



Adults in Immigrant Families Report Avoiding Routine Activities Because of Immigration Concerns

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Changes in federal immigration policies and heightened immigration enforcement over the last several years have caused fear and insecurity for many immigrant families across the country. In addition to stories of rising fear among families reported in the press,¹ several studies have documented evidence of widespread anxiety and instability among immigrant families and children (Artiga and Ubri 2017; Cervantes, Ullrich, and Matthews 2018; The Children’s Partnership and California Immigrant Policy Center 2018; Gándara and Ee 2018; Roche et al. 2018; Rogers 2017). A recent Urban Institute study shows that nearly one in seven adults in immigrant families report that they or a family member did not participate in a noncash government benefit program in 2018 for fear of risking future green card status as the administration considered changing rules for “public charge” determinations (Bernstein et al. 2019). Beyond avoiding participation in public programs, many immigrant families may be changing how they go about their daily lives. Reports show immigrant families increasingly avoiding routine activities, such as interacting with teachers or school officials, health care providers, and the police,² which poses risks for their well-being and the communities in which they live.

In this brief, we use the Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey (WBNS), a nationally representative, internet-based survey conducted in December 2018, to examine immigrant families’ reported avoidance of activities in various public settings (box 1). The survey included nearly 2,000 nonelderly

adults who are foreign born or live with one or more foreign-born family members (hereafter called “adults in immigrant families”), who make up about one-quarter of all nonelderly adults in the US, according to the American Community Survey. In addition to questions about “chilling effects” on participation in public assistance programs, the 2018 WBNS collected information on respondents’ avoidance of routine activities because they did not want to be asked or bothered about citizenship status. This information allows us to document how adults in immigrant families are changing their daily lives within the current immigration policy context.

We find the following:

- About one in six adults in immigrant families (17.0 percent) reported that they or a family member avoided activities in which they could be asked or bothered about citizenship status during 2018. The activities avoided most were those that risk interaction with police or other public authorities, such as driving a car (9.9 percent), renewing or applying for a driver’s license (9.0 percent), and talking to the police or reporting crime (8.3 percent). Other avoided activities included going to public places, like parks, libraries, or stores (7.8 percent); visiting a doctor or clinic (6.3 percent); using public transportation (5.8 percent); and talking with teachers or school officials (4.7 percent).
- About one in three adults in immigrant families with a more vulnerable visa and citizenship status—where one or more foreign-born relatives in the household do not have a green card (i.e., are not permanent residents) or US citizenship—reported that they or a family member avoided at least one routine activity. Meanwhile, over one in nine adults in families where all foreign-born family members have green cards or US citizenship reported this behavior.
- Among adults in immigrant families, Hispanic adults were nearly three times more likely (24.2 percent) than non-Hispanic white adults (8.5 percent) to report avoiding some activities.
- Controlling for observable characteristics, adults in immigrant families who avoided at least one activity were also more likely to report serious psychological distress.

BOX 1

Activities Captured by the Survey

For this measure, respondents were asked if they or someone in their family avoided any of the following activities in the past 12 months because they or the family member did not want to be asked or bothered about citizenship status:

- visiting a doctor or clinic
- talking with teachers or school officials
- talking to police or reporting crime
- renewing or applying for a driver's license
- driving a car
- using public transportation
- going to public places, such as parks, libraries, or stores

Background

Evidence shows that immigration policy developments are leading to increased fear and anxiety and avoidance of public space and interaction with authorities to avoid potential immigration enforcement (Artiga and Ubri 2017; Cervantes, Ullrich, and Matthews 2018; The Children's Partnership and California Immigrant Policy Center 2018; Gándara and Ee 2018; Roche et al. 2018; Rogers 2017). Some families, especially those with undocumented members, are making significant changes in their day-to-day behavior, with some parents avoiding leaving the house and keeping their children home to avoid potential interaction with immigration authorities or police (Artiga and Ubri 2017). Findings from a survey of California parents highlight this fear: many respondents, especially parents of young children and Latinos, reported that they "feel unsafe no matter where they are" (The Children's Partnership and California Immigrant Policy Center 2018). In surveys of service providers, most report that families were expressing fear about taking their children to school or going to parks or participating in other recreational activities. Immigrant-serving organizations report rising fear in immigrant communities and have identified a need for enhanced engagement by community-based organizations to reassure families, because they often serve as trusted sources to bridge families to public institutions and programs (Greenberg et al. 2019).

Data and Methods

Data and Sample

We draw on data from the December 2018 round of the Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, a nationally representative survey of adults ages 18 to 64 launched in December 2017. This analysis is based on the WBNS core sample, as well as an oversample of noncitizens. For each round of the WBNS, the core sample is a stratified random sample drawn from Ipsos's KnowledgePanel, a probability-based online panel recruited primarily from an address-based sampling frame, and includes a large oversample of adults in low-income households.³ In December 2018, the survey also included an oversample of noncitizens to support analyses of current policy issues affecting immigrant families. The panel includes only respondents who can complete surveys administered in either English or Spanish, and adults without internet access are provided laptops and free internet access to facilitate participation.

We constructed a set of weights for analysis of the population of nonelderly adults who are foreign born or living with a foreign-born relative in their household. The weights are based on the probability of selection from the KnowledgePanel and benchmarks from the American Community Survey for nonelderly adults in immigrant families who are proficient in English or primarily speak Spanish.⁴ The language criterion is used in the weighting to reflect the nature of the survey sample, because the survey is only administered in English or Spanish.

Key Measures

SHARE OF ADULTS AVOIDING SELECT ACTIVITIES

We focus on the share of adults in immigrant families reporting that they or someone in their family avoided routine activities in the past 12 months because they or a family member did not want to be asked or bothered about citizenship status. This survey question was drawn from the National Latino Health and Immigration Survey conducted by Latino Decisions, with some minor modifications.⁵ Respondents could self-define family as either their immediate family or other relatives, who may or may not live with them in the same household.

SERIOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

We assess differences in reported serious psychological distress between respondents whose families avoided one or more activities asked about in the survey and respondents whose families did not avoid these activities, controlling for the individual and household characteristics of these two groups. Serious psychological distress is measured using the six-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6 scale), which was designed to assess prevalence of nonspecific psychological distress in population surveys (Kessler et al. 2002).⁶

Analysis

We compare weighted estimates of the rate of self-reported avoidance of select activities across racial and ethnic groups and across types of households, defined according to the immigration and citizenship status of the family members living in the household. For analyses of psychological distress, we use multiple regression to adjust estimates for observable characteristics using the method of recycled predictions.⁷

We measure annual family incomes as a percentage of the 2018 federal poverty level. We impute missing responses for family income, marital status, and number of children in the household using a multiple-imputation regression approach. We allocate missing citizenship status data for respondents using their responses to the Ipsos panel profile question on citizenship and impute respondent citizenship status if that information is also missing. All estimates are weighted to be representative of the national population of nonelderly adults in immigrant families (as described above) and to account for the complex survey design.

Limitations

One limitation of the WBNS is its low response rate, which is comparable to other panel surveys that account for nonresponse at each stage of recruitment. However, previous studies assessing recruitment for the KnowledgePanel have found little evidence of nonresponse bias for core demographic and socioeconomic measures (Garrett, Dennis, and DiSogra 2010; Heeren et al. 2008), and WBNS estimates are generally consistent with benchmarks from federal surveys (Karpman, Zuckerman, and Gonzalez 2018). WBNS survey weights reduce, but do not eliminate, the potential error associated with sample coverage and nonresponse, and this is likely larger for the subgroup of adults in immigrant families. Though the weights are designed to produce nationally representative estimates for adults in immigrant families, this weighting approach implies that our analytic sample of 1,950 adults in immigrant families has precision comparable to a simple random sample of approximately 800 adults because of the design effect, increasing the sampling error around our estimates.

In addition, because the WBNS is only administered in English and Spanish, our restricted analytic sample does not describe the experiences of the full spectrum of adults in immigrant families. Our study excludes adults with limited English proficiency whose primary language is not Spanish, so the experiences of adults with limited English proficiency who speak other languages are not captured. We estimate that the excluded adults who do not speak English or Spanish represent between 5 and 15 percent of all nonelderly adults in immigrant households, as defined for this brief; according to the 2017 American Community Survey, 5 percent of this group speaks English less than “well”⁸ and speaks a primary language other than Spanish.

Some measurement error is likely for questions related to respondent citizenship status and that of relatives in the household, particularly among adults who are undocumented or have been in the US for a short time (Van Hook and Bachmeier 2013).

Because the question about avoidance of routine activities because of immigration concerns was not included in the previous round of the WBNS, we do not have a baseline from which to measure changes in these behaviors over time, nor can we directly assess the extent to which avoidance of these activities is caused by recent changes in immigration policy and enforcement.

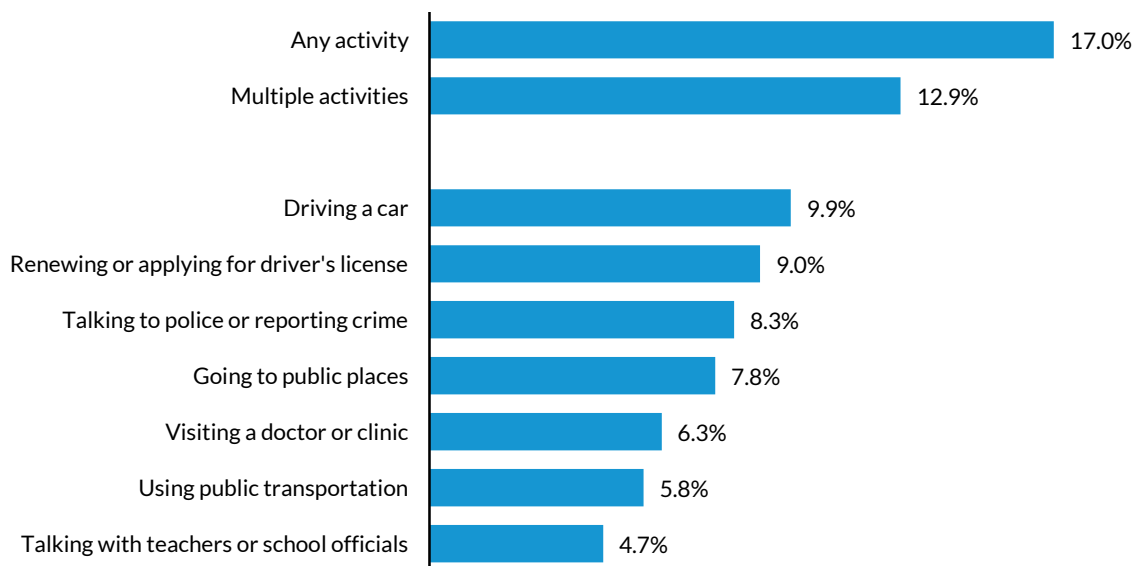
Findings

About one in six adults in immigrant families (17.0 percent) reported that they or a family member avoided activities in which they could be asked or bothered about citizenship status during 2018. The activities avoided most were those that risk interaction with police or other public authorities, such as driving a car (9.9 percent), renewing or applying for a driver's license (9.0 percent), and talking to the police or reporting crime (8.3 percent). Other avoided activities included going to public places, like parks, libraries, or stores (7.8 percent); visiting a doctor or clinic (6.3 percent); using public transportation (5.8 percent); and talking with teachers or school officials (4.7 percent).

Overall, 17.0 percent of adults in immigrant families reported that they or a family member avoided at least one of the activities identified in the survey during 2018 (figure 1). About one in eight (12.9 percent) reported avoiding more than one activity during the year.

FIGURE 1

Share of Adults in Immigrant Families in Which Someone Avoided the Following Activities in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, December 2018



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

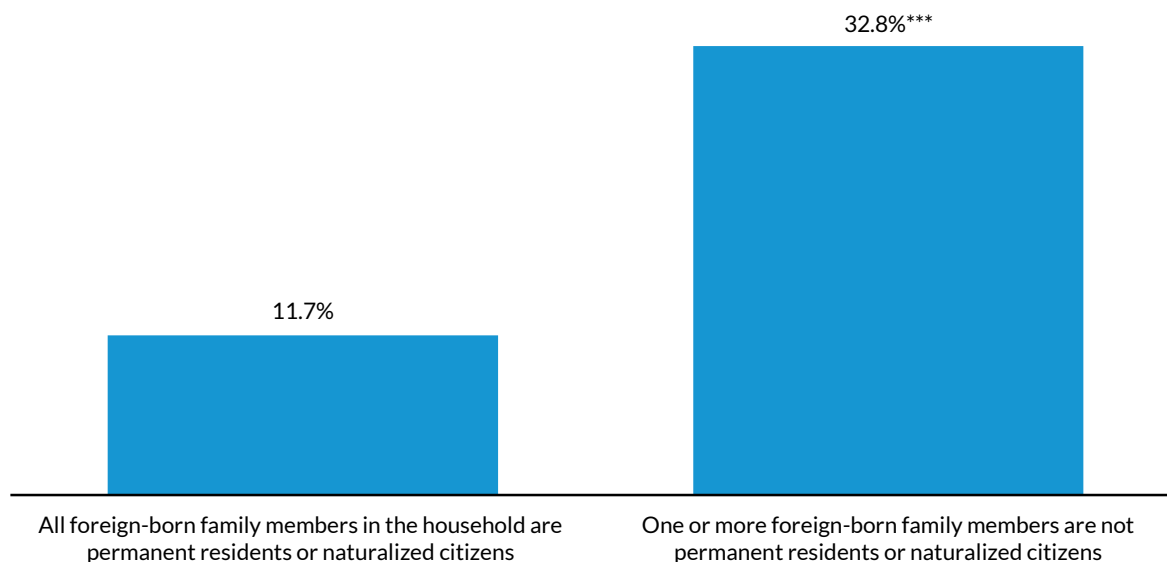
Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Respondents could report avoidance of activities for themselves or someone else in their family.

About one in three adults in immigrant families with a more vulnerable visa and citizenship status—where one or more foreign-born relatives in the household do not have a green card (i.e., are not permanent residents) or US citizenship—reported that they or a family member avoided at least one activity. Meanwhile, over one in nine adults in families where all foreign-born family members have green cards or US citizenship reported this behavior.

Avoidance of some activities was especially common among adults in families in which one or more foreign-born relatives are not permanent residents or citizens, at 32.8 percent (figure 2). This group was nearly three times more likely to report avoiding these activities than adults in relatively secure families (where all foreign-born relatives have permanent residency or are naturalized US citizens).⁹

However, this retreat from public spaces also occurs among immigrant families with more secure immigration and citizenship statuses. Even within families where all foreign-born relatives have green cards or are naturalized, more than one in nine adults (11.7 percent) reported that they or their relatives had avoided specified activities in the previous year.

FIGURE 2
Share of Adults in Immigrant Families in Which Someone Avoided At Least One Select Activity in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, by Household Immigration and Citizenship Status, December 2018



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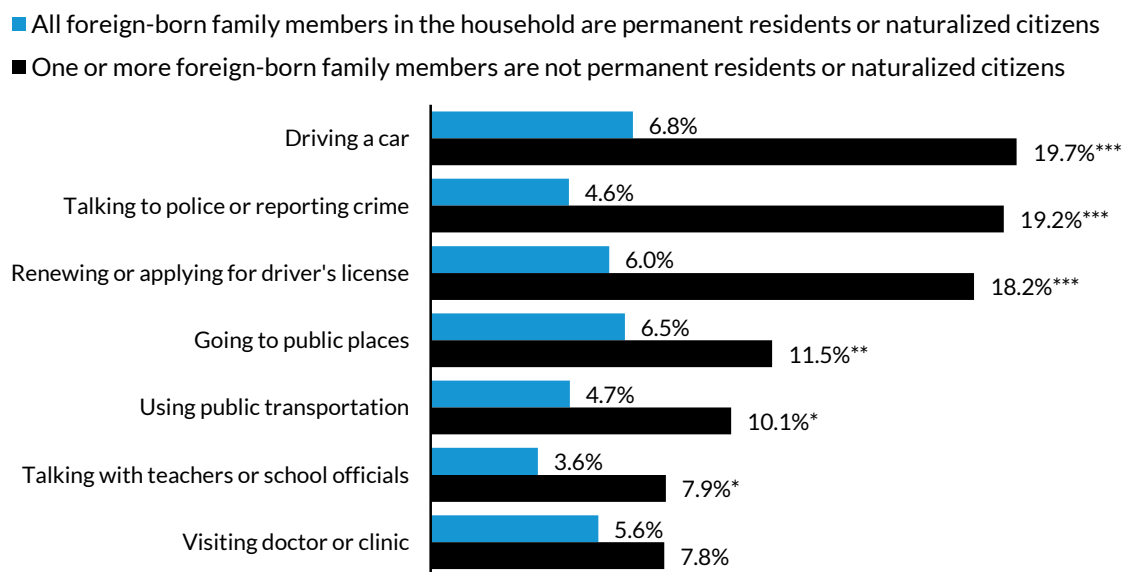
Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Activities include visiting a doctor or clinic, talking with teachers or school officials, talking to police or reporting crime, renewing or applying for a driver's license, driving a car, using public transportation, or going to public places, such as parks, libraries, or stores. Respondents could report avoidance for themselves or for someone else in their family. Households are classified by the citizenship and immigration status of foreign-born members, and native-born members (including the respondent) may be included in each group.

*/**/*** Estimate differs significantly from adults in households where all foreign-born family members are permanent residents or naturalized citizens at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 level, using two-tailed tests.

Adults in families with less secure immigration statuses, where one or more foreign-born relatives do not have green cards or naturalized citizenship, reported avoiding certain activities at higher rates. Nearly one in five (19.7 percent) adults in this group reported that they or a family member avoided driving a car, almost three times the rate for adults whose foreign-born family members are all permanent residents or naturalized citizens (6.8 percent; figure 3).¹⁰ Around one in five adults in the less secure group reported avoiding talking to the police (19.2 percent) or renewing or applying for a driver's license (18.2 percent); smaller shares reported avoiding going to public spaces (11.5 percent), using public transportation (10.1 percent), or talking to teachers or school officials (7.9 percent). For five of the seven activities, these rates were two to four times higher than those reported by adults in families with more secure statuses, where all foreign-born relatives are permanent residents or naturalized citizens.

FIGURE 3
Share of Adults in Immigrant Families in Which Someone Avoided the Following Activities in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, by Household Immigration and Citizenship Status, December 2018



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

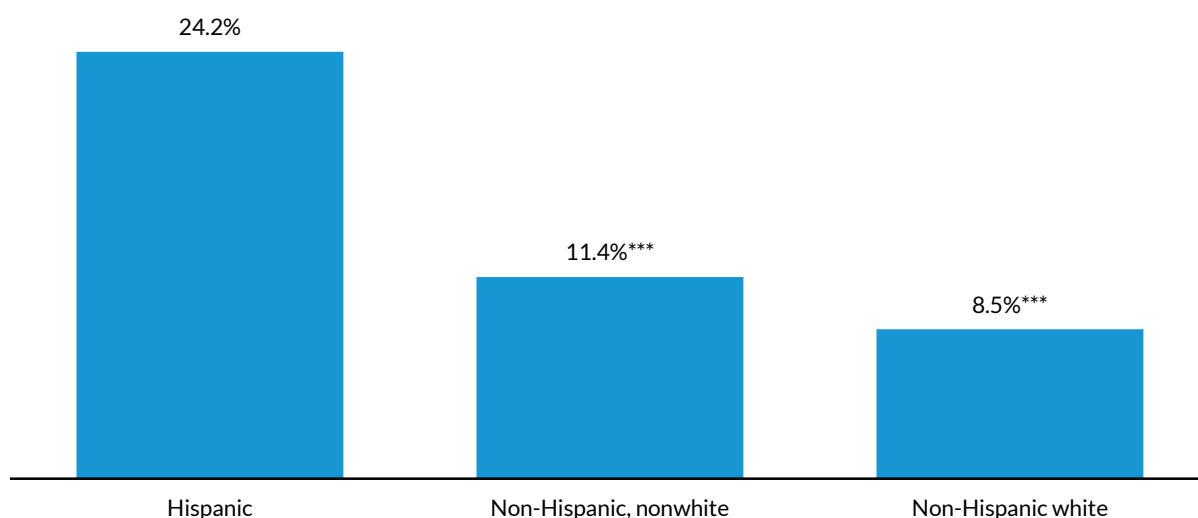
Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Public places include parks, libraries, or stores. Respondents could report avoidance of activities for themselves or for someone else in their family. Households are classified by the citizenship and immigration status of foreign-born members, and native-born members (including the respondent) may be included in each group.

*/**/** Estimate differs significantly from adults in households where all foreign-born family members are permanent residents or naturalized citizens at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 level, using two-tailed tests.

Among adults in immigrant families, Hispanic adults were nearly three times more likely (24.2 percent) than non-Hispanic white adults (8.5 percent) to report avoiding some activities.

Compared with other racial and ethnic groups, Hispanic adults were more likely to avoid some activities. About one in four Hispanic adults (24.2 percent) reported that they or a family member avoided the specified activities in the past year (figure 4). Hispanic adults were also more likely than their non-Hispanic, nonwhite counterparts to report avoiding these activities (24.2 percent versus 11.4 percent).

FIGURE 4
Share of Adults in Immigrant Families in Which Someone Avoided At Least One Select Activity in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, by Respondent Race and Ethnicity, December 2018



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

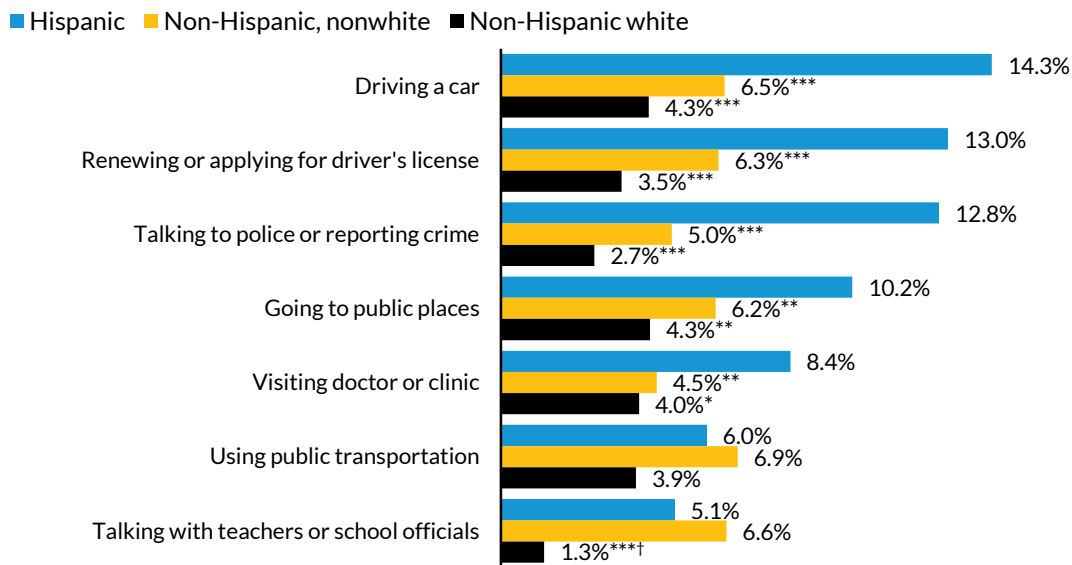
Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Activities include visiting a doctor or clinic, talking with teachers or school officials, talking to police or reporting crime, renewing or applying for a driver's license, driving a car, using public transportation, or going to public places, such as parks, libraries, or stores. Respondents could report avoidance of activities for themselves or for someone else in their family. Non-Hispanic, nonwhite includes respondents who are black and other or multiple races.

*/**/** Estimate differs significantly from Hispanic adults at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 level, using two-tailed tests.

Among Hispanic adults in immigrant families, 14.3 percent reported avoiding driving a car, 13.0 percent reported avoiding renewing or applying for a driver's license, and 12.8 percent reported avoiding talking to the police or reporting crime (figure 5). Some also reported avoiding going to public spaces (10.2 percent), visiting a doctor or clinic (8.4 percent), using public transportation (6.0 percent), and talking to teachers or school officials (5.1 percent).

For three of the seven activities surveyed, Hispanic adults were more than twice as likely as non-Hispanic, nonwhite adults to report avoidance. For six of the seven, Hispanic adults were two to five times more likely than non-Hispanic white adults to report that someone in their family avoided such activities.

FIGURE 5
Share of Adults in Immigrant Families in Which Someone Avoided the Following Activities in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, by Respondent Race and Ethnicity, December 2018



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Public places include parks, libraries, or stores. Respondents could report avoidance of activities for themselves or someone else in their family. Non-Hispanic, nonwhite includes respondents who are black or other or multiple races.

*/**/** Estimate differs significantly from Hispanic adults at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 level, using two-tailed tests.

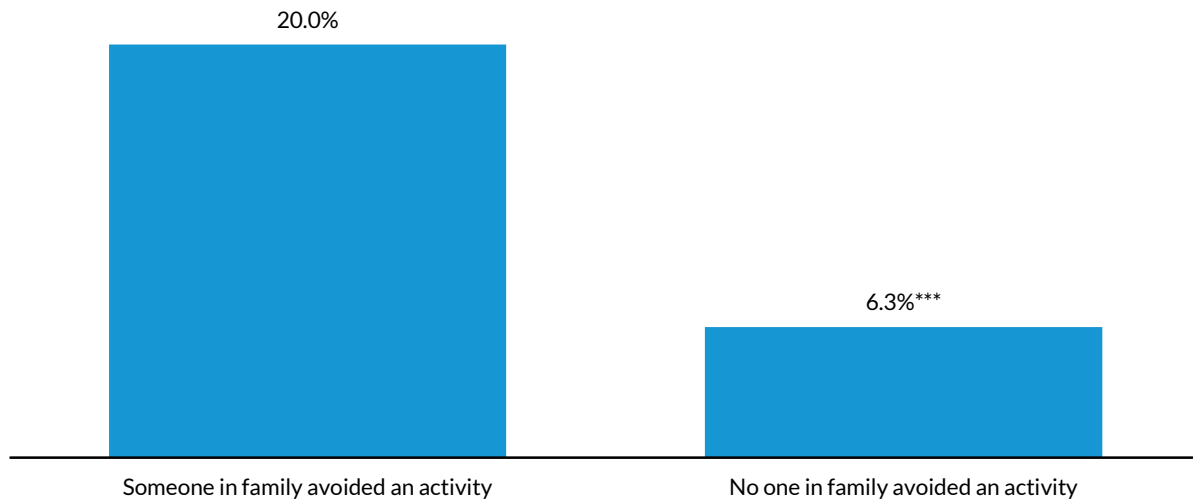
† Estimate for avoiding talking with teachers or school officials among non-Hispanic white adults does not differ significantly from zero.

Controlling for observable characteristics, adults in immigrant families who avoided at least one activity were also more likely to report serious psychological distress.

Adults in immigrant families that avoided surveyed activities were three times more likely to report experiencing serious psychological distress than adults in immigrant families who did not avoid these activities. Controlling for observable characteristics, one in five (20.0 percent) reported a score of 13 or higher on the K6 scale, indicating serious psychological distress (figure 6). In contrast, 6.3 percent of adults in immigrant families who did not report avoidance of such activities reported serious psychological distress.

FIGURE 6

Share of Adults in Immigrant Families Reporting Serious Psychological Distress in the Past 30 Days, by Avoidance of Select Activities in the Past Year Because They Did Not Want to Be Asked or Bothered about Citizenship Status, December 2018



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2018.

Notes: Adults are ages 18 to 64. Estimates are regression adjusted. Serious psychological distress means a respondent reported a score of 13 or higher on the K6 scale of psychological distress. Activities include visiting a doctor or clinic, talking with teachers or school officials, talking to police or reporting crime, renewing or applying for a driver's license, driving a car, using public transportation, or going to public places, such as parks, libraries, or stores. Respondents could report avoidance of activities for themselves or someone else in their family.

*/**/** Estimate differs significantly from adults in families where someone avoided any activity at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 level, using two-tailed tests.

Discussion

Our findings show that about one in six adults in immigrant families reported that in 2018, they or a family member avoided routine activities, such as driving a car, talking to police or reporting crime, or going to public places, because of concerns about being asked or bothered about their citizenship status. Respondents saying that their families avoided these activities were also more likely to report serious psychological distress, suggesting that the current immigration policy climate may be affecting people beyond such changes to their daily lives; however, it is not possible to draw a causal link from these data.

We find that nearly one-third of adults in families with less secure immigration statuses reported that they or a family member avoided one or more specified activities in the past year. However, the results for adults in families with relatively “safe” immigration status are even more striking: more than one in nine adults in immigrant families where all foreign-born family members in the household have green cards or are naturalized citizens reported that they or someone in their family avoided these

activities in 2018. This illustrates the ripple effects of immigration policies and the generalized fear within immigrant communities; even green card holders and naturalized citizens experience insecurity. In addition, many immigrant families contain multiple immigration and citizenship statuses, including a combination of US-born citizens, naturalized citizens, green card holders, and foreign-born people who lack permanent residency status. Individuals may perceive a threat to themselves or to their relatives: of immigration enforcement (i.e., deportation); risks to future visa adjustment, continuation of green card status, or naturalization; or harassment or discrimination along ethnic lines.

We find that Hispanic respondents are significantly more likely than non-Hispanic respondents to avoid these activities. This aligns with evidence that Hispanic people, regardless of immigration status, suffer mental and physical health impacts from immigration enforcement policies and experience fear around interaction with public authorities through “racialized legal status” (Asad and Clair 2018; Pedraza, Cruz Nichols, and LeBrón 2017; Perreira and Pedroza 2019).

Many reports show families avoiding seeking medical care or participating in public assistance programs for fear of immigration consequences, especially in the context of proposed changes to the “public charge” rule (Bernstein et al. 2019; New York City Department of Social Services and Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs 2019).¹¹ Health and well-being outcomes may be affected by this reluctance to interact with medical providers, schools, police, and other key institutional settings in communities where adults and children receive services and engage in routine activities. If people are afraid to leave their houses or drive their cars, it may threaten their access to jobs and a steady income, their children’s schools and healthy development, necessary medical services, and social connections essential for well-being. This affects not only the members of immigrant families, but other community members who benefit from all residents having basic needs met, being able to work, and reporting crimes to support public safety.

Some states and localities have taken proactive steps to reassure immigrant families who feel vulnerable. Cities and counties have come together in coalitions like Cities for Action or Welcoming America that include an array of measures, including legal assistance programs, know-your-rights educational campaigns, citizenship promotion and education, and engagement and outreach efforts to strengthen relationships with police departments and local government agencies (New York City Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs 2019). At the local level, some school districts are advancing efforts to support students in immigrant families in school and early childhood care settings by creating safety plans, family education materials, and community dialogues.¹² States and attorneys general have enacted legislation or issued guidance or executive orders on protecting schools, hospitals and clinics, workplaces, and courts as spaces safe from immigration enforcement by specifying guidance for people working in those spaces on asking about immigration status and providing information to or otherwise cooperating with federal immigration enforcement authorities (National Immigration Law Center 2018). In addition, immigrant-serving providers, including medical professionals, educators, and business leaders, are taking steps to support immigrant communities by educating members, building public awareness, and adopting safe-space policies. Such efforts may help mitigate fear and patterns of withdrawal from public spaces caused by immigration policy developments.

Federal immigration policies appear to be having widespread ripple effects, with fear and retreat from routine activities occurring in immigrant families regardless of specific immigration and citizenship status. Our evidence suggests that many adults in immigrant families may be changing the way they live their daily lives in their communities. In future work, it would be valuable to assess whether immigrant families are less likely to avoid these everyday activities in places that have invested in efforts to create welcoming and safe communities and to assess which strategies prove most effective. Potential consequences and impacts for health and well-being, for immigrant families and the broader communities where they reside, will be important to monitor.

Notes

- ¹ Sara Knuth, “They Stay Home for Days, Give Up Driving, and Won’t Sign Their Name to Documents. For Immigrants and Refugees in Greeley, Life Can Be Defined by Fear,” *Greeley (CO) Tribune*, February 17, 2019, <https://www.greeleytribune.com/news/they-stay-home-for-days-give-up-driving-and-wont-sign-their-name-to-documents-for-immigrants-and-refugees-in-greeley-life-can-be-defined-by-fear/>.
- ² Ike Swetlitz, “Immigrants, Fearing Trump’s Deportation Policies, Avoid Doctor Visits,” *Stat News*, February 24, 2017, <https://www.statnews.com/2017/02/24/immigrants-doctors-medical-care/>; Nicole Acevedo, “Immigration Policies, Deportation Threats Keep Kids out of School, Report States,” *NBC News*, November 20, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/immigration-policies-deportation-threats-keep-kids-out-school-report-states-n938566>; Chantal Da Silva, “Immigration Group Sees Nearly 80 Percent Spike in Reports of ‘Abusive Partners’ Threatening to Call ICE to Stop Victims from Pressing Charges,” *Newsweek*, April 16, 2019, <https://www.newsweek.com/immigration-group-sees-nearly-80-spike-reports-abusive-partners-threatening-1398082>.
- ³ For additional information on the WBNS’s design and weighting, see Karpman, Zuckerman, and Gonzalez (2018).
- ⁴ We define adults with English proficiency as those who speak English at least “well,” as classified in the American Community Survey. Adults with limited English proficiency are those who speak English less than “well.” This is a broader measure than is commonly used to define English proficiency; in most analyses, a person must speak English “very well” to be classified as having English proficiency (Wilson 2014). We use the following measures for weighting: gender, age, race and ethnicity, educational attainment, presence of children under age 18 in the household, census region, homeownership status, family income as a percentage of the federal poverty level, access to the internet, and family composition. We benchmark non-Hispanic “other race” respondents by two categories: (1) other race born in Asia and (2) multiple or other races not born in Asia.
- ⁵ “RWJF Center for Health Policy at UNM Releases Major National Survey of Latino Health and Immigration,” Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy at the University of New Mexico, accessed July 11, 2019, <http://healthpolicy.unm.edu/node/570671>. The exact phrasing of the survey question was: “We hear a lot these days about people getting questions about their immigration status just because of how they look or how they talk. For some people, this has changed how they go about their daily life. In the past 12 months, have you or anyone in your family ever avoided doing any of the following because you did not want to be bothered or asked about your citizenship status? Visiting a doctor or clinic; Talking with school teachers or officials; Talking to police or reporting crime; Renewing or applying for a driver’s license; Driving a car; Using public transportation; Going to public places, such as parks, libraries, or stores.”
- ⁶ Though not diagnostic of any one disorder, psychological distress is often characterized by symptoms typical of depression and anxiety (Drapeau et al. 2012). The K6 scale includes a series of questions that asks respondents how often they felt the following in the past 30 days: nervous, hopeless, restless or fidgety, so sad that nothing could cheer them up, that everything was an effort, worthless. The scores for each response item range from 0 (low) to 4 (high), with a cumulative score ranging from 0 to 24. Scores of 13 to 24 indicate serious psychological distress. Some research suggests that achieving measurement equivalence across linguistically diverse groups is challenging when using the K6 scale (Kim et al. 2016).

⁷ Characteristics include age, gender, race and ethnicity, urban or rural residence, census region, educational attainment, family income, family composition, family size, presence of children in the household, presence of noncitizens in the household, respondent citizenship status, chronic conditions, primary language, and self-reported health status.

⁸ See endnote 4.

⁹ Among survey respondents, about 76 percent lived in households where all foreign-born family members in the household are permanent residents or naturalized citizens, and about 23 percent lived in households where one or more foreign-born family members are not permanent residents or naturalized citizens.

¹⁰ This group may include some undocumented immigrants. In most states, undocumented immigrants are not eligible for driver's licenses. Several states are considering changing this policy, as New York did recently. See Alexandra Villarreal, "States Consider Driver's Licenses for Undocumented Immigrants Amid Ramped Up Immigration Enforcement," *NBC*, April 23, 2019, <https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/politics/States-Drivers-Licenses-Undocumented-Immigrants-Immigration-Enforcement-508824221.html>; Vivian Wang, "Driver's Licenses for the Undocumented Are Approved in Win for Progressives," *New York Times*, June 27, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/17/nyregion/undocumented-immigrants-drivers-licenses-ny.html>.

¹¹ Emily Baumgaertner, "Spooked by Trump Proposals, Immigrants Abandon Public Nutrition Services," *New York Times*, March 6, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/06/us/politics/trump-immigrants-public-nutrition-services.html>; Caitlin Dewey, "Immigrants Are Going Hungry So Trump Won't Deport Them," *Washington Post*, March 16, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/03/16/immigrants-are-now-canceling-their-food-stamps-for-fear-that-trump-will-deport-them/?utm_term=.1f0c672c0586; Helena Bottemiller Evich, "Immigrants, Fearing Trump Crackdown, Drop out of Nutrition Programs," *Politico*, September 3, 2018, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/09/03/immigrants-nutrition-food-trump-crackdown-806292>.

¹² See reference materials supporting schools and educators on the Teaching Tolerance website: <https://www.tolerance.org/moment/supporting-students-immigrant-families>.

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