represents a tremendous multiplier of force against Black and Brown people in the United States.** The administration has already expanded the populations vulnerable to its extreme anti-immigrant agenda, stripping legal status from a projected 2.2 million immigrants by the end of 2026, and given tens of thousands of local and state officers a mandate to harass and arrest people they suspect of being immigrants.

ICE arrested over 576,000 people from January 2025 to early August 2026, and shows no signs of slowing down. The arrest surge during the summer months of 2026 managed to fly under the radar largely because of the extensive collaboration of local and state officers through partnerships like 287(g).

At the same time, the massive infusion of federal funding into local law enforcement could expand local police departments and sheriff's offices in a way not seen since the 1990s. From 1995 to 1999, the federal government sent nearly $1 billion per year to state and local law enforcement agencies to hire more police officers through the COPS program. While studies have found that funding had no or very modest impact on crime, it did significantly increase arrests for drug possession and other low level offenses, and coincided with a period of militarization of police around the country. These harms persisted even after the funding was reduced, and 2025 once again saw sharp increases in low-level arrests for drug possession, vagrancy, and other "quality of life" crimes.

This is alarming on its own, but particularly in conjunction with the large body of research showing the harms 287(g) agreements can have even without the expansion of funding. In addition to the direct racial profiling documented in counties running the original Task Force Model, research found spillover effects of increased racial profiling in nearby areas that were not covered by an agreement. Other documented negative impacts include increased chronic absenteeism of children from school, decreased employment, worsened mental health, and increased vulnerability of immigrants to crime in counties with 287(g) agreements during the earlier Task Force Model era. **All of these negative effects were not balanced by any positives: these programs had no measurable effect on crime.**

As shocking as this rapid expansion is, we have seen periods of increased criminalization and federal funding that led to increased attacks on Black and Brown people before. The public pushed back, and experienced a 15-year period in which incarceration and crime rates declined simultaneously, including decreases in violent crime rates in states that reduced imprisonment while rates went up in those that did not. Now we must recognize these threats for what they are and push back forcefully again.

Conclusion

Congress has an opportunity to interrupt and reverse the runaway growth of this harmful, unaccountable program before its harms are fully entrenched. Congress must take back the $144 billion still available for ICE and CBP to spend, plus any additional funds unspent from the DHS's $27 billion slush fund, and demand transparency on ICE funding formulas, particularly incentives for arresting immigrants and investigating children, and full accountability on how taxpayer funds have been spent and the consequences of that spending.

State and local actors must push back on any new or existing agreements and pay close attention to these funds as they make their way back to agencies, in order to redirect them, wherever possible, to the budgets of the myriad life saving and evidence-based health and safety programs that have been slashed.

These actions are critical to checking and reversing the far reaching harms that this funding poses to immigrant communities as well as their non-immigrant neighbors, especially the poor, Black and Brown communities often targeted by policing.

Data Sources and Methodology

DATA SOURCES:

Information on current 287(g) agreements was last downloaded from the Maxwell Commons Newsletter 287(g) Program Tracker on Oct. 1, 2026. Arrest data were provided by ICE in response to a FOIA request, processed by the Deportation Data Project, and last retrieved on Sept. 17, 2026, and analyzed by FWD.us. Analysis also relied on the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, last collected in 2018; the contents of a leaked ICE ledger, originally published by independent journalist Ken Klippenstein on March 24, 2025 and subsequently digitized and analyzed by FWD.us; and a June 2026 spreadsheet, published by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement for the State Board of Immigration Enforcement, detailing each Florida law enforcement agency's degree of participation in the 287(g) program. U.S. Census Bureau population estimates at the county and subcounty level were utilized, as were mean annual salaries by state as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics for police and sheriff's patrol officers. Federal workforce data from the Office of Personnel Management were also consulted.

METHODOLOGY:

In order to create a reliable estimate of the number of sworn local and state officers deputized as part of the Task Force Model, we first had to build a reliable estimate of the overall size of sworn officer forces of active participating agencies. The current agreements list was matched to the most recent Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies (CSLLEA) and to the spreadsheet published by Florida's State Board of Immigration Enforcement (SBIE), as well as U.S. Census datasets to fill in any missing jurisdictional population information. Agency and city names were manually adjusted for slight variations in spelling and ordering, as needed. One duplicate agency was removed from the analysis (Parker County District Attorney's Office in Texas).

Approximately 72% of participating agencies with active Task Force Model agreements corresponded to an entry in either the CSLLEA (1,155 agencies) or the Florida SBIE dataset (276 agencies), with 91 agencies appearing in both. In comparing the Florida agencies that reported force sizes across both in the 2018 and 2026 datasets, it was clear that those forces had grown substantially over the reporting period. Nearly 80% of these agencies increased their number of full-time sworn officers, adding a median of 19 additional sworn officers, and a dozen agencies added more than a hundred new sworn officers relative to 2018. These trends echo strong growth in the number of law enforcement officers as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics over this period for Florida as well as several other states that appear prominently in this analysis, including Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Wyoming. But not all states experienced growth over this period and overall, the number of police officers and sheriffs deputies has been relatively flat across the country, growing approximately 1% from 2018 to 2025 based on Bureau of Labor Statistics occupational tables. Because of the uncertainty regarding the total number of sworn officers by agency and how it has changed between 2018 and now, we present a range of possible values, using no growth from 2018 as the low end of the range and growth similar to Florida as the high end of the range. In simplified forms such as the interactive map tool, we have displayed the midpoint of the range.

Current sworn officer totals were projected at the low end using sworn officer totals and the jurisdictional populations from the time of data collection for the CSLLEA to estimate the relationship between the sworn officer force and an agency's jurisdictional population, separating out regression models for municipal and

county agencies. (Municipal regression: n=601, adjusted R-squared=.96. County regression: n=467, adjusted R-squared=.77). For the high-end estimates, identical regression models were run using SBIE data and corresponding U.S. Census population data. (Municipal regression: n=173, adjusted R-squared=.88. County regression: n=68, adjusted R-squared=.91). These estimates were then applied to predict the sworn officer forces of all participating agencies, based on more recent population estimates.

To estimate the number of officers deputized by ICE under the Task Force Model, the percent of the sworn officer force participating in the program according to the ICE ledger was then applied to the high- and low-end range of full force estimates for non-state agencies outside of Florida, broken out by municipal and county agencies as well as the relative size of their populations. The number of deputized officers as reported in SBIE data was preserved for Florida agencies, as were the deputized officer estimates from the ICE ledger for agencies outside of Florida included in that document. For all county or municipal agencies for which jurisdictional populations were unavailable, a single deputized officer was assumed.

A manual review of online news coverage and press releases was conducted for all participating state-level highway patrol and police agencies or the agencies that oversee them. Where located, reported tallies of deputized officer forces were included in the analysis. Tallies for agencies that deputized more officers than initially indicated on the ICE ledger were updated.

No estimates were made for state-level agencies given the wide range of force sizes and participation (some credentialed only a handful of officers, while others have deputized their entire forces). As a result, this report's estimates are quite conservative, as they fail to include any estimated officers for the state police in Indiana, Louisiana, New Hampshire, and West Virginia, nor for the highway patrol in Montana, South Carolina, or Texas, among others.

Deputized officer estimates were then used to calculate the funds agencies are eligible to seek for payment based on start-up costs (including vehicle and equipment stipends) and quarterly stipends. Salary and benefits were estimated using mean officer salaries from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a benefits multiplier of 33%, and the number of 287(g) arrests conducted in each state between January 2025 and early August 2026. Officer time of roughly 3 hours per arrest was estimated, and arrests were assumed to continue at the same pace they had occurred over the last three months of available arrest data, from May to early August 2026, through the end of FY 2027.

Arrest data were cleaned to remove likely duplicate entries as identified by the Deportation Data Project. Relevant arrests were then identified via reference to 287(g) in either the apprehension method or final program variables. As discussed in the body of this report, arrests totals may include arrests undertaken pursuant to any 287(g) program, including Jail Enforcement Model or Warrant Service Officer program.

To provide a comparison to the size of the deputized force under the 287(g) Task Force Model, federal workforce data was obtained from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management. ICE's Enforcement Removal Operations (ERO) deportation officers are housed within the 1801 occupational series, which contains just under 11,600 employees as of August 2026, the most recent data available. This appears to be the closest approximation of sworn ICE officers conducting interior enforcement operations. An additional nearly 8,500 ICE employees are classified under the 1811 criminal investigator series. In addition to these employees, the ACLU reports that law enforcement personnel from across DHS and a number of other federal agencies, including the FBI, DEA, and ATF, have also carried out interior enforcement operations. According to a

disclosure received by the Cato Institute, more than 28,000 federal law enforcement employees had been diverted or reassigned to support immigration enforcement efforts as of August 2025. It is not clear to what extent these reassignments continue to this day.

NOTE ON CANCELLED 287(G) AGREEMENTS:

Analysis presented in this report relies on the list of active participating agencies as of Oct. 1, 2026. ICE does not publish data on 287(g) agreements that have been cancelled or voided by court order, but the 287(g) Program Tracker maintained by Andrew Thrasher has identified at least 74 Task Force Model agreements that have been removed from ICE's published list since February 2025. A new dataset from the Deportation Data Project published on October 16, 2026 likewise tracks all active and historic 287(g) agreements, featuring 2,055 Task Force Model agreements signed since 2002.

At least one additional agency (Pinal County Attorney's Office in Arizona) continues to appear listed as "active" despite a judicial order declaring the agreement void in May 2026. As this is the only Arizona 287(g) Task Force Agreement agreement, Arizona has been excluded from the interactive map tool and from national totals. Twenty additional agreements with Virginia localities that are currently subject to litigation but remain active pending resolution of the litigation have been retained in this analysis.

Appendix

Appendix Table 1: **Task Force Model agreements and estimated deputized officers by state**

State	Active Task Force Model agreements as of Oct. 1, 2026	Active Task Force Model agreements with local agencies	Active Task Force Model agreements with state agencies	Deputized task force officers (estimated)
Alabama	75	75	0	708
Arkansas	121	112	9	1,951
Florida	279	265	14	9,021
Georgia	82	80	2	2,150
Idaho	4	3	1	125
Indiana	40	37	3	427
Iowa	5	4	1	69
Kansas	25	24	1	275
Kentucky	54	54	0	721
Louisiana	88	82	6	938
Michigan	4	4	0	43
Minnesota	6	6	0	82
Mississippi	58	53	5	699
Missouri	139	138	1	1,755
Montana	5	4	1	52
Nebraska	11	10	1	160
New Hampshire	29	28	1	167
North Carolina	11	9	2	72
North Dakota	16	15	1	192
Ohio	19	19	0	200
Oklahoma	113	110	3	1,877
Pennsylvania	137	137	0	1,198
South Carolina	47	45	2	472
South Dakota	7	5	2	88
Tennessee	64	61	3	992
Texas	337	330	7	4,082
Utah	8	8	0	70
Virginia	20	20	0	320
West Virginia	39	37	2	648
Wyoming	11	10	1	117

Appendix Table 2: **287(g) arrests and share of all ICE arrests, and eligible Task Force Model funding by state**

State	Arrests under the 287(g) program from Jan. 2025 to early Aug. 2026	Share of all ICE arrests involving 287(g) program during 2026 summer surge	Eligible funding for Task Force Model activity through end of FY26	Eligible funding for Task Force Model activity in FY27
Alabama	1,975	33%	$32 million	$43 million
Arkansas	856	27%	$87 million	$117 million
Florida	15,164	29%	$875 million	$544 million
Georgia	2,220	12%	$138 million	$129 million
Idaho	19	1%	$6 million	$8 million
Indiana	873	26%	$24 million	$26 million
Iowa	61	5%	$3 million	$4 million
Kansas	48	4%	$11 million	$17 million
Kentucky	257	15%	$33 million	$43 million
Louisiana	407	13%	$37 million	$56 million
Michigan	6	0%	$4 million	$3 million
Minnesota	34	0%	$8 million	$5 million
Mississippi	301	17%	$24 million	$42 million
Missouri	682	28%	$60 million	$105 million
Montana	30	19%	$2 million	$3 million
Nebraska	238	20%	$5 million	$10 million
New Hampshire	172	51%	$12 million	$10 million
North Carolina	951	9%	$4 million	$4 million
North Dakota	25	9%	$11 million	$12 million
Ohio	903	27%	$14 million	$12 million
Oklahoma	3,173	46%	$108 million	$113 million
Pennsylvania	1,342	30%	$64 million	$72 million
South Carolina	1,853	31%	$30 million	$29 million
South Dakota	123	29%	$5 million	$5 million
Tennessee	1,300	24%	$29 million	$60 million
Texas	9,138	15%	$173 million	$248 million
Utah	317	6%	$5 million	$4 million
Virginia	726	7%	$24 million	$19 million
West Virginia	1,801	64%	$40 million	$39 million
Wyoming	945	65%	$7 million	$7 million

Table notes: Data table includes only states with active Task Force Model agreements as of Oct. 1, 2026. Deputized task force officers and projected funding for eligible state and local law enforcement are based on analysis by FWD.us. Summer surge period defined as May 2026 through early August 2026. State-based funding estimates may not sum to totals reported in text due to rounding.

Data sources: Agency participation data from ICE via the Maxwell Commons Newsletter from Andrew Thrasher and Titus Consulting. Arrest data provided by ICE in response to a FOIA request, processed by the Deportation Data Project, and analyzed by FWD.us. Estimates of deputized task force officers and funds available by state developed from FWD.us analysis. See methodology for more information.

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