



THE IMMIGRATION DRAGNET AND THE
DISPOSSESSION OF HOUSEHOLD
AND COMMUNITY WEALTH
IN THE UNITED STATES

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Introduction

The past three decades have witnessed a vast increase in immigration policing across the United States, involving an unprecedented number and variety of local, state and federal actors and agencies. When an individual is taken into immigration custody and then chooses to fight their immigration case, significant financial costs immediately begin to accumulate to themselves and to their household, as the latter struggles to provide material support in order to keep their family together. These financial costs range from assets seized at the moment of apprehension, to bonding a family member out of immigration detention, to hiring an attorney; as well as many other costs that emerge between and beyond these particular moments.

This report provides preliminary findings from a two-year research study funded by the National Science Foundation and undertaken in Tucson, Arizona. The research examined the financial costs that accumulate to U.S. households following the exposure of an immediate family member to immigration policing in the United States. The City of Tucson provided an ideal location for studying these costs; due to its location well north of the U.S. / Mexico border, but within the U.S. Border Patrol's 100-mile enforcement jurisdiction, the city plays host to the full range of police agencies involved in the enforcement of immigration laws across the United States. After discussing the various pathways by which individuals find themselves placed into immigration detention and removal (deportation) proceedings, the report discusses the multiple kinds, costs and scope of the financial demands that immediately begin to burden their household. Next, the report examines the strategies mobilized by these households to manage and absorb these financial costs, and the downstream impacts these costs and strategies have on outcomes related to wealth, health, housing, education and employment

As Congress and the Executive Branch continue to debate federal immigration policy, and as local jurisdictions wrestle with their own role and involvement in enforcing this policy, the data in this report provides insight into some of the most urgent challenges for mixed-status households in the United States. Our findings show that immigration police activity generates significant financial burdens on U.S. households, deepening inequalities of wealth and opportunity – all the while aggravating the emotional and psychological anguish that these activities produce. Notably, the impacts detailed in this report are not limited to non-citizens, or to those individuals specifically targeted by police agencies involved in U.S. immigration enforcement. Instead, these costs are absorbed by immediate and extended family members and social networks that include U.S. citizens and noncitizens alike, including many Lawful Permanent Residents. While the findings in this report are therefore relevant for understanding the impacts of current immigration policy, their implications extend beyond this policy domain to include issues of economic security, wealth inequality, and the long-term wellbeing of communities across the United States.

Research Questions

- ◇ What are the financial risks and hardships borne by U.S. resident households as an outcome of a family member's exposure to immigration law enforcement in the United States?
- ◇ What strategies do households use to mitigate and/or cope with these financial risks and hardships, and how do these strategies affect everyday household decision-making?
- ◇ What implications do these everyday strategies and decisions have for long-term processes of health, well-being, and socioeconomic opportunity?
- ◇ How do the costs associated with immigration policing spread across social networks to affect larger-scale socioeconomic patterns associated with wealth, debt, employment, and residential stability?

Executive Summary

When an individual is placed into immigration custody or removal proceedings in the United States, significant financial costs immediately begin to accumulate to themselves and to their household. These costs can be divided into direct costs (i.e., money and wealth that are directly lost or transferred as an outcome of the immigration-related arrest); and indirect costs (i.e., wealth and income that disappear due to the loss of employment and/or the loss of related economic opportunity).

On average, our research finds that the average of direct costs borne by U.S. households when a loved one is detained and/or placed into removal proceedings total \$9,228; while indirect costs amounted to \$14,956. In aggregate, then, we find that an immigration-related arrest costs a U.S. household an average of more than \$24,000 in lost wealth and income.

The data presented in this report was collected over an 18-month period using a targeted and snowball sampling method initiated at multiple research sites located in Pima County, Arizona. The study population consists of U.S. households that include at least one immediate household member who has experienced an immigration arrest. For our purposes, U.S. residency was defined as living in the United States longer than one year. However, within our sample, households reported an average of 16.4 years of residency in Pima County, indicating that many of these families are deeply integrated into their community. The 125 households surveyed included 519 individuals. A total of 323 household members (>62%) were U.S. citizens, while another 56 individuals were recorded as Lawful Permanent Residents. Fully 80% of the households surveyed were found to be of mixed-status (defined here as a household that includes at least one Lawful Permanent Resident or U.S. citizen), a pattern that tracks with the broader trend for immigrant households in the United States (Capps et al., 2016).

Median household income reported by respondents was \$22,500.00. One way to think about this figure is to consider that for a typical household a single immigration arrest wipes out more than 107% of its combined annual income. In addition, the 125 households surveyed included 233 individual immigration arrests, with 47% of households (n=59) experiencing more than one arrest over time. Yet these costs are not absorbed by the household in isolation. Our research shows that families deploy a multitude of strategies to meet the financial burdens involved in helping a loved one fight to remain in the United States. These include:

- ◇ the liquidation of accumulated wealth and assets;
- ◇ debt accumulated from formal financial institutions;
- ◇ informal borrowing from extended family, neighbors, co-workers and church congregants;
- ◇ forms of solidarity that include: money pools and fund drives, and inter-household consolidation of routine costs that include food, housing and childcare;
- ◇ money sent from loved ones living abroad (what we call “reverse remittances”); and
- ◇ changes in employment that include:
 - previously-employed persons taking on additional hours,

- previously-employed persons seeking additional work and employment, and
- previously non-employed family members (including students and minors) transferring their time and attention toward employment, in order to supplement family income.

The strategies detailed above result in short-term disruption to the routines of individual household members and to the family as a whole, as well as long-term impacts on inequalities of wealth, access to economic opportunity, and overall financial stability and wellbeing.

Respondents reported a number of outcomes that were associated with the financial strain they experienced and the need to mobilize thousands of dollars, quickly, in order to help a loved one in need. These outcomes included:

- ◇ minors who dropped out of school and were unable to complete a degree;
- ◇ younger children whose educational performance suffered;
- ◇ anxiety, depression and similar stress-related mental health issues, including at least one case of attempted suicide;
- ◇ the aggravation of chronic illness and an inability to access necessary medical care;
- ◇ loss of homes, vehicles and businesses; and
- ◇ impacts on the family, including long-term family separation, divorce and loss of child custody.

The report that follows expands on this executive summary to provide much greater detail on our research findings, including: how individuals wound up in immigration detention and/or removal proceedings; the specific kinds of financial costs that resulted and the average value of these costs; the strategies used by families to meet these costs; and the downstream impacts these costs then carried for households and extended family and social networks.

Overall, the findings presented here reveal that the hardships generated by exposure to immigration policing are not limited to those non-citizens who become its targets, but are broadly disseminated across family, social networks and communities, with impacts affecting U.S. citizens and non-citizens alike. This report therefore sheds new light on the outcomes of U.S. immigration policy and the various actors who have recently become involved in its enforcement.

Absent federal action on immigration reform, much can be done at the local level to address the financial harms detailed in this report, and to mitigate their downstream impacts on U.S. residents and communities. The report concludes with an extensive set of policy recommendations. At the local level, these include measures to end cooperation between local police and federal immigration authorities, and to marshal resources to promote the financial wellbeing of all local constituents, citizen and non-citizen alike. At the federal level, these include measures of immigration reform that include a categorical end to administrative detention for all non-citizens, and easing visa requirements to support the goals of family unity and re-unification. Finally, the report includes recommendations that can be implemented informally at the community level.

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1. Key Findings:

- ◇ An immigration arrest costs a U.S. household an average of \$24,184 in direct financial costs, lost income, and lost economic opportunity.
- ◇ 73% of the 519 household members included in our sample were either US citizens or Lawful Permanent Residents, while 80% of households included at least one US citizen or LPR. This means that the financial costs we document are borne directly by U.S. citizens and non-citizens alike.
- ◇ 56% of the 233 immigration arrests documented in this report were initiated not by the federal government, but by a local law enforcement agency. More than 78% of those arrests initiated by local law enforcement were the result of some routine interaction involving no allegation of criminal activity.
- ◇ Initial detention by local law enforcement occurred during routine activities including: traveling to work (29%); running errands or circulating through the city (56%); and at home (14%).
- ◇ In 67% of immigration arrests involving a third party law enforcement agency, custody was initially transferred to Border Patrol rather than ICE.
- ◇ Many of the direct costs associated with an immigration arrest accumulate steeply over time, especially when an individual is held in detention. The daily costs of detention (including lost wages, the costs involved in visitation, and direct monetary support) absorbed by a family increase by 200% when a loved one is detained longer than 72 hours. These costs increase by an additional 245% when an individual is detained longer than one month, resulting in an average daily cost of \$61.33, and an average monthly cost of \$1,840.
- ◇ 81% of households reported that an immigration arrest resulted in long-term unemployment for a primary bread-winner.
- ◇ To manage the financial costs associated with an immigration arrest, households deploy a variety of strategies that include:
 - the liquidation of accumulated wealth (47% of households) and assets (44% of households);
 - long-term borrowing and debt (73.6% of households);
 - changes in employment that include minor and adult children leaving school (28.3% of cases);
 - reverse remittances (money sent from loved ones living abroad); and
 - formal and informal measures of solidarity and mutual aid across family, community and social networks

- ◇ The financial costs of an immigration arrest have long-term, multi-generational impacts, including:
- 34% of households reported reduced educational performance or attainment of a higher degree;
 - 75% of households reported members experiencing anxiety, depression or stress-related mental health issues;
 - 15% of households reported health impacts that included the aggravation of chronic illness or an inability to access necessary medical care;
 - 24% of households reported experiencing eviction or other impacts on their housing as an outcome of an immigration arrest; 44% of households reported losing a vehicle; while several other families reported losing a business.
 - 9% of households reported significant impacts on the family, such as divorce or the loss of child custody

2. Research Scope and Methodology

The research presented in this report seeks to illuminate the financial costs that accumulate to U.S. resident households exposed to immigration policing. U.S. residency was defined as presence in the United States for at least one year; while “household” was defined as the collection of individuals belonging to the same family who live under the same roof.

Immigration policing refers to any police activity or arrest that results in a person being placed into immigration custody or removal proceedings. A removal proceeding is the formal legal process pursued in an immigration court whereby the government attempts to deport an individual from the United States.

Pima County was selected as our principal research site for several reasons. First, much of the county shares a border with Mexico, while its largest city, Tucson, is located some 65 miles north of the border. The City of Tucson therefore plays host to the full spectrum of police agencies and jurisdictions involved in immigration policing in the United States. These include the U.S. Border Patrol, whose jurisdiction includes all areas that fall within 100 miles of the country’s land and sea borders; and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the federal agency tasked with enforcing immigration and customs law in the country’s “interior.” But it also includes local, county and state law enforcement agencies, who are mandated by state law SB1070 to cooperate in routine ways with federal immigration authorities. Second, Tucson is home to a large population of immigrants and non-citizens. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, fully 15.1% of the city’s residents were born outside of the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Like many other regions of the United States, this makes the hardships associated with exposure to immigration policing both widespread and commonplace, with aggregate consequences that may potentially affect broader patterns of inequality across households and communities. The following table provides basic biographic and demographic information on the household sample responding to this study:

Table 1: Biographic and Demographic Data on Sample Households

Number of households represented in the study sample	125
Number of persons represented in the study sample	519
Total number of immigration cases represented by households	231
Number of completed immigration cases	163
Average household size	4.152
Average number of minor children in each household	1.672
Average length of residency in Pima County, Arizona (in years)	16.4
Total number of US citizens	323
Total number of Lawful Permanent Residents	56
Proportion of mixed-status homes with at least one US citizen or LPR	80%

Data was collected using a 110 question research survey. Respondents were identified using a modified snowball sampling method, initiated at three distinct research site that routinely provide services to immigrants and non-citizens. Data collection was supported with the aid of 14 undergraduate research assistants, each of whom were bilingual in Spanish and English and undertook a 40-hour research training that covered data collection, data entry and analysis, research ethics and human subject protection protocols. The research design and implementation were approved and overseen by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Arizona.

The research survey included questions that were both targeted and open-ended. Targeted questions sought specific data on household composition, demographics, finances and immigration history, as well as the specific costs associated with supporting a loved one in immigration detention and/or fighting against their removal. Open-ended questions allowed respondents to provide additional context and narrative related to the qualitative experience involved in managing and absorbing these costs, and to discuss the ancillary impacts on household members' health, employment, education, and short- and long-term decision-making.

For analyses related to experiences of arrest and detention, coping strategies, and their qualitative impacts on the household, both cases that are completed and those that remain ongoing are analyzed (n=233). For analysis that focused on the cumulative financial costs involved in supporting a family member in detention and/or fighting one's immigration case, only those cases that reached a final conclusion (deportation or some form of legal relief) are included (n=163). This allows for a more accurate and robust picture of the totality of costs that households come to bear even if, as will be seen below, some of those costs and their impacts on household wealth and income last beyond the tenure of a single immigration case.

When appropriate – for example, when an individual was unable to recall an exact figure or cost involved with some aspect of their case – these individuals were asked to provide an estimated range for the cost, with the lower number selected for analysis. If anything, then, the figures presented in this report are conservative. At the same time, data related to impacts on debt, employment or income reflect merely a snapshot in time, and do not account for those indirect costs that might continued to accumulate after the date of the interview.

Additional information on the research methodology and limitations associated with our data collection strategy are discussed in Appendix 1.

3. Immigration Policing and the Deportation Pipeline

Of the 125 households surveyed in this research, 47% had experienced more than one immigration arrest, resulting in a total of 231 arrests captured in our survey data.

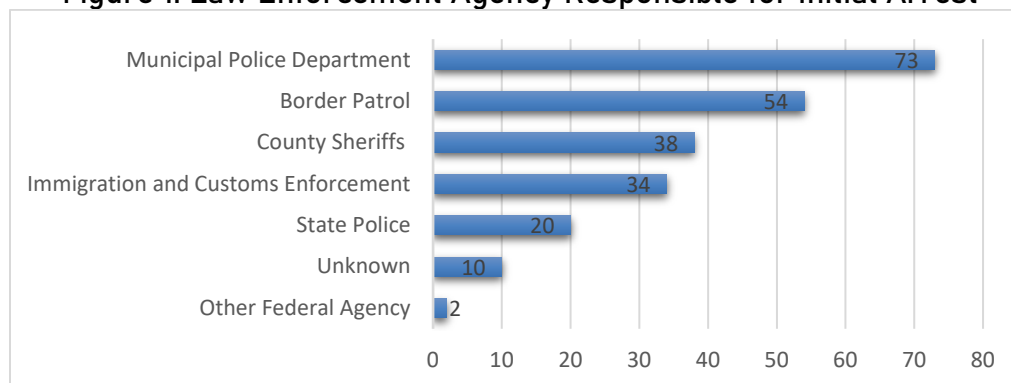
At the time of interview, 163 of these arrests had resulted in removal cases that reached some kind of formal conclusion. 91 resulted in a person being ordered removed (deported) from the United States, while 72 resulted in some kind of legal relief that either allowed the individual to adjust their status or otherwise allowed them to lawfully remain in the United States.

Table 2: Outcome of Concluded Immigration Cases

Order of Removal	57
Voluntary Departure	34
Discretionary Closure	43
Released From Custody Without Any Further Action	7
Lawful Visa Status	6
Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals	2
Cancellation of Removal	1
Unknown	13

There are a number of agencies involved in funneling individuals into immigration custody and/or removal proceedings. Within our sample, 56% of individuals included in our sample were first detained by a third-party law enforcement agency, whether local police (n=73), county sheriffs (n=37) or state highway patrol (n=20), before transferring these individuals into federal immigration custody. In 78.4% of cases involving a third-party agency (n=102), the initial detention happened through a traffic stop or some other routine interaction with law enforcement. In 21% of cases (n=49), detention was initiated by Border Patrol directly, while in 14% of cases (n=33) detention was initiated by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. These detentions occurred between 1993 and 2018, although the vast majority, 86% (n=182) took place after 2006.

Figure 1: Law Enforcement Agency Responsible for Initial Arrest



Detention by a local law enforcement agency occurred while individuals were at work or traveling to work (n=38), while individuals were running errands or circulating through the city (n=74), or when individuals were at home (n=18). In one 2015 case a woman was detained by the Tucson Police while en route to pick her children up from elementary school, and then held for almost one hour waiting for the Border Patrol to arrive. In another 2012 case, Arizona Highway Patrol stopped the father of a young child and then transferred him to Border Patrol custody, while the man was en route to Phoenix for his son's operation. Cases from 2006, 2012 and 2014 involve individuals who were victims of a traffic accident, assault and domestic violence, who were transferred to Border Patrol or ICE custody after first interacting with Pima County Sheriffs or Tucson Police. In 19.9% of cases family members were present and witnessed the detention of their loved one.

Figure 2: Number of initial arrests over time

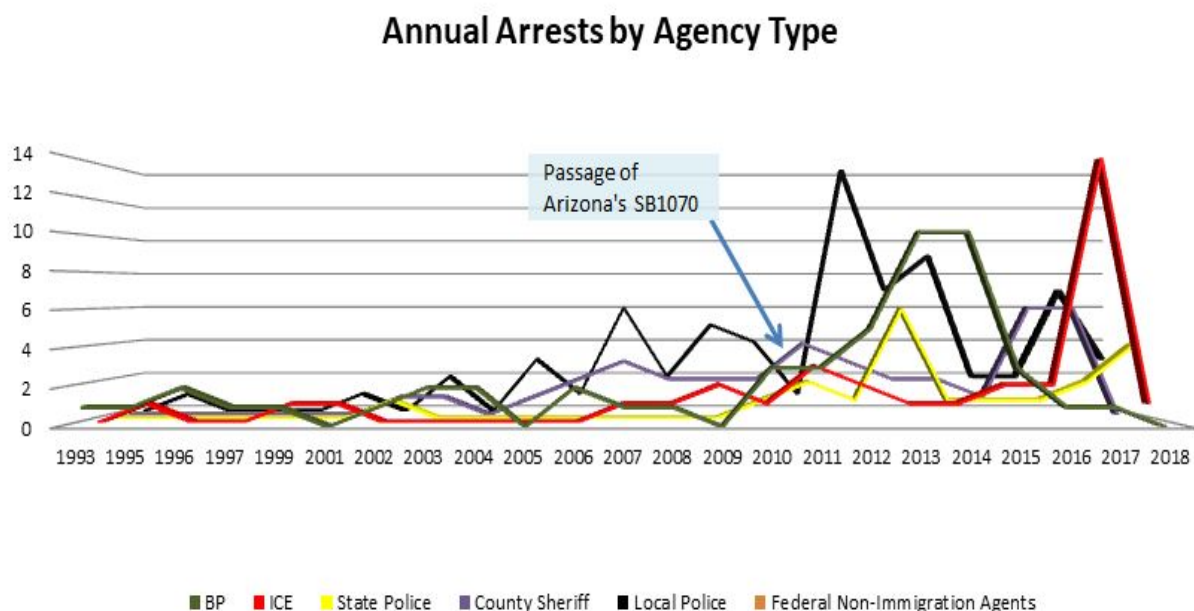
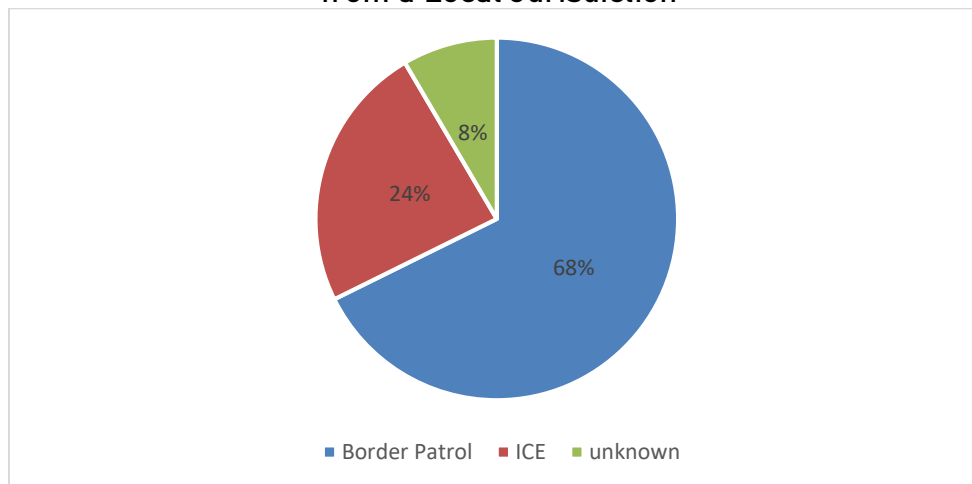


Figure 3: Federal Immigration Agency Involved in Transfer of Custody from a Local Jurisdiction



In 67% of cases (n=88) involving a third party law enforcement agency, it was Border Patrol who assumed immigration custody of an individual, rather than ICE. Alongside those immigration arrests initiated by Border Patrol directly, this figure indicates a need for greater public attention to routine cooperation between the Border Patrol and local police agencies that fall within its 100-mile jurisdiction. This figure also reveals the contribution of the U.S. Border Patrol to immigration arrests that take place in the U.S. “interior.”

4. Household Financial Profile

Almost half of households (n=60) reported income streams from the employment of multiple household members. Median income reported for households in our sample was \$22,500, while mean income reported was \$26,990. These households therefore overwhelmingly fall on the low end of the income range for Pima County, Arizona, where the median household income is \$48,676 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Interview subjects were also asked to tally average monthly expenses, and to report how much money was typically left over at the end of the month. Only 60% of households (n=76) reported any monthly surplus or savings.

Two-thirds of respondent households also reported some kind of formal debt independent of immigration-related expenses. Categories of debt included credit card, vehicle, mortgage, student and medical debt, as well as money owed to retail stores, pawn shops and for non immigration-related legal fees such as bail bonds and traffic tickets. Although the amount ranged widely from \$80 to \$145,000, among households reporting debt the average was \$27,204.

Table 3: Household Economic Profile

Median household income (annual)	\$22,500
Average number employed per household	1.52
Total households reporting debt	75
Average debt	\$27,204
Total number of households supporting a person outside the household	81
Average amount of monthly support	\$280

In addition to routine household expenses, 64% (n=81) reported regular financial support (given on a weekly or monthly basis) to individuals who live outside the household. In almost all cases these were immediate family members such as parents, siblings, children or spouses, usually living abroad. This regular material transfer of wealth reflects bonds of affection and financial relationships that transcend the boundaries of the individual household, as well as those of the nation-state.

5. The Cost of an Immigration Arrest

The costs that accumulate to a household when a household member experiences an immigration arrest can be divided into two categories. What we call “direct costs” refers to money, wealth and income that are directly lost or transferred as an outcome of the arrest. In contrast, we use the term “indirect costs” to refer to downstream income and/or economic opportunity that disappear as an indirect outcome of the immigration arrest, usually due to change or loss of employment.

Direct Costs

On average, we find that an immigration arrest creates a total of \$9,228 in direct financial costs to the impacted household. These costs emerge from multiple sources. Table 4 shows a breakdown of direct costs by category, the number of immigration arrests or removal cases that resulted in this category of financial cost, and the average value of this cost for those households reporting it.

Table 4: Average Direct Costs by Category and Number of Cases Reporting

Category of cost	# of cases reporting this cost	Average cost
Assets seized and not recovered	19	\$4,878.50
Assets seized and recovered (cost of recovery)	32	\$651.87
Wages lost while in detention	104	\$6,035.94
Money sent to detained persons	44	\$790.18
Visiting a person in detention	31	\$2,534.67
Immigration bond	51	\$4,838.23
Value of bond money not recovered	24	\$5,273.80
Cost of attending court hearing (transportation, lost wages)	32	\$646.28
Cost of routine reporting to ICE (transportation, lost wages)	8	\$1,293.75
Hiring a smuggler to return to the USA	53	\$2,005.66
Amount sent to support family members who have left the USA	34	\$1,219.48
Cost of hiring an attorney	49	\$3,700.71
Fees paid to government	30	\$1,928.50
Fees paid for ankle bracelet monitoring	8	\$5,381.25
Total number of complete cases and average of direct costs per arrest	163	\$9,228.44

Immigration bond represents a particularly difficult cost to measure. An immigration bond is a volume of money charged as a condition of a person's release from immigration detention, in order to incentivize that person's compliance with all conditions of release and procedural expectations associated with pursuit of their case in the U.S. immigration system (including attendance of all subsequent court hearings).

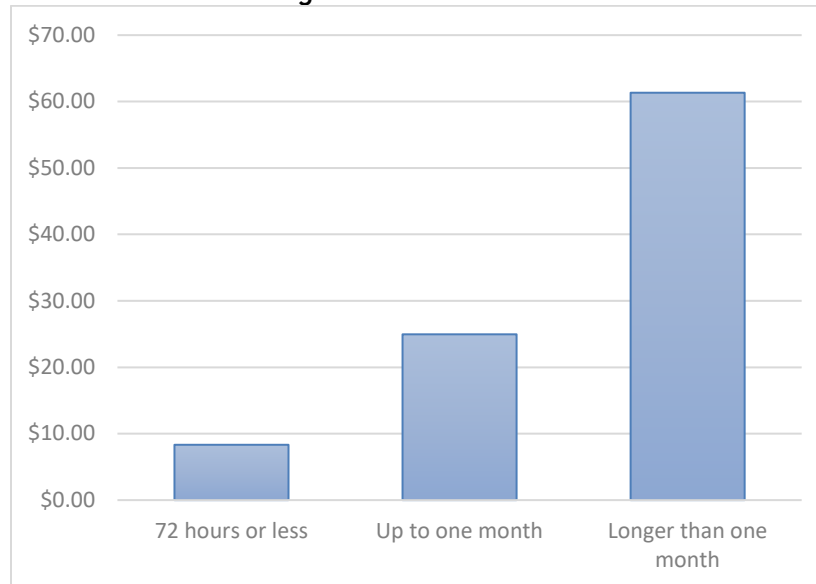
In principle, if a person does comply with these conditions, the bond is supposed to be returned at the conclusion of a person's immigration case, regardless of its outcome. However, for the duration of its absence, the amount of money held in bond remains unavailable to the household that has paid it.

As reported in section 5 below, households sell off assets, liquidate savings, and take on considerable debt in order to pay an immigration bond (and to do so as quickly as possible). When bond money is borrowed at interest, the interest continues to accumulate, and represents another way that the financial costs of an immigration arrest accumulate over time.

For those completed immigration cases where bond money was eventually returned (n=25), it took an average of 19 months to recover the money (measured against the date when the case concluded); while in 24 completed cases the bond money still had not been returned as of the time of our interview, and in half of these cases (n=12) the family had not received any clear explanation from the government for the failure to return this money.

Many of the direct costs associated with an immigration arrest accumulate steeply over time. This is the case, for example, with immigration detention. When a person is detained without being transferred to long-term ICE custody, the average cost per day of detention experienced by the household (involving lost wages and the cost of supporting and visiting the detained individual) was only \$8.33. When the duration of a person's detention in a long-term facility was one month or less, the average daily cost of detention for the household grew to \$24.96. But when detention extended beyond one month the average cost daily cost for the household grew to \$61.33 (or, more than \$1,800 *per month*). Similarly, "alternatives to detention" like electronic ankle monitoring resulted in steep monthly charges, usually reported as \$420 per month (see Box 2).

Figure 4: Average Daily Detention-Related Costs per Household According to Length of Time in Detention



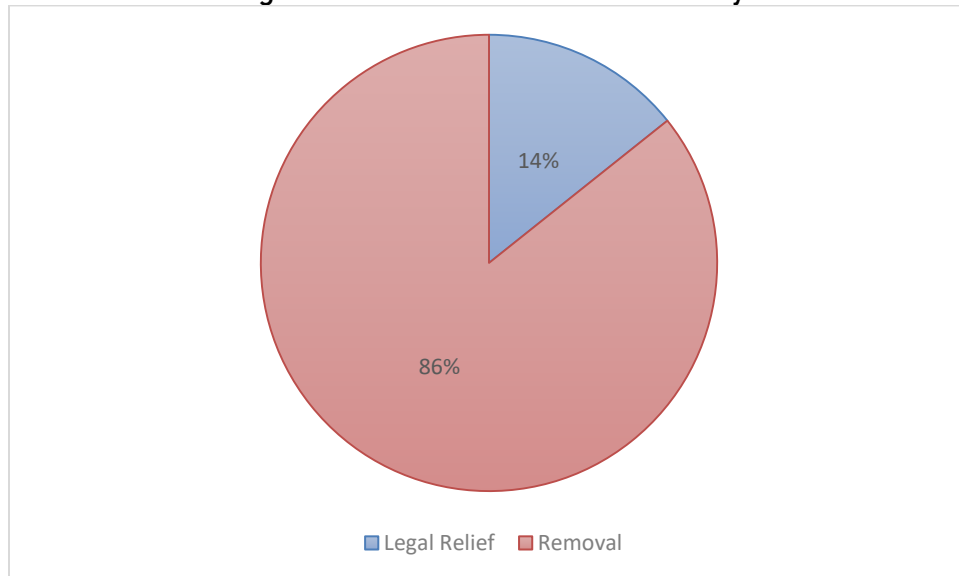
When a household pays a bond to ICE, they must pay in full. For this reason, many households pay bail bonds companies which require collateral, often in the form of a house or vehicle. Increasingly, many households grappling with a loved one in immigration detention are turning to a for-profit company called Nexus Services and their immigration bond project **Libre by Nexus**.

Libre by Nexus functions as an intermediary between detainees and the bail bond companies. Once a detainee's household can pay 20% of the bond, Libre by Nexus provides the collateral to get the bond. Their guarantee of repayment comes from a requirement that the former detainee wears a GPS monitoring ankle bracelet and pay a monthly fee for the bracelet in the amount of \$420. The former detainee must continue to pay the fee to Libre by Nexus until the bond is either returned to the bail bond company by the government, or the household is able to pay off the bond.

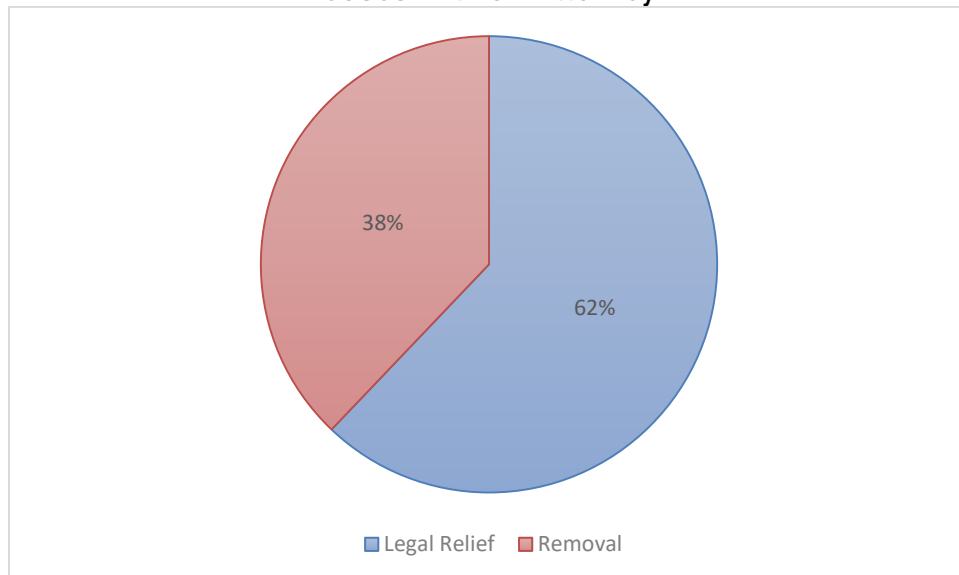
Attorneys' fees represent another major expense. Unlike the criminal court system, individuals fighting removal in U.S. immigration court are not provided an attorney at the government's expense. The average cost paid by a household to hire one or more attorney to support a family member's immigration case was \$3700. Due to the difficult and complicated nature of U.S. immigration law, it should be unsurprising that individuals who hire an attorney are more likely to win some kind of legal relief within the U.S. immigration system. Our findings show that cases involving a lawyer were 5.4 times more likely to win relief than cases that did not involve a lawyer - a result that tracks with

national research on the impact the involvement of counsel has on immigration court outcomes (Early and Shaver, 2016).

Figure 5: Cases Without an Attorney



Cases With an Attorney



At the same time, the difficult and complicated nature of U.S. immigration law represents another opportunity to take advantage of individuals attempting to fight their immigration case. Although 58% of respondents who hired an attorney reported satisfaction with an attorney's efforts on behalf of a household member, in the other 42% of cases households reported a belief that an attorney had failed to provide them with timely information, to communicate with them honestly and provide realistic expectations for success, to file necessary paperwork with the government in a way that was either timely or accurate, or to otherwise adequately support their case. Eight households reported

outright fraud, and in at least six cases the attorney contracted by the family had been disbarred after working on the case.

In 36% of cases concluded at the time of our interview, the individuals involved ultimately won some form of relief and were allowed to lawfully remain in the United States (n=59). 90 cases (55.8%) resulted in a person's removal from the United States. Yet in 90% (n=81) of these latter cases, the individual deported ultimately returned to Tucson to reunite with their family and loved ones. In almost two thirds of these cases, this return involved hiring a smuggler and paying an average of \$2005 per crossing to guide them in their journey. These findings are important for several reasons. First, they show how deportation becomes a source of revenue for organized criminal groups, literally creating a market of individuals who can be charged thousands of dollars to be smuggled back to family and loved ones in the United States. Second, they reveal that despite the hardship generated for those households exposed to immigration detention and/or removal, and despite the cost to the government involved in these efforts, they rarely result in permanent territorial removal – at least not when the individual targeted has strong ties to the United States, and is therefore determined to return.

Indirect Costs

Indirect costs accumulate when a household loses income because a previously-employed individual is detained, held in immigration custody, or removed from the United States. This includes situations where an individual lost their job because of an immigration arrest, and either remained unemployed or was only able to find employment at a lower salary.

In total, 101 households reported a bread-winner losing their job because of an immigration arrest. In 22 cases unemployment remained long-term, or else the affected individual was not able to find new employment at an equivalent wage or salary. As an outcome, we find that an immigration arrest generated an average of **\$14,956** in indirect financial costs to an impacted household. As this figure makes clear, the indirect costs of an immigration arrest can generate its largest financial impact. In addition, it is worth commenting that when households reported this figure it represented merely a snapshot in time, whereas impacts on income and employment are often long-term in character, and continue to accumulate beyond the moment when a family member was interviewed.

When we combine the accumulation of both direct and indirect costs, we find that an immigration arrest costs a U.S. household an average of **\$24,184** in lost wealth, assets and income.

This figure should be considered in light of the average and median household income reported in section 3, above, revealing that for the typical household an immigration arrest wipes out more than an entire year's worth of earnings, measured as earnings generated by all household members employed.

The following section of this report turns to the strategies that families use to absorb these substantial financial losses.

6. Strategies used to absorb financial losses

Households experiencing financial losses as an outcome of an immigration arrest rarely absorb this hardship in isolation. Interviews reveal the multiple strategies that households mobilize to draw on existing family and social networks to generate the financial resources necessary to support a loved one who has been detained, to mount a fight against their removal in immigration court, and to continue covering routine household expenses in the meantime.

One of the most significant strategies involves taking on debt. 73.6% of households (n=92) reported borrowing money to pay the costs associated with an immigration arrest. Respondents were asked to list each time money was borrowed, the source of the loan, and the conditions attached to it. Although in a handful of cases debt involved formal financial institutions (n=10) lending at high rates of interest, in most cases (n=95) households avoided such formal institutions in favor of informal borrowing from family and acquaintances. Table 6 shows the variety of lenders, average amount per loan, and whether the loan involved interest or collateral.

Table 6: Money Lenders and Debt

Category of Lender	Number of Cases	Average Value of Loan	Interest	Collateral	Average Value of Collateral
Immediate Family	53	\$2,500.66	3	4	\$6,625.00
Extended Family	16	\$2,317.77	1	1	\$10,000.00
Acquaintances (neighbors, co-workers, church, etc.)	27	\$2,163.46	0	0	N/A
Employer	6	\$2,033.33	1	1	\$3,500.00
Formal Lender	11	\$8,299.09	11	9	\$23,625.00

Note: Many families borrowed from more than one lender.

Households also went through savings and liquidated assets to obtain the funds necessary to cover the costs generated by exposure to the immigration system. 52 households reported a loss of savings, with amounts that ranged from \$200 to \$18,000. Assets liquidated included vehicles (n=41) with an average value of \$2,687; real property (n=3) with an average value of \$11,320; jewelry (n=7) with an average value of \$705; appliances like computers and televisions (n=5) with an average value of \$670; work tools (n=3) with an average value of \$203; and other items like stocks, clothing and collectibles (n=9), with an average value of \$1,044.

Respondents were also asked open-ended questions about other forms of financial support they obtained over the course of their immigration case. Financial support from family members outside of the household was by far the most common, with 54 respondents reporting this kind of help (including at least seven cases of “reverse remittances,” whereby family living abroad sold property and/or wired money to assist the household). In addition, a number of respondents described forms of support that emerged via relationships of solidarity and mutual aid. These included efforts at

fundraising tapping on informal networks of friends and neighbors (n=32), congregants of a faith community (n=6), employers (n=5), and other sources such as one individual who borrowed money from another detainee in Florence, Arizona, and another who received financial help from the Consulate of Mexico. But they also included formal institutions, including four households who obtained assistance from grassroots organizations who fundraise to support immigrant detainees, and one respondent who described a pool of funds developed among a network of immigrant families who pay in on a monthly basis in order to draw on the fund in the event that a household member is detained – essentially a form of insurance.

Sometimes the monetary support provided by extended networks of family, friends, employers, communities of worship and collective institutions was substantial. 51 households reported cases of financial assistance of \$1,000 or more. 27 households reported financial assistance of \$3,000 or more. 13 households reported receiving assistance worth at least \$5,000. And in two cases the value of financial assistance exceeded \$10,000.

87 Households also reported non-monetary forms of solidarity and mutual aid that responded to the overall hardship involved in the detention of a parent or former breadwinner. 55 households reported help with various logistical concerns, such as the organization of fundraising, the logistics of paying a bond, and transportation to and from court and/or a detention center for visits. 25 respondents reported receiving assistance with routine household maintenance; in several cases this included consolidating households in order to pool resources and energy devoted to rent, bills, errands, cooking and childcare. 28 respondents discussed receiving moral and emotional support from family, friends, neighbors and/or members of a faith community. And 13 households reported having received assistance in the form of information about available services, court processes, and related concerns.

Finally, in a number of cases families absorbed costs via shifts in employment. In 26 cases this involved an already-employed family member seeking additional hours at work. In 10 cases this involved an already-employed family member seeking additional employment through a second or third job. And in 28 cases this involved a previously non-employed family member transferring their time and attention toward employment in order to supplement family income. Corresponding to the latter circumstance, in 19 cases it was a previously non-employed spouse who sought out employment. In nine cases, it was a member of a younger generation (described as “hijos”) who sought out employment. In at least eight cases that involved teenage or adult children who sought out employment, this involved dropping out of school or taking time away from the pursuit of a higher degree in order to work and replace family income.

The following section examines these kinds of downstream impacts on immediate family members when a household member is exposed to immigration policing in greater detail.

7. The downstream impacts of financial loss on U.S. households

The stakes of the financial losses documented in this report have not just to do with the value of the wealth, assets and income lost as an outcome of a household's exposure to U.S. immigration policing. Instead, it is important to pay attention to how these losses carry downstream impacts that aggravate many aspects of life including health, education, family, and related dynamics of socioeconomic security and wellbeing.

Respondents were asked open-ended questions about the impact of an immigration arrest and its financial costs on outcomes related to health, housing, education, employment, household routines and long-term plans and ambitions. In addition to eight cases involving minor or adult children who dropped out of school and either had to postpone or were unable to complete a higher degree, 30 households reported minor children whose grades or behavior at school suffered. 94 households reported that the immigration arrest generated significant emotional distress. For 34 families this took the form of individuals experiencing heightened anxiety related to everyday activities, fear of the police or worry that another loved one might be detained. 23 households reported a family member experiencing depression in the aftermath of a loved one's arrest. In describing the impact on their family, 15 respondents used the language of trauma, while 10 reported members of the household having difficulty sleeping or eating. Two households reported that minor children became suicidal in the aftermath of a parent's arrest, and in one of these cases a child actually followed through and survived a suicide attempt.

Nineteen families also reported long-term impacts on a household member's physical health as a result of a family member's immigration arrest. In some cases, this reflected as much the conditions of detention as it did the broader impacts on the family, such as a mother who became sick while she was detained and required two open-heart surgeries following her release. In other cases, children were unable to obtain necessary medical care for chronic illnesses due to the financial impact of the immigration arrest, including cases involving diabetes and hypertension, and one case where a family reported no longer being able to obtain a scheduled medical operation for their child. In other cases, health effects were reported to be principally stress-related, including one individual who reported experiencing chronic nausea and stomach pain and several respondents who discussed family members experiencing asthma and panic attacks.

In addition to the inevitable long-term family separation that results from detention or deportation, our research reveals other impacts on the family. Six respondents reported that the stress and difficulty associated with the aftermath of an immigration arrest was a principal cause of their divorce, while three additional respondents reported that an engagement to marry was abandoned. Two parents reported losing custody of their children to the State of Arizona as a result of the disruption and economic hardship that followed their arrest.

The aftermath of an immigration arrest also impacted the security of a family's access to housing. 12 families experienced eviction in the aftermath of an immigration arrest, due to their inability to pay a

rent or mortgage. 18 respondents reported abandoning or postponing purchase of a home, moving into a higher quality home, and/or improving their existing home.

Finally, 44 households reported significant disruption to their routine activities, whether as an outcome of losing their home, losing a vehicle or a driver's license, a lack of income, the difficulties of arranging childcare, or the fear and anxiety associated with leaving their home and going out into public

Several quotes derived from open-ended interview questions are useful for illustrating peoples' qualitative experience of the outcomes described above:

"I feel like my daughter was kidnapped, and there's nothing that I can do. The other kids are afraid. When their father is working late they think that he's not coming back. Sometimes my youngest watches TV to hide that he's crying. It's been rough just this week, with the kids crying in school, and their teachers asking what's going on. Of course it affects their school."

"During the one month and 15 days I was in detention, I felt like I was being psychologically punished. And now there are just so many barriers to the things I wanted to do, like buy a house. I spent about \$10,000, and everything [in the immigration process] is like a business. Even a call home costs money, and the banks are profiting."

"I've constantly struggled with depression, and my son has panic attacks and many times he doesn't sleep. So we don't go out... Because I'm afraid of being stopped by the police, or by immigration."

Still, other respondents reported some positive outcomes:

"Yes, it's like a nightmare. There are many things I don't do anymore- I stopped drinking beer. I do a lot of volunteer work. I see a much bigger perspective than [I did] before, and I'm a better person."

"It impacted us a lot. My older children had the fear that I would be deported. It pushed me to go to the march in Washington. It's worse to stay in the shadows, it's one of the reasons I decided to fight."

Although the trauma associated with immigration policing and family separation is itself sufficient to explain many of the outcomes described above, the financial dimensions of an immigration arrest reveal how these outcomes are generational in scope, reproducing long-term inequalities of wealth, opportunity and wellbeing, with compounding effects that persist well beyond the tenure of an individual immigration case. It is important to emphasize that these outcomes are not limited to the individual targeted by the U.S. immigration system; rather, as we have seen, these impact are felt by an entire household and extend across peoples' family and social networks, ultimately affecting an entire community. It is worth considering, then, policies that can be implemented to meaningfully reduce this harm.

Policy recommendations

Everyone in the United States has the potential to benefit from substantive policy reform that reduces or eliminates the financial burdens imposed on a household and community when individuals are funneled into immigration custody, detention or removal proceedings. Tackling these issues should be an important component of broader strategies aimed at improving social equity, economic security and community wellbeing across the United States. The following policy recommendations are intended to accomplish these objectives and are divided into four sections:

- 1. Local Law Enforcement Collaboration with CBP and ICE**
- 2. Other Local Measures that Can Reduce Costs and Improve Quality of Life**
- 3. Federal Immigration Reform Measures**
- 4. Informal Community Interventions**

Section 1: Local Law Enforcement Collaboration with CBP and ICE

As detailed in section 2, fully 56% of immigration cases documented in this report were first initiated via contact with a local, county or state law enforcement agency. Our first set of recommendations would help local jurisdictions limit this exposure and the role of law enforcement as a pipeline into immigration custody, detention and removal:

Recommendation 1: Public Disclosure of Immigration-related Custody Transfer

Counties and cities should provide to the public an annual audit disclosing all funding, data sharing, joint enforcement operations and custody transfers, while accounting for (de-personalized) arrest and outcome data for individuals who come into contact with immigration officials following an interaction with local law enforcement.

The mechanisms by which local law enforcement and the United States Department of Homeland Security interact are complicated and are often opaque. In the interest of ensuring informed and appropriate public oversight, policymakers and voters should not only know how and why interactions with federal immigration officials occur, but what the material outcome of these interactions are.

Recommendation 2: Prohibit Police Inquiry about Citizenship and Immigration Status

Counties and cities should prohibit local law enforcement from asking about immigration status or place of birth. In states where such action is preempted, local jurisdictions should require law enforcement to inform individuals that they are not required to answer them and that their answers could trigger additional enforcement action prior to proceeding.

Many states and local jurisdictions do not permit local law enforcement to ask questions related to citizenship, as this is not foundational to their mission and can, in fact, compromise public trust.

Preventing municipal, county and state law enforcement from inquiring about citizenship and place of birth - or when necessary, introducing measures to ensure people are aware of their right to decline this information - would do much to decrease the number of people funneled into immigration detention and removal proceedings as a result of routine interaction with these law enforcement agencies.

Recommendation 3: End ICE Access to Local Jails

Counties and cities should end 287(g), BOAs and other MOUs that allow ICE unnecessary access into local jails, refrain from providing ICE with a notice of release date, and require an arrest warrant signed by a judge in order to hold an individual beyond their date of release or transfer custody to ICE.

ICE Detainers: Recent studies show that individuals with an ICE detainer spend an extra 43 to 72 days, on average, in pre-trial custody (Guttin, 2010; Shahani, 2010; UW Center for Human Rights, 2019). Local jurisdictions have limited or denied ICE detainers following repeated court rulings that have found them to be unconstitutional. As a consequence, many cities and counties are no longer honoring ICE detainers or require an arrest warrant be issued by a judge to transfer custody.

BOAs: Similarly, the new BOA (Basic Ordering Agreement) permits local jails to hold individuals for up to 48 hours based on an individual “order” with attached payment structure. The BOA is intended to guard local governments against litigation but continues to blur the separation between local law enforcement duties and immigration enforcement, while keeping the primary practice of ICE detainers intact. A legal challenge following the extended detention of a US citizen in Florida is pending (Padró Ocasio, 2018).

ICE offices in jails and regular access to jails: Many county jails have weekly visits from ICE and in some cases desks reserved for ICE agents. Some jurisdictions have denied ICE access into secure areas and thereby the ability to question inmates following questionable and coercive practices by ICE. Others require those in custody to provide written consent on a form in their native language explaining that their participation is voluntary.

Notices of Release: Local jurisdictions have refrained from issuing a notice of release to ICE. For jurisdictions that already deny ICE detainers, refraining from alerting ICE to when an inmate is to be released from custody further distinguishes local criminal enforcement from federal civil immigration enforcement.

Recommendation 4: Eliminate the Use of Local Jail Beds for ICE

Counties should end IGSAs that allow their facilities to function as ICE detention facilities.

Local jails can have Intergovernmental Service Agreements (IGSA) contracts with ICE to hold immigration detainees. While some jails lose money on these contracts, when a local jail has an IGSA it

can present a profit motive for collaboration while limiting due process concerns regarding custody transfer from local law enforcement to ICE (Frazin, 2018).

Recommendation 5: End the Use of Local Law Enforcement as Deputized Immigration Agents

287(g) agreements and Stonegarden grants are voluntary. Local jurisdictions should refrain from participation in 287(g) and Stonegarden.

287(g) MOUs allow local law enforcement to be deputized for the purpose of federal immigration enforcement, including within local jails (Hauslohner, 2019; McCormick-Cavanaugh, 2019). Stonegarden grants are used to fund joint programs between local law enforcement and U.S. Customs and Border Protection. Many jurisdictions have declined to cooperate in these Department of Homeland Security programs, while states like Vermont and New Jersey require approval by the governor and attorney general respectively to enter into 287(g) and Stonegarden agreements.

Recommendation 6: Protect Local Data

Local jurisdictions should know who they are sharing data with and provide this data-sharing information to the public, as well as refrain from sending information to ICE except for when this is required by law.

While intelligence sharing may be useful to local law enforcement, the use of databases like AZLink (which provide information to ICE Pattern Analysis and Information Collection) is entirely voluntary, and local jurisdictions should whenever possible strictly limit or withdraw their participation. Local jurisdictions should furthermore refrain from proprietary offerings that feed data directly to ICE, such as Palantir's software and Vigilant Solution's license plate reader database.

Recommendation 7: Prohibit the Use of ICE and CBP as Interpreters for Law Enforcement

Local jurisdictions should always have independent language services available for all employees providing public services and strictly prohibit immigration authorities from functioning in this role.

Communities along the Northern and Southern borders have documented Border Patrol agents functioning as interpreters for local law enforcement. In some cases this can go as far as having CBP respond to calls when the caller is known to not speak English and in others cases results in CBP responding to 911 calls (Graybill, 2012; PLUS).

Section 2: Other Local Measures that Can Reduce Costs and Improve Quality of Life

In addition to limiting the role of local police agencies in funneling people into immigration custody, detention and removal, there is much that policymakers can do at the local level to mitigate and address the harms detailed in this report:

Recommendation 8: Provide Universal Representation

Counties and cities should develop public-private partnerships and philanthropic channels to provide universal representation for residents facing immigration removal proceedings.

Universal representation provides public funding for legal counsel in immigration court removal proceedings. Cities across the United States including New York City; Denver, Colorado; Columbus, Ohio; Sacramento and others have implemented universal representation along with the creation of ancillary legal defense funds. New York City's universal representation project improved the proportion of individuals who won their immigration case from 4 percent to 48 percent (Stave, et al., 2017). By funding a universal representation program for residents fighting removal in U.S. immigration courts, a local jurisdiction can significantly reduce the costs involved in fighting an immigration case, reduce the likelihood of predatory and fraudulent actors taking advantage of families seeking help, and reduce the number of families confronted with long-term separation as an outcome of immigration detention and removal.

Recommendation 9: Promote Law Enforcement Certification of U Visas

Local law enforcement branches should develop written policies for signing U visa certifications and designate a specific individual or office responsible for reviewing cases and issuing certifications for former cases and pending cases.

Victims of crime are often eligible for U visas but cannot get local law enforcement certifications to move the process forward. The U visa was created precisely to encourage undocumented immigrant communities to report crime and work with local law enforcement.

Recommendation 10: Expand Permissible Forms of ID

Governments should investigate how best to provide government-issued identification for all residents to ease interactions with law enforcement and a host of other actors/services.

States and localities should issue acceptable forms of identification regardless of immigration status. Access to valid ID opens up doors for individuals and their households (e.g., access to a bank account) and eliminates the need for undocumented immigrants to interact in predatory markets (e.g., pay-day loans, title loans, substandard housing). In some cases states have opened up access to driver's licenses (as permitted under the REAL ID Act of 2005), and many municipalities have issued their own IDs while still other jurisdictions allow consular cards to function as acceptable ID (Mathema, 2015).

Section 3: Federal Immigration Reform Measures

There is a broad bi-partisan consensus that fundamental reform to the country's immigration system is long-overdue. The following measures would substantially reduce the financial harms and corollary impacts documented in this report, and they should be incorporated into any substantive immigration reform undertaken by the federal government:

Recommendation 11: End Administrative Detention for All Non-Citizens

Immigration reform at the federal level should eliminate administrative detention for non-citizens facing removal proceedings.

Administrative detention for non-citizens is a relatively recent policy invention that is unnecessary and costly to both families and to the government. Eliminating detention would significantly reduce the financial burden on households who spend thousands of dollars to visit and support a loved one held in custody, and/or to pay a bond so that their family member can be released. Eliminating administrative detention would also eliminate the disruption to employment, income, education, childcare and routine household necessities created by the detention system, and eliminate the family separation that often is imposed even as a person fights their immigration case and well before a judge has had the opportunity to rule on its merits. By eliminating detention as a matter of policy there would also then be little justification for those current “alternatives to detention” that prey financially on impacted households by charging exorbitant fees for electronic monitoring.

Recommendation 12: Ease Access to Visas and Support for Family Reunification

The federal government should ease peoples' ability to access visas and to cross the border safely and lawfully in order to reunited with their family in the United States.

Family unification is already an explicit objective of U.S. immigration law, but as this report renders clear the immigration system as currently designed often fails at accomplishing this objective. Easing visa requirements and reducing impediments to peoples' ability to safely and lawfully cross the border would significantly reduce the revenue stream to smuggling cartels that operate along the border, and it would also create fiscal savings by reducing the need for enforcement agencies like ICE and the Border Patrol, allowing their allocated funds to be re-appropriated toward urgent social and economic needs like food security, affordable housing, senior care, early childhood education, infrastructure and sustainable energy.

Section 4: Informal Community Intervention

Independent of any formal policy reform there is much that advocates and communities can do to tackle the financial hardships detailed in this report.

Recommendation 13: Broadly Disseminate “Know Your Rights” Material

*Materials informing people of their rights involved in **any** encounter with law enforcement should be disseminated as broadly and in as many languages as possible.*

The civil rights outlined in the Constitution of the United States and affirmed by U.S. Courts apply to all persons in the United States, whether citizens or non-citizens. The dissemination of “know your rights” materials and training can reduce peoples’ vulnerability to an immigration arrest when they encounter local police and when dealing with federal immigration authorities. A culture that disseminates and affirms peoples’ civil rights will lead to stronger communities that are better informed and better engaged with elected officials and civic institutions.

Recommendation 14: Establish Community Bond Funds

Community organizations and informal networks should establish community bond funds that are transparently managed and accountable to their constituents.

Community Bond Funds pool peoples’ contributions in order to help families in need to bond a loved one out of immigration detention. Community Bond Funds can improve the likelihood that ICE is held accountable and returns peoples’ bond money at the conclusion of their case and can roll these funds back into community legal defense. Having access to a bond and having a broader plan in place for how to respond when a loved one is detained, can significantly reduce the anxiety associated with exposure to immigration policing and the stress involved in managing its costs.

Recommendation 15: Support Pro-Bono Legal Representation for Noncitizens in Immigration Court

Support pro-bono legal work so that as many immigration defendants as possible have access to legal representation.

Many attorneys and law firms already provide pro-bono representation as a public service to a limited number of clients. Broad support of pro-bono legal work through community organizations, non-profits and philanthropy can help to “scale up” these efforts and do much to improve peoples’ access to fair representation while minimizing the financial cost this kind of representation often imposes.

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
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Appendix 1: research methodology and limitations of the data

Undocumented and deportable non-citizens are difficult to study, and fit the classic definition of a “hidden population.” According to Heckathorn (1997), this involves two hallmark characteristics: “first, no sampling frame exists, so the size and boundaries of the population are unknown; and second, there exist strong privacy concerns, because membership involves stigmatized or illegal behavior, leading individuals to refuse to cooperate or give unreliable answers to protect their privacy” (174).

In order to overcome the difficulties associated with studying a hidden population, the research team followed established best practices by undertaking a hybrid targeted and snowball sampling method, whereby the initial sample is determined by ease of access, and participating subjects are then asked to encourage any additional individual they know who might qualify for the research to participate in the study. In this case, initial subject recruitment was undertaken at locales that provide services to non-citizen populations throughout Pima County, Arizona. These included an organized labor center; a soup kitchen that provides free hot meals, regardless of citizenship status; a free weekly walk-in immigration legal clinic; and a free bi-monthly invitation-only legal clinic hosted at an area church.

Over an 18-month period the research PIs, together with a team of 14 undergraduate student research assistants, regularly visited these recruitment sites and invited anybody present who matched the research criteria to participate in the study. Usually, this involved a general announcement to all those present, followed by a one-on-one approach during which researchers distributed flyers and asked potential subjects directly if they would be interested in participating. Interviews typically lasted one hour, and were restricted to no more than two hours. The researchers made clear to all potential subjects that participation in the study would have no influence on their ability to receive services at recruitment sites, and that they could withdraw their participation at any time. All research subjects were offered a \$20 gift card as a token of recognition for their time.

After recruiting an initial wave of participants, the research team then implemented a snowball sampling method. The size and extent of the snowball sample was limited, however, by two factors. The first had to do with the timing of research activities. These were initiated in January 2017, between the election and the inauguration of Donald J. Trump as president of the United States. A number of scholars have found that Trump’s election triggered a period of sustained fear and anxiety for noncitizens and members of mixed status households (Chykina and Crabtree, 2018; Hamann and Morgenson, 2017; Mette and Bertolini, 2018; Nienhusser and Oshio, 2019; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Anecdotally, volunteers at recruitment sites used in this study reported a substantial decline in attendance during the several months following Trump’s inauguration, continuing well into 2017. Additional sampling difficulties followed from restrictions imposed by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Arizona. Institutional Review Boards are mandated by the federal government to oversee research activities and ensure that the study minimizes the risks to human subjects. Due to concerns regarding the particular vulnerabilities of the research population, the research team was not authorized to directly contact any potential research subject referred by another participant as part of the snowball. Rather, potential subjects were provided with information about the study and contact information for the research PIs, and encouraged to contact a PI on their own initiative. These two

conditions limited the size and extent of the snowball, requiring the research team to rely more on targeted sampling at initial recruitment sites. Table 1 provides data on the number of research subjects recruited by method and recruitment site.

Appendix 1 table 1: Subject recruitment sites and participation

recruitment site	sampling method	number of participants
Weekly Legal Clinic	targeted	75
Referred by Another Participant	snowball	26
Bi-weekly Legal Clinic	targeted	10
Labor Center	targeted	10
Soup Kitchen	targeted	4

There are three issues worth mentioning that follow directly from the sampling methods already described. One is that research participants are likely to be more engaged in the community and aware of the resources available to them than is the typical household. A second issue that follows is that median household income captured in our sample is likely to be lower than it is for the population as a whole. On the other hand, the fact that fully 68% (n=85) of households in our sample were recruited while accessing free legal support is likely to have depressed our findings for the total cost of an immigration arrest.

There are two additional issues worth clarifying with regard to our research methodology. The first is that interviewees were asked to report information as best they could from memory, while those individuals who completed an interview were not always the primary bread-winner or the individual responsible for paying regular household expenses. This often resulted in a subject reporting a range of costs when answering a given question. In every case, the research team used the more conservative figure provided for this range. As a result, we believe our research findings to be conservative compared to the actual cost of an immigration arrest. Finally, a criteria of study was that a household member have already experienced an immigration arrest at the time of a subject's participation. This also means that the indirect costs of an immigration arrest would already have begun to accumulate, impacting the finding we've reported here for median household income. This finding therefore should not be generalized to all non-citizen or mixed-status households.

The findings included in this report could be improved via additional research that undertook a longitudinal, multi-informant and transnational approach to data collection. A longitudinal study on the household financial impacts of an immigration arrest would obtain greater accuracy and perspective on their downstream repercussions for health, education, income and employment. A multi-informant study would allow us to compare multiple sources of information for the same household or family network. Meanwhile, due to the transnational dimensions of migration, and the transnational consequences of an immigration arrest, a multi-sited, multi-country and multi-informant approach would allow the research team to gain greater insight into the geographic dissemination of financial harm, the strategies deployed across transnational family and social networks to absorb and mitigate these harms, and the long-term financial and socioeconomic consequences that result in both migrant "sending" and "receiving" communities.

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