



**The Chilling Effect of ICE Courthouse Arrests:  
How Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)  
Raids Deter Immigrants from Attending Child Welfare,  
Domestic Violence, Adult Criminal, and Youth Court Hearings**

**Angela Irvine, Ph.D.  
Mitzia Martinez  
Crystal Farmer  
Aisha Canfield, M.P.P.**

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## The Research Team

Dr. Angela Irvine, the founder of Ceres Policy Research, has over 25 years as a policy researcher. After completing a Ph.D. in Sociology at Northwestern University, she founded Ceres Policy Research in 2002 to provide research and technical assistance to county agencies and non-profit organizations. During this first chapter of Dr. Irvine's work through Ceres, she conducted thirty-three evaluations for twenty-two clients. The topics ranged from kindergarten readiness to serving suspended and expelled youth to serving girls in the justice system in a way that recognizes their gender, race, and sexual orientation.

Dr. Irvine took a hiatus from Ceres to become a Director of Research for the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD). After four years, a group of NCCD employees started a new organization called Impact Justice where she worked as a Vice President for two years. In this capacity, she built a portfolio of program evaluation and technical assistance projects focused on three areas: building bridges out of the justice system for youth of color charged with serious and violent crimes, slowing the school to justice pipeline, and understanding pathways into the justice system for lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning, gender nonconforming, and transgender youth--of which 85% are youth of color. Dr. Irvine returned to Ceres in order to focus on school discipline, immigration, and ending incarceration for straight and LGBTQ/GNCT youth of color.

Mitzia Martinez managed the national survey of immigrants that we discuss in this report. Her experience in a mixed immigration status family convinced organizations to partner with us. This report wouldn't have been possible without her.

In addition to Dr. Irvine, and Ms. Martinez, the Ceres team includes Crystal Farmer, and Aisha Canfield. You can learn more about Ceres and read team biographies at [www.cerespolicyresearch.com](http://www.cerespolicyresearch.com).

## Acknowledgements

We would first like to thank the **one thousand people** who shared with us components of their personal lives. We admire their courage in responding to the survey despite the high levels of fear that they told us about.

Additionally, this research could not have been possible without the support of our partners. We would like to thank the following organizations for their commitment to survey the immigrant communities they serve.

**Alameda County Public Defender**  
**Asian Prisoner Support Committee (APSC)**  
**Brooklyn Defender Services**  
**CASA de Maryland**  
**Causa de Oregon**  
**Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA) and Partners**  
**Community Action Development Commission (CADC)**  
**Community Activism Law Alliance (CALA) and Partners**  
**Faith Coalition for Immigrant Justice**  
**Fathers and Families of San Joaquin**  
**HarborCOV**  
**Jennifer Laskin and Students**  
**Justice for Families**  
**La Union del Pueblo Entero (LUPE)**  
**Make the Road New York**  
**Silicon Valley Debug**  
**SOAR Immigration Legal Services**  
**Sylvia Rivera Law Project**

Finally, we thank **Immigrant Defense Project (IDP)** for their support in understanding the scope of the issue and help developing the survey. This work would not have been possible without the generous support of **Four Freedoms Fund**.

## Introduction

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) was founded as the interior immigration policing arm of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003. Since that year, ICE has conducted searches for immigrants in multiple settings including homes, job sites, and courts. These raids increased in frequency under the Obama administration.<sup>1</sup> The Trump administration has more publicly condemned immigration and set zero tolerance enforcement policies. Additionally, ICE explicitly expressed in an agency memorandum and in public statements that courthouses are one of their preferred sites to conduct arrests.<sup>2</sup> This past August, ICE executed a raid at a poultry plant in Mississippi and detained about 680 immigrants. Similar operations happened across the country, generating crippling fear in mixed status communities.

In order to measure whether courthouse arrests increase fear among immigrant communities and undermine due process rights of immigrants within state and local courts, advocacy organizations such as Immigrant Defense Project (IDP) have been tracking the ICE arrests of those attending and leaving court.<sup>3</sup> They have documented how ICE targeted people with pending court cases, parents attending their child's youth court hearing, survivors of domestic violence, homeless people, and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning, gender nonconforming and transgender (LGBQ/GNCT) community.<sup>4</sup> Advocates are concerned that ICE courthouse activity is interfering with equal access to the courts. To test whether ICE raids have had a chilling effect on immigrant communities accessing the courts, Ceres Policy Research (Ceres) partnered with IDP to conduct a nationwide survey to document the impact of these raids.

Analysis of the survey data finds that respondents, in fear of ICE, avoid attending a wide range of hearings. This avoidance threatens to broadly disrupt due process. Survey respondents also believe judges and prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests and are afraid of calling the police when they are victims. The findings are described in more detail below.

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<sup>1</sup> Immigrant Defense Project. "ICE Out of Courts Campaign Toolkit", *Immigrant Defense Project*, 2018, <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org/wp-content/uploads/IDPCourthouseToolkit.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Directive 11072.1 Civil Immigration Actions Inside Courthouses. 2018. <https://www.ice.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Document/2018/ciEnforcementActionsCourthouses.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Immigrant Defense Project. "ICE Out of Courts Campaign Toolkit", *Immigrant Defense Project*, 2018, <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org/wp-content/uploads/IDPCourthouseToolkit.pdf>.

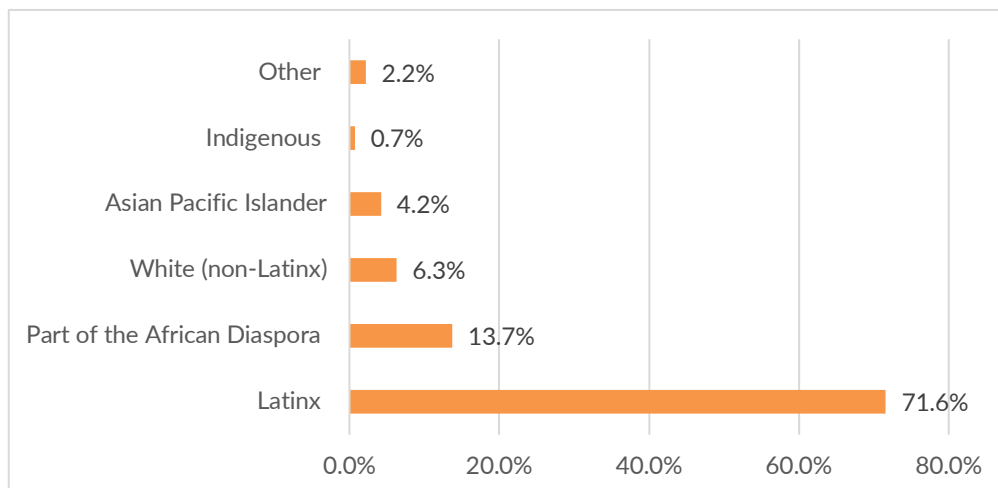
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

## Description of Survey Sample

Ceres partnered with over 20 organizations across the country to obtain 1,000 surveys from people in mixed immigration status families (See Appendix A for the full method). Partners collected surveys from January through September 2019. The 1,000 survey respondents resided in 123 cities in 11 states. These states were spread across the country in order to obtain a sample that was representative of all regions in the United States. Respondents also varied across gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnic identity, immigration status, and country of origin, experience as a crime victim, and experience in court.<sup>5</sup>

- 59.8% survey respondents identified as women or girls, 36.7% as men or boys, and 3.5% identified outside of the gender binary.
- 13% of our respondents identified as part of the LGBTQ/GNCT community.
- Only 6.3% of respondents identified as white (non-Latinx). The majority of respondents identified as being Latinx, part of the African Diaspora, Asian or Pacific Islander, Indigenous, and other racial and ethnic identities. See the full breakdown below:

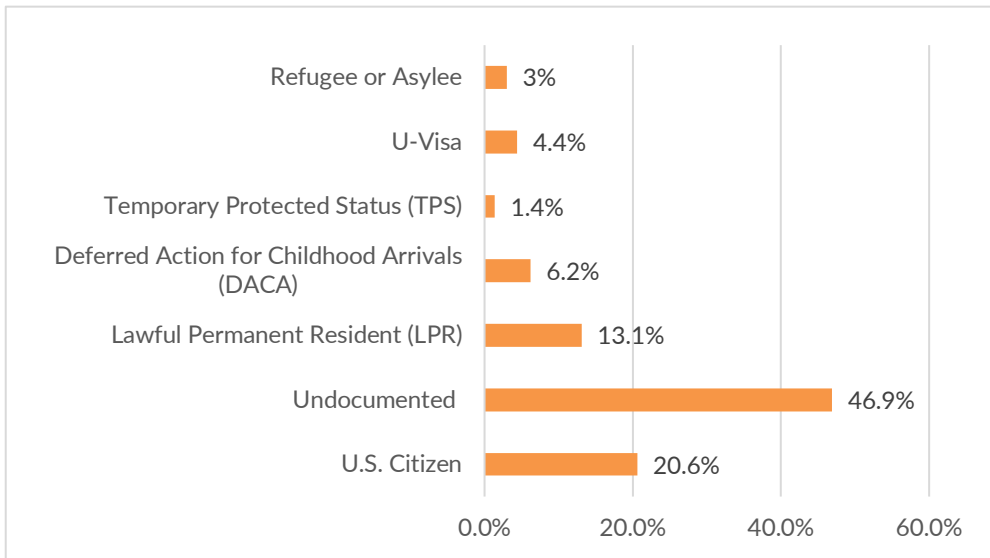
**Chart 1: Racial and Ethnic Identity of Respondents**



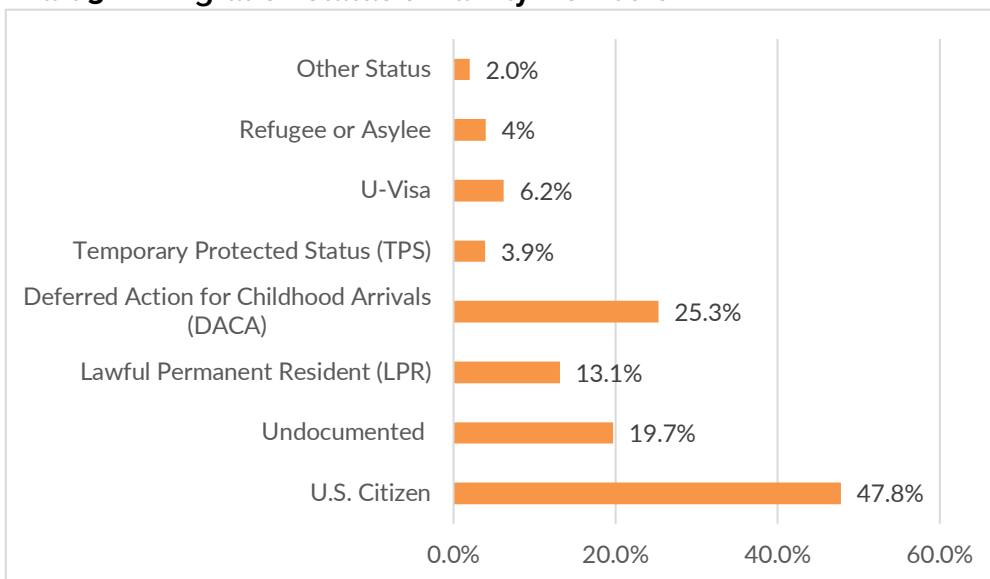
<sup>5</sup> This sample closely mirrors the national immigration population. Radford, Jynnah, and Luis Noe-Bustamante. "Immigrants in America: Current Data and Demographics." *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project*, Pew Research Center, 16 Aug. 2019. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2019/06/03/facts-on-u-s-immigrants-current-data/>.

- While 20.6% of respondents were citizens and 47.8% of respondents had family members that were citizens, only four respondents were citizens with families who were all citizens. The sample, in fact, captured a broad range of immigration statuses. Chart 2 below lists the status of respondents and Chart 3 lists the answer to the question, “If you have a family member with a different immigration status, what is it?”:

**Chart 2: Immigration Status of Respondents**

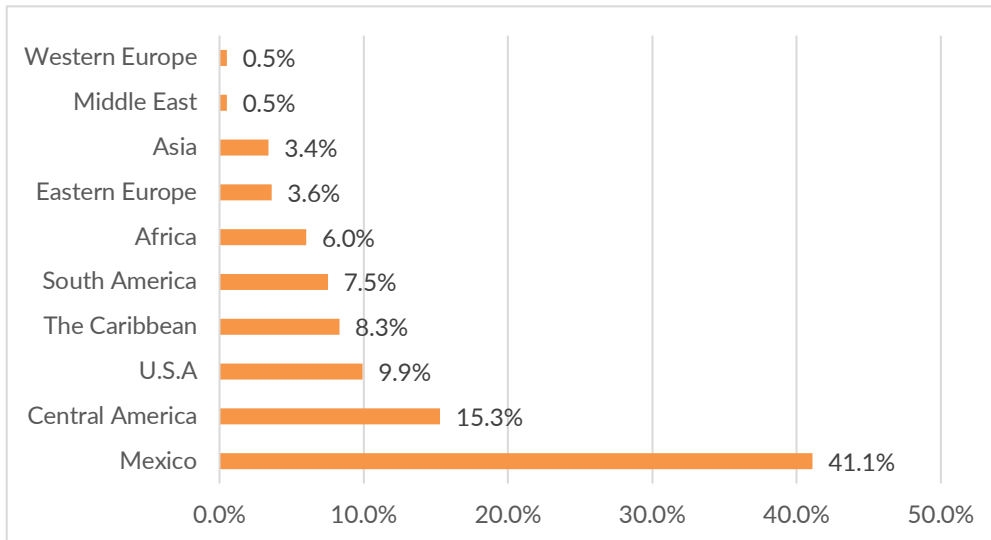


**Chart 3: Immigration Status of Family Members**



- 91.1% of respondents originated from a country other than the United States. We report on the regions of origin of respondents below:

**Chart 4: Region of Origin of Respondents and their Families**



- 26.5% of respondents report being the victim of a crime and 21.9% of respondents report being the victim of domestic violence.
- 4% of people reporting being involved with child welfare hearings, 9.1% report having experience in adult court and 19.1% of respondents report having children involved with youth court.
- Finally, despite collecting surveys from over 120 communities, only 2.6% of these communities had over 50% Trump voters and only 17.8% had a population of more than 60% white people. This means that our sample is biased towards people living in more liberal and diverse communities (See Appendix B for the full survey).

## Immigrant Stories

Our respondents and their families had experiences with multiple courts and law enforcement stakeholders over the course of their lives. Their stories reflect fear as well as multiple strategies for avoiding contact with ICE.

***Jade's Story: Survivor of domestic violence afraid of calling the police***

Jade is an undocumented immigrant from México. She migrated to the United States at the age of 10 with her mother, father, and two sisters who are also undocumented. When they first arrived, Jade's father struggled to find a job. Her father's unemployment created tension and stress in her family, leading him to become physically and verbally violent towards her mother. Jade defended her mother against her father many times, but never called the police because she was fearful they would find out about her family's undocumented status. As an undergraduate, Jade was trained to screen undocumented people for possible pathways to citizenship. Through this work, she became aware of her mother's and sisters' eligibility for Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), a pathway to citizenship for undocumented survivors and witnesses of domestic violence. When she spoke to her mother about this immigration remedy, her mother refused to petition herself for citizenship because she did not want to get the father of her children deported.

***Andrew's Story: Afraid of attending criminal court as defendant***

Andrew is from Laos. He is undocumented. When he was younger, Andrew was arrested by the police and became court involved. Although Andrew is mandated to attend court and would like to attend court to support his loved ones who also have a pending court case, he is afraid of attending criminal court because he believes prosecutors and judges work directly with ICE to identify undocumented defendants and their undocumented family members. He does not want to be separated from his family and avoids attending court hearings to prevent his deportation. When asked if he would call the police if he were is a victim of a crime, Andrew responded that he would not because he does not feel safe calling the police.

***Joseph's Story: Immigrant parent afraid of attending youth court with child***

Joseph was born in the U.S. His mother was not documented and would send he and his siblings to the local grocery store to check for "la migra" to make sure it was safe for her to go shopping. As a teenager, Joseph was in and out of the youth justice system as a young man. When he attended his own court hearings as a defendant, he would look back at the benches in the courtroom and wondered why his mother



was not there to support him. He never asked his mom why she was absent in the court hearings and assumed she did not attend because she was disappointed in him. For many years, he felt neglected by his mom and navigated the youth system on his own. After he was released from the California Youth Authority, Joseph found out that his mom was afraid of accompanying him to court because she feared being arrested by ICE. He figured out that his mother was absent not because she wanted to be, but because she was fearful of being permanently separated from him if she was deported.

## Findings

To understand the impact of ICE courthouse arrests in more detail, Ceres explored the data using descriptive statistics tests and binary logistic regressions. The findings are reported below.

### Descriptive Statistics Tests

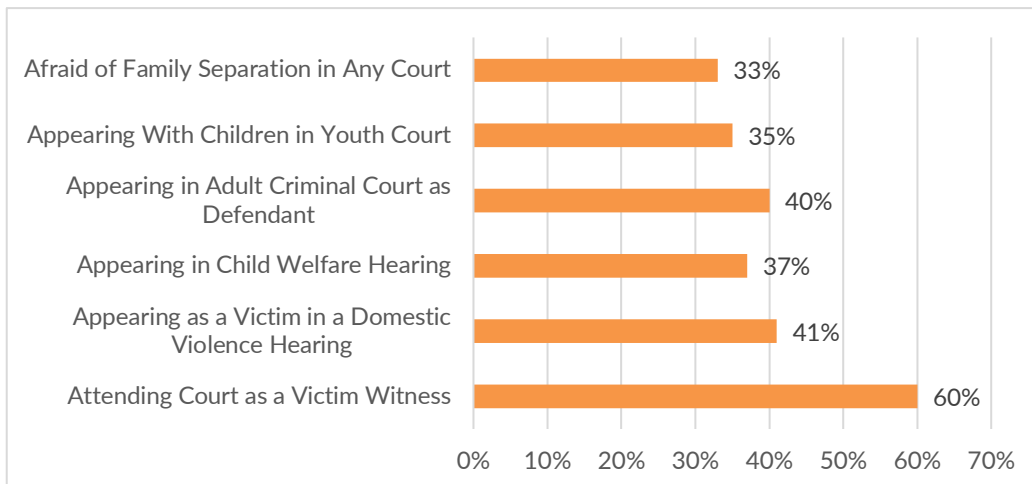
The findings from the descriptive statistics tests show that respondents experienced varying levels of fear, depending on the context. Given that only four respondents are citizens coming from entirely citizen families, these findings reflect the fear of immigrants and people from immigrant families.

The findings show that, in fear of ICE, the following groups avoid attending a range of court hearings, including: people who are victims of crime avoiding an appearance as a witness, people who are victims of domestic violence avoiding domestic violence-related hearings, people avoiding child welfare hearings as a parent, people avoiding adult criminal court as a defendant, people avoiding youth court as a parent, and people avoiding all court hearings in fear of family separation by ICE. Chart 5 (see below) shows that:

- A clear majority of respondents--**60%**--avoid attending court as witnesses when they have been a victim of a crime.
- **41%** of respondents avoid domestic violence-related hearings when they have been a victim.

- **37%** of respondents avoid appearing in a child welfare hearings when involved in dependency court .
- **40%** of respondents avoid appearing in adult criminal court when they are a defendant or have a bench warrant.
- **35%** of respondents avoid attending youth court when their children are appearing.
- **33%** of survey respondents who are court-involved avoid all types of hearings because they are afraid that ICE will take their children away.

**Chart 5: The Percentage of People Who Avoid Court**



The findings also show that avoidance and fear extend to many stakeholders interacting with the courts. The findings show that:

- **48%** of respondents that are court involved believe that judges are helping ICE arrest people.
- **49%** of respondents that are court involved believe that prosecutors are helping ICE arrest people.

- **50%** of the survey respondents avoid calling the police when they are victims of crime because they are afraid that ICE will show up.

Additional statistics tests show that people who are court-involved are more likely to report that they have avoided court hearings than people who are not court-involved.

**Table 1: The Percentage of Respondents Avoiding Court Hearings**

Type of Court, Hearing, or Stakeholder	Percent of Respondents Who Are Victims or Court-Involved	Percent of Respondents Who are Neither Victims Nor Court-Involved
People who avoid court as <b>witnesses</b> when they have been a victim	60%	36%
People who avoid appearing as a <b>victim</b> in a domestic violence hearing	41%	9%
People who avoid appearing in a <b>child welfare hearing</b>	37%	10%
People who avoid <b>adult criminal court</b> as a defendant or for a bench warrant	40%	14%
People who avoid <b>youth court</b> when their children are appearing.	35%	8%
People who believe that <b>judges</b> are helping ICE arrest people	48%	30%
People who believe that <b>prosecutors</b> are helping ICE arrest people	49%	30%
People who avoid <b>calling the police</b> when they are victims of crime	50%	29%

### Regression Findings: Trends Across Gender, Race, and Religion

Ceres conducted nine separate regression analyses to thoroughly understand whether there were specific types of respondents that were more likely to avoid court than others. Several important trends emerged (See Appendix C for the full results).

- Ceres constructed a variable that explored whether immigrants who are undocumented, have DACA status, or have a deportation order--or who have family

members with these immigration statuses—are more likely to avoid court. The findings show that such respondents are **2.6 times--or 160%**--more likely to avoid appearing in court as a witness. They are also **46%** more likely to believe that judges are helping with ICE arrests, **66%** more likely to believe that prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests, and **80%** more likely to avoid calling the police if victimized by a crime.

- The regression results also show that a variable measuring knowledge of local ICE arrests reflects increased avoidance of courts for all respondents. When people knew that ICE arrests had occurred in their communities, they were **40 to 80%** more likely avoid court. They were **200%--or 3 times**--more likely to believe that judges and prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests and **60%** more likely avoid calling the police when a victim of a crime
- Women across the full range of immigration statuses are **50 to 80%** more likely to avoid child welfare hearings and youth courts compared to other survey respondents. They are **50%** more likely to avoid any hearing in fear of being separated from their children. They are also **30%** more likely to believe that judges and prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests and **30%** more likely to avoid calling the police when victimized.
- Latinx and Black respondents experience the highest levels of avoidance in adult criminal and youth courts. Latinx respondents are **60%** more likely avoid adult criminal court as a defendant or for a bench warrant and **100%** more likely to avoid youth court with their children than other survey respondents. Black parents across the full range of immigration status are **77%** more likely to avoid youth court when their children are appearing than other parents surveyed.
- People who are Muslim or who are perceived to be Muslim and who have been victims of domestic violence avoid domestic violence hearings. They are **100%--or 2 times**--more likely to avoid these hearings than other survey respondents. Muslim respondents are also **60%** more likely to believe that judges are helping ICE arrest

people and **200%--or 3 times--**more likely to believe that prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests.

- Finally, we explored whether living in a predominantly white community would also lead respondents to avoid courts. We found that respondents are **68%** more likely to avoid any court hearing in fear of being separated from their children in predominantly white communities than those living in more diverse communities. Respondents in predominantly white communities are also **50%** more likely to believe that judges are helping ICE arrest people and **100%--or 2 times--** more likely to believe that prosecutors are helping ICE arrest people.

## Discussion

As in the stories shared above, the survey findings reveal that immigrants across many different statuses avoid court hearings in fear of ICE. This avoidance exists for parents attending any type of court who worry about having their children separated from them. It also exists for victims of domestic violence appearing in court to testify against their partner, parents required to appear at child welfare hearings, people appearing as defendants in adult criminal court, and parents supporting their children in youth court. And it is highest for victims of crime asked to appear as witnesses.

With such high levels of avoidance tied to child separation, child welfare court, and youth court, parenthood appears to drive many respondents' decisions to skip court hearings. Women are particularly likely to avoid child welfare and youth court hearings.

Our findings also show that Latinx, Black, and Muslim respondents have different patterns when compared with other respondents. Black and Latinx respondents are most likely to avoid criminal adult court and youth court when their children are appearing. Muslim respondents are most likely to avoid domestic violence court.

Finally, respondents perceive the court system and the police to be interconnected with ICE and immigration enforcement policies. Respondents across gender, race, and immigration status assume that judges and prosecutors are helping with ICE arrests. They will also avoid calling the police when they have been victimized in fear of ICE.

Together, these findings suggest that large proportions of immigrants--particularly those who are undocumented, have DACA status or a current deportation order—are avoiding court. Such failures are disrupting many different court proceedings. Parents are failing to appear in child welfare and youth court. People aren't calling police when they are needed. And victims are failing to appear in domestic violence hearings and criminal court.

These findings are particularly concerning because our respondents came from more liberal communities that were racially and ethnically diverse. Additional research would have to be conducted to measure how immigrants living in more conservative and majority white communities are failing to appear and disrupting courts.

### **Courts and Stakeholders Working to Expel ICE: Case Studies**

The avoidance of court is so high that judges and other law enforcement stakeholders have considered and undertaken policy and practice changes to address immigrants' concerns.

Examples include:

- In October 2019, California's governor signed into effect a new law forbidding ICE agents from making civil arrests in a courthouse without a judicial warrant.
- In September 2019, the New York Attorney General, in collaboration with the Brooklyn District Attorney's office and others, filed a lawsuit against ICE to stop their practice of courthouse arrests.
- In June 2019, a Massachusetts judge granted a preliminary injunction filed by local district attorneys against ICE, which prohibits ICE from arresting parties, witnesses and others going to, attending, or leaving Massachusetts courthouses.
- In April 2019, New York's Office of Court Administration implemented a court rule prohibiting ICE from making arrests inside New York courthouses without a judicial warrant.

- In December 2018, advocates formally petitioned the Chief Justice of the State of Oregon for an emergency rule prohibiting ICE arrests at or near state courthouses.
- In November 2017, the New Mexico Judicial Branch issued an updated Courthouse Access Policy requiring warrants for arrests inside courthouses.

As these examples demonstrate, work to keep ICE from using courthouses to surveil and arrest immigrants has taken many forms. In collaboration with the ICE Out of Courts Coalition, IDP has developed the ICE Out of Courts Campaign Toolkit, which contains research on local and state legal solutions, practice advisories for those working with immigrants in the courts, and data collection strategies.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Immigrant Defense Project. "ICE Out of Courts Campaign Toolkit", *Immigrant Defense Project*, 2018, <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org/wp-content/uploads/IDPCourthouseToolkit.pdf>.

## **Appendix A: Methodology**

In order to collect the surveys from directly impacted immigrants, we partnered with over 20 immigrant-serving organizations across the nation.

### **Survey Instrument**

The survey is broken down into four sections in which respondents answered demographic questions that pertain to their racial and ethnic identity, immigration status, and experiences with different branches of the court system. Respondents had the opportunity to answer according to their personal experiences and the experiences of others in the community. We provided the survey in English and Spanish. Organizations supported us by providing direct interpretations of the survey to non-English or Spanish speakers to help immigrants fill out the survey. One partner organization translated the survey to Russian and disseminated it to Russian immigrants.

### **Reaching Out to Organizations**

The first phase of data collection entailed reaching out to organizations that work directly with immigrants. We were connected to a multitude of organizations, mostly legal service providers, by Immigrant Defense Project. We proceeded to set up information calls with each organization to explain the purpose of the research and answer any questions they may have had. We then proceeded to reach out to organizations with whom we had long standing relationships from past research projects. These grassroots and community-based organizations collected surveys and collected extensive data. By the end of data collection, we had established partnerships with legal service providers, social service providers, community organizers, educators, multimedia platforms, advocacy organizations, and many others in CA, NY, MA, IL, MD, OR, PA, TX, NM, NJ, and WA.

### **Building Trust and Establishing Legitimacy**

Building trust was key to our data collection efforts. In the era of Trump, organizations are having trouble engaging with the immigrant communities they serve due to widespread fear. Thus, it was important for our colleague, who is a Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipient, to lead data collection as she is part of an immigrant community and can relate and connect directly with the population we sought to survey. Due to her lived experience, she was capable of establishing legitimacy and trust with organizations to



allow us to survey the immigrant communities they serve. Having a directly impacted researcher spearheading survey collection was key to building rapport with organizations.

### **Intentional Data Collection and Flexibility**

Once the partnerships were established, we worked individually with each organization to set up a survey collection practice that did not disrupt their work structure and could be integrated into their programs. We were intentional about not imposing a certain practice for data collection; we instead let organizations tell us what would work for them. The following are a few methods used by our partner organizations to collect the surveys.

- **Brooklyn Defender Services** handed the survey to their clients during their one-on-one sessions.
- **SOAR Immigration Legal Services** disseminated the survey during a support group for Russian immigrant women who were survivors of domestic violence.
- **Make the Road New York** trained its community organizers to survey their neighbors and community members.
- **Jennifer Laskin** trained high school students to collect surveys from members of their church and their relatives.
- **Justice for Families** recruited collectors to stand outside of local courts to survey people as they entered and came out of courthouses.

These are only a few of the creative methods organizations implemented to survey individuals and each one was unique to the organization's structure and capacity. Once a collection practice was chosen, we determined how many surveys each organization would be able to collect within a two-month timeline. This number typically ranged from 15 to 100 surveys based on the organization's capacity.

Communities are experts of their own narrative, not resources to be mined by researchers. Accordingly, we believe in compensating directly impacted communities for their

contributions to research, and we offered a \$25 gift card to survey respondents and \$20 per survey to the organization or individual collector of the surveys. Once we decided on a number of surveys, we would mail organizations the corresponding number of gift cards to have with them as they handed out the survey to community members. Some organizations opted out of this and preferred to receive the gift cards after they collected the surveys. Organizations were able to request more gift cards if they wished to collect additional surveys from the number initially agreed on.

Although we initially set a proposed timeline of two months for organizations to collect their surveys, we were flexible with this as we considered the fear immigrants may have to share any details about themselves in the current climate. The mass ICE raids announced in June and July of 2019 perpetuated well-founded fears and immigrants chose not to fill out surveys when they worried that their responses would be tracked back to them. To accommodate the political climate and the limited capacity of our partner organizations, we adapted the collection timeline as needed. Overall, it took us nine months—from January to September 2019—to collect 1,000 surveys. Once organizations were finished collecting their surveys, they mailed us back the hard copies and we proceeded to issue their payments once we received the surveys. It was up to the organization whether the stipend went to the organization as a whole or to individual collectors.

**Appendix B: Survey Instrument**

Organization \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

**Please take a few minutes to tell us about yourself.**

A1. What is your age?	_____years
A2. What sex were you assigned at birth?	male          female          intersex
A3. What is your gender identity? ( <b>circle all</b> that apply)	man/boy    woman/girl    both    neither    two spirit  genderqueer    transgender  write your own response _____
A4. What is your sexual orientation? ( <b>circle all</b> that apply)	straight    lesbian or gay    bisexual    questioning  queer    pansexual  write your own response _____
A5. How would you describe your style?	masculine    feminine    androgynous  write your own response _____
A6. Describe your racial or ethnic identity. If you are multiracial, please write in all of your racial/ethnic identities.	Write in your response(s) _____
A7. Do any of the following identities describe you? If so, <b>circle all</b> that apply.	Black          African-American          West Indian          African  Does not apply to me
A8. Has anyone assumed you were any of the identities listed in the question above?	Yes          no          I'm not sure
A9. Are you Muslim?	Yes          no
A10. Has anyone assumed you were Muslim?	Yes          no          I'm not sure
A11. What language(s) are you most comfortable speaking? If you are comfortable speaking multiple languages, list <b>all</b> of them.	_____

A12. Are you an immigrant?	Yes      no      I'm not sure
A13. What is your country of origin?	_____
A14. Describe your immigration status. (Please circle one or describe in other).	U.S. Citizen    Undocumented    Lawful Permanent Resident Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Temporary Protected Status (TPS)    U-Visa    Refugee/Asylee Other _____
A15. Do you have family members in the U.S. with the same immigration status as you?	Yes      no      I'm not sure
A16. Do you have family members in the U.S. with a <i>different</i> immigration status than you? If <b>yes</b> , please circle their status or describe in other.	U.S. Citizen    Undocumented    Lawful Permanent Resident Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Temporary Protected Status (TPS)    U-Visa    Refugee/Asylee Other _____
A17. Do you have any family members who you fear could be arrested by ICE?	Yes      No
A18. Have you ever been inside a courthouse for any reason?	Yes      No
A19. Do you or someone in your family have a deportation order?	Myself                  Someone in my family Both myself and someone in my family I'm not sure          Does not apply to me

B1. What city and state do you live in?	City:                  Zip code:                  State:
B2. Does your city have any rules that get in the way of police or jails cooperating with ICE?	Yes      no      I'm not sure
B4. Have there been ICE arrests in your city? If <b>yes</b> , write in where they've happened, such as a courts, store, school, hospital.	Yes, _____      no I'm not sure

<p>Please rate the following statements by placing an X in the box that most accurately describes your experiences.</p>	<p>Agree</p>	<p>Disagree</p>	<p>Not Sure/ Does not apply</p>	<p>Did not happen to me but happened to someone I know</p>
<p>C1. My child has been arrested for a crime in the United States when they were under the age of 18.</p>				
<p>C2. I've been accused of abusing or neglecting my children.</p>				
<p>C3. I have been a victim of crime in the United States.</p>				
<p>C4. My child has been removed from my home because someone was hurting them.</p>				
<p>C5. I have been a victim of domestic violence in the United States.</p>				
<p>C6. I have been arrested by the police (not ICE) in the United States.</p>				
<p>C7. I will <i>not</i> call the police when I've been a victim of crime in fear of ICE of showing up.</p>				
<p>C8. I don't want to testify against my partner/spouse for domestic violence because I'm afraid they will be deported.</p>				
<p>C9. I believe that judges who work for the courts in my city are helping ICE to arrest people.</p>				
<p>C10. I believe that prosecutors (or district attorneys) in my city are helping ICE to arrest people.</p>				
<p>C11. I am afraid to go to court because my children might be taken away by ICE.</p>				

**Tell us your experiences with court systems. Please place an X in the box that most accurately describes your experiences:**

<b>In fear of ICE being called or showing up, I have <u>avoided</u> going to the following places:</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Not Sure/ Does not apply</b>	<b>Did not happen to me but happened to someone I know</b>
D1. Divorce Hearings				
D2. Custody/Visitation/Guardianship hearings				
D3. Child Support hearings				
D4. Child Neglect or Abuse hearings				
D5. Domestic Violence hearings				
D6. Criminal court hearings (as a defendant)				
D7. Criminal court hearings (as a witness)				
D8. Criminal court hearings (as a victim)				
D9. Criminal court hearings (as supporting family members, friends, or loved ones of defendants)				
D10. Criminal court to resolve a bench warrant				
D11. Meetings with my probation or parole officer				
D12. Offices that give free legal services				
D13. Programs that the court or a judge has required me to attend				
D14. Traffic Court				
D15. Human Trafficking Court				
D16. Taking my child to juvenile court when he/she has been arrested				
D17. Taking my child to a program that the court or judge has required that he/she attend				
D18. Court programs that focus on rehabilitation rather than jail (for example, drug court, mental health court, youth court)				

## Appendix C: Detailed Findings

Ceres Policy Research conducted binary logistic regression analyses to determine which groups of immigrants were most likely to avoid multiple types of court hearings. We defined the variables as follows:

*undoc\_DACA*: This variable captures every person who is undocumented or has Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) status. This variable also captures anyone who has a family member who is undocumented or has DACA status.

*lgbt\_gnct*: This variable captures anyone who is lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning, gender nonconforming, or transgender.

*woman*: This variable captures any person who currently identifies as a woman. This includes transgender women.

*latinx*: Survey respondents were asked their racial/ethnic identity. We categorized people as Latinx if they identified themselves as being Latino, Hispanic, or an immigrant from Latin America or the Caribbean.

*city\_60\_white*: We reviewed census data and flagged respondents who lived in a city that was more than 60% white.

*black\_discrim*: We used this variable to identify anyone who identifies as Black or indicated that they have been assumed to be Black in the past.

*muslim\_discrim*: We used this variable to identify anyone who is Muslim or indicated that they have been assumed to be Muslim in the past.

*court\_involve*: This variable captures anyone who has been involved in court as a victim, defendant, or parent in youth or child welfare court.

*court\_as\_victim*: This captures respondents who answered yes to the question, "I have been a victim of crime in the United States."



*dv\_victim*. This captures any respondent who said they had been a victim of domestic violence.

*cw\_court\_involve*: This variable captures anyone who has appeared in dependency or child welfare court.

*adult\_court\_involve*: This variable captures anyone who has appeared in adult criminal court as a defendant or for a bench warrant.

*youth\_court\_involve*: This variable captures anyone who has had a child involved in youth court.

*yes\_ICE\_arrests*: This variable captured anyone who answered yes to the question, "Have there been ICE arrests in your city."

Charts with all of the regression findings are below:

**AVOIDING CHILD SEPARATION**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	1.044	.192	29.507	1	.000	2.841
	lgbt.gnct	-.827	.289	8.175	1	.004	.437
	woman	.596	.167	12.673	1	.000	1.814
	latinx	.016	.214	.006	1	.939	1.016
	city_60_white	.517	.207	6.252	1	.012	1.677
	black.discrim	.108	.203	.284	1	.594	1.114
	muslim.discrim	-.682	.355	3.683	1	.055	.506
	yes_ice_arrests	.573	.160	12.841	1	.000	1.773
	Constant	-2.201	.265	69.120	1	.000	.111

**AVOIDING COURT AS VICTIM**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.531	.162	10.814	1	.001	1.701
	lgbt.gnct	.091	.224	.163	1	.687	1.095
	woman	.223	.149	2.255	1	.133	1.250
	latinx	.217	.190	1.304	1	.253	1.243
	city_60_white	.190	.194	.953	1	.329	1.209
	black.discrim	-.181	.184	.962	1	.327	.835
	muslim.discrim	-.298	.288	1.072	1	.300	.742
	court_as_victim	.961	.165	33.861	1	.000	2.614
	yes_ice_arrests	.433	.149	8.415	1	.004	1.542
	Constant	-1.342	.229	34.333	1	.000	.261

**AVOIDING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE-RELATED HEARINGS**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.228	.226	1.016	1	.313	1.256
	lgbt.gnct	-.224	.307	.533	1	.465	.799
	woman	.285	.236	1.461	1	.227	1.329
	latinx	-.115	.267	.185	1	.667	.891
	city_60_white	-.193	.280	.473	1	.492	.825
	black.discrim	.050	.250	.039	1	.843	1.051
	muslim.discrim	.730	.353	4.262	1	.039	2.074
	yes_ice_arrests	.463	.202	5.281	1	.022	1.589
	dv_victim	1.886	.213	78.047	1	.000	6.592
	Constant	-2.766	.334	68.740	1	.000	.063

**AVOIDING CHILD WELFARE-RELATED HEARING**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.030	.250	.014	1	.906	1.030
	lgbt.gnct	.158	.338	.220	1	.639	1.172
	woman	.400	.241	2.762	1	.097	1.493
	latinx	.319	.315	1.030	1	.310	1.376
	city_60_white	-.010	.318	.001	1	.976	.991
	black.discrim	.216	.276	.613	1	.434	1.241
	muslim.discrim	.284	.408	.483	1	.487	1.328
	yes_ice_arrests	.564	.226	6.234	1	.013	1.758
	cw_court_involve	1.690	.372	20.603	1	.000	5.418
	Constant	-3.082	.378	66.396	1	.000	.046

**Avoiding Adult Court as a Defendant/Bench Warrant**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.590	.216	7.466	1	.006	1.804
	lgbt.gnct	.383	.263	2.128	1	.145	1.467
	woman	-.107	.196	.298	1	.585	.899
	latinx	.454	.257	3.121	1	.077	1.575
	city_60_white	-.238	.274	.750	1	.387	.789
	black.discrim	.180	.226	.631	1	.427	1.197
	muslim.discrim	.121	.345	.123	1	.726	1.128
	yes_ice_arrests	.496	.185	7.191	1	.007	1.642
	adult_court_involve	1.355	.209	41.939	1	.000	3.877
	Constant	-2.796	.319	76.798	1	.000	.061

**AVOIDING YOUTH COURT**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.311	.283	1.203	1	.273	1.365
	lgbt.gnct	-.220	.406	.293	1	.588	.803
	woman	.428	.261	2.698	1	.100	1.535
	latinx	.726	.377	3.715	1	.054	2.066
	city_60_white	-.243	.375	.418	1	.518	.785
	black.discrim	.570	.283	4.067	1	.044	1.769
	muslim.discrim	-.770	.582	1.747	1	.186	.463
	youth_court_involve	1.959	.283	47.833	1	.000	7.093
	yes_ice_arrests	.488	.244	4.002	1	.045	1.629
	Constant	-3.846	.445	74.573	1	.000	.021

**Belief Judges Helping with ICE Arrests**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.380	.168	5.120	1	.024	1.463
	lgbt.gnct	.474	.227	4.353	1	.037	1.607
	woman	.308	.155	3.959	1	.047	1.361
	latinx	-.067	.196	.118	1	.731	.935
	city_60_white	.423	.200	4.487	1	.034	1.527
	black.discrim	.033	.188	.031	1	.860	1.034
	muslim.discrim	.478	.282	2.870	1	.090	1.612
	court_involve	.601	.151	15.873	1	.000	1.824
	yes_ice_arrests	1.171	.152	59.566	1	.000	3.226
	Constant	-1.759	.246	51.290	1	.000	.172

**Belief that Prosecutors Helping with ICE Arrests**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.511	.169	9.108	1	.003	1.667
	lgbt.gnct	.285	.229	1.542	1	.214	1.329
	woman	.262	.154	2.878	1	.090	1.299
	latinx	-.246	.195	1.590	1	.207	.782
	city_60_white	.700	.200	12.316	1	.000	2.015
	black.discrim	-.231	.190	1.483	1	.223	.794
	muslim.discrim	1.077	.290	13.770	1	.000	2.935
	court_involve	.660	.151	19.165	1	.000	1.936
	yes_ice_arrests	.994	.152	42.700	1	.000	2.701
	Constant	-1.602	.244	43.086	1	.000	.202

**Avoiding Calling Police if a Victim of Crime**

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	undoc_DACA	.569	.168	11.505	1	.001	1.766
	lgbt.gnct	.007	.230	.001	1	.975	1.007
	woman	.250	.153	2.683	1	.101	1.284
	latinx	-.037	.195	.036	1	.849	.964
	city_60_white	.225	.198	1.285	1	.257	1.252
	black.discrim	-.394	.191	4.258	1	.039	.674
	muslim.discrim	-.073	.292	.063	1	.801	.929
	court_as_victim	.686	.150	20.763	1	.000	1.985
	yes_ice_arrests	.461	.151	9.336	1	.002	1.586
	Constant	-1.547	.242	40.919	1	.000	.213