Guatemalan Retornados' Experience with Deportation and Subsequent Family Separation: A Mixed-Methods Study

By

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With every ounce of my being, I dedicate this study

To my wife, Lauren, who has given my life meaning that extends well beyond the covers of this dissertation. You are my sunlight during the day and my light house when I get lost at night. As my greatest source hope, excitement, and joy in life, you are the greatest and most cherished gift I have been given.

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ABSTRACT

This mixed methods study explores the impact of deportation-imposed family separation on Guatemalan deportees' levels of psychological distress. Behavioral familismo is investigated as potential moderator. Familismo is a cultural value that reflects the centrality of the family unit, as demonstrated by strong identification with and attachment to immediate and extended relatives, and a deep sense of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among family members. Behavioral familismo represents the actions and behaviors that arise out of familismo. This study is based on a sample of deported Guatemalan immigrants (N=71) residing in Guatemala City, Guatemala and two Guatemalan towns outside of the capital: Sanarate and Puerto San Jose. The quantitative findings supported deportation imposed family separation as a predictor of increased psychological distress. While behavioral familismo also significantly contributed to post-deportation psychological distress, it was not supported as moderator in the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress. In contrast to the moderation analysis results, the qualitative findings described deportation-imposed family separation as a graduated process with multiple stages that each contribute to increases in immigrants' levels of psychological distress as a function of changes to their ability to provide family support.

Keywords Guatemala • Immigration • Deportation • Family Separation • Familismo • Behavioral Familismo

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Immigration has been a primary contributor to the national identity of the United States of America, and this trend continues today. Since 2002, an average of 426,639 immigrants have been authorized to enter to the United States each year; an estimated 300,000-500,000 more have entered without authorization or legal documents (United States Department of Homeland Security [DHS], 2011).

Today, more immigrants reside in the United States than ever before in its 236-year history. The immigrant population now stands at approximately 50 million; the immigration status of 20 percent of this population is considered unauthorized (DHS, 2011). According to the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC), approximately half the U.S. immigrant population is derived from Latin America (Passel & Lopez, 2009). Thirty-two percent of all authorized immigrants and 60 percent of all unauthorized immigrants in the United States are from Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Immigrants in the United States from other Latin American nations, particularly El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, account for an additional 35 percent of authorized and 22 percent of unauthorized immigrants (King, 2007).

With an estimated 14,647,083 inhabitants, Guatemala is the most populous nation in Central America, and among the most ethnically diverse nations in Latin America (CIA World Fact Book, 2014). Two groups principally dominate the country's population: Indigenous Amerindians and Ladino; individuals of mixed indigenous Amerindian and European descent. While Spanish is the nation's official language, approximately 23 additional languages are spoken by Guatemalan citizens, including 21 indigenous Amerindian dialects (CIA World Fact Book, 2014).

In response to a civil war that spanned almost four decades, the 1980s saw a massive increase in Guatemalan immigration to the United States (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). Despite

the war's end in 1996, Guatemalans continue to face dire economic and social circumstances in their native country, and continue to migrate to the United States (Sørensen, 2010). This occurs with and without proper immigration documentation in the hope of increased prosperity (Sørensen, 2010). For example, in 2009, 1.6 million Guatemalan immigrants were living in the United States, and only 24 percent were U.S. citizens (Pew Hispanic Center [PHC], 2010). In 2011 alone, it was estimated that 520,000 unauthorized Guatemalan immigrants entered the United States (DHS, 2011). These numbers make Guatemala the third largest contributor to the U.S. unauthorized immigrant population behind Mexico and El Salvador, respectively (DHS, 2011).

Recent changes to U.S. immigration policy, beginning with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1996, have augmented the federal government's power to identify, detain, and deport individuals lacking legal documents, resulting in a drastic increase in the number of immigrants deported annually (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). Guatemalan immigrants have not been spared the effects of these policy changes. Since 2004, Guatemala has seen a steady increase in the number of its citizens deported from the United States (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2010). For example, the Department of Homeland Security (2011) estimates that approximately 7,500 Guatemalan immigrants were deported from the United States in 2004 alone. By 2011, this number had risen to 30,313; representing a 400 percent increase over seven years (DHS, 2011).

Purpose of the Study

Given the increasing number of individuals deported from the United States, many have called for research that explores the psychological aftermath of deportation for deportees and their families (e.g., Brouwer et al., 2009; Dreby, 2012). Extant literature suggests that families separated by deportation face substantial consequences. The National Council of La Raza

([NCLR], Capps et al., 2007) found that children remaining in the United States after their parent or parents were deported experienced traumatic stress, anxiety, heightened insecurity, feelings of abandonment, and anger towards parents. Significant behavioral changes were also noted, including increased aggression, social withdrawal, and sleep and appetite problems. In a follow-up to this study, Chaudry et al. (2010) found that the behavioral and other psychosocial difficulties continued to affect children nine months after they were separated from their parents by deportation. Moreover, the households supporting these children experienced significant financial difficulties, leading to housing instability and a decline in important sustenance-related resources.

Scholars have suggested that deportees may also be negatively impacted by family separation, discrimination and other civil rights abuses, and attenuated access to important sustenance-related resources (Capps, et al. 2007; Chaudry et al., 2010; Dreby, 2012; Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). These types of stressors may have a substantial impact on important factors such as psychological well-being and caregiving capacities among parents, the latter of which has been suggested as a major contributor to child well-being and development (The Harvard Center for the Developing Child, 2010). To date, however, researchers have primarily focused on the effects of deportation on children left behind in the United States.

The purpose of this mixed methods study is to explore Guatemalan immigrants' experience with deportation from a theoretical framework that suggests that behavioral familismo increases the level of psychological distress experienced by Guatemalan deportees as a result of deportation-imposed family separation. Two complementary approaches to analysis are employed: The first approach uses quantitative methods to investigate the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress. Behavioral familismo, or rather gestures of support that stem from the cultural value of familismo, is

investigated as a potential moderator of this relationship. The qualitative component compliments the above analyses by providing a window into Guatemalan immigrants' multiple, unique, and personal experiences with deportation and subsequent family separation. Moreover, it illustrates how deportation, as a phenomenon, unfolds over time to affect the lives of deportees and their families.

To promote community engagement and ensure that participants' voices were appropriately represented in the study, I operated from a community-based and semi-participatory framework. To honor this framework, I lived for six months in Guatemala City during data collection and became immersed in Guatemalan Culture in order to develop an improved understanding of the sociocultural context within which participants operated. I forged partnerships with local community members during this experience, and these individuals were later enlisted as gatekeepers for candidate participants. I developed additional partnerships with representatives of Guatemalan and international organizations working with migrants and deportees, as well as Guatemalan researchers. Together, these partnerships served as a conduit for collaboration on multiple aspects of the study content and process, and helped ensure that the research was conducted in a manner that was ethical, respectful of participants, and built on a strong culturally-competent foundation.

Study Significance

Although the number of immigrants deported from the United States has greatly increased in recent years, the study of migration has been overwhelmingly unidirectional, focusing on the journey to, and adjustment within the host country. The experience of deportation remains poorly understood; little is known about how it affects deportees because most research in this area has focused on family behind in the United States (Brouwer et al., 2009; Dreby, 2012). This study is intended to fill this significant gap in the literature by

increasing our understanding of a relatively unknown, but increasingly common aspect of migration: deportation-imposed family separation and its impact on the deportee.

There is great need for this type of research, given that Latino immigrants are often separated from relatives due to migration and again when they are deported (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008; Parker, 2007). Latinos are broadly considered to be socialized to value close relationships, cooperation, and cohesiveness, with immediate and extended family members (Marin & Triandis, 1985). Many researchers have shown that Latinos' decisions to migrate to the United States are commonly motivated by the opportunity to improve on the quality of life of their families and children (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Others have found that Latino immigrants remain in the United States in spite of anti-immigrant climate in order to pursue their hopes and dreams for the socioeconomic advancement of their families, and their children in particular (Valdez, Lewis-Valentine, & Padilla, 2013). Given these findings, it is plausible that separating immigrants from their family via deportation in turn separates them from important motivational forces affecting their sense of identity and purpose in life. The current study tests this plausibility by elucidating the experience of deportation-imposed family separation.

In addition to the above, both authorized and unauthorized Latino immigrants in the United States cite a fear of deportation as a significant source of acculturative stress (Arbona et al., 2010). An improved understanding of the psychological experience of deportation may help to better understand this fear. It may also help support the development of more effective psychological treatments and prevention efforts for both the general and Latino immigrant population in the United States.

Finally, improved knowledge on the poorly understood, yet common experience of deportation-imposed family separation may provide important information for the United States

as it seeks to improve on its immigration policies and reduce recidivism in relation to unauthorized immigration. In Guatemala, the study may facilitate an improved ability to buffer the psychological toll of deportation on returning immigrants, thereby increasing the effectiveness and sustainability of repatriation efforts.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This mixed-methods study was conducted in Guatemala between December 4th, 2012 and June 12th, 2013. Its primary aim was to investigate the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress among Guatemalan immigrants deported from the United States. Its secondary aim was to assess how changes in behavioral familismo resulting from deportation contribute to this relationship. The quantitative component of the study focused on the degree to which deportation-imposed family separation predicts psychological distress, and the degree to which the change in behavioral familismo experienced by deportees contributes as a potential moderator. The purpose of the qualitative study was to illuminate participants' personal and subjective experiences with deportation-imposed family separation, with the hope of elucidating details that help to explain and better understand the quantitative findings.

The goal of this chapter is to review the literature pertinent to the study. First, I provide a brief review of U.S. immigration history and policy, with a specific focus on deportation. Second, I discuss the literature covering Guatemalan immigration, deportation and repatriation. Third, I give an overview of current U.S. immigration policy. Fourth, I discuss the current body of research on immigrant psychological distress, followed by the relationship between deportation and psychological distress. Fifth, I review the literature on deportation-imposed family separation and behavioral familismo as they relate to psychological distress among deported immigrants. Whenever possible, literature covering Latino immigrants, and specifically Guatemalan immigrants, is highlighted.

History of Latin American Immigration to the United States

Rosenblum and Brick (2011) divide migration from Mexico and Central America into

three primary periods. The first began at the turn of the 20th century, the second after World War II, and the third after 1965. The first and second periods primarily involved immigration from Mexico. During the third period, changes to U.S. immigration policy opened the doors to Central American nations and migration from these countries increased substantially.

Latin American Immigration: The Early 20th Century

At the turn of the 20th century, approximately 60,000 Mexican migrant workers entered the United States per year for seasonal work in the agricultural industry and in railroad construction. The majority returned to Mexico for the winter. However, Mexican migration to the United States doubled during the 1910s and 1920s when demand for labor increased as a consequence of events such as World War I (WWI) and the Mexican Revolution. Moreover, the advent of technologies such as refrigerated railroad cars gave birth to new job opportunities (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011).

Before 1920, Mexican migrant workers enjoyed numerous exemptions from migration controls. Notably, during its involvement in WWI, the United States sought to mitigate increased labor demands by exempting Mexican migrants from restrictions imposed on Asian and European immigration (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). As a result, the United States essentially created its first guest worker program, and close to 80,000 Mexican migrants were admitted to work under contract as surrogates for Americans overseas (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). At the end of the 1920s, however, the nativist movement in the United States that had previously mostly affected European and Asian immigration extended to Mexican immigrants (Wilson, 2000). As a result, between 1928 and 1929, the United States significantly curtailed migration from Mexico, resulting in an influx reduction of approximately 75 percent (Wilson, 2000). Anti-immigrant sentiment also rose in tandem with the advent of the Great Depression, as Mexican immigrants were increasingly blamed for America's economic troubles (Wilson, 2000). Ultimately, shifts in

public opinion and policy, and a declining U.S. economy led to the mass deportation of an estimated 400,000 to 1,000,000 Mexican immigrants (Wilson, 2000). This, combined with voluntary departures for immigrants due to a dwindling labor market, made the 1930s the only decade in the 20th century in which migration between Mexico and the United States mostly consisted of Mexican natives returning home (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011).

Latin American Immigration: Post World War II (WWII)

The United States' preparations for entry into WWII catalyzed a second surge of Mexican migration. Concerns over increased agricultural production demands and labor shortages, combined with concomitant concern over the low supply of Mexican laborers engendered in the 1930s, resulted in the inception of the Bracero Program (Tamayo, 1999). Formally known as the Mexican Farm Labor Program, the Bracero Program was a migrant guest worker program that ran from 1942 and 1964 (Calavita, 1992). Over its 22-year existence, it is credited with sponsoring approximately 4.8 million total U.S. border crossings for Mexican migrants. While this grand total represents multiple return trips made by single individuals, the surge of Mexican immigration sparked by the Bracero program was nonetheless massive. The average amount of program contracts issued by the United States reached its apex at over 400,000, and today the roots of millions of Mexican Americans can be traced to ancestors that arrived to the United States as Braceros (Durand & Massey, 2010; Rosenblum & Brick, 2011).

The Bracero Program was created as a wartime arrangement, and was to be terminated in 1947, two-years after the cessation of WWII. Fearing the consequences of labor shortages during the postwar economic boom, however, U.S. farmworkers pressured the government into continuing the program. Despite this continuation, the number of legal Braceros was insufficient with regards to meeting U.S. agricultural demands. To supplement the resultant labor shortages, U.S. citizens in the agriculture industry fervently recruited unauthorized Mexican farmworkers,

and unauthorized Mexican immigrants soon became a fixture of the U.S. agricultural system (Durand & Massey, 2010; Rosenblum & Brick, 2011).

U.S. citizens eventually responded to the increased presence of unauthorized Mexican immigrants with heightened anti-immigrant sentiment (Wilson, 2000). In 1954, the U.S. government responded with "Operation Wetback," during which nearly one million unauthorized Mexican laborers were forcibly removed (Wilson, 2000). This operation drew harsh criticism from the U.S. agricultural industry, who suddenly found itself without sufficient labor to meet demands (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). Ironically, the federal response to this criticism was to mandate that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) reprocess many of the unauthorized Mexican workers that were removed, and return them to the United States as legal Braceros (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011).

Persuaded by worker-rights advocates that viewed the Bracero program as exploitative of Mexican workers, the Kennedy administration under Lyndon Johnson ended the program in 1964 (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). In its wake, the Bracero program left a significant impact on the migratory relationship between the United States and Mexico. Demand for low-wage foreign workers came to dominate the U.S. agricultural sector, and entire Mexican communities came to rely on meeting this demand as their primary source of income (Durand & Massey, 2010; Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). An industry of labor contractors emerged in both Mexico and the United States to facilitate the confluence of Mexican workers and U.S. employers in need. Soon, migration became entrenched in an economic and social structure composed of migrant-sending communities in Mexico, and migrant-receiving communities in the United States (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2003).

Latin American Immigration: 1965 - Current

In 1965 the Hart-Cellar Act set the stage for current U.S. immigration policy by ending

the race-based national-origins quota system and replacing it with a categorical preference system that favored (a) relatives of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents, and (b) immigrants with skills deemed particularly useful to the United States (Casas & Cabrera, 2012). The outcome of these changes was a significant increase in immigrants from Mexico, and the introduction of migration from other Latin American nations including Guatemala (Casas & Cabrera, 2012). According to Rosenblum and Brick (2011), the Hart-Cellar act is also known for additional contributions to the rise of contemporary unauthorized immigration in the United States. As discussed earlier, the ending of the Bracero Program removed a major pathway by which Mexican laborers were able to enter the United States legally. Mexican migrant farm workers' ability to support themselves and their families was severely compromised, and the U.S. agricultural system, long supported by Mexican labor, was left unable to meet labor demands. As the symbiotic relationship between migrant worker and industry persisted, Mexican migrant workers increasingly began to enter the United States in spite of the newly absent legal conduit, and U.S. agricultural representatives encouraged such entry. At roughly the same time, the inflexible per-country immigration caps put in place by the Hart Cellar Act meant that Mexican immigrants were subjected to numerical limits on immigration for the first time (Casas & Cabrera, 2012). Additionally, since the Hart-Cellar Act gave preference to families seeking to be reunited with relatives within reasonable time frames over employers in need of foreign workers, long waiting lists developed for those seeking work and other non-family related visas. Moreover, the new preference system was dissonant with needs created by stark economic declines in Mexico and civil wars in many Central American nations. Finally, the above problems were exacerbated by existing legislation passed in 1952 that exempted businesses that hired unauthorized immigrants from legal liability, despite making it illegal to aid or harbor unauthorized immigrants (Wilson, 2000; Casas & Cabrera, 2012).

The influx of both authorized and unauthorized immigrants from Latin America grew exponentially over the two decades following the 1965 Hart Cellar Act (Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). According to Casas and Cabrera (2012), this influx was paralleled by a significant rise in anti-immigrant sentiment within the U.S. populace. Driven by the public's reaction and a challenging economic climate in the United States, federal and state legislation shifted to focus on the removal of unauthorized Latino immigrants and the augmentation of border control efforts.

In 1986, congress enacted the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) to enhance immigration enforcement through two separate classes of measures: sanctions for employers that knowingly hire or recruit unauthorized immigrants, and border fortification and militarization. In addition, IRCA was meant to re-zero the proportion of unauthorized immigrants through two amnesty programs. First, the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Amnesty Program gave unauthorized immigrants with at least 90 days experience in certain agricultural jobs permission to apply for permanent resident status. Second, the Legally Authorized Workers Amnesty Program permitted unauthorized aliens residing in the United States since 1982 to legalize their status. The combined result of both programs was that approximately 2.7 million unauthorized immigrants were granted amnesty and became lawful permanent residents (Casas & Cabrera, 2012).

Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez (2008) provide a detailed summary of federal legislation enacted after IRCA that shaped contemporary U.S. deportation policy. In 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) were enacted in the midst of a presidential election that was focused on immigration and crime control. The AEDPA is noted for having abolished most forms of judicial review for all categories of immigrants determined eligible for deportation. Prior to 1996, orders for deportation were normally subject to review by an immigration judge with the authority to waive deportation in cases where U.S. family members of immigrants were

determined to be at risk for subsequent hardship. The IIRIRA raised the waiver requirement to "exceptional and extremely unusual hardship," the criteria for which are considered exceedingly difficult to meet (Cervantes, Mejía, & Guerrero Mena, 2010). In addition, the IIRIRA extended the population of immigrants subjected to detention and deportation proceedings to include those caught attempting to enter the United States without proper documentation. Prior to the enactment of IIRIRA, most unauthorized immigrants lacking proper documentation at U.S. ports of entry were given the opportunity to return home voluntarily (Abriel, 1998).

Next, since aggravated felonies had historically been the principal cause for an immigrant's removal, the IIRIRA broadened the number of aggravated felonies warranting deportation. In conjunction, the IIRIRA also included provisions for the retroactive deportation of immigrants that had committed an offense that was newly classified as an aggravated felony, but was not classified as such at the time of the offense. In summary, Hagan, Esbach, and Rodriguez (2008) contend that, regardless of the severity of crimes committed by immigrants, the IIRIRA and AEDPA served to remove a judicial review process that protected them from deportation, thereby restricting immigrants' due process and eliminating the possibility of relief for those with family residing legally in the United States.

In 2001, the U.S. PATRIOT Act was enacted to support the indefinite detention and deportation of immigrants who are suspected of acts of terrorism (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). A year later, the Homeland Security Act of 2002 established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and restructured the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agency to include the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, responsible for immigration- and naturalization-related services (Pham, 2004). Since then, border enforcement has been divided between two bureaus: the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection, and the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In September 2001, U.S. President

George W. Bush and Mexican President Vicente Fox were close to reaching an agreement on major bilateral immigration reform that would alleviate many of the harsh restrictions described above (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). However, the terrorist attacks of September 11th interrupted these negotiations, and prompted the United States to pass additional laws that instead focused on stricter immigration enforcement (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008).

Changes in U.S. immigration policy beginning with the 1996 IIRIRA have had dire consequences on the lives of immigrant Latinos in the United States (Kanstroom, 2007), including a drastic increase in yearly deportations. For virtually the entirety of the 20th century, the number of annual deportations was stable at approximately 20,000 per year (Kanstroom, 2007). Beginning in 1996, however, the average number of annual Latino immigrant deportations exploded, reaching 180,000 by 2005 (Kanstroom, 2007). The current picture gives no indication that this trend has stalled. In 2011, for instance, more than 391,953 Latino immigrants were ordered removed from the United States via deportation (DHS, 2011). Interestingly, however, this recent increase in deportations has not been shown to ward off undocumented immigration to the United States. Most recently, rumors in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, that children will be granted permission to stay in the United States once they cross the border, prompted thousands of unaccompanied minors to emigrate from these Central American countries with the goal of reuniting with family and/or fleeing dire economic conditions, and escalating gang violence (Bennett, 2014). This unprecedented wave of unaccompanied minors has resulted in intense legislative debate over whether and how to accelerate the U.S. deportation process for children (Kuhnhenn, 2014).

Guatemalans and Guatemalan Immigration

With an estimated 14,647,083 inhabitants, Guatemala is the most populous nation in Central America (CIA World Factbook, 2014). Its population can be divided into two primary

ethnic groups (Falbo & De Baessa, 2006); Ladino and Amerindian Indigenous. According to the CIA World Fact Book (2014) approximately 59 percent of Guatemalans are Ladino, an analogue for Mestizo and Criollo that is used to describe individuals that descend from a blend of indigenous Amerindian and European ancestry. Approximately 40 percent of the population is comprised of members of Amerindian ethnic groups; these are numerous and include the K'iche' (9.1%), Kaqchikel (8.4%), Mam (7.9%), Q'eqchi (6.3%), and other Mayan groups (8.6%).

Guatemala's official language, Spanish, is spoken as a first or second language by 93 percent of the Guatemalan population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). However, twenty-one Mayan languages are also spoken by Guatemalans (Helmberger, 2006). There are also two non-Mayan languages spoken: Garifuna, an Arawakan language, is spoken by African descendants on the Caribbean coast; Xinca, is spoken in southern Guatemala along the Salvadoran border, and has no demonstrated affiliations with other language families (Helmberger, 2006). Two commonalities emerge from this linguistic diversity: First, neither fluency nor facility in Spanish is universal in Guatemala. Second, it is common that Guatemala citizens speak at least two languages, especially among the nation's indigenous population (Richards & Richards, 1997).

A striking history of oppression, exploitation, and discrimination has created a rift between Guatemala's Ladino and Indigenous populations. The Guatemalan Civil War, for example, was characterized by genocide against the Mayan population and the destruction and displacement of Indigenous communities. Records kept by the Guatemalan army, for example, indicate that its operations destroyed 440 highlands Mayan villages between 1981 and 1983 alone (Steinberg, Height, Mosher, & Bampton, 2006). Additionally, according to the Commission for Historical Clarification (1999), eighty-three percent of the more than 200,000 people killed over the course of the war are considered to have been indigenous Mayans.

Since peace accords ended the Guatemalan Civil War, sustained economic expansion, marked by an increased focus on mining and hydroelectric power, has provoked continued exploitation and impoverishment of indigenous Guatemalans (Fulmer, 2008). As such, today's indigenous Guatemalans differ greatly in socioeconomic prosperity from the general population; Ladinos dominate the commercial and political sector, while the indigenous by-and-large live in poverty. For the most part, this disparity is largely ignored by Ladino Guatemalans, who instead ascribe indigenous groups' poverty to their cultural and biological inferiority (Casaus Arzu, 1999; Nelson, 1998).

Guatemalan Migration to the United States

The U.S. Census Bureau did not keep separate immigration statistics for the nations of Central America until 1960. However, it is likely that the population of Guatemalan immigrants was small before this time, as it was reported at approximately 5,381 Guatemalans lived in the United States in 1960, and 17,356 in 1970 (Gibson & Lennon, 1999). Moreover, historians note that the general Central American immigrant population in the United States prior to 1980 was small and insignificant enough to be mistaken for the larger Mexican immigrant population (Menjivar, 2006).

The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed a massive increase in the arrival of immigrants from Central America including Guatemala. By far, the principal driving force was armed conflict in the region, including civil war in El Salvador (1980-1992), Nicaragua (1979-1990), and Guatemala (1960-1996; Rosenblum & Brick, 2011). Guatemala's 36-year civil war was particularly brutal, resulting in the death or disappearance of 200,000 individuals (Smith, 2006). Over 400,000 more left Guatemala in search of safety in neighboring Mexico and other foreign countries (Smith, 2006). Among the numerous Guatemalans in search of safe haven, many migrated to the United States, which emerged as a preferred destination due to the number of

family and friends of refugees that were already established as legal residents or citizens within its borders (Menjivar, 2006).

The 1980s' influx of Guatemalan immigrants is unique in relation to how it was received by the U.S. government (Menjivar, 2006). Although a primary principle of U.S. immigration policy is to provide refuge for individuals at risk for persecution in their homeland (Congressional Budget Office, 2006), it failed to abide by this principle in its response to Guatemalan immigrants seeking refugee status because they were fleeing persecution from a regime that the U.S. government supported (Menjivar, 2006). Essentially, the United States' foreign policy and its immigration policy were put at odds, the former trumped the latter, and most Guatemalans arriving in the United States were denied refugee status (Menjivar, 2006). Over the next several years, asylum applications from Guatemalans were routinely rejected by the U.S. government, despite its approval of more than 50 percent of applications from those fleeing countries like Nicaragua, whose governments the United States opposed (Smith, 2006).

Although denied asylum, many Guatemalan refugees remained in the United States as unauthorized immigrants (Smith, 2006). Through a progression of legal conduits, however, many were eventually able to legalize their immigration status. In 1986, for example, approximately 60,000 Guatemalans were granted residency under IRCA provisions that allowed unauthorized immigrants that had resided in the United States for a given amount of time to apply for legal permanent resident status (Smith, 2006). In 1991, the settlement of the American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh (ABC) class-action lawsuit allowed refugees residing in the United States as undocumented immigrants to reapply for asylum. Finally, in 1997, the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) allowed both Guatemalans and Salvadorans protected under ABC to apply for permanent residency in the United States (Smith, 2006).

After the Guatemalan civil war ended in 1996, Guatemalan immigrants newly entering the United States were no longer eligible for refugee status. Sørensen (2010) notes that post conflict migration is generally considered distinct from earlier refugee movements because it is primarily economically driven (Sørensen, 2010). However, Sorensen notes further that pre- and post- conflict immigrants have similar motivations that are predicated on their countries of origin; the lack of opportunity for personal growth and development, violent crime, stagnant social mobility and employment opportunities, and the need for alternative means for sustenance. Indeed, Guatemala continues to be burdened with economic and social problems despite the cessation of its civil war, and these are noted as principal motivators for its citizens' migration to the United States (Sørensen, 2010). In 2011, Guatemala's per capita gross net income (GNI) was $4,167, under half the combined average GNI of all other Latin American and Caribbean nations (UNDP, 2012). The United Nations Development Programme (2012) reports that Guatemalan youth, constituting 70 percent of its population, face malnutrition, illiteracy, low levels of education, and unemployment or informal employment; all of which limit the ability to exercise their citizenship, and all of which contribute to violence and migration. In addition, Guatemala has one of the highest murder rates in the world. Guatemala City in particular is noted for having a homicide rate higher than that of other cities with high rates of violence (Sørensen, 2010). For example, in 2010 there were 116.6 homicides per 100,000 persons in Guatemala City, compared with 23 per 100,000 in Bogotá (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2003). Many murder victims in Guatemala are killed amidst the rampant gang violence that has developed in the country and in Central America in general over the past decades (Smith, 2006). An estimated 8,000-14,000 gang members reside in Guatemala. The gangs they belong to, such as Mara Salvatrucha (MS-15), are noted for violent turf wars with rival gangs, and for committing a broad variety of crimes including robbery, extortion, drug dealing, drug and human trafficking,

and murder. Making matters worse, the U.S. State Department reports that more than 96 percent of all Guatemalan crimes go unpunished (Brice, 2011).

Because of these obstacles, Guatemalans continue to immigrate to the United States in search of improved lives (Sørensen, 2010). For instance, the United States granted 610,189 Central American immigrants legal permanent resident status from 1990 to 2000 (DHS, 2011). Another 591,130 were granted this status from 2000 to 2011 (DHS, 2011). Moreover, the population of unauthorized Guatemalan immigrants in the United States increased almost two-fold between 2000-2011 to an estimated 520,000; ranking Guatemala as the third largest source of unauthorized immigrants in the United States (PHC, 2010). In summary, approximately 10 percent (1,200,000) of all Guatemalans live abroad, and ninety-seven percent of these reside in the United States (IOM, 2010). Remittances sent home by migrant workers account for 12 percent of Guatemala's Gross National Product (IOM, 2010).

Current United States Immigration Policy

Current U.S. immigration policy has four principal goals (CBO, 2006). Its first goal is to reunite families of U.S. citizens by accepting immigrant relatives. The second goal is to bolster the workforce by admitting both workers with exceptional skill and expertise, and by admitting workers specific to occupational sectors experiencing employment shortages. Third, U.S. immigration policy seeks to provide refuge for individuals at risk for political, racial, or religious persecution by entities in their homeland. And fourth, it seeks to promote diversity within the U.S. populace by admitting natives of countries with historically low rates of immigration.

Becoming an Immigrant

There are two distinct paths by which noncitizens, termed "aliens," are lawfully admitted to the United States (CBO, 2006). On the first path, aliens gain permanent admission by being granted lawful permanent resident (LPR) status. Aliens with LPR status are formally classified as

"immigrants" under U.S. immigration law. They receive a permanent resident card, unofficially called a "green card", are eligible to work in the United States, and may later apply for U.S. citizenship. The second path of admission is temporary admission. This involves entry to the United States for a specific purpose and a limited period of time. Under U.S. immigration law, aliens granted temporary admission are classified as "non-immigrants" and issued a visa. Visas may be granted for a variety of purposes including education, temporary work, diplomatic missions, and tourism. Non-immigrants are not eligible for citizenship through naturalization. Those wishing to remain in the United States permanently must apply for LPR status.

Immigration Law Enforcement and Deportation Procedures

According to Hall (2010), law enforcement officials apprehend (arrest) unauthorized immigrants for one of two reasons. They may be arrested solely for immigration violations, which lead to their detention in an U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) facility. Law enforcement officials may also arrest unauthorized immigrants for criminal violations.

Aliens that are found in violation of U.S. immigration laws face three paths: formal removal, voluntary departure, and expedited removal (CBO, 2006). Formal removal proceedings are directed by an immigration judge and may result in deportation or an adjustment of immigration status. Penalties are commonly associated with formal removal, and may include imprisonment, fines, and being barred from future legal entry to the United States. Voluntary departure may be offered to non-criminal, unauthorized aliens in lieu of formal removal. If an alien opts for voluntary departure, he or she must concede to being in the country illegally, and agree to a witnessed departure from the United States within a specific frame of time that varies from case to case. While they are not barred from seeking legal admission to the United States in the future, failure to leave the United States within the mandated time-frame results in numerous consequences, including a monetary fine of up to $5,000 and being barred from several

important steps towards naturalization for 10 years. A third removal option, expedited removal, was introduced in 1997 for immigrants that enter the country illegally. Those subjected to expedited removal may be removed without judicial hearing or review if they are deemed inadmissible to the United States due to a lack of appropriate documentation, or due having committed acts that are considered fraudulent or misrepresentative (Hall, 2010).

Violations of immigration laws are officially considered civil, as opposed to criminal offenses in the United States (Androff et al., 2011). Consequently, the U.S. Supreme Court does not consider deportation to be punishment, and it has not been considered as such since 1893 (Bleichmar, 1999). Moreover, legal analysts contend that detained immigrants have substantive due process rights that entitle them to certain basic necessities and protections from confinement under punitive conditions (Papst, 2009). While immigration enforcement policy has historically observed these distinctions, recent changes have promoted the criminalization of immigration offenses (Androff et al., 2011). For example, recent changes to the tactics used to thwart immigration law offenses have focused on the methods in which immigrants attempt to enter and remain in the United States, such as the use of false social security numbers and other forms of identification (Androff et al., 2011). These new efforts have allowed law enforcement officials to effectively criminalize violations of civil immigration laws (Androff et al., 2011). For example, immigrants arrested for using means false identification are typically arraigned on criminal charges such as identity theft.

Similar to the above, beginning in 2002, the United States deviated from international human rights standards by beginning to use prison-like facilities for the detention of unauthorized immigrants (Acer & Goodman, 2010). According to a policy analysis, this practice violates detained immigrants' rights under the Fifth Amendment Due Process Clause (Papst, 2009). Alarmingly, the use of these prison-like detention facilities extends beyond adults to

include children, as evidenced by the treatment of the 57,525 unaccompanied immigrant children from Central America who were apprehended and detained between October 1, 2013 and June 30, 2014 (American Immigration Council, 2014).

The literature strongly suggests that the criminalization of immigration law violations is unfounded. Immigration to a given city in the United States has not been shown to increase its crime rate; in some cases, aspects of immigration have been shown to decrease crime (Reid, Weiss, Adelman, & Jaret, 2005; Sampson, Morenoff, & Raudenbush, 2005). However, perhaps due in part to the above changes to immigration policy enforcement, the terms "illegal alien" and "illegal immigrant," are in rampant use in contemporary U.S. discourse, suggesting the *de facto* criminalization of those who violated its immigration laws (Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011). In order to avoid committing the errors, and in an effort to shift discourse on immigration away from the context of criminalization, the term "unauthorized immigrant" is used herein (see Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011). Androff et al. (2011) recommend that the use of the term "illegal immigrant" be abandoned for the term "undocumented immigrant." However, the use of "unauthorized", both eschews criminal connotations, and recognizes the fact that many seeking permission to legally reside in the United States possess some form of documentation as they await a formal legal decision on their status (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

The Deportation and Repatriation of Guatemalan Immigrants

Changes to immigration policy made by the U.S. government beginning with the 1996 IIRIRA have resulted in a drastic increase in deportations of immigrants to Guatemala and its Central American neighbors. The impact has been such that Central America, once defined as a region of emigration, transit, and destination for immigrants, is now defined as a recipient of deported nationals (Sørensen, 2010). For Guatemalan immigrants, the number of those deported

from the United States increased from 2,076 in 1996, to 30,313 in 2011 (DHS, 2011), representing a 1,500 percent increase over 7 years. Since issues driving emigration from Guatemala have not improved, the majority of deported Guatemalans attempt to return to the United States in spite of the safety risks involved, and despite the fact that getting caught may result in a felony conviction that carries a penalty of up to 20 years in prison (Sørensen, 2010).

Little infrastructure exists to support deported Guatemalan immigrants that decide to remain in their native country and repatriate. Two Guatemalan legislation initiatives reportedly work together to protect the human rights of returning migrants: the Social Development Act of 2001 and the 2002 State Policy on Social and Population Development (Sørensen, 2010). As of 2009, however, a medical check, one free phone call, and transportation to the Central Bus Terminal in Guatemala City were the only services provided by the Guatemalan government to citizens returning home after being deported (Sørensen, 2010). With this being said, extra-governmental repatriation support programs have emerged in recent years, albeit few. One such program is the Guatemalan Repatriates Project (GRP) run by the Guatemalan office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Initiated in 2010, this program works to assist returning Guatemalan deportees with repatriation through the provision of technical assistance, goods, and supportive services including psychosocial crisis intervention to deportees (IOM, 2010). In addition, the GRP works to protect the human rights of Guatemalan deportees, with special attention paid to disabled and/or unaccompanied minor deportees, and victims of human trafficking (IOM, 2010).

Immigrant Psychological Distress

Many studies have shown that immigrants do not experience a greater degree of psychosocial distress than host country citizens in spite of the hardships they endure during migration to the United States (Alegría, Canino, Stinson, & Grant, 2006; Escobar, 1998).

Specifically, immigrants have demonstrated adaptive responses to trauma from abuse and natural disasters (Boscarino & Adams, 2009; Jenkins & Cofresi, 1998), and lower instances of substance abuse (Lindenberg et al., 1994), risky sexual behavior (Lindenberg et al., 2002), and depression (Heilemann, Frutos, Lee, & Kury, 2004; Heilemann, Lee, & Kury, 2002). First-generation immigrant populations also demonstrate better performance on a variety of physical health outcomes (Morales, Lara, Kington, Valdez, & Escarce, 2002), behavioral health outcomes (Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005; Takeuchi, Hong, Gile, & Alegría, 2007), and educational outcomes (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004). Numerous studies have shown that this phenomenon, known as the immigrant health paradox (aka, "epidemiological paradox" or "Latino paradox"), affects Latin American immigrants (Razum & Twardella, 2002; Takeuchi et al., 2007). In part, this is thought to be due to these immigrants being more resilient and optimistic about the future, and more willing to take risks. Research has shown that Mexican immigrants, for example, arrive in the United States with a strong sense of hope and self-determination. In spite of significant challenges, they remain optimistic that their lives in the host country will offer them greater opportunities in comparison with what is available in Mexico (APA, 2012).

The immigrant paradox notwithstanding, the literature also suggests that the U.S. immigrant population is generally vulnerable to poor psychosocial outcomes, and that this vulnerability increases over time (Aday, 2001). Specific contributors include poverty, discrimination and prejudice, migration-related separation from family, prior exposure to traumatic events, occupational difficulties, low levels of education, low levels of English language ability, and unauthorized immigrant status (Pitkin-DeRose, Escarce, & Lurie, 2007). Thus, immigrant status does not guarantee immunity from psychological difficulties. In fact, immigrants in the United States over time have been shown to experience an array of

psychological problems including anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, substance abuse, and higher prevalence rates of suicidal ideation and severe mental illness (Desjarlais, Eisenberg, Goode, & Kleinman, 1995; Duldulao, Takeuchi & Hong, 2009). Immigrants affected by deportation may be especially vulnerable to psychological distress. As discussed below, important socioeconomic consequences like family separation commonly follow, which can in turn lead to substantial negative psychosocial outcomes.

Deportation-Imposed Family Separation, Familismo, and Psychological Distress

While scholars across disciplines have acknowledged the need for research on the impact of deportation policies and practices on deported immigrants (e.g., Capps & Fortuny, 2006; Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008), many have recognized a parallel dearth of such literature (e.g., Brouwer et al., 2009; Dreby, 2012). Indeed, few empirical studies have investigated what transpires when immigrants' fear of deportation is realized, and they are removed from the United States (Brabeck & Xu, 2010).

Extant investigations on deportation suggest that the experience of deportation is fraught with hardship (Brouwer, et al., 2009; Hagan, Rodriguez & Castro, 2011). For example, some studies have shown that Latino immigrants in the United States commonly fear deportation, regardless of immigration status and country of origin, (Arbona et al., 2010; Valdez, Padilla, & Lewis-Valentine, 2013). The psychological toll of this fear appears to be profound. For example, a literature review conducted by Segal and Mayadas (2005) suggested that deportation fear contributes to heightened distrust of local officials by Latino immigrants in general. Moreover, quantitative and qualitative studies have identified deportation fear as a significant contributor to psychological distress for Latino immigrants from a broad range of Latin American nations including Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Spitznagel, 2007; Dreby, 2012; Hagan, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2010;

Menjivar, 2011; Salgado-de-Snyder, Cervantes, & Padilla, 1990). Some, for instance, have shown that deportaton increases anxiety via increased vigilance of legal status within Mexican immigrant communities (Hagan, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2010) and Guatemalan, Honduran, and Salvadoran communities (Menjivar, 2011). Finally, in an quantitative investigation on the relationship between the fear of deportation and psychological distress, immigration-related stress, and subjective health status on a sample of primarily Mexican immigrants (88%), participants that expressed fears related to deportation were significantly more likely to report distress than those who were not concerned with deportation (Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Sptiznagel, 2007). For immigration-related stress, those concerned with deportation reported significantly more extra-familial stress, or stress from sources outside of the family (e.g., occupational stress). And finally, concern over deportation significantly predicted poor subjective health status (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007).

The threat of deportation compounds stress for unauthorized immigrants by increasing their reluctance to access important resources. In the Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, and Spitznagel (2007) study described above, thirty-nine percent of participants reported that their fear of deportation resulted in choices to abstain from visiting social service and governmental agencies. Other studies have found similar results for immigrants' involvement in schools and churches, and their use of medical care facilities, social service organizations and public places in general (Capps et al., 2011; Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008; Rodriguez & Hagan 2004). Even when the potential benefactors of such services are children that are U.S. citizens, parents, if they are unauthorized immigrants, may avoid using important services for which their children are eligible out of the fear that seeking help will put them at risk for deportation (Capps, 2005, Valdez, Padilla, & Lewis Valentine, 2013). Dreby (2012) sheds light on these trends by suggesting Latino immigrants' fear of deportation is at least partially related to an underlying

fear of deportation-imposed parent-child separation. This special type of family separation, and its meaning in relation to psychological distress, is discussed below.

Deportation-Imposed Family Separation

Immigrants that are deported from the United States are commonly separated from family members (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008; Parker, 2007). In the first decade of deportations in accordance with the 1996 changes to immigration legislation (i.e., IIRIRA; AEDPA), an estimated 1.6 million, primarily Latino, immigrants were separated from family members remaining in the United States (Parker, 2007). In addition, an estimated 100,000 immigrant parents of U.S. citizen children were deported from the United States between the year 2000 and 2010 (Dreby, 2012).

General migration-related family separation negatively impacts the psychological functioning of those affected. Affected children and adolescents are more likely to report depressive symptoms (Jones, Sharpe, & Sogren, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002), as well as academic and behavioral difficulties, grief and loss, and decreased self-esteem (Jones, Sharpe, & Sogren, 2004). Parents separated from their families by migration have been shown to experience anxiety, sadness, guilt, and loneliness (Jones, Sharpe, & Sogren, 2004). In particular, Latina immigrant women separated from their children due to migration experienced higher rates of clinical depression than those living with their children and those without children (Miranda et al., 2005).

Families separated by deportation may face consequences that are similar to those experienced by families separated by migration. Moreover, it is suggested that the fear of deportation observed among Latino immigrants is at least partially related to an underlying fear of deportation-imposed parent-child separation (Dreby, 2012). A study conducted in Texas, for example, found that immigrants commonly express their fear of deportation by voicing concerns

over the possibility of separation from family members and friends (Talavera, Nuñez-Mchiri, & Heyman, 2010). Unfortunately, little research has investigated family separation by deportation in comparison with voluntary migration-related family separations. From the studies that have been conducted, researchers appear to agree that deportation-imposed family separation is likely associated with poor outcomes for affected parents and children, as well as negative economic consequences for the family. The NCLR (Capps et al., 2007), for example, conducted a qualitative investigation of the aftermath of three workplace raids that resulted in separation of 506 children from their parents. The results showed that the principal factor affecting the separated children was trauma induced by parent-child separation. Additional effects found for deportation-imposed separation included anxiety, a sense of insecurity, feelings of abandonment, and anger towards parents. Significant behavioral changes were also noted, including increased aggression, social withdrawal, changes in eating patterns, and difficulties falling asleep and staying asleep through the night.

In a follow-up to the above NCLR study, Chaudry et al. (2010) conducted two rounds of interviews with participants from the same sample; one at three months after the raids, and another at nine months after the raids. Their findings revealed that behavioral changes and psychosocial difficulties continued to affect participants at both follow-up time points. The study also revealed that households separated by detention and deportation experienced significant financial difficulties, leading to housing instability and insufficient resources like food and healthcare. While the affected participants received assistance from family and friends, such informal support often proved insufficient. More than half the families studied relied on private or public institutional support to sustain the household, including food, rent, and utility assistance (Chaudry et al., 2010).

In the legal context, Hall (2010) contends that laws designed to protect children unjustly

serve immigrant families by increasing the likelihood that detained unauthorized immigrants' parental rights will be terminated. In particular, Hall (2010) highlights the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 (ASFA), which requires the commencement of termination proceedings against parents with a child or children that have been in foster care for fifteen of the last twenty-two months. When a child is placed into foster care due to the arrest of an unauthorized immigrant parent, the parent is likely unable to meet this requirement due to obstacles that increase the duration of immigration-related detention (Littlefield, 2005). Unauthorized immigrants are often held pending deportation for months, and in some cases for years (Hall, 2010). Moreover, they are frequently transferred to different facilities, often in different states, thereby precluding their ability to meet the requirements of regaining custody of their children (Hall, 2010).

The consequences of deportation-related family separation may be more severe than those faced by family members that choose to live apart during migration. First, deportees are often barred from returning to the United States for at least five years and sometimes permanently (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). Thus, deported immigrants are often left wondering when and if they will ever see the relatives that remain in the United States again (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). Next, deportation carries the appearance of punishment due to the intervention of law enforcement and subsequent prison-like detention of immigrants awaiting deportation hearings (Acer & Goodman, 2010). This has been shown to impose significant stressors on immigrant families via decreased family communication, and increases in stigmatization, economic hardship, and psychological symptoms (Chaudry et al., 2010).

Additional research on deportation-imposed family separation highlights the unique circumstances in which the deportation separates mixed status families, which are composed of at least one immigrant parent and at least one U.S.-born citizen child. Such separations appear to

be increasingly common. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2009) estimates that 108,434 immigrant parents of U.S.- born children were removed from the United States by deportation between 1997 and 2007. In the 2007 NCLR study cited previously, two thirds (66%) of children separated from their parents are thought to have been U.S. citizens, although citizenship data was only taken at one of the sites. Additionally, Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez (2008) reviewed the findings from 300 interviews with Salvadoran immigrants and found that many had experienced deportation-related separation from their U.S.-born children.

Mixed status families may be uniquely affected by family separation from deportation. U.S.-born children left behind after deportation are either cared for by relatives or placed in foster care (Bernstein & Rashbaum, 2005; Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008). Some researchers have found that psychological concerns and academic challenges follow (Segal & Mayadas, 2005). Baum, Jones, and Berry (2010) liken the removal of immigrant parents from their U.S. citizen children to the experience of children with incarcerated parents, who are likely to develop psychological disorders, exhibit academic and behavioral problems, experience increased risk of child abuse, and increased risk for health and psychological problems.

Deportation-imposed family separation is thought to contribute to dire consequences for those affected. To date, however, most research has focused on the costs incurred during detention and deportation proceedings. Accordingly, very little is known about the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress on deportees after they have been deported. A review of the scant literature on the subject suggests that familismo is a potential contributor, and the literature supporting this relationship is reviewed next.

Familismo and Psychological Distress

Familismo is a cultural value that reflects the centrality of the family unit, as demonstrated by strong identification with and attachment to immediate and extended relatives,

and a deep sense of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among family members (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Linsansky, & Chang, 1982; Zayas, 1992). Decades of investigation have garnered broad support for familismo as a core cultural value among Latinos regardless of nationality (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). For example, research has suggested that familismo is foundational to the family structures observed among Cubans (Bernal & Gutierrez, 1988), Mexican–Americans (Falicov, 1998), Puerto Ricans (Garcia-Preto, 1996), Central Americans (Hernandez, 1996), and South Americans (Korin, 1996). Familismo may be especially relevant for Guatemalan families, as it is founded on a collectivistic worldview that emphasizes familial interdependence and self-sacrifice for family goals (Bernal et al., 2006; Triandis & Trafimow, 2001), and past research has shown Guatemalans to be strongly oriented towards collectivism (Hofstede, 2001).

The theoretical background of familismo has varied since sociologists first described the construct in the mid 20th century (Heller, 1970). One of the earliest attempts at theoretically defining familismo was made by Burgess and Locke (1945), who presented it as a construct comprised of five elements: (1) robust in-group feelings, (2) focus on family goals, (3) common property, (4) reciprocal support, and (5) a need to preserve the well-being of the family. Over three decades later, Tamez (1981) conceptualized familismo as the obligation for family members to provide one another with emotional and material security, as well as the expectation that family members seek support from relatives as opposed to people outside the family. Finally, Sabogal et al. (1987) constructed a multi-component theory of familismo that they later confirmed using factor analysis. The first component, familial obligations, refers to family members' responsibility to provide economic and emotional support to the immediate and extended family. The second component, perceived support and emotional closeness, refers to

the importance of family unity and close relationships, as well as the perception of immediate and extended relatives as sources of support. The third factor, family as referents, refers to the notion that individual family members' behavior reflects the family in general, and should therefore meet the family's expectations.

More recent scholarship has generated support for a model of familismo composed of three dimensions: Structural, attitudinal, and behavioral (Coohey, 2001; Marín, 1986; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Structural familismo refers to the structural configuration of the family, including the size of the kinship network and the geographical proximity of relatives (Coohey, 2001; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1997). Attitudinal familismo refers to the three component model described by Sabogal et al. (1987), and reflects the beliefs and feelings that emphasize the importance of the family, including reciprocity, loyalty, and solidarity among relatives (Lugo Steidel, Contreras, & Contreras, 2003). Behavioral familismo refers to the behavioral manifestation of attitudinal familismo (Sabogal et al., 1987). Past research has described numerous observations of behavioral familismo among Latino families, including providing emotional and financial support, giving advice, engaging in recreational activities and other contact (e.g., visitations, phone calls), and seeking help with important tasks such as finding child care and employment (Lugo Steidel, 2006; Mindel, 1980).

Research findings suggest that familismo may be a protective factor among Latinos in relation to psychological distress. One study conducted with Mexican-origin adults, for example, examined the relationships between psychological distress, acculturation, and a model of familismo comprised of three-dimensions; importance of family, family support, and family conflict (Rodriguez, Mira, Paez, & Myers, 2007). The results indicated that high levels of family support predicted low levels of psychological distress, while high levels of family conflict combined with low levels of family support predicted elevated levels of psychological distress.

Additional research has shown that familismo predicts child psychological well-being (Harker, 2001), and fewer instances of child neglect and abuse (Coohey, 2001). Finally, research on Latino adolescents has shown that higher levels of familismo have been found to predict lower levels of both internalizing and externalizing disorders (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010; Castro & Alarcon, 2002; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009), and substance use and abuse (Castro & Alarcon, 2002; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2000; Unger et al., 2002).

Some research has suggested that factors associated with familismo predict psychological distress, however. For example, one study found that familismo predicts risky sexual behavior among Latina adolescent girls (Unger, 2000). Additionally, a qualitative study described familismo as a potential obstacle for women seeking help in leaving abusive situations (Acevedo, 2000). And finally, research on the well-being of Latinos caring for relatives with dementia has suggested that familismo, specifically the adherence to the family obligations factor, may contribute to higher levels of depression (Cox, 1995; Losada, et al., 2006).

In observance of the mixed findings on familismo, Cauce and Domenech-Rodriguez (2002) recommend that Latino family research endeavors focus on the conditions in which familismo and other core cultural values manifest as sources of resilience or risk. To date, however, very little research has been conducted along these lines, and no studies appear to have investigated the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation, behavioral familismo and psychological distress. Given that the importance of family within the Latino population is widely empirically supported (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Ho et al., 2004; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002; Villareal et al., 2005), and given that deportation so often separates Latino

immigrants from their families (Hagan, Eschbach, & Rodriguez, 2008; Parker, 2007), the absence of such research represents a significant gap in the literature.

The primary goal of this mixed methods study is to begin to fill this gap by investigating the relationship between family separation and psychological distress among Guatemalan immigrants deported from the United States, with a specific focus on the contribution of behavioral familismo. Structural familismo was not investigated given that it relates to the geographic proximity of relatives (Coohey, 2001; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1997), and the focus herein is on the deportation-imposed separation of Guatemalan immigrants, now residing in Guatemala, from their family members in the United States. Moreover, the behavioral dimensions are considered foundational psychological properties of the familismo construct (Villareal, 2005).

Theoretical Framework

While familismo in general may indeed be a protective factor for deportees separated from family, as discussed above, this study is guided by a theoretical framework that suggests behavioral familismo has a negative impact. Specifically, the theoretical framework for this study proposes that the degree to which deportation-imposed family separation predicts psychological distress is partially dependent on the change in behavioral familismo experienced by deportees.

Familismo is widely considered to be a core value within the broad population of Latinos, including Latino Immigrants in the United Sates (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). It follows naturally that behavioral familismo, or rather, acting on attitudinal familismo value by providing emotional, financial and other types of support would be of equal importance. Research has shown that Latinos that endorse high levels of familismo feel an obligation to protect the family unit by supporting nuclear and extended relatives by providing emotional

support (Sabogal et al., 1987). The same is true for deported Latino immigrants deported from the United States. One study, for example, showed that deported parents attempt to maintain their parental role in spite of being separated from family members by engaging in "transnational parenting", or rather, the fulfillment of their maternal or paternal role via telephone and internet-based communication (Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004; Bronfman et al., 2002). However, since deportees are often unable to plan for their deportation and possess limited socioeconomic resources (Bronfman et al., 2002), and since transnational communication is often either expensive or unfeasible, many deported immigrants are unable to manage long distance relationships and unable to provide emotional support in a way they find adequate as per familismo (Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004). Although a lack of communication may protect deportees from negative emotions by limiting their contact with loved ones, research has shown that it contributes to increased psychological distress (Bronfman et al., 2002; Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004).

In addition to the above, qualitative research has shown that Latino immigrant men choose to sacrifice their own well-being and comfort in order to fulfill the role of the family's economic provider (Dreby, 2010). When they are deported, however, they may acutely lack the economic resources necessary to continue this practice (Bronfman et al., 2002; Brouwer, 2009). Moreover, deportees' ability to generate income after deportation is often limited, as they have likely been returned to countries, like Guatemala, that are economically depressed and plagued with inadequate employment opportunities (Hagan, Rodriguez & Castro, 2011; Sørensen, 2010). Together, the decreased ability to provide family with support and the parallel mandate to provide such support per attitudinal familismo is likely to contribute to increased psychological distress. Dreby (2012) showed that deported Latino immigrant men reported feeling powerless and emasculated over not being able to fulfill the requirements of their breadwinner role, and

over their perception that they are an economic burden on their families. In addition, Losada et al. (2010) suggested that a strong desire to act on familismo beliefs and values (behavioral familismo) may promote psychological distress among those operating in contexts that preclude their ability to provide the type of family care they prescribe.

Further support for the idea that behavioral familismo contributes to the psychological distress caused by deportation-imposed family separation can be derived from the ABCX Framework of Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983). The Double ABCX model states that the response to a given event like deportation depends on an interaction between seven components: the initial stressor (A; deportation); the internal and external resources available to confront the initial stressor (B; behavioral familismo); the meaning ascribed to the stressor (C; behavioral familismo is a core cultural value); and the coping strategies employed in response to the stressor (BC); additional stressors that occur after the initial stressor (aA); expansions to the fund of family resources (bB); and changes in the meaning ascribed to the initial stressor (cC; Manning, Wainwright, & Bennett, 2011). The product of interactions between each of the variables in the Double ABCX model represents the person's level of adaptation (xX), an outcome that may be positive or negative depending on the nature of each contributing component (e.g., increased or decreased resources after the initial stressor; McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

Applying the phenomenon of deportation to the Double ABCX model, post-deportation decreases in behavioral familismo would likely hinder the deportees' ability to adapt to the initial stressor (A; deportation-imposed family separation) by limiting their resources (B). Given that existing theory and research strongly suggest that familismo is a core cultural value (Sabogal et al., 1987; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002), it is equally likely deportees to ascribe negative meaning to the initial stressor of deportation-imposed family separation, and

subsequently experience psychological distress, when they witness how their deportation has impacted their family's ability to cope emotionally and financially. Further justification of the role of behavioral familismo in the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress, per the Double ABCX model, is found below in the discussion of the study hypotheses.

Boss's (1999) theory of ambiguous loss lends additional support to the theoretical framework for this study. According to Boss (2004), ambiguous loss is ''a situation of unclear loss resulting from not knowing whether a loved one is dead or alive, absent or present'' (p. 554). The premise of ambiguous loss theory is that individuals become traumatized when they are uninformed on the status of a loved one from whom they are separated, and when they experience uncertainty over whether or not the loved one is to be considered absent or present in their life. The ambiguity that arises out of this context prevents their ability to grieve and otherwise cope with the lost relationship. Closure becomes impossible, and individuals forced to live within the dialectic of absence and presence in relation to the loved one or loved ones they have lost (Boss, 2006).

There are two distinct types of ambiguous loss (Boss, 1999). The first occurs when a relative is physically present yet psychologically absent in the family, as is often the case when a family member develops Alzheimer's disease or permanent brain injury. The second form occurs when a significant other is physically absent, but remains psychologically present in the family. It is this second type of loss that informs this study's theoretical framework. While deportation-imposed family separation physically removes deportees from their families in the United States, it is probable that they remain psychologically present in the daily lives of the loved ones they left behind. Ambiguous losses such as these contribute to psychological distress because they impede closure in people's lives (Boss, 1999). One can expect then that ambiguous loss

heightens the stress associated with behavioral familismo among deportees who have left family behind. As with the Double ABCX model, the theory of ambiguous loss suggests that behavioral familismo acts as a risk factor for psychological distress among immigrants who have experienced deportation-imposed family separation.

Summary, Research Questions, and Hypotheses

The current literature is characterized by a paucity of empirical investigation on deportation in general, and the specific experience of deported Latino immigrants. Nevertheless, a growing body of research suggests Latino immigrants experience psychological distress when they are deported and subsequently separated from relatives in the United States. Given the existence of copious support for the centrality of family within Latino culture, the research also suggests that changes to behaviors associated with familismo may contribute to post-deportation psychological distress among Guatemalan deportees. The goal of this mixed-methods study is to investigate these suggested relationships by exploring Guatemalan immigrants experience with deportation.

Questions and Hypotheses for the Quantitative Study

The quantitative component of this study investigates the relationship between deportation imposed family separation, post deportation changes to behavioral familismo, and psychological distress. It is guided by the following two questions and their associated hypotheses:

1. To what extent does deportation-imposed family separation predict psychological distress among Guatemalan immigrants deported from the United States?

   H1. Deportation-imposed family separation is predicted to be positively related to

Guatemalan deportees' levels of psychological distress, as assessed by self-report measures. As discussed above, the Double ABCX framework suggests that deportation-imposed family separation may engender psychological distress because it hinders deportees' ability to access resources necessary to mitigate the effects of the separation (B). In addition, the permanent or semi-permanent ban from the United States imposed by deportation, partnered with the constantly evolving state of U.S. immigration policy, may inhibit their ability to ascribe meaning to their separation from family (C). Next, they may lack the ability to cope with their separation from family members (BC) due to an inability to afford or otherwise access means of communicating with relatives. Finally, they are very likely experience to additional stressors post-deportation (aA), and the meaning of their separation from relatives is likely to evolve over time (bB).

2. To what extent does the level of behavioral familismo endorsed by deported Guatemalan immigrants interact with deportation-imposed family separation to influence their level of psychological distress?

H2. Post-deportation change in behavioral familismo reported by Guatemalan deportees is predicted to moderate the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress among deported Guatemalan immigrants. Specifically, higher levels of behavioral familismo will be associated with higher levels of psychological distress, as assessed by self-report measures. Research has shown that deported Latino immigrants struggle to provide emotional support (Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004) and financial support (Bronfman et al., 2002; Brouwer,

2009; Hagan, Rodriguez & Castro 2011) for their family members in the United States, leading to increased levels of psychological distress (Bronfman et al., 2002, Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004; Dreby, 2012). From the perspective of the Double ABCX model, such changes to behavioral familismo may contribute to increased psychological distress because they represent a decreased ability to access the internal and external resources available to confront the initial stressor, such as employment (B). Post-deportation changes to behavioral familismo may also contribute to additional stressors (aA) for deportees as they witness their inability to provide support for their relatives. Finally, decreases in deported Guatemalans' ability to provide may force their family to seek new sources of support (bB). Although adaptive, these efforts may in turn engender feelings of inadequacy, anger, and other contributors to psychological distress for the deportee. Compounding this process of adaptation is the fact that the interpersonal loss is ambiguous, in that family members are no longer together, yet they remain present psychologically for an extended period of time.

Questions for the Qualitative Study

The overarching goal of the qualitative component of this study is to explore deportees' subjective experience with deportation-imposed family separation, and how this experience unfolds over time. In order to support and help clarify findings from the quantitative data, focus is placed on inquiring about constructs related to familismo (e.g., the values and beliefs associated with familismo; the behavioral manifestation of these values and beliefs). Qualitative methods are noted as being especially useful with underrepresented populations, such as the deported Guatemalan immigrants under investigation herein. According to Yeh and Inmann

(2007), the self-reflection process involved in these methods facilitates the language, metaphors and shared experiences that highlight the relationship between participants and their culture.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

Introduction: Cultural and Ethical Considerations

Latino immigrants and other disenfranchised groups have long been exploited and mistreated in the United States (Halgunseth, 2003; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009), and there is evidence to suggest that this trend continues today (Halgunseth, 2003). Consequently, Latino immigrants commonly express "healthy paranoia" when interacting with researchers (Paniagua, 2005). For good reasons that tend to be self-protective, they are often skeptical of study purposes and researcher's intentions, and subsequently reluctant to enroll as study participants (Ojeda et al., 2010).

The Guatemalan deportees targeted for participation in this study may be especially likely to display healthy paranoia. First, it is likely that they had negative experiences with United States citizens during their deportation that were underscored by discrimination, exploitation and related injustices. Additionally, the researcher's interest in Latino immigrant families may cause individuals to worry that participation in the study will compromise their efforts reunite with relatives in the United States. Finally, Guatemalan deportees may also be wary of participation given the recently uncovered history of exploitation of Guatemalans by United States researchers. From 1946 to 1948 the U.S. Public Health Service conducted a series of experiments on the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases with antibiotics using approximately 1,500 Guatemalan soldiers, prostitutes, prisoners and mental health patients housed at Guatemala's National Mental Health Hospital (United States Department of Health & Human Services, 2010). As a function of these experiments, participants were unknowingly injected with gonorrhea and syphilis under the guise of administering a vaccination; many were encouraged to transmit their disease to others. Little is known about the aftermath of the experiments because the findings were never published. However, it is known is that they led to at least 83 deaths (DHS, 2010). In

2010, both Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and President Barack Obama issued formal apologies to Guatemalan President Alvaro Colom, who called the experiments "a crime against humanity". Despite these apologies, it is entirely possibly that Guatemalans are now more than ever suspicious of involvement in scientific research.

In order to prevent future exploitation of subjects representing disenfranchised populations, Ojeda et al. (2010) recommends that researchers emphasize the process of conducting research as much as the outcomes of the investigation. As the principal investigator of this study, I put forth great effort to follow this recommendation by taking multiple measures to protect the deported Guatemalan immigrants that chose to participate, as well as those who declined participation. In 2013, I moved to Guatemala for six months in order to conduct the study. Prior to data collection, however, I worked to become immersed in Guatemalan culture and improve on my written and spoken Spanish language abilities, with specific focus on learning Guatemalan regionalisms. Second, I dedicated time to culturally and linguistically adapting the measures for this study via consultation with Guatemalan university students. Third, in order to foster a deeper understanding of the context of this study, I kept a video journal that documented my impressions of and experience with Guatemalan culture, with specific attention paid to the context of Guatemalan immigration and families. Fourth, I volunteered time as a visiting lecturer for a research methodology course, and as a clinical supervisor for beginning therapists at the Universidad Francisco Marroquín (UFM) in Guatemala City; both of which were intended to amplify my understanding of psychology practice and research in Guatemala. Fifth, I developed relationships with local researchers, clinical practitioners, and other Guatemalan professionals; all of whom provided collaboration and guidance on the study procedures and considerations related to the cultural context of the study. And finally, through the above partnerships, I identified and visited Guatemalan communities known for both being

prominent sources of migrants and for having large populations of deportees. Within these communities, I forged relationships with community leaders, and enlisted their support as gatekeepers during participant recruitment.

In order to promote culturally competent data collection, I followed additional recommendations made by Ojeda et al. (2010). Through self-reflection and consultation with experts on Latino culture, I identified meaningful differences between my social status and that of participants and considered their impact on the study. First, I acknowledged that my social status was further distinguished and augmented by my role as a researcher from an American University and the fact that I was in Guatemala for the seemingly official purpose of conducting research; both of which likely revealed my high level of educational attainment and high socioeconomic background. Foremost, however, I acknowledged the fact that I differed from participants because I held the status of United States Citizen. This social distinction had eluded many study participants despite their desire to become citizens, and, for each, had contributed foundationally to the deportation and subsequent separation from family for each. Moreover, it commonly promotes feelings of inferiority among Latino immigrants because of the rights and entitlements that citizens enjoy (Abrego, 2011).

In addition to and perhaps a result of these differences in social status, I recognized that participants' experiences with United States citizens and institutions, both of which I represented, were likely fraught with discrimination, exploitation, and other negative factors. It is also likely that they considered me to be an agent of the United States with some official capacity given my professional reasons for visiting Guatemala. Consequently, at the outset of collecting data for the study, there was implicit risk that: (a) participants may be compelled by healthy paranoia to suppress the true nature of their experience with deportation because they feared consequences beyond their deportation; or (b) participants would perceive that I had the power to intervene on

their behalf and the behalf of their family in relation to their ban from the United States and imposed separation from their relatives.

Although these discrepancies in social status may have engendered mistrust of my study, it is highly probable that participants afforded me a high degree of respeto, a cultural value found in most collectivistic culture groups, including Latinos in general, that refers to the importance of issuing unconditional respect for and deference to authority figures (Ojeda et al., 2011). Consequently, it was probable that while some participants may have refused participation out of resentment for my social status, many others may have felt the need to participate out of respect and cultural obligation.

A number of measures were put into place in order to preempt the negative impact of the above factors on study participants and outcomes. For example, prior to beginning the study surveys and interviews, care was taken to develop trust and rapport with participants, and to review ethical considerations such as the right to decline participation. After this, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions about the study purpose, the intended use of the data and final publication, and the researcher's personal motivations for conducting the study. Finally, additional safeguards were put into place in order to mitigate the potential for harm engendered by feelings of inferiority and culturally-imposed coercion via respeto. First, I sought to empower participants by encouraging them to consider themselves as experts on their experience with deportation. I furthered my efforts to empower participants by enlisting their expertise during data collection in a variety of manners, including asking them for corroboration after summarizing their interview responses. Second, to the extent possible, I joined with participants. This was done by: (a) revealing my Latino ancestry and the fact that my great-grandfather was an unauthorized immigrant; (b) validating the importance of family within the Latino Culture; (c) disclosing both my disappointment with how the United States manages detention and

deportation and with the lack of resources and support for immigrants after they are deported; (d) creating a space that was respectful, empathic, validating, safe, and that if not intended to be therapeutic, might have been cathartic to participants; and (e) disclosing that my desire to use the current study as a means of carrying participants voices to the United States so that they may be heard.

Procedures

The Institutional Review Board at the University of Wisconsin – Madison (UW-IRB) first approved the study procedures prior to their implementation. Once approved by the UW-IRB and prior to any data collection, informed consent was obtained in writing. An incentive of 20 Quetzales (Guatemalan national currency; approximately USD $2.50) was offered to participants in the quantitative study. An additional incentive of 40 Quetzales (approximately USD $5.00) was offered to those who participated in the qualitative study.

This study involved collaboration with Dr. Yetilú de Baessa, head of the UFM department of psychology. Over the past few years, University of Wisconsin – Madison counseling psychology professor Dr. Stephen Quintana has forged a strong working relationship between the UFM and the University of Wisconsin – Madison, through which social justice and related counseling psychology research is conducted. Dr. Baesa helped identify communities in Guatemala that were appropriate for data collection due to having large populations of individuals deported from the United States. In the end, various neighborhoods within Guatemala City were targeted, along with two communities outside of the capitol; Sanarate and Puerto San Jose.

Consistent with recommendations by Villarruel, Jemmott, Jemmott, and Eakin (2006) prior to data collection, I recruited two community leaders to serve as gatekeepers for participant recruitment. One gate keeper was a small business owner in Sanarate. The other was a

maintenance man in Puerto San Jose who had years of experience working with local police. Both had an established and trusting relationship with the members of their respective communities. In order to facilitate relationship development with gatekeepers, I used self-disclosure to convey personal reasons for conducting the study. Ojeda et al. (2010) recommends using self-disclosure when research involves Latino immigrants and stakeholders because they highly value conversations and other opportunities that allow them to learn about the researcher as a person.

Once an adequate working relationship was developed with gatekeepers, participant recruitment began. For the quantitative study, gatekeepers introduced me to deportees in their community, and I informed them of the opportunity to participate in a paid study on deportation and families via the use of an IRB-approved script. Those who were interested provided verbal informed consent in either English or Spanish depending on their preference. The consent form was read aloud to participants that were illiterate or expressed difficulty with reading. Consent was obtained only after participants had the opportunity to ask questions and after it was determined that they understood the nature of the study and what was asked of them should they choose to participate.

The principal investigator read the study survey aloud to each participant and recorded his or her responses. After approximately half of the quantitative data was collected, those who indicated their willingness to participate in the qualitative study were scheduled in-person for an individual interview. To understand the differential role of behavioral familismo in participants' psychological distress, I recruited participants that endorsed varying types family separation (i.e., from a child, partner, and/or other family member). For the sake of protecting participants' rights, I restated the purpose of the interview during scheduling and reviewed informed consent for a second time prior to beginning the interview. However, interviewees were not required to

provide signed consent at this time.

The Interviews conducted for this study were approximately 45 minutes long. Given the multiple sites from which the qualitative data was collected, the settings in which the interviews were conducted varied. The majority of participants invited me into their homes, where the interview was subsequently conducted. Other interviews were conducted in private rooms at participants' places of employment after gaining permission from supervisors. Finally, others were conducted in public areas in the community offering enough privacy to maintain confidentiality. In one case, for example, a participant was interviewed in a farm field underneath a mango tree during his break.

Participant Demographics

Participants in the study were 71 adult native Guatemalans aged 24 to 61 years (M = 38.37, SD = 8.16). They identified primarily as male (n = 60; 85%) and the majority spoke Spanish (n = 51; 72%); however a strong minority did identify English as their primary language (n = 20; 28%). Ninety-four percent of the study participants identified as Latino (n = 67) and 4% identified as indigenous. The average level of education was 10 years (SD = 3.78, Range: 0 – 17 years) and 85% (n = 60) were employed. Sixty-nine percent (n = 49) were either married or in a civil union, eighteen percent (n = 13) were single, and 13% (n = 9) were either divorced or separated. Approximately 75% (n = 53) had children (M = 1.66; SD = 1.42; Range: 0 – 6 children).

Prior to deportation, participants reported that they had lived in the United States anywhere from 3 months to 37 years (M = 16 years; SD = 8.40). The time elapsed since participants were deported ranged from three months to six years (M = 3 years; SD = 1.5 years). The mean reported income in the United States, before being deported, was USD $2494.35 per month ($SD$ = 1130.13; Range: USD $800 – $5199.60 per month). The mean post-deportation

income in Guatemala was USD $494.18 (*SD* = USD $388.47; Range: USD $0 – $2083.33 per month). All participants (*N* = 71) were separated from at least one family member with whom they lived in the United States. Forty-six percent (*n* = 33) reported that they were separated from their children when they were deported. Fifty-one percent (*n* = 36) reported that they were separated from a partner and 61% (*n* = 43) reported that they were separated from another family member. Fifty-two percent of participants were separated from multiple family members (*n* = 37; e.g., from child and partner).

Measures

Quantitative data was collected using a survey comprised of a demographics questionnaire, a questionnaire on the details of participants' deportation (i.e., family separation), a standardized assessment of psychological distress, and a non-standardized measure of behavioral familismo. The English version of the questionnaire used for this study is found in Appendix C and the Spanish version is found in Appendix D.

Independent variable: Deportation-imposed family separation

Data on family separation was assessed using a single question that asks whether or not participants were separated from family as a result of having been deported, and from whom. The response categories for this question are: "from one child or more that I lived with," "from a spouse I lived with," and "from an extended family member I lived with." Participants were asked to mark all responses applicable to their experience with deportation-imposed family separation. Marking no items on this question indicates the absence of deportation-imposed family separation.

Moderator variable: Post-Deportation Change in Behavioral familismo

Behavioral familismo was measured using an assessment developed (Behavioral Familismo Change Scale; BFCS) by the principal investigator in consultation with Dr. Carmen

Valdez. To create the BFCS, selected items from two established attitudinal familismo measures were reworded to ask participants about their behaviors in relation to their families (behavioral familismo) instead of their beliefs (attitudinal familismo). In this process, care was taken to equally represent the three factor solution to attitudinal familismo described by Sabogal et al. (1987), as this provides the theoretical foundation for the scales used to create the BFSC items.

The first established measure used in developing the BFSC was the Familism Scale (FS; Sabogal et al., 1987), which was originally based on Familismo scales by Bardis (1959), and Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, and Chang (1982). The second measure used was the 16-item familismo subscale of the Mexican-American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010). The FS was chosen because its underlying theory was shown to broadly represent a diverse sample of Latinos, including Mexicans, Central Americans, and Cubans (Sabogal et al., 1987). Additionally, it has been used in research with diverse samples of Latino participants, including those of Guatemalan, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Salvadoran, and Spanish descent (e.g., Cortes, 1995; Crist et al., 2009; Losada et al., 2006; Losada et al., 2010). The MACVS familismo subscale was chosen because its underlying theoretical construct is reported to directly overlap with the three-factor model reported by Sabogal et al. (i.e. family obligations, family support, family as referents; Knight et al, 2009). This relationship was later confirmed both by the authors via both factor analysis and focus group research (Knight et al., 2010). Finally, the MACVS familismo subscale was used in a dissertation study with a diverse Latino sample that included Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Central and South American participants (Jarret, 2011). In this study, good internal consistency was reported, with coefficient alphas ranging from .75 to .87.

The BFCS is comprised of 9 items measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale with responses ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). See Appendix C for sample

questions in English, and Appendix D for sample questions in Spanish. In the case that a given question does not apply to the participant, for example, if the participant was not separated from children in the United States by deportation, a "not applicable" response item is also available. Higher mean scores on the BFCS are designed to indicate higher levels of behavioral familismo. Mean scores were used to account for participants' occasional use of the "not applicable" response category. A table showing each of the BFCS items, along with the original MACVS or FS items from which it was developed, can be found in Appendix F. Given that it is newly developed, I validated the BFCS on a sample of native Guatemalans to determine its appropriateness with the study population prior to its use. Given that items from questionnaires measuring similar constructs were used to develop the BFCS, strong construct validity is implied.

Dependent Variable: Psychological Distress

Psychological distress was measured with the Global Severity Index (GSI) of the Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). The BSI-18 is comprised of 18 items across four subscales. Three subscales measure common psychiatric symptoms: Depression (DEP), Anxiety (ANX), and Somatization (SOM) scales. The GSI measures respondents' overall level of psychological distress. GSI scores are calculated by summing the DEP, ANX, and SOM dimension scores. Scores on these dimensional scales range from 0 to 24, and scores on the GSI range from 0 to 72. On all scales, higher scores indicate higher levels of psychological distress (Derogatis, 2001). Derogatis (2001) reported high concurrent validity with the Symptom Checklist-90-R (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1994), which ranged from .91 to .96 on for all four subscales. In addition, the BSI has good internal consistency, with an alpha coefficient of .74 for SOM, .79 for ANX, .84 for DEP, and .89 for the GSI (Derogatis, 2001). Despite good internal consistencies and concurrent validity with the general populaton, research has suggested that BSI-18 likely measures a single underlying factor, psychological distress, when used with

Central American immigrants (Asner-Self, Schreiber, & Marotta, 2006; Prelaw, Weaver, Swenson, & Bowman, 2005), making its use in this study highly appropriate. For sample questions, refer to the Appendix C for the BSI in English, and Appendix D for the BSI in Spanish.

Semi-structured Interview Protocol

The same semi-structured protocol used for individual interviews (Appendix H) was developed in English by the principal investigator in consultation with Dr. Carmen Valdez, an expert in Latino families at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. The principal investigator, Dr. Valdez, and Dr. Yetilú de Baessa created the Spanish version (Appendix I) of the protocol by translating and back-translating the original English version. It was then piloted with native Spanish-speaking students at the UFM prior to its use in order to assess its appropriateness in relation to Guatemalan linguistic regionalisms. The same interview protocol, its English or Spanish format, was used for each of the ten interviews conducted for the study. As shown in Table 1, the final interview protocol was composed of five open-ended questions. It began with general questions about life as an immigrant deported from the United States and finished with specific questions about the impact of deportation on factors such as psychological distress and family life**.** Beginning with a general focus allowed the factors under investigation to emerge spontaneously.

Translation and piloting of measures

All measures except for the BSI-18, which was already available in Spanish, were translated by the principal investigator and then back-translated by Dr. Yetilú de Baessa. This was done to ensure their usability with regards to both the traditional Spanish language and Guatemalan regionalisms. All subsequent Spanish versions of the measures used in this study were then piloted in a classroom of 26 Guatemalan university students to ensure linguistic and conceptual appropriateness. As mentioned above, a pre-existing Spanish version of the BSI-18

was used for this study. This assessment has been used extensively and successfully in empirical research (e.g., Asner-Self, Schreiber, & Marotta, 2006; Torres, Ynzaga, & Moore, 2011; Valdez, Padilla, McArdell-Moore, & Magaña, 2013).

Research Design and Data Analysis

A range of methodological strategies is necessary to investigate the expression of psychological distress among diverse cultures and ethnicities (APA, 2012; Betancourt & Williams, 2008). In observance of this, the research methodology for this study is mixed-methods with a cross-sectional design.

Quantitative methodology. The quantitative component of the study addresses the following research questions via multiple regression:

1. To what extent does deportation-imposed family separation predict psychological distress among Guatemalan immigrants deported from the United States?
2. To what extent does the level of behavioral familismo endorsed by deported Guatemalan immigrants interact with deportation-imposed family separation to influence their level of psychological distress?

First, descriptive statistics including means and standard deviations were computed for all study variables, along with a correlation matrix. To address the first question, participant scores for change in behavioral familismo variable (ΔBFS) and each of the family separation variables were regressed onto the psychological distress (GSI) variable in a simultaneous multiple regression. As recommended by Keith (2006), the second question was addressed by using sequential moderation analysis to determine if behavioral familismo affects the direction or strength of the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological

distress. Behavioral familismo was treated as a moderator, as opposed to a mediator, because the focus of this study was on a variable (i.e., behavioral familismo) that influences the strength of a relationship between two other variables (i.e., family separation and psychological distress). Mediation was not investigated because the focus was not on explaining the relationship between two variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Prior to analysis, ΔBFS scores were first standardized and centered by converting the raw values to z-scores; psychological distress (GSI) scores were centered by converting raw scores to t-scores using tables included in the BSI-18 manual. The dichotomous family separation variables were left in their original format in order to retain their interpretive value.

Simultaneous regression was used to test the first hypothesis. Psychological distress (GSI) was regressed on to child separation (CSEP), partner separation (PSEP), and separation from other family (OSEP). Change in behavioral familismo (ΔBFS) was also included in the regression in order to control for its effect on psychological distress. Prior to analysis, CSEP, PSEP, and OSEP were dummy coded to convert them to dichotomous variables (e.g., 1 = Deportation-imposed separation from at least one child; 0 = No deportation-imposed separation from children).

To test the second hypothesis, three moderation analyses were conducted using SPSS Statistics version 22: One that assessed the interaction between child-separation and ΔBFS; a second that assessed partner separation and ΔBFS; and a third that assessed the interaction between separation from other family in the household and ΔBFS. Interaction effects were tested by creating cross-product variables and testing these cross-product terms for statistical significance when added to the regression equation. Cross-product terms are created by multiplying the values of the two variables in question for each participant. For example, to test for an interaction effect between ΔBFS and CSEP, a new variable (CSEPxΔBFS) was created by

multiplying participants' CSEP and ΔBFS scores.

Qualitative methodology. The qualitative component helped to mitigate the risk of using psychometric measures in populations for which they were not originally designed by documenting participants' experiences in their own voices. Semi-structured, individual interviews were chosen as the method of qualitative data collection because they are considered valuable for exploring common understandings, perceptions, opinions, and attitudes on a given subject (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Given the vulnerability of the population under investigation, the University of Wisconsin – Madison IRB recommended individual interviews over group-format qualitative data collection (e.g., focus groups) to protect participants' rights and privacy.

Semi-structured individual interviews were used to conduct generalist phenomenological inquiry on participants' subjective experiences with deportation-imposed family separation. Giorgi (2012; p. 122) wrote that there is but one principal requirement for conducting generalist phenomenological inquiry; that it focus on eliciting "as complete a description as possible of the experience that a participant has lived through." Given that there is no prescribed method for phenomenological inquiry (Englander, 2012), this requirement was the principal theoretical element that guided the interviews conducted for the current study.

As noted above, the actual interviews with participants were guided by a semi-structured protocol comprised of five open-ended questions. Although framed by a particular structure that can be somewhat directive, this approach is conducive to generalist phenomenological inquiry in that its structure is flexible, and allows for the interview to be guided by the participant. In this way, the principal investigator was able to ensure that the participants' subjective experiences with the deportation-imposed family separation remained the sole focus of the interview, as opposed to his own opinions and hypotheses on the phenomenon.

The principal investigator has prior training and experience in conducting qualitative

research with Latino immigrants that he gained in two studies investigating the effects of anti-immigrant climate in Phoenix, Arizona (i.e., Valdez, Padilla, & Lewis Valentine, 2013; Valdez, Lewis Valentine, & Padilla, 2013). In addition, he has clinical and research experience conducting individual interviews with Latino subjects in both English and Spanish. Finally, living in Guatemala for several months allowed the principal investigator to become attuned to the population under study, and to the cultural context in which they live.

Qualitative data analysis was conducted by a research team comprised of the principal investigator, Dr. Carmen Valdez, and two doctoral students in counseling psychology at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. Prior to having access to any study data, all team members were verified as having completed human subjects research and HIPPA training as required by the University of Wisconsin – Madison. To analyze the qualitative data, the investigators followed six steps for phenomenological analysis described by Valdez, Chavez, and Woulfe (2013), and based on the empirical psychological phenomenological method developed by Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) and Fisher and Wertz (2002). Dr. Carmen Valdez provided training and consultation on this process when needed, and audited the qualitative analyses at multiple points in the process.

In the first step of analysis, transcripts were read twice by team members. During these initial readings, they observed the philosophical stance of *epoché*, which requires that researchers withhold judgment that may otherwise be provoked by particular theoretical orientation, hypothesis or opinion. In doing so, they were able to gain a more authentic and empathic understanding of participants' subjective lived experience (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Wertz, 2005). In the second step, the team reread the transcripts and highlighted meaning units that applied to the study research questions. In this step, meaning units closely reflected the words used by participants. In the third step, the team reviewed the highlighted meaning units, and employed

free imaginative process to distill each into condensed phrases that captured its fundamental essence (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). Fourth, each distilled meaning unit was organized temporally in order to elucidate each participant's experience with deportation-imposed family separation as it unfolded over time (Worthen & McNeill, 1996). Throughout the first four steps, participants' original language was preserved to the extent possible. After the fourth step, Dr. Valdez conducted the first of two reliability checks. In the fifth and final step, the team categorized each distilled meaning under general representative themes that were created by consensus. Dr. Valdez then conducted a second and final reliability check.

Acknowledgment of Biases

As the principal investigator, I acknowledge a number of biases that are relevant to this study. These biases were openly discussed with all parties involved in the study in order to maximize the objectivity of the research. First, while I agree that the United States needs to have the power to deport criminal offenders, I am opposed to the application of identical deportation practices for both criminal and civil matters. I believe that when immigrants are deported for civil violations, the punishment far outweighs the precipitating violation. Second, I believe that U.S. deportation policies and practices are often ineffective and at times lead to unintended outcomes (e.g., deportees returning to the United States). A more personal bias relates to the fact that my great-grandfather was an undocumented immigrant from Mexico who devoted his life to assisting Latino immigrants. Since learning this at a young age, I have devoted much of my life to continuing my great-grandfather’s legacy of humanitarian work and advocacy for the Latino community. In addition, I hold the personal belief that the United States is a nation built by immigration. I would not be the person I am were it not for the benefits and opportunities made possible by my European and Mexican ancestors’ immigration to the United States, nor would the United States be as prosperous without me and my ancestors. As such, I firmly believe that

immigration to the United States should be restructured as a more open, and egalitarian process.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Quantitative Results

Hypothesis One: Deportation-Imposed family separation predicts psychological distress

The first study hypothesis predicted that deportation-imposed family separation would predict psychological distress among Guatemalan deportees. Table 4.1 shows the frequencies of the dummy-coded family separation variables.

Table 4.1

Frequencies of Deportation-Imposed Child, Partner, and Other Family Separation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Child Separation	Yes	33	46.5	46.5	46.5
(CSEP)	No	38	53.5	53.5	100
	Total	71	100	100	
Partner Separation	Yes	36	50.7	50.7	50.7
(PSEP)	No	35	49.3	49.3	100
	Total	71	100	100	
Other Family Separation	Yes	43	60.6	60.6	60.6
(OSEP)	No	28	39.4	39.4	100
	Total	71	100	100	

Table 4.2 summarizes the inter-item correlations, means, and standard deviations for each of the variables included in the regression. As shown, the study variables were all significantly correlated. However, for the most part, the correlations were moderate-to-small in size. The one exception was the correlation between PSEP and OSEP, which was both significant and fairly large (r = .623). This suggests that participants endorsing separation from partners also likely endorsed separation from other family in the household. Despite the significant intercorrelations between variables, the results are not likely to have been influenced by multicollinearity, given

the correlation values. Each independent variable is therefore capable of providing a substantial unique prediction of the dependent variable, psychological distress.

Table 4.2

Intercorrelations and Descriptive Statistics for Child Separation (CSEP), Partner Separation (PSEP), Other Family Separation (OSEP), Change in Behavioral Familismo (ΔBFS), and Psychological Distress (GSIT)

Measure	CSEP	PSEP	OSEP	ΔBFS	GSIT
CSEP	1	.354**	-.519***	.209*	.398***
PSEP	.354**	1	-.623***	.302**	.221*
OSEP	-.519***	-.623***	1	-.238*	-.306**
ΔBFS	.209*	.302**	-.238*	1	.509***
GSIT	.398***	.221*	-.306**	.509***	1
Range	0 - 1	0 - 1	0 - 1	-2.59 - 2.19	47 - 81
M	0.479	0.493	0.601	0.000	66.3
SD	0.503	0.504	0.492	1.000	7.06

a. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
b. $N = 71$

Table 4.3 shows the simultaneous regression results. As shown, the four independent variables significantly explained 34.8% of the variance ($R^2 = .348$) in psychological distress. However, CSEP was the only family separation variable that had a statistically significant effect on psychological distress. Although not hypothesized, ΔBFS was also a significant predictor of psychological distress. The beta coefficient for CSEP in Table 4.3 suggests that deportation-imposed separation from children was associated with an 3.48 increase in psychological distress t-scores among participants in the study, which amounts to over one third of a standard deviation increase. Similarly, each one-point change in ΔBFS contributed to a 3.18 point increase in participant t-scores on the psychological distress measure; an increase of approximately one third of a standard deviation. Figures 4.1 through 4.4 display graphical depictions of the regression analysis conducted for hypothesis one.

Table 4.3

Family Separation Variables and ΔBFS as Predictors of Psychological Distress

		95% CI	
	B	LL	UL
CSEP	3.839†	0.484	7.195
PSEP	-0.924	-4.680	2.832
OSEP	-1.253	-5.348	2.841
ΔBFS	3.244†	1.758	4.729
R	0.590		
R^2	0.348		
ΔR^2	0.350		
F (4, 66)	8.812***		

a. CI = Confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit
b. † Beta coefficient is statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval
c. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 4.1 *Graphical Depiction of Deportation-Imposed Child Separation as a Predictor of Psychological Distress.*

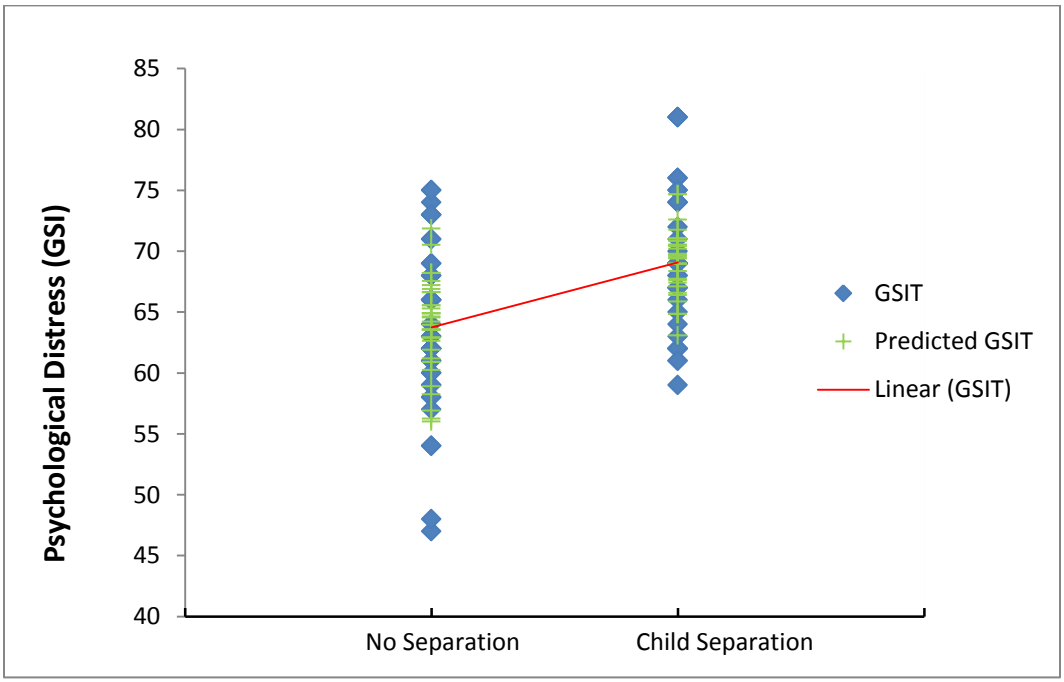


Figure 4.2 *Graphical Depiction of Deportation-Imposed Partner Separation as a Predictor of Psychological Distress.*

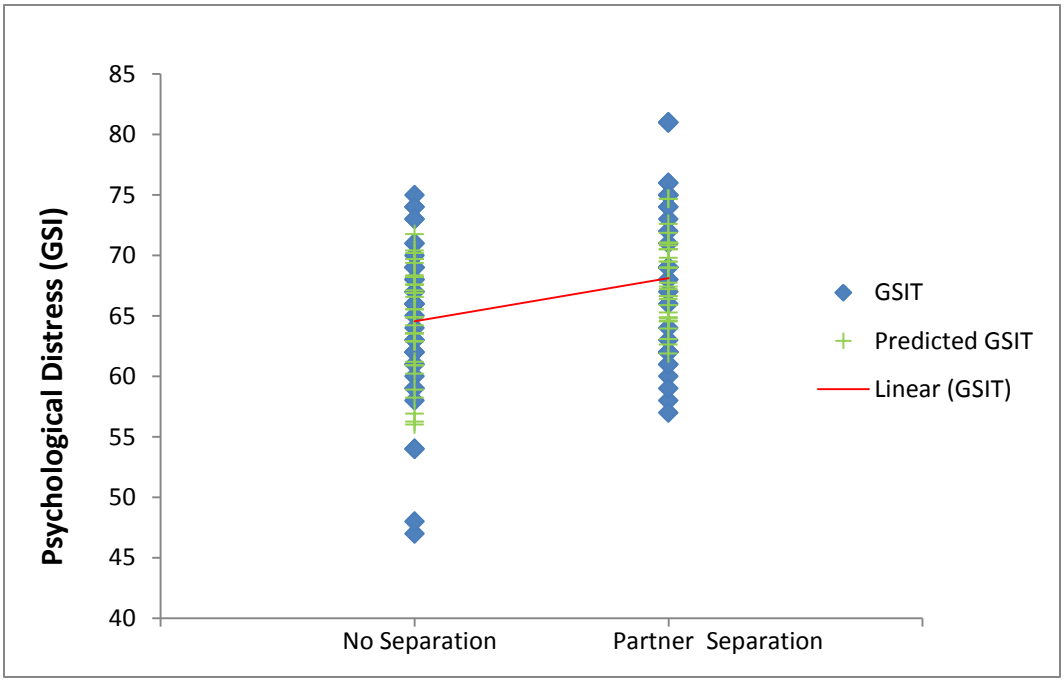


Figure 4.3 *Graphical Depiction of Deportation-Imposed Separation from Other Family in the Household as a Predictor of Psychological Distress.*

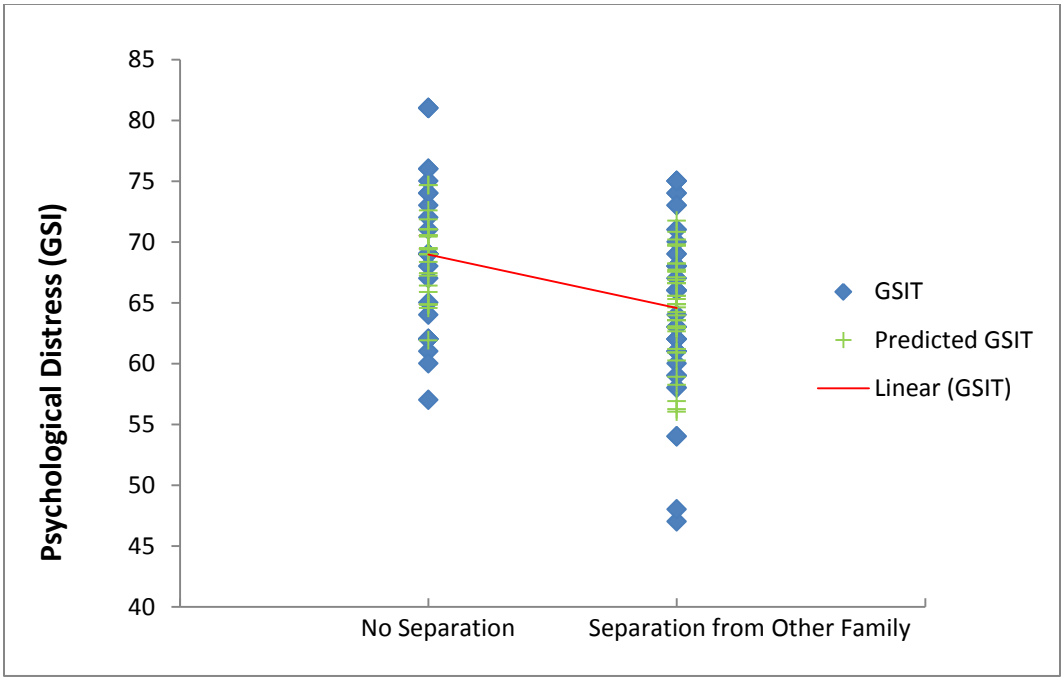
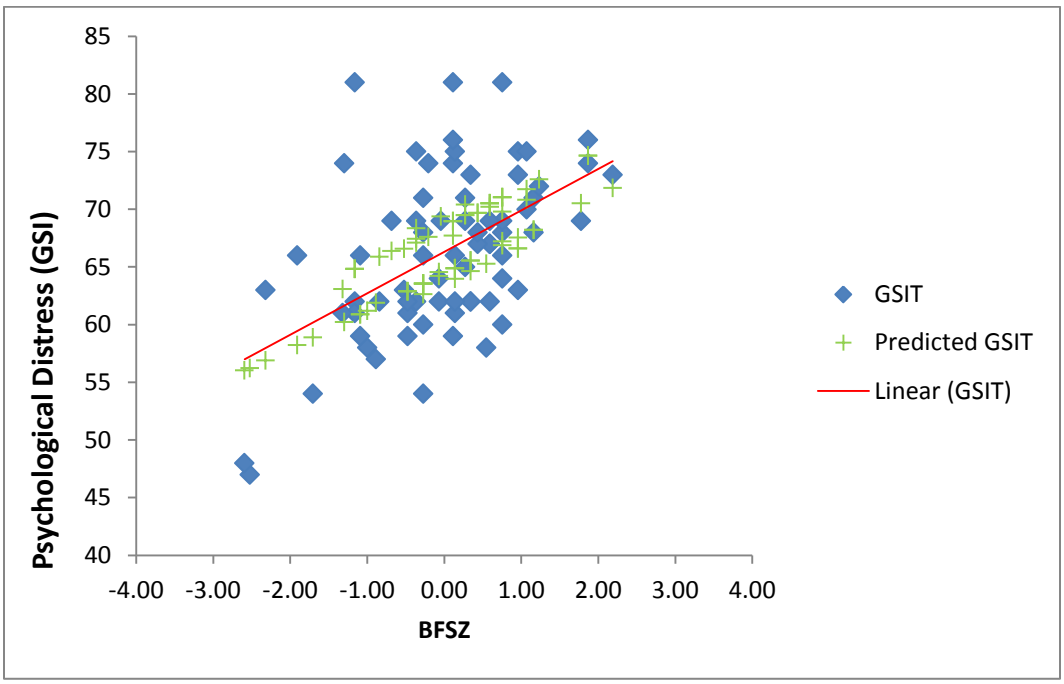


Figure 4.4 *Graphical Depiction of Post-Deportation Change in Behavioral Familismo as a Predictor of Psychological Distress.*



Hypothesis Two: Change in behavioral familismo moderates the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and predicts psychological distress

The second study hypothesis predicted that changes in behavioral familismo resulting from deportation would moderate the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress among Guatemalan deportees. To test this hypothesis, I conducted three separate sequential regression analyses. The first analysis tested whether or not ΔBFS interacts with deportation-imposed separation from children (CSEP) to predict psychological distress. The second and third regression analyses were nearly identical to the first. However, analysis two focused on the interaction between ΔBFS and deportation-imposed partner separation (PSEP), and analysis three focused on the interaction between ΔBFS and

deportation-imposed separation from other family members in the household (OSEP).

Each separate regression analysis included a test of main (first order) effects and test of interaction (second order) effects. Below, the results of each moderation analysis are discussed in separate subsections. Corresponding tables with numerical results and graphical descriptions are also provided.

Moderation Analysis 1: CSEP x ΔBFS. The first analysis tested the interaction between change in behavioral familismo and deportation-imposed child separation (ΔBFSxCSEP). As shown in Table 4.4, deportation-imposed child separation (CSEP) and ΔBFS together accounted for approximately 35.7% of the variation (R^2 = .357) observed in the dependent variable, GSI. Additionally, the main effect analysis showed that both CSEP and ΔBFS significantly predicted GSI. The tested interaction ΔBFSxCSEP, however, did not significantly predict GSI.

Moderation Analysis 2: PSEP x ΔBFS. The second test of moderation focused on the interaction between change in behavioral familismo and deportation-imposed partner separation (ΔBFSxPSEP). As shown in Table 4.5, the overall regression for the second moderation analysis was statistically significant; PSEP and ΔBFS together accounted for approximately 27% of the variation (R^2 = .271) in GSI. While there was a significant effect for ΔBFS, the effect for PSEP on GSI was not significant. Lastly, the interaction ΔBFSxPSEP did not significantly predict GSI.

Table 4.4

Sequential Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Interaction Effect between Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Child Separation on Psychological Distress

			95% CI	
Step	Predictor	B	LL	UL
Step 1: Main Effects	CSEP	4.29†	1.48	7.09
	ΔBFS	3.14†	1.73	4.55
	R^2	0.35		
	ΔR^2	0.35		
	F Change (2, 68)	18.18***		
Step 2: Interaction Effects	CSEP	4.43	1.60	7.25
	ΔBFS	3.59	1.90	5.29
	CSEPxΔBFS	-1.47	-4.53	1.59
	R^2	3.57		
	ΔR^2	0.01		
	F Change (1, 67)	0.92		

a. CI = Confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit
b. † Beta coefficient is statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval
c. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 4.5 *Interaction Effect between Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Child Separation on Psychological Distress*

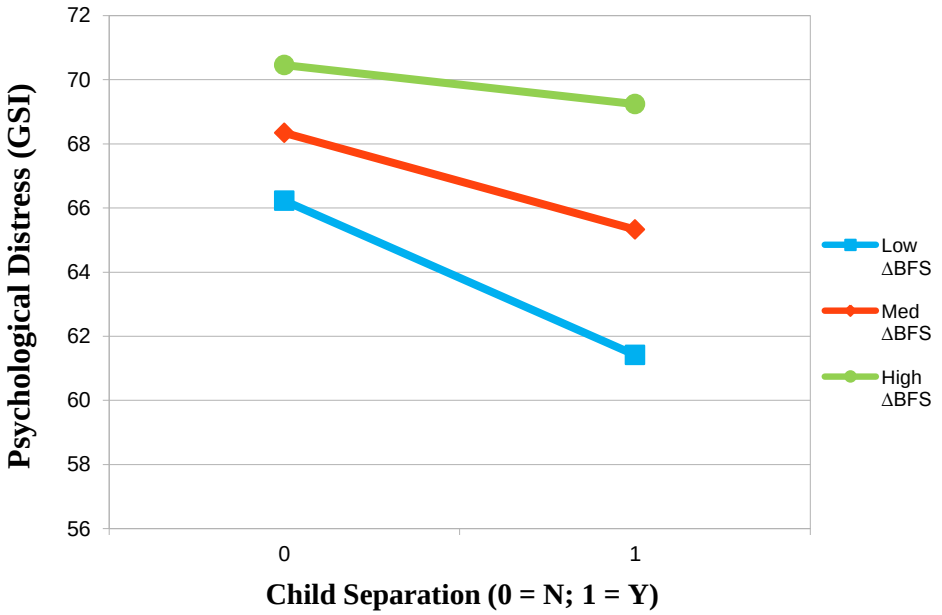


Table 4.5

Sequential Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Interaction Effect between Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Partner Separation on Psychological Distress

			95% CI	
Step	Predictor	B	LL	UL
Step 1: Main Effects	PSEP	1.03	-2.02	4.08
	ΔBFS	3.44†	1.90	4.97
	R^2	.264		
	ΔR^2	.264		
	F Change (2, 68)	12.21***		
Step 2: Interaction Effects	PSEP	1.05	-2.01	4.11
	ΔBFS	4.00†	1.89	6.12
	PSEPxΔBFS	-1.21	-4.30	1.88
	R^2	.271		
	ΔR^2	.007		
	F Change (1, 67)	.610		

a. CI = Confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit
b. † Beta coefficient is statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval
c. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 4.6 *Interaction Effect between Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Partner Separation on Psychological Distress*

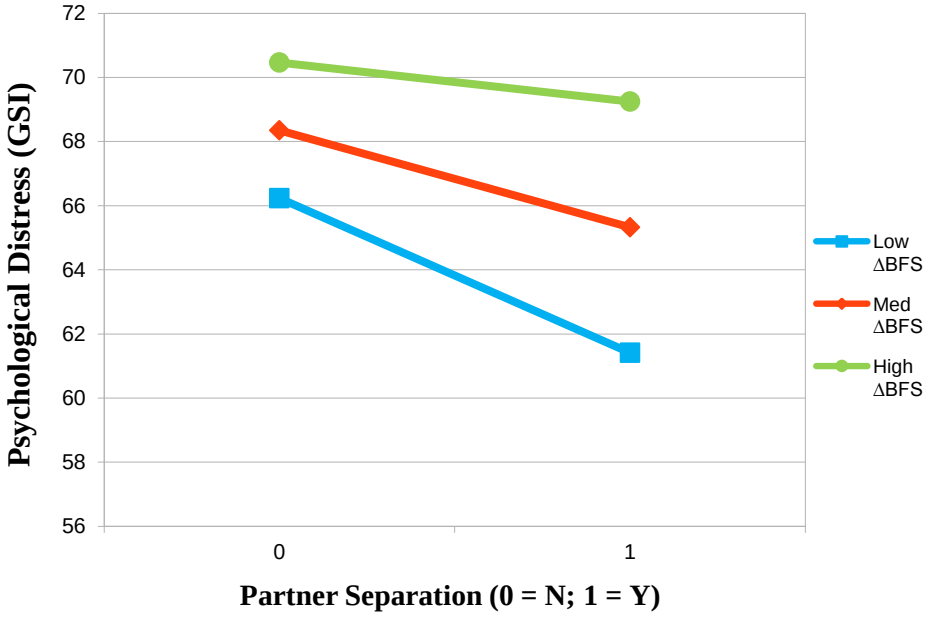


Figure 4.6 provides support for accepting the null hypothesis that partner separation did not interact with ΔBFS to predict psychological distress. As with deportation-imposed child separation, the weakest association (flattest slope) deportation-imposed partner separation and psychological distress was for those who reported high levels of ΔBFS. Moreover, the strongest association (steepest slope), however, was for individuals who reported the highest levels of ΔBFS.

Moderation Analysis 3: OSEP x ΔBFS. The final moderation analysis tested the interaction between change in behavioral familismo and deportation-imposed separation from other family in the household (ΔBFSxOSEP). Similar to the first and second analyses, the results in Table 4.6 show that overall regression for the third moderation analysis was statistically significant, with OSEP and ΔBFS accounting for approximately 31% of the variation (R^2 = .310) observed in the dependent variable, GSI. The main effect results, also in Table 4.6, indicate that neither OSEP nor ΔBFS significantly predicted GSI in the third moderation analysis. Finally, the tested interaction ΔBFSxOSEP did not significantly predict GSI.

Figure 4.7 provides additional support for accepting the null hypothesis that deportation-imposed separation from other family members did not interact with ΔBFS to predict psychological distress. Here again, the weakest association (flattest slope) deportation-imposed separation from other family in the household and psychological distress occurred for those who reported high levels of ΔBFS, and the strongest association (steepest slope) occurred for individuals who reported the lowest levels of ΔBFS.

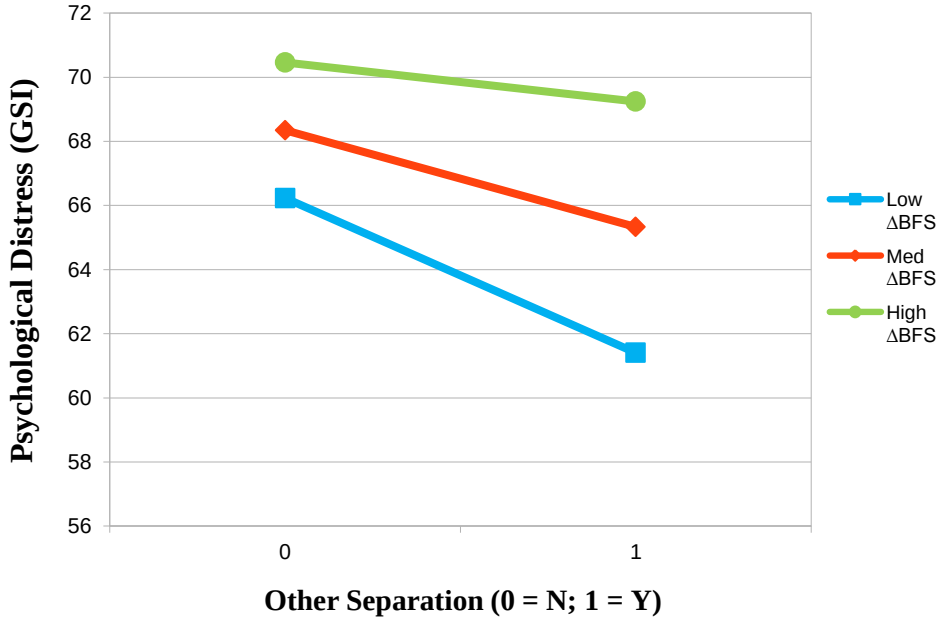
Table 4.6

Sequential Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Interaction Effect of Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Separation from Other Family on Psychological Distress

			95% CI	
Step	Predictor	B	LL	UL
Step 1: Main Effects	OSEP	-2.805	-5.802	0.193
	ΔBFS	3.265[†]	1.789	4.740
	R^2	0.295		
	ΔR^2	0.295		
	F Change (2, 68)	14.258***		
Step 2: Interaction Effects	OSEP	-3.016	-6.029	-0.004
	ΔBFS	2.116	-0.330	4.563
	OSEPxΔBFS	1.800	-1.260	4.863
	R^2	0.310		
	ΔR^2	0.014		
	F Change (1, 67)	1.376		

d. CI = Confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit
e. [†] Beta coefficient is statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval
f. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 4.7 *Interaction Effect between Change in Behavioral Familismo and Deportation-Imposed Separation from Other Family in the Household and on Psychological Distress*



Summary of the Moderation Analyses. All three moderation analyses failed to reveal significant interaction effects. Change in behavioral familismo did not significantly interact with any of the deportation-imposed family separation variables to predict psychological distress. As such, ΔBFS was not supported as a moderator for the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress. Moreover, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that deportation imposed separation from children, partners and other family in the household has the same effect on psychological distress regardless of the level change in behavioral familismo experienced post-deportation.

Poor distribution of scores likely decreased the ability to find significant interaction effects. McClelland and Judd (1993) suggest that variance is reduced when observations are clustered in the center of an individual predictor's range. Within the behavioral familismo data, only 9 scores are more than one standard deviation below the mean, only 12 scores are higher than one standard deviation above the mean. Fifty scores, however, fell within the average range. In other words, participants in this study varied little in their report of how their level of behavioral familismo changed after deportation, which likely reduced the statistical power of the moderation analysis, and possibly contributed to the non-significant interaction effect.

Despite the above, it is important to note that both deportation-imposed child separation and change in behavioral familismo were found to significantly predict psychological distress among Guatemalan deportees. The purpose of the qualitative analysis, to which we move now, is to both corroborate and shed additional light on these findings through an in-depth analysis of Guatemalan deportees' subjective experiences with deportation-imposed family separation, behavioral familismo, and psychological distress.

Qualitative Results

Consistent with a generalist phenomenological approach, the qualitative results are presented in present-tense, and in a factual/phenomenal format. This format assists with generalizing across each of the ten interviews while staying true to participants' lived experiences. The results are organized into three broad categories in order to capture how deportation-imposed family separation progresses over time to affect individuals and their families. The first category includes themes that illustrate the importance of family in participants' lives prior to deportation. The second category contains themes that describe shifts in family life experienced during participants' arrest, detention and subsequent deportation. Finally, the third category includes themes that relate to transformations in participants' lives after being deported and separated from family. Themes within each category are grounded in quotes containing participants' verbatim descriptions of their lived experience. Note: English translations of interview excerpts originally quoted in Spanish are found in Appendix G.

Theme 1: Family Life in the United States, Before Deportation

The centrality of family. Consistent with the familismo cultural value, participants' individual lives prior to their deportation were grounded in family life. They described their employment and work efforts as a means of family, and not individual, advancement. They viewed family events such as birthday parties, weddings, and school meetings for children as being of paramount importance and mandatory to attend. Togetherness, characterized by family meals, outings, and other activities that involved the entire family were highly valued. The participant who perhaps illustrated this best did so while comparing his views of Latino families and mainstream families in the United States:

> "...A lot of families over there in the United States...when you turn 18 or 21 you walk out of the house. Latino Families aren't like that. We're trying to keep the family together as long as we can. The most important thing is to keep the family together....My family is everything...That's how I learned to be a man, husband and father. And that's why I learned the system over there (in the United States)...how to walk and talk...I supported my children and helped them with their problems. I walked them to school. Any time they call the school for the events, you know like chorus… Anything that they do at school, I would go with them...I was there for everything. And I made a big deal out of them. If they got a certificate for being a good student, I'd take them out to eat. And I was with them all the time..." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

With the words, "family is everything," this individual succinctly captures the essence of many Latino immigrants' worldview. Family commonly resides at the heart of Latinos' individual lives; it is the nucleus of their identity and often the foundation for their reason for leaving their native countries in the first place. While this worldview is normally adaptive, it may also indicate that immigrants are uniquely vulnerable to psychological distress when the integrity of their family is threatened by deportation. Above, the speaker hints at this vulnerability by stating, "…the most important thing is to keep the family together." This belief stems from a family-centric worldview, and suggests that any threat to the integrity of his family is also a threat to the integrity of his own identity and well-being. In other words, if "family is everything" to him, as he suggests, then it must also be true that separation from family means separation "from everything."

Family centeredness is reflected by loyalty and solidarity among relatives. As such, family needs typically take precedence over the needs of each of the individuals that comprise of its whole. Thus, it is not surprising that participants unanimously voiced the willingness to sacrifice themselves when their families were threatened. A married couple participating in the study exemplified this in their separate interviews. The wife, an elderly woman who lived with her husband, children, and grandchildren in the United States, described the focus of her work

efforts, stating, “I worked so that my children and my grandchildren could move ahead in life...not for myself, but for my family.” Independently, her husband spoke of taking time outside of his busy schedule to help provide for his family:

> “Whenever I was able to, I made sure to spare the energy to help (my family). How couldn't I? Of course I helped them. I helped pay for their school. I supported them in everything.” [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Family centeredness is also reflected by reciprocity among family members. For the majority of participants, gestures of family support were reciprocated between adult relatives in order to increase the likelihood of survival in the United States. These gestures also were aimed at promoting emotional and well-being and the advancement of the family. For example, the grandmother quoted above recalled that her family’s survival in the United States was predicated on family unity when she said the following: “We worked together. We would put what little money we had together to pay the bills.” Another participant described how he and his girlfriend worked together to raise their daughter so that she could continue to study and eventually become a strong provider for the family:

> “She was going to college and I was babysitting...When I worked, she was with her (participant’s daughter), and then when I got back from work…she had to go back to community college... I was paying for school...The purpose was that she was going to finish college and then she was going to help (us)...Eventually she was going to be in a better position than I (was).” [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Another participant described how he and his parents worked together in the United States to support the family financially:

> "Before, before over there like I had my father, and my, before he passed away, and my mom, we used to help each other out... I used to get paid over there every 2 weeks. I used to give... my mom money. I used to give her between $300-400 every 2 weeks, helping her out... And if I needed money …because I didn't get paid, or there wasn't enough money...My dad, he would stay broke just to give me the money. He'd find a way to find money for me." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation; Originally quoted in English]

The importance of reciprocity in both emotional and financial support in Latino immigrants' lives, as described in the quotes above, suggests the importance of preserving the family unit. When an individual is threatened by deportation, a parallel threat to his or her family arises.

Together, the quotes subsumed under this theme characterize Latino immigrants' lives in the United States not as individual trajectories, but instead as individual components of a group-effort to promote the family. Moreover, the quotes describe family life as being underscored by reciprocity and interdependence; each individual member receives support and provides support. While young children within the family may often be in need of more support due to their developmental stage, there is strong evidence to suggest that as they grow and are capable of working, they assist family members to the extent they are able. In addition, while adult relatives may at times emphasize providing support to children, they also appear to feel obligated towards supporting both their own parents and one another.

Family as a primary motive for being in the United States. Latinos are often instilled with a primary obligation to provide family support, as suggested by the familismo cultural value. Throughout the individual interviews, there was a frequent and strong indication that participants' decided to move to the United States because they viewed it as an opportunity to fulfill their family obligations. Early on in her interview, a grandmother separated from her children and grandchildren by deportation stated simply, "…For my family. That is why I went."

Another participant recalled his parents' hopes for a better future for their children in the United States:

> "My dad and my mom wanted to give us a better future…for me and my sisters. And they went to the United States illegally, and took the whole family over there…and just had us living a better life, because they didn't want to live (in Guatemala)." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Many participants were born during the Guatemalan civil war. Amid uncertainty, violence, and the imminent threat of physical and psychological harm, one woman shared that she was forced to leave Guatemala by family members who were worried about her safety:

> "In 1989 there were kidnappings in this town. And my sister came to visit, saw that things were awful...and said, 'My little sister is in danger!' And she decided for me that I should go (to the United States) undocumented." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

From the above quotes, it is evident that many families coming to the U.S. from Guatemala are not only motivated by economic reasons, but also by the need to ensure the safety and wellbeing of family members facing imminent risk of violence. Upon arrival, they consider the United States as their new home because it offers new opportunities and a safe haven both for their families and themselves.

Theme 2: Arrest, Detention and Deportation

Abrupt disconnect from family. When undocumented immigrants are arrested, they are abruptly and unexpectedly separated from their families, giving rise to substantial and acute psychological distress. Family members are often initially unaware of the arrest, which moves them to experience anxiety over their relative's whereabouts and safety. After learning the truth about what has happened, difficulty obtaining information on their relatives' location, physical

and mental status gives rise to additional anxiety. Such was the case described by a grandfather in the following quote:

> "What happens is that they catch you very suddenly, and they catch you when you're distracted. One day, you have plans for the future, and, Bam! Your life changes from one thing to another. I'll tell you, I suffered a lot when they caught me. I suffered a lot. Because there were two people that caught me that said they worked for a business, and they took me to a little room…When they took me, my family didn't know anything about how or where I was for a night and a day. They worried since they didn't know I had been caught. And the biggest problem in my case is that I am a diabetic." [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

As seen above, undocumented immigrants and their families are often without contingency plans in case they are arrested for not having proper immigration documentation. In fact, as the participant above noted, immigrants are so immersed in their everyday lives that they are susceptible to the tactics used by immigration officials to detain them, such as undercover surveillance. Being caught so suddenly can lead relatives to make rash decisions that, while designed to protect the family unit, end up placing them at risk of substantial physical and psychological harm. In the following quote, the wife of the above participant describes being so affected by her husband's abrupt departure that she immediately turned herself in to the authorities, leaving her children and grandchildren behind in the United States:

> "We finished work at 4 or 5 in the morning. My daughter already knew that her father had been taken by immigration, and when I arrived she couldn't handle keeping it in, and she came out of her room and said, 'Mama, listen, immigration took my Dad and he is going to be deported.' And I asked, 'And where did they take him?' She responded, ' At the moment we don't know anything about where Dad is. We don't know.' So, I was so grief-stricken and I began to cry. And the next day I told my sister, 'You know what? I'm going to turn myself in. I'm leaving. Because what is he going to do back there (in Guatemala) by himself?" I turned myself in because I told myself, 'I am going to lose my husband.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

For the individual quoted above, the immediate risk of abruptly losing her husband engendered shock, followed by panic and desperation. Without a deportation contingency plan to use when a family member faces deportation, her capacity to cope with the loss of her loved one was reduced. Moreover, she was left without clear guidance in a situation that likely provoked multiple intense emotions that inhibited her ability to think clearly about her course for action. Even in families where a contingency plan is developed, the sudden experience of being separated may bring up strong emotions that preclude family members from finding solace in their plan.

The pain of family separation begins early. Deportation-imposed family-separation, and the difficulties that follow, is experienced early in the deportation process. For some participants, psychological distress resulting from family separation begins immediately upon arrest. In the following, a father separated from his wife, son and daughters gave a tearful account of a promise he made to his son prior to being arrested:

> "I remember the last time I seen him. I gave him a hug and I went to work thinking I was going to see him again. I told him, I said (crying), 'When daddy comes back we're going to go to the beach…and we're going to go for a walk.' …He always used to wait for me (sobbing). But I never went back. I never went back." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Every participant recalled experiencing difficulties with family separation during detention. Once immigrants are detained, they soon realize that their ability to participate in family-life is substantially diminished, as is their ability to provide the protection and support for which they were relied upon. As the previous participant alluded to, day-to-day activities like going out for a walk become intolerably impossible, yet they yearned for greatly. Moreover, immigrants feel emotional pain as a consequence of being unable to participate in important

events. This was the case for the following individual, whose father passed away while he was detained:

> "I got a bond. I got out from there, on Nov. 17th, of 2006. But two months before that...my father passed away; I wasn't able to (see him). ...That was the worst time of my life. I will admit it. ...It took me down…I'd never wish that to nobody. ...I spoke to my father the night before he passed away. ...But since I couldn't be there, I just told him, 'I'm sorry Dad.' I had...you know, like a son-father conversation that you have if you're lying next to your father. He knows and you know he is gonna pass away. But I was just doing it through the phone. It was a very tough situation, those two months. Just, to think about it. Like my father is not gonna be there when I get out. ...Every night was hard. I couldn't sleep after he passed away I probably didn't sleep for like…a week." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation; originally quoted in English]

This participant's experience suggests that family separation during the arrest and detention phases is unique in comparison separation after deportation. For example, although individuals are separated from family during each of the stages in the deportation process, it is possible that they feel most isolated during detention. In times of intense struggle, such as when a family member becomes ill or passes away, helplessness likely ensues as detainees find they are unable rely on the collective support of family members to help process their grief and other emotions. In less dire situations, the lack of freedom inherent in detention precludes individuals from communicating with family in a manner they feel is appropriate (e.g., intimate in-person contact is replaced with short phone calls in a public place). Separation is also ambiguous during detention, because the detainee is in the same country and sometimes in the same region or city as his or her family members. Yet, neither physical contact nor the pursuit of family dreams and goals are possible.

Ambivalence towards family contact in detention. Detainees may feel ambivalent towards visitations, phone calls, and other attempts to communicate with family. Some are reluctant to interact because they feel ashamed of being housed in a jail-like context. Others fear

that family members will be negatively impacted by seeing them in this context. Additionally, children of detained immigrants have difficulty understanding the nature of their parents' detention, and they experience difficult emotions as a consequence. Because of this, detainees are often reluctant to communicate with their children because of difficulty in deciding whether or not to tell the truth about their detention. The participant quoted below experienced all of these sources of ambivalence.

> "...My mom was able to come visit me in prison. She would bring my kids every once in a while, but I kinda didn't want my kids to see me in prison. But they would always ask for me, so she would bring them there to see me...I didn't think it was the right place for them to see me. You know? They would always ask me why I was there, and it was hard to explain to them that it was because I went back to the States. I just told them that I had some problems to care of with immigration, and we were hoping that things were going to turn out all right." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

As this quote illustrates, although immigration is enforced as a criminal offense, family members, particularly children, are unable to understand why their family's sacrifice to come to the United States is considered a crime. Moreover, children have difficulty understanding why their parent is considered a criminal in this country.

Similar to the above, although detainees strongly desire to see their family members, they are often reluctant to participate in family visits because they worry that doing so will place loved ones at risk of being detained themselves:

> "...since that day, you know, I was locked up for a month. I couldn't see my wife and my daughters for a month... 'Cause my wife, I was like from Los Angeles. It was one hour on the freeway, and my wife couldn't go there...because she's illegal. They were asking for, for any kind of IDs, and I didn't want her to take that risk." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation; originally quoted in English]

As a result of detainees' fear of placing loved ones at risk of facing their own legal difficulties, the frequency with which they are able to interact with them is markedly reduced. Moreover, there is a reduction in the quality of their interactions as they forego in-person interactions for communication by phone.

The finality of leaving family for "home." During detention, immigrants often arrive at a point where they are forced to admit to themselves and to others the reality of their situation; that deportation is likely imminent and the family may not be together in its entirety for a long period of time. This can be difficult for detainees to admit, given the centrality of the family unit in their lives. In the following example, a participant describes the last conversation he had in the detention facility with his son:

> "My little kid ...he went and saw me. And as soon as he saw me through the glass, he was crying. Yeah, he was crying. I still remember that (begins to cry). I'm sorry that I'm crying. It's sad because he was like seven years-old. And he started crying and I couldn't stop crying. And he asked me what was gonna happen, and I told him the truth, I told him that I was an illegal alien in the States, and that I was getting deported." [35 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation; since reunited; originally quoted in English]

When the actual time comes for detained immigrants to be deported, some experience a sense of finality underscored by defeat. The participant quoted above was initially optimistic about his chances of remaining with his family in the United States. As a result, he withheld the possibility that he may be deported and separated from his son. However, over time, his optimism waned as legal avenues for fighting his deportation were exhausted. Finally, when his son visited him for the first time in the detention facility and became visibly distraught over having to communicate with his father from behind reinforced glass, he found that the best course of action was to admit that he would likely be deported.

While some detainees feel a sense of defeat and finality during detention, many do not experience this until the trip back to the native country. This is often an arduous journey, and many describe it as dehumanizing, humiliating, and fraught with abuse. Despite these things, most participants indicated that their thoughts while being transported to Guatemala centered on the family they were leaving behind, as seen below:

> "... (I was) handcuffed since three in the morning when the process started in Louisiana to get to the airport. (The immigration officials) were calling you by names. The worst things I experienced, I experienced in there. Ah knowing, knowing that all of us were going to fly to Guatemala. They're giving you hard eggs that are already expired. Like you break 'em, and you see water come out. And actually I never ate there...I only had one apple in the twenty-four hours the day I was deported. It was hard (for me emotionally) I couldn't even eat. Ah to be honest with you, and I'm a man. I cried like I never did before on that day. I just, was just thinking like oh my God, what is my wife doing? What were they (family) thinking? And I'm heading to Guatemala." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Here, the participant provides an excellent cultural lens through which the meaning of deportation for Latino immigrants can be viewed. While he acknowledges being affected by the intensely poor conditions of the journey home, he makes certain to emphasize that his thoughts were primarily focused on the family he was leaving behind. By doing so, he seems to also emphasize that, for Latino immigrants forcibly removed from the United States, deportation may be synonymous with family separation.

Theme 3: Life in Guatemala, After Deportation

Deportation + loss of family = loss of self. Deportation typically carries with it a ban from the United States that ranges from five years to life. No matter the duration of their ban, each interviewee reported feeling that they had permanently lost their immediate family after they were deported to Guatemala. Given that each participant also viewed his or her own identity as firmly entrenched in the identity of their family, the perceived loss of this family was equated

with a loss of their soul, or a piece of their self. One father described losing the social titles he had fought hard to earn:

> "It's tough. I was just living with my daughters and my wife. I walked them to school. Any time they call the school for the events, you know like chorus… Anything that they do at school, I would go with them. That was my life (starts to cry). I don't have a life. It's awful, you know? [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

For this father, family is clearly the nucleus of his life. Below, we see that when deportation splits this nucleus, much like splitting the nucleus of an atom, catastrophic consequences follow that threaten individuals' sense of purpose, and ultimately their sense of self. Even worse, many deportees feel that the ruptures to their family are irreversible.

> "(Crying throughout) I feel like they gave me a life sentence. It is! It's a life sentence… It's not fair. I think that if you do something wrong, and you pay for whatever you did wrong, it's not fair for them to keep you away from your family. It's not…(crying harder)...they gave me a life sentence by kicking me out of the United States, and telling me I cannot ever go back there to see them. That's what I was saying that this should give people a chance, you know? ...You know, we're not bad people! We have family! Give me a chance, you know? I was never given a chance, never…). This is what I do every day when I get home, just sit on my bed and cry and think about when I'm going to be able to see them. Not fair." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Family role inhibition. While family membership continued post-deportation for all participants interviewed, it was always accompanied by drastic changes to deportees' ability to fulfill their role in the family. Deportees experience dissonance between their desire to provide for family as they did in the United States, and their ability to do so from Guatemala. Psychological distress arises when they recognize their diminished power as fathers, mothers or grandparents. Additional distress is experienced when deportees are reminded that relatives are

suffering due to their absence. For example, one father described 'feeling like trash' because of his inability to support his family:

> "I have a wife, I have daughters. I have to be with them, I have to support them, I have to do anything that I have to do to be with them to help them. …I feel like trash now... (Because) I cannot do it. I tried. I tried to get a job over here and I was thinking if I get over there, if I get a job here in Guatemala probably I could send the money, you know? Probably I could send them money, or something! At least $100… nothing. Instead of that sometimes they send me money. And that really sucks." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

It is clear that this participant feels helpless in his ability to fulfill his role as a father. Being the recipient of assistance transforms helplessness to shame due to cultural norms about gender and parenting responsibilities. Confirming these sentiments was another father who felt that his 'soul had been injured' by not being able to provide the things his family needs and wants. Although his children continue their lives and pursuits in spite of his deportation, not only are they inaccessible physically, he is not able to support them financially and emotionally:

> "It's affected me a lot, because I know that my children are growing up in the United States and I can't do anything for them. They call me on the phone every once-in-a-while, and it makes my heart hurt. It makes my soul hurt knowing that they have needs, that they want to buy a pair of pants, or that they want some little thing. My oldest daughter is 18 years old. She wants a car, and I can't buy her a car. My oldest son wants to go to the university. I can't help them. I try to do things here, because I am a hard worker. No matter how I want to keep moving forward. But when you get to be more of an adult age, in a country that is not your country, even though I was born here, it's very hard to begin. And I see that my family is suffering to the point that at times they don't have enough money to pay the rent. When they never suffered (before). I gave them everything." [51 year-old male, separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Finally, a grandmother simply described herself as being "nothing," when she was unable to buy her grandchildren shoes:

> "It makes me feel like I am nothing. That's how it makes me feel, because I can't help them from here. When they tell me, 'Mama, listen, we don't have shoes,' I used to tell them, 'help me sell these bottles, my children, and I will buy you a pair of shoes." And because of this, they would help us. Now we can't do this, and they say, 'Now we don't have anyone to buy us shoes, grandma. Only when mom can do it.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

In each of the quotes provided above, participants describe a sense of helplessness and intense psychological distress following their inability to fulfill their family obligations. As such, it seems fair to suggest that these deported Latino immigrants understand their personal identities in relation to their family role. If this is true, then separating them from their families through deportation may lead to a loss of their subjective identity given that it substantially limits the ability to support relatives and otherwise participate in family life.

Communication with family: A double-edged sword. Deportees communicate with family by phone and by various internet-based services like Skype and Facebook; a measure they typically view as crucial to their survival because it helps them to remain connected to family. However, similar to what is experienced during detention, communication with family is a source of both negative and positive feelings for deportees, as seen in the following:

> "It makes me happy to talk with my children and my grandchildren, but at the same time it makes me...it makes me sad because I can't see them personally. When I would go to work, I was used to giving them a kiss here on the cheek..." [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Some avoid communication because it elicits memories of family life prior to deportation. Once sources of happiness, these memories now engender emotional pain by serving as reminders of the family togetherness they once had and are now missing. For example:

> "We get on Facebook. And there I see my nieces and I see how everyone has changed. Five years. They've changed...everyone. And I say, that's how it was. And it makes me sad to think that their lives are continuing, and you are separating (from them) a little. It was really sad because, you know, we didn't get together that often before, but when there were parties and holidays, we would meet up. And even today, they're always uploading photos of their childhood...of times when they were opening gifts on Christmas..." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Finally, other deportees are reluctant to communicate with their family because it reminds them of how their diminished status in the family has changed their relationship with relatives as a result of deportation. In several cases, participants felt like they were a burden on relatives, and perceived that relatives would feel that they were contacting them to ask for financial support. Speaking of the extended family she left in the United States, one woman stated the following:

> "They don't call me and I don't call them. They're always busy. If I call they think that I want something. I don't want them to think that about me." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Similar to what is experienced in the detention phase, deportees continue to experience difficulties as a result of communication with family. By doing so, they may achieve some relief from avoiding painful reminders of what they have left behind, or by avoiding conflict that highlights their inability to fulfill their family role. However, this does not come without great cost to their well-being because their ability to participate in family life is further limited.

Family disintegration. After participants are deported and have returned to living in Guatemala, the families they left in the United States take measures to fill the gaps created by their absence. Frequently, this situation results in the disintegration of the family they once knew. Some families find the financial stressors they face are compounded after a relative is deported. Additional families find that they lack other forms of support, such as child care or romantic partnership. All too often, the response to these stressors amounts to changes in the former

family structure. Some families send their children to live with extended relatives because their wellbeing is threatened by decreased emotional support and increased financial burden. In other families, spouses seek divorce and eventually remarry in an effort to integrate new members into the family that may be able to fulfill the role obligations left unattended by the deportee. All of these things appear to have a great emotional impact on deportees. In the example below, a deportee describes losing his wife and his perception of losing his children due to no longer being able to provide them with the support they need:

> "After I was deported, because I was now a problem, she wasn't able to take care of the children...So, she married someone else and I was left without a wife, and practically without children. Without kids, I can't say because they are always calling me saying that they need this and that. And here I am selling everything I have so I can send them things. But what I can do is very little." [51 year-old male, separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

The wife of another participant was unable to care for their children after he was deported, so she relinquished custody. While she later remarried, she remains estranged from their children, leaving the participant's mother to enlist extended family members and others outside of the family for support. The consequences of this upheaval have been great, as seen below:

> "My wife is in the United States. We talk...She has moved on with her life (begins to cry). She's moved on… (Crying) she has moved on. She has left my kids behind because she has not been able to take care of my kids anymore. The person that she got involved with has taken her down a bad road. My daughters are with her mom. My son, well my mother ended up taking custody of him but he's got some issues where he's very hyperactive. And sometimes he gets really mad and frustrated, but people don't listen to him and he starts throwing things around. And they kicked him out of the school where he was at. Now he is at another school where he has to live at. He can't leave the school. I call him still. He tells me that he feels like he's in jail like his dad because he can't leave that place." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Together, the quotes in this section suggest that multiple factors related to deportation-imposed family separation can precipitate the threat of family disintegration, which seems to be one of the more damaging consequences of deportation-imposed family separation. From the quotes provided above, it is apparent that there are multiple factors that precipitate this type of outcome. First, families that possess limited economic resources often find that previous economic stressors are compounded after a relative in the household is deported. As such, they may be compelled to replace the deported individual in order to fill the subsequent gap in financial support. Second, additional families may find that they lack other forms of support, such as child care or romantic partnership, and therefore seek integrate new members into the family to fulfill the role left behind by the deportee.

Separation from children is most difficult. Each interviewee with children viewed their parental and/or grand-parental role as most important. At times, they even indicated that it represented the solitary unit of meaning remaining in their lives. As deportees, however, they were acutely aware of their inability to be present in their children's lives, and fulfill their obligation to provide them with support. Perhaps the most emotionally expressive individual interviewed, one mother was so distraught over the separation that she was planning to return to the United States illegally despite the potential risks:

> "...My experience has been very difficult because it has been 5 years since I have seen my daughter, and I feel that she needs me as much as I need her. What keeps me alive...knowing that my daughter loves me and needs me. I feel sad because I want to hug her and tell her how much I love her. When I was there, I was everything (to her). I made her food, I bathed her, and everything. If I get mad it's because the only one who has the right to separate someone from their family is God, not people. ...The ones that suffer the most are the children. They punished her in the sense that...first and foremost she is a little girl. And little girls need their mother. [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

This excerpt sheds light on an important and common theme among interviewees' experiences with deportation; that the deportation of a parent punishes the children they leave behind. Aside from the importance of being there for children, Latino parents highly value imparting moral education, cultural knowledge and the ability to speak Spanish on their children. Many find that life and culture in the United States make it difficult to give children these things, however. When parents are separated from children by deportation, they find that this difficulty increases exponentially, and the threat of completely losing the ability to raise children in a culturally appropriate manner arises. Thus, it is not surprising to see that the mother quoted above feels that her daughter needs her. It is also not surprising to see that, as a Latina mother whose identity is grounded in her parental role, she reciprocally needs her daughter.

Similar to the participant quoted above, a father discussed being consumed with thoughts about his children in the United States. Specifically, these thoughts related to his belief that his children are suffering because of his deportation, and to being powerless to provide them with protection:

> "At no moment do I stop thinking about them. When I am eating, it gives me a lump in my throat. I say to myself, 'I am eating, and maybe my daughter isn't.' Two weeks ago, my oldest daughter had a problem with her mother and step-father. And she called me, since she didn't have anyone else to call. 'Dad, I don't have anywhere to sleep. I'm sleeping in my car with my little brother.' And it was snowing and I didn't sleep at all that night. So I called a friend and he took them to his house. I was desperate, wanting to do something and without the power to do anything." [51 year-old male; separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Beyond the feelings of powerlessness to support and protect children described in the quotes above, interviewees also commonly perceived that they had lost the opportunity to see child relatives develop. Missing out on important ephemeral events that occur only once in

childhood, such as a baby's first steps or words, is particularly highlighted as a source of psychological distress. The father quoted below perhaps described this best:

> "...I really miss my daughters more than I miss my wife. I love them… it really hurts to not be with them. I'm missing everything. I'm missing their lives. That's the most difficult. I'm never going to get those two years back. I was with them every day, and now I'm missing almost 2 years. I want to see them growing... I'm probably going to miss my daughter's quinceañera... It's in November, but I think I'm going to miss it. And it's something very special for them, for her. Special for her and for me." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation; originally quoted in English]

Together, the quotes under this theme suggest that Latino immigrants in the United States live for their children. When they are deported, however, they are forced to live for themselves as opposed to their children. They can no longer make sacrifices that directly benefit their children and must instead focus on their own physical and economic well-being. Intense feelings of shame and guilt are often follow this type of shift, given that focusing on the self instead of the family is dissonant with traditional Latino family values, including the hope for children's advancement in life.

Placing self at risk in order to reunite with family. The journey to the United States for undocumented immigrants is well-known for the danger it poses. Moreover, if caught crossing the border to or within the boundaries of the United States without proper documentation, deportees are subject to a lengthy prison sentence among other consequences (e.g. a significant monetary fine). Despite the risk of facing these consequences, deported Guatemalans often contemplate returning to their family in the United States soon after their arrival in Guatemala. In the following excerpt, a mother reveals that she was considering emigrating from Guatemala to Mexico to be closer to her husband and daughter and closer to opportunities to return to the United States:

> "I want to be there (in the United States) but I can't. I have fought hard to find a way to get there, but it's not possible…A friend of mine has a house in Guadalajara, and she told me to continue my fight there. And afterwards we would find a way for me to get married. The problem is, is that the journey is so dangerous. That's why my parents don't want me to go; because the second time I am going to die, my mom says. But I want to keep fighting to find a way to get there (the United States)…Because, what does my life mean if I am not with my daughter? [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

As seen above, some deported Guatemalan immigrants are so psychologically distressed as a consequence of deportation-imposed family separation that they are willing to put themselves at grave risk of physical and psychological harm in order to be reunited with family in the United States. They are additionally willing to make significant, burdensome changes to their lives, such as marriage to individuals that may assist with obtaining citizenship. As such, Guatemalan immigrants' focus on sacrificing themselves for the advancement and general benefit of the family is not extinguished by deportation. Rather, in some cases it is intensified.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this mixed-methods study was to explore the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress among deported adult Guatemalan immigrants, and the contribution of behavioral familismo to this relationship as a moderator. In this chapter, I first provide an overview of the quantitative findings that pertain to the two hypotheses, and discuss how they relate to the current literature. I follow this with a similar discussion on the qualitative findings. Next, I integrate quantitative and qualitative findings by grafting them onto the study's theoretical framework. After this, I discuss the implications of the study findings and provide avenues for future research on deportation. Finally, I review the study's limitations and strengths.

Discussion of the Quantitative Results

The quantitative study was guided by two hypotheses. The first hypothesis predicted that deportation-imposed family separation is associated with higher levels of psychological distress. The second hypothesis predicted that changes in behavioral familismo resulting from deportation would interact with deportation-imposed family separation to influence deportees' levels of psychological distress.

The first hypothesis was partially confirmed. While deportation-imposed separation from romantic partners and other extended family members in the household was not significantly associated with higher levels of psychological distress, separation from children was significantly associated with psychological distress. Thus, in this study's sample, parents who were separated from their children as a result of deportation were particularly vulnerable to psychological difficulties.

In the literature, family separation that occurs as a result of migration to the host country has been shown to predict poor psychological outcomes for both parents (Jones, Sharpe, &

Sogren, 2004) and their children (Pottinger, 2005; Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louis, 2002). Specifically related to deportation, Brabeck, Lykes, and Hershberg's (2011) analysis of interviews with Guatemalan and Salvadoran detainees showed that family separation, and child separation in particular, was a prominent source of emotional difficulties during detention. Similarly, Valdez, Lewis-Valentine and Padilla (2013) found that immigrant parents in Arizona who experienced separation from children due to detention or deportation reported greater distress than those not separated from their children. In another qualitative study, Capps and colleagues (2007) found that children separated from parents by deportation also experienced distress. These children experienced anger towards parents, feelings of abandonment, traumatic stress, depression, separation anxiety disorder, post-traumatic stress, and suicidal thoughts (Capps et al., 2007). Moreover, these children faced additional psychosocial difficulties as a consequence of inadequate economic resources, child care, and supervision (Capps et al., 2007). Finally, in a follow-up to this study, Chaudry et al. (2010) found that families in which parents were separated from children by detention and deportation experienced significant long-term psychological and financial difficulties; the latter of which contributed to housing instability and decreases in important resources.

In contrast to the above, the second hypothesis in the quantitative study was not confirmed; post deportation changes in behavioral familismo were not shown to significantly interact with deportation-imposed family separation to predict psychological distress. Although this finding may be valid and indicate that behavioral familismo does not contribute to the relationship between deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress, statistical power to detect an association may have been compromised by measurement factors.

Scholars have suggested that interaction effects are notoriously difficult to detect in non-experimental field studies despite sound theoretical reasons for expecting them, and despite well-

known and accepted statistical methods for moderation analysis (Morris, Sherman, & Mansfield, 1986). According to McClelland and Judd (1993), this is because field studies often have distributions of independent variables and proposed moderators that are not optimal, meaning that either high or low levels of these variables are uncommon in the real world, resulting in low variance. This in turn reduces the efficiency of the interaction term and statistical power. As mentioned in the results section, poor distribution of scores likely precluded the ability to find significant interaction effects in the current study. Scores for behavioral familismo were mostly clustered in the center of its range; only 9 scores fell one standard deviation below the mean, and only 12 scores fell one standard deviation above the mean. In other words, participants in this study varied little in their report of how their level of behavioral familismo changed after deportation. This type of pattern typically suggests that variance was limited (McClelland and Judd, 1993). This would in turn reduce the statistical power of the quantitative analysis and possibly contribute to non-significant findings in relation to the hypothesized interaction effects.

While unexpected, the non-significant interaction findings are interesting because they suggests that substantial difficulties with staying connected to and supporting family members in the United States (i.e. difficulties maintaining pre-deportation levels of behavioral familismo) may be the norm for deported Guatemalan immigrants. Moreover, it lends support for existing research findings. Qualitative research conducted by Dreby (2012), for example, revealed that deported Latino immigrant men felt powerless and emasculated when they were unable to fulfill their obligations as breadwinners, and perceived that they were an economic burden on their families. In quantitative research on caregiver distress, individuals who felt obligated to provide support but were unable to do so were found to experience increased feelings of burden and psychological distress (Kim, Knight, & Longmire, 2007; Knight & Sayegh, 2010).

In addition to vulnerability of the quantitative research to measurement and sample constraints, it was also limited in its ability to illustrate the process and subjective meaning of deportation because it is based on data reduction. For example, the multiple regression analyses for this study were limited to examining deportation-imposed family separation as a discrete event (e.g., it happened or it did not happen). The qualitative component in this study helped to mitigate these deficits by allowing for deportees' subjective experiences with deportation-imposed family separation to be explored as a process that unfolds overtime. The results of this study component are discussed below.

Discussion of the Qualitative Results

The qualitative findings illustrate deportation-imposed family separation as a graduated process composed of multiple stages. Each of these stages contribute to increases in immigrants' levels of psychological distress as a function of challenges to their ability to provide family support. Overall, this process begins with Latino immigrants in the United States whose individual lives are grounded in the family, and whose primary reason for having relocated to the United States is for the socioeconomic advancement and well-being of their family. Individuals are first separated from their families after they are unexpectedly arrested and detained. Although immigrants typically have the ability to interact with immediate family and extended relatives through in-person visitations and by telephone while they are detained, the range of their ability to participate in family life is markedly restricted by their lack of freedom. Once immigrants are physically removed from their family by their removal from the United States, they regain their freedom. However, at the same time, they more than ever lack the ability to fully participate in family life due to distant physical separation, financial difficulties, and legal constraints, such as lengthy, sometimes lifetime bans from entering the United States.

Despite these barriers, deportees and their relatives often remain hopeful for family reunification when they are first deported, and put forth effort to make the most of the status quo by maintaining frequent phone or internet communication. However, this hope diminishes over time and deportation-imposed family-separation becomes more permanent. Legal avenues for fighting deportation are exhausted. Phone and internet communication are recognized as inadequate surrogates for pre-deportation family life, and deportees begin to notice that they are missing out on key family events. At the same time, deportees typically struggle to provide family support from within the confines of Guatemala's third-world economy. As both reported and observed during interviews with participants, helplessness in light of this overall process of the family 'slipping from their hands' gives rise to substantial psychological distress.

Although some of the stages described above have been supported by quantitative research, the qualitative study, and in particular the phenomenological stance taken, yielded findings that provide a unique perspective into the extended and gradual process of family separation. In addition, the qualitative findings relate to the impact of deportation on the family system left behind in the United States, and the concomitant impact on the deportee. For example, the findings suggest that deportees commonly experience psychological distress because the family they left behind in the United States, once cohesive prior to being separated from the deportee, begins to reconfigure in their absence. As far as is known, the current study is one of the first to suggest this as an essential attribute of deportation-imposed family separation. In some families, spouses seek divorce or other means of more permanent separation. Over time, they introduce new partners into the family. In other families, children are sent to live with relatives outside of the household so that they can live within a more stable support system. Finally, other families divvy out the role obligations once fulfilled by the deportee among family members. Although this situation might be distressing to all family members, it is the deportee

who clings most to the way the family was prior to his or her deportation. The deportee is also the one who experiences the greatest guilt and helplessness from the perception of 'causing' the family disintegration, and from having the least control over the family. In sum, the deportee who once played a starring role in their family becomes a mere spectator.

The qualitative findings provide other details on how child separation contributes to increased psychological distress for the deported Guatemalan immigrants participating in the study. Themes that emerged suggest that deported parents view their parental role as primary; having children and becoming mothers and fathers means that they have fulfilled one of the most important goals in their adult lives. Even those who were divorced or separated from their husbands and wives as a result of returning to Guatemala tended to highlight the effect of being apart from their children on their well-being.

Given the importance they ascribed to the parental role, it is unsurprising that the mothers and fathers participating in the study described being separated from their children as a primary source of psychological distress post-deportation. Parents interpreted being separated from their children in multiple ways, all of which seemed to contribute to a range of psychological difficulties (e.g., anxiety, depressive symptoms, anger, and guilt). Many, for example, felt that their absence had placed their children at risk for serious consequences due to diminished financial support, emotional support, and physical protection. Additional interviewees perceived that their deportation took away the opportunity to appropriately socialize their children and watch them develop into adults. Others derived psychological distress from observing that their children had difficulty understanding the reasons for their absence. Finally, several parents were negatively impacted by their inability to have physical and emotional contact with their children (i.e., to embrace and kiss their children).

To summarize, Guatemalan immigrants commonly find that their ability to support their children is inhibited after they are deported. Increased psychological distress follows because they continue to feel culturally and emotionally responsibility for their children and have less opportunity to fulfill this responsibility. Support for this finding is found throughout the qualitative results and extant literature. Themes that arose out of the analysis suggest that deportees continue to make frequent and concerted efforts to provide emotional and financial support for relatives in the United States, with specific emphasis on providing for children. However, they are largely limited in these efforts, leading to increased anxiety and depressive symptoms. As suggested in qualitative research conducted with Guatemalans by Hagan, Rodriguez and Castro (2011) and by Sørensen (2010), participants attributed this limitation to meager financial opportunity in Guatemala, which not only kept them from providing for their children, but also from being reunited with their children.

In addition to the above, while most participants were surprisingly able to communicate with family in the United States frequently by phone and through the internet, they described this communication as brief and expensive, and that it commonly led to painful reminders about the life they were missing in the United States. Moreover, this limited contact provided participants with painful insight into the burden their absence placed on their family. This dynamic is consistent with findings from research conducted by Losada (2010), who noted that the desire to act on familismo-oriented values and obligations (i.e., behavioral familismo) may promote psychological distress among those operating in contexts that preclude their ability to provide the type of family care they prescribe. Best-Cummings and Gildner (2004) generated support for this suggestion by finding that deportees are typically unable to fulfill their family role in a manner they feel is adequate, and consequently experience increased psychological distress. Finally, Dreby (2012) found that deported Latino men feel powerless and emasculated over not being

able to fulfill the requirements of their breadwinner role, and over their perception that they are an economic burden on their families (Dreby, 2012). This study is unique, however, in that it links these findings to Latino deportees' cultural identity by providing information on the role of behavioral familismo in psychological distress resulting from post-deporation communication between deportees in the receiving country and family members remaining in the United States.

Theoretical Formulation: Integrating the Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

This study was guided by a theoretical framework that suggests that the degree to which deportation-imposed family separation predicts increased psychological distress is at least partially dependent on the change in behavioral familismo experienced by deportees. This was framework is principally based on the idea that behavioral familismo, described as actions stemming from the widely core Latino cultural value of familismo, is of great importance to Latino immigrants deported from the United States.

Research has shown that deported Latino immigrants, guided by familismo, feel a continued obligation to support and protect the family unit after they are deported (Sabogal et al., 1987). Studies, for example, have shown that deported parents strive to maintain their roles as fathers and mothers via "transnational parenting." However, this requires heavy and frequent use of telephone and the internet (Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004; Bronfman et al., 2002), and the inability to plan for deportation leaves many deportees without the economic resources necessary to do so (Bronfman et al., 2002). Moreover, deportees' ability to generate income after deportation is often limited, as they have likely been returned to countries, like Guatemala, that are economically depressed and plagued with inadequate employment opportunities (Hagan, Rodriguez & Castro, 2011; Sørensen, 2010). In the end, deportees' decreased ability to actively support family members, or rather, enact behavioral familismo, conflicts with the ingrained

cultural mandate to provide such support (i.e., familismo; Best-Cummings & Gildner, 2004), thereby promoting increased psychological distress (Dreby, 2012).

The findings of the current study broadly support this research. As predicted by Losada et al. (2010), Guatemalan immigrants interviewed for the qualitative component of this study indicated that, despite being separated from family by deportation, their strong desire to act on familismo beliefs and values (behavioral familismo) persisted well after they had returned to Guatemala. However, multiple obstacles arising out of their experience with deportation precluded their ability to enact on behavioral familismo. Because they were culturally mandated to provide this type of family support, psychological distress manifested out of their inability to do so. From a family systems perspective, separation subsequent to deportation likely causes the family to become bidirectionally burdened. From one direction, the family may be burdened by the loss of an essential source of support. From the opposite direction, family members may find that they are burdened by an increase in the amount of assistance they are obligated to provide, given that the deportees interviewed for this study frequently faced economic and other obstacles that were difficult to surmount alone.

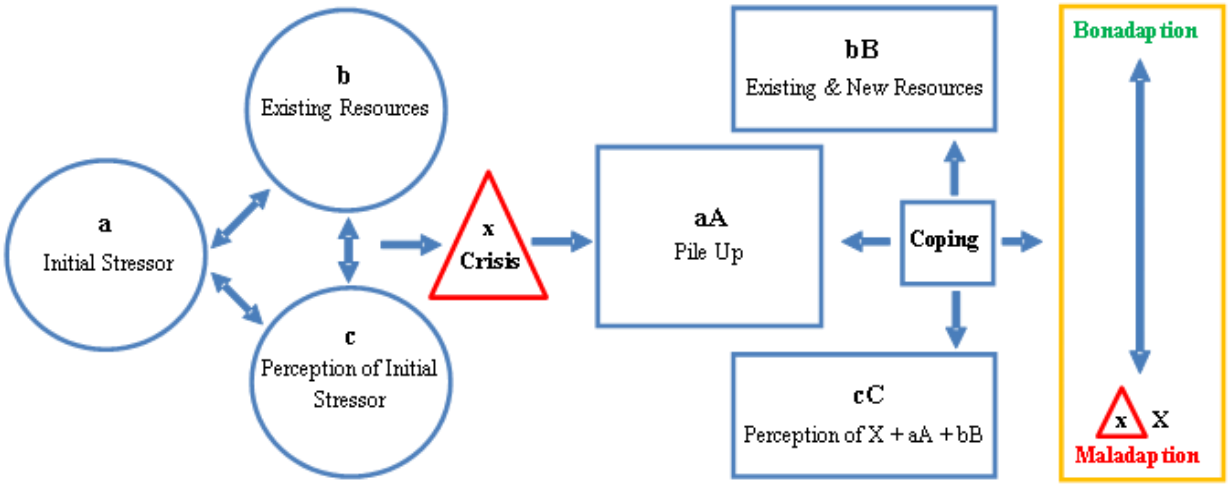
Ambiguous loss theory may help in understanding these findings. In examining family responses to chronic illness, Boss and Couden (2002) identified several areas of ambiguity that contribute to distress in the case of an ill family member: (a) a lack of clarity in diagnosis, (b) difficulty in predicting outcomes, (c) day-to-day changes in functioning of the ill person that affect family relationships, (d) the fact that the ill individual may give an outward appearance of health thus raising expectations for his or her behavior and functioning within the family, and (e) fear that important emotional relationships will be affected by the illness. By replacing the ill individual described above with the deportees participating in the current study, four of these five areas of ambiguity apply directly to separation through deportation. For example, given the large

amount of political discourse on immigration policy reformation that extends to a broad international audience, especially in relation to parents separated from U.S.-citizen children, both removed immigrants and their families may feel that their status (diagnosis) as deportees is unclear. Moreover, this may likely engender difficulty among deportees and their families in relation to predicting the final outcome of their struggle to be reunited. Next, given that the deportees participating in this study were returned to Guatemala—known for its difficulties with violent crime, civil unrest, and meager socioeconomic opportunities—it is also likely that even day-to-day actions of deportees (e.g., walking to a job interview) cause family left behind in the United States to worry. Finally, it is perhaps most likely that deportees experience fear that important emotional relationships, specifically relationships with spouses and children, will be negatively impacted by deportation.

The Double ABCX framework is another useful conduit for understanding the mixed methods findings, thereby extending the theoretical model's explanatory value. For clarity, the general model as originally described by (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983) is shown again in Figure 5.1. Note that in the formulation below, the term deportation process is meant to infer both detention and deportation. Figure 5.2 displays a model of the integrated study findings from the Double ABCX perspective. As shown, the initial stressor (A) occurs when participants are separated from family by their arrest and entrance into the deportation process. The absence of an important source of family support created by this deportation-imposed separation subsequently compromises families' ability to access existing resources (B) that normally promise respite and resolution in crisis situations. Important external resources, including monetary income and physical protection, are depleted and not as easily replenished. Similarly, internal resources are depleted as Guatemalan immigrants' fear of deportation is realized, and they and their families find themselves facing increased hardship from financial, parenting, and

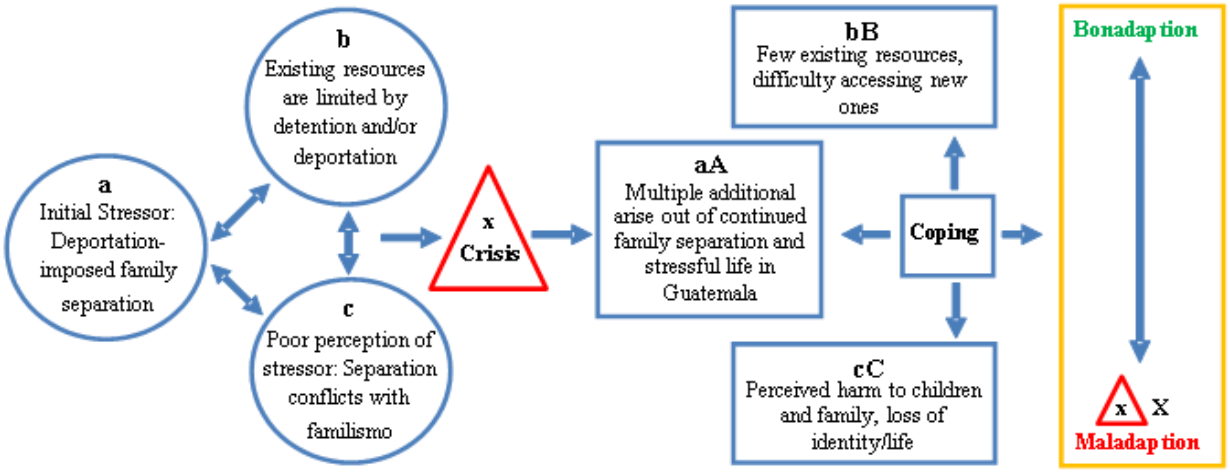
family-relational difficulties (Capps et al., 2007). In response to these stressors, Guatemalan deportees attribute deeply negative meaning (C) to their deportation-imposed separation from family. In line with existing research findings on Latino families (see Dreby, 2012; Marin & Triandis, 1985; Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Tabor& Milfont, 2011; Valdez, Lewis-Valentine, & Padilla, 2013), participants in this study placed utmost importance on their family role and relationships with relatives. Moreover, they typically viewed their immigration in the United States as an analog for the opportunity to improve on the quality of life of their families and children (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Tabor& Milfont, 2011). Consequently, as foreshadowed by Valdez, Lewis-Valentine, and Padilla's findings (2013), they perceive losing the battle to avoid the deportation process as losing the opportunity to work towards, and ultimately realize important hopes and dreams for the socioeconomic advancement of their families, and especially their children.

Figure 5.1 McCubbin and Patterson's (1983) Double ABCX Model



As the deportation process unfolds over time, Guatemalan immigrants are unable to adequately cope as a pile-up of multiple additional stressors arising out of continued family separation and life in Guatemala (aA), difficulty accessing new resources (bB), and an increasingly sense of helplessness, anger, and sadness (cC). Post-deportation, additional stressors (aA) manifests from one, or a combination of multiple sources. The most damaging sources of stress referenced by participants in this study involved threats to their children's well-being via

Figure 5.2 Double ABCX Formulation of the Integrated Qualitative and Quantitative Study Findings



substantial emotional, behavioral, and/or academic problems. Additional reported sources included poor socioeconomic conditions in Guatemala, stereotypes that paint deportees as criminals, and, commonly, a lack of familiarity with the native country and its culture. Together, these sources of stress inhibited deportees participating in the study from developing new resources (bB) to assist with confronting the crisis. Moreover, their perception (cC) of being

separated from family by deportation worsened. Parents who left sons and daughters in the United States, for instance, described feeling that they had placed their children at risk of long-term and unresolvable consequences. Others described feeling as if they had lost their partners, their children, and their psychological safety net; the combination of which suggested that they had lost their identity and life as it was before.

Study Implications and Future Research

Multiple implications for clinical practice, governmental policy, and research can be derived from the study findings. As recommended by Casas and Cabrera (2011), unauthorized immigrant clientele may benefit from addressing the repercussions of deportation with clinical providers, with the hope of preventing negative psychological outcomes stemming from intensely acute and later chronic distress and decreased familial support. Because of increasingly restrictive immigration policy in many parts of the United States, families with unauthorized status often become isolated and live in fear of deportation and family separation, both of which have been shown to negatively impact family life and mental health outcomes among parents and children (Chaudry et al., 2010; Valdez, Padilla, Lewis-Valentine, 2013). Advocacy groups could reach out to these families and connect them to services and programs aimed at supporting these vulnerable families. As far as is known, there are few if any organizations that possess the cultural and contextual expertise needed to dedicate themselves to these tasks. Consequently, they are delegated to larger social service institutions such as foster care and state-operated community mental health centers. As these institutions are well known for being overburdened by large caseloads and even larger waiting lists, they likely have little capacity to provide the services needed by this highly unique, yet increasingly large population group.

After deportation of a parent, affected children may benefit from interventions focused on helping them understand the absence of their deported parents in a culturally and

developmentally-appropriate manner. Ideally, this would allow children to process any grief, confusion, and blame associated with losing their parents. In turn, clinical services for the remaining parent should address the burden of both losing a spouse to deportation, and of becoming the primary caregiver for children, a role for which many men and women may not be prepared (Valdez, Padilla, & Lewis Valentine, 2013). Finally, clinical services for deportees should focus on helping them: (a) process the ambiguous loss they have experienced, particularly in relation to their relationship with children and the life they had prior to deportation; (b) make meaning of the gradual changes in these relationships: and for those who lived in the United States for a long period of time, (c) adjust to new circumstances in a foreign land and culture.

In addition to the above, preventative interventions are recommended for institutions assisting U.S.-based unauthorized immigrants. O'Neil (2012) reported in the Huffington Post that several advocacy groups currently encourage immigrants to develop safety plans to enact in the event that they are deported. Given the current study's findings, social service agencies should begin to assist unauthorized immigrant clientele with putting this recommendation into action. Deportation safety plans should minimally include measures to protect children, elderly family members, and other relatives that are unable to care for themselves. Such measures may include childcare, alternate transportation to school or medical appointments, and alternate housing. Deportation safety plans should also include a list of resources to help with mitigating and perhaps covering the cost of legal services and basic needs (e.g., food, rent, transportation) during detention and for a period of time after the individual is deported. There is a general paucity of such resources, however, and those that do exist can be difficult to access. As such, if possible, unauthorized immigrants and their families should be encouraged to set aside emergency money to help fill the gap in financial support created by the detention of an adult family member, and to assist with legal fees and other costs incurred by the family during

detention, and to assist with the deported relative's reintegration into the native country.

Policy implications based on this study's findings mirror three recommendations made by Chaudry et al. (2010). First, the United States should permit alternatives to detention for parents who are not considered to be a danger to themselves or their community, and who are not determined to be at risk of fleeing to avoid punishment, so long as they are not subject to mandatory detention rules. Immigration legal assistance attempts to shorten or avoid detention and subsequent deportation by highlighting the costs to U.S. society of placing U.S.-born children in foster care or of taking away a child's parent. Although many of these programs are effective, including one in Wisconsin (see University of Wisconsin – Madison Immigrant Justice Clinic), these decisions could be enforced through policy at the local, state, and federal government levels. Second, the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) should allow family members increased access to detained immigrants by (a) reducing the frequency of transfers to different detention facilities, (b) prohibiting transfers to facilities that are distant from detainees' homes, and (c) encouraging and facilitating family visitations and other forms of family communication. Third, ICE should collaborate with independent institutions to develop plans to protect the well-being of children after their parents have been deported. Adding to this, ICE should strive to include detained parents in the construction of these plans prior to their deportation, so that parents leave the United State cognizant of and potentially reassured by the fact that measures are in place to protect the rights and safety of their children post-deportation.

In addition to the above, it is recommended that sentencing be adjusted for parents of minor children that are deported for civil, as opposed to criminal offenses. In particular, parents detained for civil matters should be made ineligible for lifetime bans from the United States. Moreover, the amount of time they are required to remain outside of the United States and away

from their children should be reduced. Given that family reunification is a primary goal for immigration under current U.S. immigration policy, legal avenues for reuniting deported parents of minors should be established that are financially affordable and otherwise feasible for deportees and their families.

Given that many Latin American nations like Guatemala are burdened by limited infrastructure in the areas of healthcare, education, employment, and other basic needs (Chaudry et al., 2010), the U.S. government and non-governmental organizations such as churches and advocacy groups should aid in bolstering the capacity of receiving countries to assist deportees upon their return. Specifically, programs should be established to assist with linking deportees with crucial resources. Foremost, resources related to instrumental support should be emphasized. Deportees would likely most benefit from occupational training, assistance with finding housing and employment, and access to phone and internet service for communication with family in the United States. Additional resources should promote improved well-being among deportees, with specific emphasis on improving access to medical and psychological services, the latter of which would ideally include psychotherapy, case management services, and support groups. And finally, deportees would benefit from linguistic and cultural training to assist with adjustment to the receiving country and its culture. This may be especially helpful for those who resided in the United States for long periods of time prior to their deportation. Although current programs of this nature do exist, their scope is often limited by funding, and it is difficult to determine their efficacy based on official documentation (e.g., news articles, institutional reports). However, informal conversations with study participants suggest that existing programs, such as the IOM Guatemalan Repatriates Project, do not currently meet the multiple needs of Guatemalan deportees.

If organizations are established in receiving countries to assist deportees with accessing

and utilizing important resources, both the United States and deported immigrants may derive important benefits. For deportees, assistance with acquiring crucial resources would hopefully result in an improved ability to provide financially for themselves and their relatives in the United States. This assistance may serve to mitigate the degree to which deportees experience psychological distress post-deportation, especially if they are combined with concurrent medical and mental health services,. To the benefit of the United States, receiving country-based organizations that facilitate resource acquisition for deportees may help to promote successful deportation and reduce recidivism. In this study and others (e.g., Hagan, Esbach, & Rodriguez, 2008), a number of deported individuals cited employment and financial difficulties, and subsequent difficulty with providing instrumental support for family members, as primary reasons for returning to the United States without proper authorization.

Important theoretical and methodological implications can be drawn from this study. With regards to theory, the current study extends the application of the Double ABCX model and ambiguous loss theory. Measurement implications drawn from this study relate to the need for psychometrically sound instruments that tap into concepts associated with deportation. Finally, this study demonstrates the importance of framing family separation due to deportation as a graduated process, rather than a discrete event. By measuring deportation-imposed family separation or even deportation alone as discrete events, researchers fail to understand the nuanced subjective experiences and meanings contributing to psychological distress. By illustrating how the process unfolds, however, researchers are not only better able to inform future research areas, they are also better able to inform clinical practice.

Although research has explored deportation and to some degree, the impact of deportation-imposed family separation on deportees' levels of psychological distress, the quantitative measurement of constructs related to deportation has lagged behind. This study

attempted to address this gap by creating a scale of behavioral familismo. However, scales such as this need to be normed and validated on large samples to increase confidence in their psychometric properties. Future research could also expand on the current study by exploring the parallel processes of deportation-imposed family separation and psychological distress among both deported parents and the children they leave behind. This would allow us to understand differences in these processes for different family members, and in turn, inform interventions and policies. Longitudinal research could also expand on this study by following participants over an extended period of time, even for those who subsequently are reunited with their families in the United States.

Beyond the above, research guided by a framework informed by ambiguous loss theory may offer important contributions to the current body of literature. Provided that deportees remain psychologically present in the daily lives of the family they are forced to leave behind, despite being physically absent, it is likely that deportation-imposed fairly separation is an example of ambiguous loss; a term coined by Boss (2004) to describe ‘‘a situation of unclear loss resulting from not knowing whether a loved one is dead or alive, absent or present’’ (p. 554). Ambiguous loss has provided the theoretical framework for past research on experiences similar to deportation, including the experience of Cuban exiles (Perez, 2013) and families of prisoners of war (Shalev & Ben-Asher, 2011). In addition, numerous studies (see Boss, 2004, 2006) have shown that ambiguous loss predicts negative psychosocial outcomes including symptoms of depression, anxiety, and family conflict.

Beyond the above, future research endeavors should focus on replicating the present study with samples of deported immigrants returned to other Latin American countries, with specific priority given to those nations with large immigrant populations in the United States such as Mexico, Honduras and El Salvador. As noted above, researchers should also consider

longitudinal approaches for future investigations in order to explore the psychosocial impact of detention and deportation on affected immigrant families over time. Additionally, future research should include a comparison group of deportees that were not separated from relatives as a consequence of their removal from the United States. Next, future studies should examine other variables such as age, socioeconomic status, and education for their effect on the relationship between family-separation and psychological distress, as well as the relationship between behavioral familismo and psychological distress. Similarly, the current literature would benefit from research focused on identifying additional factors affecting deportees' readjustment to the native country. Examples may include family support both in the host and native countries, as well as reasons for deportation (e.g., civil versus criminal). Finally, researchers should consider conducting in-depth needs assessments in high priority receiving nations such as Guatemala in order to lay solid a foundation for sustainable, consumer-informed programs to assist deportees with maintaining positive mental health, family preservation and reintegration to the native country.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the current study that should be acknowledged. First, the study utilized a relatively small sample size that likely reduced statistical power in the quantitative analysis and the overall generalizability of the findings. Second, this investigation was limited by the exclusion of a comparison group of deportees that were not separated from family members. Third, the study was cross-sectional and the results were correlational. As such, causal relations were not tested and suggestions regarding longitudinal trends cannot be made. Fourth, in spite of significant efforts to learn about Guatemalan language nuance and culture, including living and working in Guatemala for 6 months during data collection, the researcher is a fourth generation Mexican American who was born and raised in the United States and not a

native Spanish speaker. As such, important cultural and linguistic differences may have contributed to miscommunication that complicated both the qualitative and quantitative data collection, and this may have in turn compromised the integrity of the study data. Fifth, the study created and used a measure of behavioral familismo that had not been previously normed. Therefore, the psychometric properties of this measure are unknown and weak properties may have contributed to a lack of significant findings in the quantitative study. Finally**,** this study is limited by a sample that is primarily male. Given the gender difference in traditional Latino family roles (e.g., males as bread-winners), it is possible that men and women express behavioral familismo differently, and that male deportees' ability to support their families is less affected by deportation. For example, some men may be able to meet their family obligations by providing financial support only; an action that does not generally require close proximity to family. However, some women, and mothers in particular, are often relied upon by their families for emotional support, household management, and child rearing. As such, they may have to be geographically close to relatives in order to adequately fulfill their family role. Despite the above, because participants in this study were primarily male, it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the differential expression of behavioral familismo.

Strengths

This study was one of the first in the body of deportation literature to emphasize the lived experience of deportees. Moreover, it is unique in that it examines the differential impact of deportation-imposed separation by subgroups of family members. There is a stark paucity of research in general, and mixed-methods research specifically, that is aimed at investigating the effects of deportation on immigrants and their families. Given that the importance ascribed to family within Latino culture, and given that deportation frequently separates Latino deportees from their families, this study serves as a sound beginning to filling a crucial gap in the literature.

The use of mixed methods represents an additional strength of the current study. Scholars have described mixed methods as a strategy for using the strengths of one brand of research methodology to enhance the performance of another (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2009). Using mixed methods also enabled the researcher to closely adhere to the well-documented recommendation that more participatory approaches be used in research with vulnerable populations (see Papadopoulos & Lees, 2002; Pinto et al., 2008) and with members of diverse cultures and ethnicities (see APA, 2012; Betancourt & Williams, 2008).

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APPENDIX A: Study Consent Form, English

Dear Sir or Madam,

You are invited to take part in a University of Wisconsin – Madison research project. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what it's like being deported, and how it affects families. The study will focus specifically on Guatemalans who have been deported from the United States and family that had to leave behind there as a result. The study will also focus on deported Guatemalan's ability to support their family in the United States after they return to Guatemala. You are being asked to participate because you have recently been deported from the United States, and have been separated from your family members as a result.

What will participation in the study involve?

If you decide to participate in this research, we will ask you to complete a brief survey. This survey asks you about yourself and about being deported. It also asks you how you think you should support your family. Next, the survey asks about how you are able to support your family in the United States from Guatemala. Finally, it asks about how you feel after being deported.

In addition to the survey, you may also be asked to participate in an interview that will last thirty minutes to one hour. In this interview, you will be asked to talk about what it was like being deported and separated from your family that still lives in the United States. This interview will be tape-recorded. Recordings of the interviews will be transcribed so that they may be analyzed as a part of the study. Recordings of interviews and transcripts will be stored in a locked container within a locked room for a minimum of seven years. Finally, you should know that that the information you provide may be used in other research projects in the future. Because of this, recordings of interviews will be retained after transcription. These will be stored within a locked container within a locked room.

Are there risks if I participate in the study?

If you participate in this research there are risks you should know about. First, being deported and separated from your family is stressful. Because of this, filling out a survey or talking about this may also be stressful to you. Second, you may be embarrassed if people find out that you have been deported and if they find out you are having emotional difficulties as a result. Third, since many people that have been deported from the United States want to return, participating in a study like this may cause them to worry that they will be identified by law enforcement officials and punished. Fourth, people that are interviewed could reveal personal, sensitive, or identifying information about themselves.

Are there any benefits to participating in the study?

There are no direct benefits to participants in this study.

Compensation

If you choose to participate in the study, you will be paid 20 Quetzales for completing the survey. If you participate in an interview, you will be paid 40 Quetzales.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

We will not use your name or any information that can be used to identify you in anything that is published as a result. Also, only the researchers authorized to work on this study will be able to see the information you provide, and no one else. For the survey and the information you provide in the interview, we will use a number instead of your name so nobody can identify you. It is important for you to know if you tell us that you want to harm yourself or someone else, a mental health professional will be available to help you. You should know that if we feel you or others are in immediate danger, we will have to notify professionals like a doctor, a psychologist, or a police officer to keep you and others safe.

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate in the study,

and if you start participating, you may change your mind and stop participating at any time. In addition, you have the right to refuse to answer any questions on the survey or in the interview no matter the reason. You also have the right to review any information you provide in the survey or interview, and have it removed from the study if you wish. If you choose to not participate, choose not to answer certain questions, stop participating, or ask to have certain information removed, there will be no consequences for you or your family.

Whom should I contact if I have questions?

If you have any questions at any time about this study, you can contact the primary researcher, Carmen Valdez, Ph.D. She can be reached by phone in the United States at 001-608-263-4493, or by email at cvaldez@wisc.edu. In Guatemala, you may contact Yetilú de Baessa, Ph.D at 502-2338-7797, or by email at yetilu@ufm.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Wisconsin – Madison's Educational Research and Social and Behavioral Science Institutional Review Board at (608) 263-2320, or by email at lmlarson@ls.wisc.edu.

Your oral consent indicates that you understand the information provided above about this study. It also means that you have had an opportunity to ask questions, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study. Finally, if you decide to participate in an interview, you give permission to be directly quoted, WITHOUT USE OF YOUR NAME, in reports published as a result.

APPENDIX B: Study Consent Form, Spanish

Estimado Señor(a),

Se le invita a participar en un proyecto de investigación de la Universidad de Wisconsin – Madison. El propósito de este estudio es aprender más acerca de lo que es ser deportado, y cómo afecta a las familias. El estudio se centrará específicamente en los guatemaltecos que han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos y tienen familia que tuvo que dejar allí como consecuencia de ello. En el estudio también se centrará en la capacidad de deportados de Guatemala para apoyar a su familia en los Estados Unidos después de su regreso a Guatemala. Se le pide a participar porque recientemente ha sido deportado de los Estados Unidos, y ha sido separado de sus familiares como consecuencia de ello.

¿Qué involucrará la participación en el estudio?
Si usted decide participar en esta investigación, se le pedirá que complete una breve encuesta. Esta encuesta le pregunta acerca de usted mismo y de ser deportados. También le pregunta cómo cree que debe mantener a su familia. A continuación, la encuesta pregunta acerca de cómo usted puede apoyar a su familia en los Estados Unidos desde Guatemala. Por último, se pregunta sobre cómo se siente después de haber sido deportados.

Además de la encuesta, también se le puede pedir a participar en una entrevista que tendrá una duración de treinta minutos a una hora. En esta entrevista, se le pedirá que hable sobre lo que era ser deportado y separado de su familia que aún vive en los Estados Unidos. Esta entrevista será grabada. Las grabaciones de las entrevistas serán transcritos de manera que puedan ser analizados como parte del estudio. Las grabaciones de las entrevistas serán destruidas después de ser transcritos. Las grabaciones de las entrevistas y transcripciones se almacenarán en un recipiente cerrado dentro de una habitación cerrada por un mínimo de siete años. Por último, usted debe saber que la información que usted proporcione puede ser utilizada en otros proyectos de investigación en el futuro. Debido a esto, las grabaciones de las entrevistas se mantendrán después de la transcripción. Estas se almacenarán en un recipiente cerrado dentro de una habitación cerrada.

¿Existen riesgos para participar en el estudio?
Si usted participa en esta investigación, hay riesgos que usted debe conocer. En primer lugar, ser deportado y separado de su familia es muy estresante. Por este motivo, completar una encuesta o hablar de esto también puede ser estresante para usted. En segundo lugar, es posible que se avergüence si la gente se entera de que ha sido deportado y si se enteran de que están teniendo dificultades emocionales como resultado. En tercer lugar, ya que muchas personas que han sido deportadas de los Estados Unidos quiere volver, participando en un estudio como éste puede hacer que se preocupan de que serán identificados por los funcionarios de ley y castigados. En cuarto lugar, las personas que son entrevistadas podrían revelar información personal, sensible, o de identificación de sí mismos.

¿Hay algún beneficio para mí por participar en el estudio?
No hay beneficios directos para los participantes previstos como resultado o la participación en este estudio, sin embargo, podría en el futuro ayudar a implementar mejores programas que ayuden a las personas deportadas.

Compensación
Si usted decide participar en el estudio, se le pagará 20 quetzales por completar la encuesta. Si usted participa en la entrevista de grupo focal, se le pagará 40 quetzales adicionales.

¿Cómo será protegida mi confidencialidad?
No vamos a utilizar su nombre o cualquier otra información que pueda ser usada para identificarlo en cualquier cosa que se publica como consecuencia de ello. Además, sólo los investigadores autorizados a

trabajar en este estudio será capaz de ver la información que usted proporciona, y nadie más. Para la encuesta y la información que proporcione en la entrevista, vamos a utilizar un número en lugar de su nombre para que nadie pueda identificarle. Es importante que usted sepa si usted nos dice que desea hacer daño a sí mismo u otra persona, un profesional de salud mental estará disponible para ayudarle. Usted debe saber que si usted se siente o que otros están en peligro inmediato, tendremos que notificar a los profesionales como un médico, un psicólogo, o un oficial de policía para que usted y los demás estén seguros.

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Usted puede optar por no participar en el estudio, y si comienza a participar, usted puede cambiar de opinión y dejar de participar en cualquier momento. Además, usted tiene el derecho a negarse a contestar cualquier pregunta sobre el estudio o en la entrevista, sin importar la razón. Usted también tiene el derecho de revisar cualquier información que usted proporciona en la encuesta o entrevista, y que se lo retiren del estudio si así lo desea. Si decide no participar, decide no responder a ciertas preguntas, decide dejar de participar, o si pide que se elimina cierta información, no habrá consecuencias para usted o su familia.

¿A quién debo contactar si tengo preguntas?

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta en cualquier momento sobre este estudio, puede comunicarse con el investigador principal, Carmen Valdez, Ph.D. Se le puede contactar por teléfono en los Estados Unidos al 001-608-263-4493, o por correo electrónico a cvaldez@wisc.edu. En Guatemala, puede comunicarse con Yetilú de Baessa, Ph.D en 502-2338-7797, o por correo electrónico a yetilu@ufm.edu. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en la investigación, puede comunicarse con la Universidad de Ciencias Pedagógicas Wisconsin – Madison y la Junta de Ciencias Sociales y del Comportamiento de Revisión Institucional en (608) 263-2320, o por correo electrónico a lmlarson@ls.wisc. edu.

Su consentimiento oral indica que usted entiende la información proporcionada sobre este estudio. También significa que usted ha tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas, y que usted voluntariamente acepta participar en el estudio. Finalmente, si participa en una entrevista, usted da permiso para ser citado directamente, SIN EL USO DE SU NOMBRE, en los informes publicados como resultado.

APPENDIX C: Study Questionnaire, English

Demographics Survey

1. Date of birth: _____/_____
   (Month) (Year)
2. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female

   ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed
   ☐ Married ☐ Living with significant other ☐ Separated
3. Ethnicity: ☐ Indigenous ☐Ladino ☐ Mulato ☐ Other (please specify)_____
4. Relationship status (please check one):
5. How many children do you have? _____
6. Please indicate the gender, age, and current country of residence for each of your children:

Age	Gender	Current country of residence

7. How many years of education have you completed? : _____
8. Are you currently working (please check one): ☐ Yes ☐ No
9. What was your income in the United States? _____daily/monthly/yearly (circle one)
10. What is your monthly income in Guatemala? _____daily/monthly/yearly (circle one)
11. What is your primary language? _____
12. Are you fluent in another language? Which one(s)? _____
13. How long did you live in the United States prior to deportation? _____ years, _____ months
14. Number of months since deported from the United States: _____
15. Due to being deported from the United States, I was separated from the following family members (mark all that apply):

    ☐ One or more of my children that I lived with
    ☐ My spouse or romantic partner that I lived with
    ☐ One or more siblings that I lived with
    ☐ Other family member(s) that I lived with (e.g., cousin, aunt, grandparent)

BFS

Directions: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements

		Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1	Before I was deported, I helped my relatives in the United States when they had problems.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to help my relatives in the United States when they have problems.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Before I was deported, I was able to maintain close relationships with my relatives in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to have close relationships with my relatives in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Before I was deported, I showed my love and affection for my relatives in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to show my love and affection for my relatives in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Before I was deported, I provided financial support for relatives in the United States that were in need.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to provide financial support for relatives in the United States that are in need.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Before I was deported, I helped my relatives in the United States get the things they need to survive (e.g. food, shelter).	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to help relatives in the United States get the things they need to survive (e.g., food, shelter)	1	2	3	4	5
6	Before I was deported, I made sacrifices so my children in the United States could have a better life.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I am still able to make sacrifices so that my children in the United States can have a better life	1	2	3	4	5
7	Before I was deported, I taught my children in the United States to be well mannered.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I continue to teach my children in the United States to be well mannered.	1	2	3	4	5

8	Before I was deported, I asked relatives for advice on important decisions I had to make.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I continue to ask relatives for advice on important decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Before I was deported, I did things to help my family have a good reputation.	1	2	3	4	5
	Now, in Guatemala, I continue to do things to help my family have a good reputation.	1	2	3	4	5

BSI-18

Below is a list of problems people sometime have. Read each one carefully and fill in the circle that best describes HOW MUCH THAT PROBLEM HAS DISTRESSED OR BOTHERED YOU IN THE PAST 7 DAYS, INCLUDING TODAY.

		Not At All	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
1.	Faintness or dizziness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Feeling no interest in things	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Nervousness or shakiness inside	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Pains in the heart or chest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Feeling lonely	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Feeling tense or keyed up	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Nausea or upset stomach	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Feeling blue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Suddenly scared for no reason	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Trouble getting your breath	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Feelings of worthlessness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Spells of terror or panic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Numbness or tingling in different parts of your body	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Feeling hopeless about the future	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Feeling so restless that you couldn’t sit still	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Feeling weak in parts of your body	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Thoughts of ending your life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	Feeling fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX D: Study Questionnaire, Spanish

Encuesta Demográfica

16. Fecha de Nacimiento: _____/_____
(Mes) (Año)
17. Sexo: ☐ Masculino ☐ Femenino
18. Etnicidad: ☐ Indígena ☐ Ladino ☐ Mulato ☐ Otra (por favor, especificar)_____
19. Estado Civil (por favor marque uno):

☐ Soltero/a	☐ Divorciado/a	☐ Viudo/a
☐ Casado/a	☐ Unión	☐ Separado/a

20. ¿Cuantos hijos tiene usted? _____
21. Por favor, indique el sexo, edad, y país de residencia actual de cada uno de sus hijos:

Edad	Sexo	País de residencia actual

22. ¿Cuántos años de educación ha completado usted?_____
23. ¿Está usted trabajando actualmente ? ☐ Si ☐ No
24. ¿Cuál era su ingreso los Estados Unidos? _____ diario/mensual/anual
25. ¿Cuál es su ingreso en Guatemala? _____ diario/mensual/anual
26. ¿Qué idioma habla usted?_____
27. ¿Habla otro idioma? ¿Cuál(es)?_____
28. ¿Cuánto tiempo vivió usted en los EE.UU antes de ser deportado? ____ años, ____meses
29. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de haber sido deportado?: _____
30. Por haber sido deportado de los EE.UU, yo fui separado de los siguientes miembros de mi familia (por favor marque todos que apliquen a usted):

☐ Uno o más de mis hijos con quienes vivía
☐ Mi esposo/a o pareja con quien vivía
☐ Uno o más hermanos/as con quienes vivía
☐ Familia extendida con quien vivía (por ejemplo, un primo/a, tío/a, abuelo/a)

BFS

Instrucciones: Por favor, indique el grado en el que usted está de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones.

	Muy en Desacuerdo				Muy de Acuerdo
Antes de ser deportado, ayudé a mis familiares en los Estados Unidos cuando tenían problemas.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía puedo ayudar a mis familiares en los Estados Unidos cuando tienen problemas.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, hice un esfuerzo por mantener relaciones cercanas con mis familiares en los Estados Unidos.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía hago el esfuerzo por mantener relaciones cercanas con mis familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, mostraba amor y cariño a mis familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía muestro mi amor y cariño a mis familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, proporcioné apoyo financiero a mis familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos cuando estaban en apuros.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía soy capaz de proporcionar apoyo financiero a mis familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos cuando están en apuros.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, ayudé a mis familiares en los Estados Unidos a obtener las cosas que necesitaban para sobrevivir (Eje: vivienda, comida)	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía puedo ayudar a mis familiares en los Estados Unidos a obtener las cosas que necesitan para sobrevivir (Eje: vivienda, comida)	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, hacía sacrificios para que mis hijos que viven en los Estados Unidos tuvieran una mejor vida.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía hago sacrificios para que mis hijos que viven en los Estados Unidos tengan una mejor vida.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, enseñaba a mis hijos que viven en los Estados Unidos a ser educados.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, sigo enseñándoles a mis hijos que viven en los Estados Unidos a ser educados.	1	2	3	4	5
Antes de ser deportado, pedía consejos a familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos sobre decisiones importantes.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía puedo pedir consejos a familiares que viven en los Estados Unidos sobre decisiones importantes.	1	2	3	4	5

Antes de ser deportado, hacía cosas para que mi familia tuviera una buena reputación.	1	2	3	4	5
Ahora, en Guatemala, todavía puedo hacer cosas para que mi familia tenga una buena reputación.	1	2	3	4	5

BSI

A continuación hay una lista de problemas que a veces tiene la gente. Leala cuidadosamente y marque el cuadro que mejor describa CUANTO LE HA AFECTADO O MOLESTADO ESE PROBLEMA EN LOS ULTIMOS 7 DIAS, INCLUYENDO HOY.

		Para Nada	Un poco	Moderada-mente	Mucho	Extremada-mente
1.	Desmayos o mareos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	No sentir interés por las cosas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Nervios o tembladera por dentro	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Dolores en el corazón o pecho	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Sentirse solo(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Sentirse tenso(a) o al borde de nervios	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Nausea o dolor de estomago	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Sentirse triste o decaído(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Repentinamente con miedo por ninguna razón	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Problemas para respirar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Sentimientos de poco valor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Episodios de terror o pánico	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Diferentes partes del cuerpo durmiéndose o con hormigueo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Sentirse sin esperanzas por el futuro	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Sentirse tan inquieto(a) que no puede sentarse quieto(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Sentir debilidad en partes del cuerpo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Pensamientos de acabar su vida	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	Sentirse temeroso(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX E: BFCS and Original MACVS or FS Items

	BFS Item	Original Item	Original Scale	Familismo Factor
1	From Guatemala, I am able to help my relatives in the United States when they have problems	• Family provides a sense of security because they will always be there for you.	MACVS	Family support
		• When someone has problems s/he can count on help from his/her relatives	FS	Family support
		• When one has problems, one can count on the help of relatives	FS	Family support
2	From Guatemala, I am able to maintain close relationships with my relatives in the United States	• It is important to have close relationships with aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins.	MACVS	Family support
3	From Guatemala, I am able to show my love and affection for my relatives in the United States	• It is important for family members to show their love and affection to one another.	MACVS	Family support
4	From Guatemala, I am able to provide financial support for my relatives in United States when they are in need.	• If a relative is having a hard time financially, one should help them out if	MACVS	Family obligations
		• One should help economically with the support of younger brothers and sisters	FS	Family obligations
		• I would help within my means if a relative told me that she/he is in financial difficulty	FS	Family obligations
5	From Guatemala, I am able to ensure that my relatives in the United States have the things they need to survive (e.g. Housing)	• A person should share their home with relatives if they need a place to stay.	MACVS	Family obligations
		• Aging parents should live with their	FS	Family obligations
		• A person should share his/her home with uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need	FS	Family obligations
6	From Guatemala, I am able to make sacrifices so that my children in the United States can have a better life	• Parents should be willing to make great sacrifices to make sure their children have a better life.	MACVS	Family obligations
7	From Guatemala, I am able to teach my children in the United States to be well mannered.	• Children should always do things to make their parents happy.	MACVS	Family as referents
		• Children should be taught to always be good because they represent the family.	MACVS	Family as referents
		• Much of what a son or daughter does should be done to please the parents	FS	Family as referents
		• Children should live in their parents' house until they get married	FS	Family as referents
8	From Guatemala, I am able to ask for advice from relatives in the United States when I have an important decision to make	• When it comes to important decisions, the family should ask for advice from close	MACVS	Family as referents
		• A person should always think about their family when making important decisions.	MACVS	Family as referents
		• The family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts) concerning its important decisions	FS	Family as referents
9	From Guatemala, I am able to do things that make my family in the United States look good.	• It is important to work hard and do one's best because this work reflects on the	MACVS	Family as referents
		• One should be embarrassed about the bad things done by his/her brothers or sisters	FS	Family as referents

FS= Familism Scale (Sabogal et al., 1987)

MACVS= Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (Knight et al., 2009)

APPENDIX F: Qualitative Coding Scheme

Theme	Sub-Theme	Supportive Excerpt
Theme 1. Family Life in the United States, Before Deportation	The Centrality of Family	"...A lot of families over there in the United States...when you turn 18 or 21 you walk out of the house. Latino Families aren't like that. We're trying to keep the family together as long as we can. The most important thing is to keep the family together....My family is everything...That's how I learned to be a man, husband and father. And that's why I learned the system over there (in the United States)...how to walk and talk...I supported my children and helped them with their problems. I walked them to school. Any time they call the school for the events, you know like chorus… Anything that they do at school, I would go with them...I was there for everything. And I made a big deal out of them. If they got a certificate for being a good student, I'd take them out to eat. And I was with them all the time..." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation] "Whenever I was able to, I made sure to spare the energy to help (my family). How couldn't I? It's not easy to move two children forward in life. … My daughter paid for high school for both of my grandchildren. I helped pay for their school. I supported them in everything." [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; Originally quoted in Spanish] "She was going to college and I was babysitting...When I worked, she was with her (participant's daughter), and then when I got back from work…she had to go back to community college... I was paying for school...The purpose was that she was going to finish college and then she was going to help (us)...Eventually she was going to be in a better position than I (was)." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation] "Before, before over there like I had my father, and my, before he passed away, and my mom, we used to help each other out... I used to get paid over there every 2 weeks. I used to give... my mom money. I used to give her between $300-400 every 2 weeks, helping her out... And if I needed money …because I didn't get paid, or there wasn't enough money...My dad, he would stay broke just to give me the money. He'd find a way to find money for me." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation]
	Family as a Primary Motive for Being in the United States	"…For my family. That is why I went." [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation] "My dad and my mom wanted to give us a better future…for me and my sisters. And they went to the United States illegally, and took the whole family over there…and just had us living a better life, because they didn't want to live (in Guatemala)." [41 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation] "In 1989 there were kidnappings in this town. And my sister came to visit, saw that things were awful...and said, 'My little sister is in danger!' And because of that she decided that I should go (to the United States) undocumented." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

Theme 2: Arrest, Detention and Deportation	Abrupt Disconnect from Family	"What happens is that they catch you very suddenly, and they catch you when you're distracted. One day, you have plans for the future, and, Bam! Your life changes from one thing to another. Let me tell you, I suffered a lot when they caught me. I suffered a lot. Because there were two people that caught me that said they worked for a business, and they took me to a little room…When they took me, my family didn't know anything about how or where I was for a night and a day. They worried since they didn't know I had been caught. And the biggest problem in my case is that I am a diabetic." [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish] "We finished work at 4 or 5 in the morning. My daughter already knew that her father had been taken by immigration, and when I arrived she couldn't handle keeping it in, and she came out of her room and said, 'Mama, listen, immigration took my Dad and he is going to be deported.' And I asked, 'And where did they take him?' She responded, ' At the moment we don't know anything about where Dad is. We don't know.' So, I was so grief-stricken and I began to cry. And the next day I told my sister, 'You know what? I'm going to turn myself in. I'm leaving. Because what is he going to do back there (in Guatemala) by himself?" I turned myself in because I told myself, 'I am going to lose my husband.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
	The Pain of Family Separation Begins Early	"I remember the last time I seen him. I gave him a hug and I went to work thinking I was going to see him again. I told him, I said (crying), 'When daddy comes back we're going to go to the beach…and we're going to go for a walk.' …He always used to wait for me (sobbing). But I never went back. I never went back." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation] "I got a bond. I got out from there, on Nov. 17th, of 2006. But two months before that...my father passed away; I wasn't able to (see him). ...That was the worst time of my life. I will admit it. ...It took me down…I'd never wish that to nobody. ...I spoke to my father the night before he passed away. ...But since I couldn't be there, I just told him, 'I'm sorry Dad.' I had...you know, like a son-father conversation that you have if you're lying next to your father. He knows and you know he is gonna pass away. But I was just doing it through the phone. It was a very tough situation, those two months. Just, to think about it. Like my father is not gonna be there when I get out. ...Every night was hard. I couldn't sleep after he passed away I probably didn't sleep for like…a week." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation]
	Ambivalence Towards Family Contact in Detention	"...My mom was able to come visit me in prison. She would bring my kids every once in a while, but I kinda didn't want my kids to see me in prison. But they would always ask for me, so she would bring them there to see me...I didn't think it was the right place for them to see me. You know? They would always ask me why I was there, and it was hard to explain to them that it was because I went back to the States. I just told them that I had some problems to care of with immigration, and we were hoping that things were going to turn out all right." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation]

		"...since that day, you know, I was locked up for a month. I couldn't see my wife and my daughters for a month... 'Cause my wife, I was like from Los Angeles. It was one hour on the freeway, and my wife couldn't go there...because she's illegal. They were asking for, for any kind of IDs, and I didn't want her to take that risk." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation]
	The Finality of Leaving Family for "Home"	"My little kid ...he went and saw me. And as soon as he saw me through the glass, he was crying. Yeah, he was crying. I still remember that (begins to cry). I'm sorry that I'm crying. It's sad because he was like seven years-old. And he started crying and I couldn't stop crying. And he asked me what was gonna happen, and I told him the truth, I told him that I was an illegal alien in the States, and that I was getting deported." [35 year-old male; separated from wife and two children by deportation. They have since reunited.] "... (I was) handcuffed since three in the morning when the process started in Louisiana to get to the airport. (The immigration officials) were calling you by names. The worst things I experienced, I experienced in there. Ah knowing, knowing that all of us were going to fly to Guatemala. They're giving you hard eggs that are already expired. Like you break 'em, and you see water come out. And actually I never ate there...I only had one apple in the twenty-four hours the day I was deported. It was hard (for me emotionally) I couldn't even eat. Ah to be honest with you, and I'm a man. I cried like I never did before on that day. I just, was just thinking like oh my God, what is my wife doing? What were they (family) thinking? And I'm heading to Guatemala." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation]
Theme 3: Life in Guatemala, After Deportation	Deportation + Loss of Family = Loss of Self	"It's tough. I was just living with my daughters and my wife. I walked them to school. Any time they call the school for the events, you know like chorus… Anything that they do at school, I would go with them. That was my life (starts to cry). I don't have a life. It's awful, you know? [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation] "(Crying throughout) I feel like they gave me a life sentence. It is! It's a life sentence… It's not fair. I think that if you do something wrong, and you pay for whatever you did wrong, it's not fair for them to keep you away from your family. It's not…(crying harder)...they gave me a life sentence by kicking me out of the United States, and telling me I cannot ever go back there to see them. That's what I was saying that this should give people a chance, you know? ...You know, we're not bad people! We have family! Give me a chance, you know? I was never given a chance, never…). This is what I do every day when I get home, just sit on my bed and cry and think about when I'm going to be able to see them. Not fair." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation]
	Family Role Inhibition	"I have a wife, I have daughters. I have to be with them, I have to support them, I have to do anything that I have to do to be with them to help them. …I feel like trash now... (Because) I cannot do it. I tried. I tried to get a job over here and I was thinking if I get over there, if I get a job here in Guatemala probably I could send the money, you know? Probably I could send them money, or something! At least $100… nothing. Instead of that sometimes they send me money. And that really sucks." [41 year-old male; separated from wife

	and two children by deportation]
	"It's affected me a lot, because I know that my children are growing up in the United States and I can't do anything for them. They call me on the phone every once-in-a-while, and it makes my heart hurt. It makes my soul hurt knowing that they have needs, that they want to buy a pair of pants, or that they want some little thing. My oldest daughter is 18 years old. She wants a car, and I can't buy her a car. My oldest son wants to go to the university. I can't help them. I try to do things here, because I am a hard worker. No matter how I want to keep moving forward. But when you get to be more of an adult age, in a country that is not your country, even though I was born here, it's very hard to begin. And I see that my family is suffering to the point that at times they don't have enough money to pay the rent. When they never suffered (before). I gave them everything." [51 year-old male, separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
	"It makes me feel like I am nothing. That's how it makes me feel, because I can't help them from here. When they tell me, 'Mama, listen, we don't have shoes,' I used to tell them, 'help me sell these bottles, my children, and I will buy you a pair of shoes." And because of this, they would help us. Now we can't do this, and they say, 'Now we don't have anyone to buy us shoes, grandma. Only when mom can do it.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
Communication with Family: A double-edged sword	"It makes me happy to talk with my children and my grandchildren, but at the same time it makes me...it makes me sad because I can't see them personally. When I would go to work, I was used to giving them a kiss here on the cheek..." [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
	"We get on Facebook. And there I see my nieces and I see how everyone has changed. Five years. They've changed...everyone. And I say, that's how it was. And it makes me sad to think that their lives are continuing, and you are separating (from them) a little. It was really sad because, you know, we didn't get together that often before, but when there were parties and holidays, we would meet up. And even today, they're always uploading photos of their childhood...of times when they were opening gifts on Christmas..." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
	"They don't call me and I don't call them. They're always busy. If I call they think that I want something. I don't want them to think that about me." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
Family Disintegration	"After I was deported, because I was now a problem, she wasn't able to take care of the children...So, she married someone else and I was left without a wife, and practically without children. Without kids, I can't say because they are always calling me saying that they need this and that. And here I am selling everything I have so I can send them things. But what I can do is very little." [51 year-old male, separated from wife and five children by deportation]

	"My wife is in the United States. We talk...She has moved on with her life (begins to cry). She's moved on… (Crying) she has moved on. She has lef my kids behind because she has not been able to take care of my kids anymore. The person that she got involved with has taken her down a bad road. My daughters are with her mom. My son, well my mother ended up taking custody of him but he's got some issues where he's very hyperactive. And sometimes he gets really mad and frustrated, but people don't listen to him and he starts throwing things around. And they kicked him out of the school where he was at. Now he is at another school where he has to live at. He can't leave the school. I call him still. He tells me that he feels like he's in jail like his dad because he can't leave that place." [38 year-old male; separated from wife and three children by deportation]
Separation from Children is Most Difficult	"...My experience has been very difficult because it has been 5 years since I have seen my daughter, and I feel that she needs me as much as I need her. What keeps me alive...knowing that my daughter loves me and needs me. I feel sad because I want to hug her and tell her how much I love her. When I was there, I was everything (to her). I made her food, I bathed her, and everything. If I get mad it's because the only one who has the right to separate someone from their family is God, not people. ...The ones that suffer the most are the children. They punished her in the sense that...first and foremost she is a little girl. And little girls need their mother. [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish] "At no moment do I stop thinking about them. When I am eating, it gives me a lump in my throat. I say to myself, 'I am eating, and maybe my daughter isn't.' Two weeks ago, my oldest daughter had a problem with her mother and step-father. And she called me, since she didn't have anyone else to call. 'Dad, I don't have anywhere to sleep. I'm sleeping in my car with my little brother.' And it was snowing and I didn't sleep at all that night. So I called a friend and he took them to his house. I was desperate, wanting to do something and without the power to do anything." [51 year-old male; separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish] "...I really miss my daughters more than I miss my wife. I love them… it really hurts to not be with them. I'm missing everything. I'm missing their lives. That's the most difficult. I'm never going to get those two years back. I was with them every day, and now I'm missing almost 2 years. I want to see them growing... I'm probably going to miss my daughter's quinceañera... It's in November, but I think I'm going to miss it. And it's something very special for them, for her. Special for her and for me." [34 year-old male; separated from wife and one child by deportation]
Placing Self at Risk in Order to Reunite with Family	"I want to be there (in the United States) but I can't. I have fought hard to find a way to get there, but it's not possible…A friend of mine has a house in Guadalajara, and she told me to continue my fight there. And afterwards we would find a way for me to get married. The problem is, is that the journey is so dangerous. That's why my parents don't want me to go; because the second time I am going to die, my mom says. But I want to keep fighting to find a way to get there (the United States)…Because, what does my life mean if I am not with my daughter? [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

APPENDIX G: Spanish Excerpts with English Translations

Original Spanish Excerpt	English Translation
…Si puedo, me sobra la voluntad ayudarolos, ¿verdad? Si puedo. ¿Cómo no puedo? Yo les ayudaba… ¡claro! Yo les ayudaba cuando estaba allá. Yo les ayudaba para el colegio. Yo les apoyaba en todo."	"Whenever I was able to, I made sure to spare the energy to help (my family). How couldn't I? It's not easy to move two children forward in life. … My daughter paid for high school for both of my grandchildren. I helped pay for their school. I supported them in everything." [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; Originally quoted in Spanish]
En el año '89 habían secuestros aquí en este pueblo. Y mi hermana vino… y estaba el área… fea… Y entonces mi hermana dijo, "Ay no, mi hermanita está peligrando." Y mi hermana decdió por mí…de que me fuera indocumentada."	"In 1989 there were kidnappings in this town. And my sister came to visit, saw that things were awful...and said, 'My little sister is in danger!' And because of that she decided that I should go (to the United States) undocumented." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
Lo que pasa es que como uno lo agarra muy repente de uno. Le agarran distraído. Entonces hacer un mundo en que tiene planes de hacer… 'Este mes, voy a hacer esto. Este otro mes, este otro" y cuando ¡Fum! Cambia la vida de uno para otro. Yo le digo que sufrí mucho cuando me agarraron. Sufrí mucho. Porque me agarraron dos personas que dicen que eran una empresa. A me llevaron a un cuartito… cuando me llevaron, mi familia por una noche y un día no supieron nada de mi donde estaba. Preocupaban…pues ellos no sabían que me agarraron. Y el problema más grande de uno así, como en el caso mío, fue que era diabético."	"What happens is that they catch you very suddenly, and they catch you when you're distracted. One day, you have plans for the future, and, Bam! Your life changes from one thing to another. Let me tell you, I suffered a lot when they caught me. I suffered a lot. Because there were two people that caught me that said they worked for a business, and they took me to a little room…When they took me, my family didn't know anything about how or where I was for a night and a day. They worried since they didn't know I had been caught. And the biggest problem in my case is that I am a diabetic." [61 year-old male; separated from two children, and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Terminaba de trabajar a las cinco o cuatro de la mañana. Y ya mi hija ya sabía que a su papá se lo había llevado migración. Y cuando yo llegue pues ella no aguantó y sale del cuarto y me dice, "Mama fijese que…" "¿Qué pasó?" Le digo yo. "Fíjese que mi papá se lo llevó migración." "Y va ser deportado," me dijo. "¿Y adónde se lo llevarón?" Le dije yo así. "En este momento no sabemos nada de mi papá donde mama. No sabemos." Entonces yo me atormenté mucho y me puse a llorar, ¿verdad? Y otro día le dije a mi hermana, "¿sabes qué? Ando a entregarme. Yo me voy," le dije. ¿Porque que va a ser de él allá? Yo me entregué porque dije, "se va me esposo."	"We finished work at 4 or 5 in the morning. My daughter already knew that her father had been taken by immigration, and when I arrived she couldn't handle keeping it in, and she came out of her room and said, 'Mama, listen, immigration took my Dad and he is going to be deported.' And I asked, 'And where did they take him?' She responded, ' At the moment we don't know anything about where Dad is. We don't know.' So, I was so grief-stricken and I began to cry. And the next day I told my sister, 'You know what? I'm going to turn myself in. I'm leaving. Because what is he going to do back there (in Guatemala) by himself?" I turned myself in because I told myself, 'I am going to lose my husband.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

"Me ha afectado mucho, porque estoy sabiendo que mis niños van creciendo en los Estados Unidos. Y yo no puedo hacer nada por ellos. Me llaman por teléfono en vez en cuando y me duele el corazón, me duele el alma saber que tienen necesidades, que quieren comprar un pantalón, que quieren una cosita. La niña mas grande ya tiene 18 años: quiere un carro. Y yo no le puedo comprar un carro. El niño mas grande quiere ir a la universidad. Y yo no les puedo ayudar. Trato la forma de hacer aquí porque soy trabajador. Y en cualquier lado quiero seguir adelante. Pero cuando ya llegas a una edad ya mas adulta a otro país que no es tu país, aunque aquí nací, es muy difícil empezar. Y veo que están sufriendo. Que a veces no tiene para pagar la renta. Eh, cuando nunca sufrieron, yo les di siempre todo."	"It's affected me a lot, because I know that my children are growing up in the United States and I can't do anything for them. They call me on the phone every once-in-a-while, and it makes my heart hurt. It makes my soul hurt knowing that they have needs, that they want to buy a pair of pants, or that they want some little thing. My oldest daughter is 18 years old. She wants a car, and I can't buy her a car. My oldest son wants to go to the university. I can't help them. I try to do things here, because I am a hard worker. No matter how I want to keep moving forward. But when you get to be more of an adult age, in a country that is not your country, even though I was born here, it's very hard to begin. And I see that my family is suffering to the point that at times they don't have enough money to pay the rent. When they never suffered (before). I gave them everything." [51 year-old male, separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Me hace sentir que no soy nada. Eso me hace sentir a mí. Porque no puedo ayudarles a ellos de aquí. Cuando ellos me contaron, "Mama fíjese que no tenemos zapatos. Les decía yo, "ayúdenme a vender los botes mis hijos y les voy a comprar un par de zapatos." Y ellos con la ilusión de eso, nos ayudaban. Y ahora ya no podemos. "Ahora no hay quien nos compre zapatos abuela (NAME). Sólo cuando mi mama puede."	"It makes me feel like I am nothing. That's how it makes me feel, because I can't help them from here. When they tell me, 'Mama, listen, we don't have shoes,' I used to tell them, 'help me sell these bottles, my children, and I will buy you a pair of shoes." And because of this, they would help us. Now we can't do this, and they say, 'Now we don't have anyone to buy us shoes, grandma. Only when mom can do it.'" [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Me alegra platicar con ellos pero al mismo tiempo me da… me da tristeza… porque no los puedo ver personalmente. …cuando yo me iba a trabajar yo a ellos los acostumbré a darles su besito aquí en la mejilla."	"It makes me happy to talk with my children and my grandchildren, but at the same time it makes me...it makes me sad because I can't see them personally. When I would go to work, I was used to giving them a kiss here on the cheek..." [54 year-old female; separated from two children and three grandchildren by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Por Facebook…ahí entramos. Y ahí miro mis sobrinas y miro como todos han cambiado. 5 años. Han cambiado, todos todos. Y yo digo, así fuera yo…Entonces…le da tristeza pensar que sus vidas ya estan siguiendo y usted que se esta separando un poco… Fue bastante triste porque… bueno no nos juntábamos tanto pero en los momentos así de fiesta, de holidays, nos reuníamos. Hasta el día de hoy ellos siempre estan subiendo fotos… de su childhood. De los momentos en que se destapan las cajas de los regalos en Christmas…"	"We get on Facebook. And there I see my nieces and I see how everyone has changed. Five years. They've changed...everyone. And I say, that's how it was. And it makes me sad to think that their lives are continuing, and you are separating (from them) a little. It was really sad because, you know, we didn't get together that often before, but when there were parties and holidays, we would meet up. And even today, they're always uploading photos of their childhood...of times when they were opening gifts on Christmas..." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

"Ellos no llaman, y yo no llamo a ellos. Este, siempre están ocupados…si yo llamo piensan que yo quiero algo. No quiero que piensen eso."	"They don't call me and I don't call them. They're always busy. If I call they think that I want something. I don't want them to think that about me." [43 year-old female separated from husband and extended family by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Mi experiencia aquí ha sido muy dura porque...tengo ya cinco años de no ver a mi niña. Y yo siento que ella me necesita tanto como yo a ella. Bueno...eso es lo que me mantiene viva...saber que mi niña me ama, que me necesita...Me siento triste porque quisiera abrazarla, decirle cuanto la amo. Porque cuando y estaba yo era todo...le hacia su comida, le...la bañaba, y todo. Y si se enoja uno pues porque...porque nadie...el único que tiene derecho separarlo uno de su familia es Dios, no las personas. Porque los que más sufren son los niños...la castigaron en el sentido de que...primero que nada porque es niña. Y las niñas necesitan más a su madre."	"...My experience has been very difficult because it has been 5 years since I have seen my daughter, and I feel that she needs me as much as I need her. What keeps me alive...knowing that my daughter loves me and needs me. I feel sad because I want to hug her and tell her how much I love her. When I was there, I was everything (to her). I made her food, I bathed her, and everything. If I get mad it's because the only one who has the right to separate someone from their family is God, not people. ...The ones that suffer the most are the children. They punished her in the sense that...first and foremost she is a little girl. And little girls need their mother. [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Todo, ningún minuto dejo de pensar en ellos (I: mucha ansiedad) Me da…estoy comiendo, y me hacen un nudo en la garganta. Digo, "Yo estoy comiendo, y quizás mi nene no." (I: lo siento) Eh, hace como dos meses, mi niña la mas grande tuvo un problema con su mama y el padrastro (I: aha) Y me llamo, pues no tienen a quien mas llamar. "Papi, no tengo donde quedarme a dormir: me estoy durmiendo en el carro o con mi hermanito" Y estaba nevando, están en Nueva York. Y estaba nevando y yo no dormí toda la noche. Llamé a un amigo, y…Se lo llevo a su casa…y yo desesperado, queriendo hacer algo y sin poder hacer nada."	"At no moment do I stop thinking about them. When I am eating, it gives me a lump in my throat. I say to myself, 'I am eating, and maybe my daughter isn't.' Two weeks ago, my oldest daughter had a problem with her mother and step-father. And she called me, since she didn't have anyone else to call. 'Dad, I don't have anywhere to sleep. I'm sleeping in my car with my little brother.' And it was snowing and I didn't sleep at all that night. So I called a friend and he took them to his house. I was desperate, wanting to do something and without the power to do anything." [51 year-old male; separated from wife and five children by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]
"Yo quisiera estar allá, pero no puedo. He luchado por irme pero no se puede…Una amiga tiene una, una casa allí en Guadalajara…y ella me dijo que pues, que seguía la lucha para irme…para ir para Guadalajara. Y después haríamos como me casaba… Lo que pasa es que el camino es tan peligroso. Por eso mis papas no quieren. Porque la segunda vez me voy a morir me dice mi mama. O sea, yo quiero seguir luchando para ver cómo llego allá…(Interviewer: ¿Hasta arriesgar su vida?). Sí…porque ¿qué sentido tiene mi vida si no, no estoy mi niña?"	"I want to be there (in the United States) but I can't. I have fought hard to find a way to get there, but it's not possible…A friend of mine has a house in Guadalajara, and she told me to continue my fight there. And afterwards we would find a way for me to get married. The problem is, is that the journey is so dangerous. That's why my parents don't want me to go; because the second time I am going to die, my mom says. But I want to keep fighting to find a way to get there (the United States)…Because, what does my life mean if I am not with my daughter? [36 year-old female; separated from husband and one child by deportation; originally quoted in Spanish]

APPENDIX H: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol, English Version

Individual Interview Protocol

1. Tell me about your life in Guatemala.
    a. How is it different than your life in the United States?
    b. [When/if mentions deportation-related changes] How has this affected your relationship with your family?

2. How has being separated from your family because of deportation affected the role you are used to playing in your family? Why or why not?
    a. How have your beliefs about family obligation impacted the way you cope with separation from your family?
    b. How has family separation affected your ability to support your family?
    c. How has it affected your ability to fulfill the obligations to your family?

3. If your role has changed, how has this affected you emotionally?

4. What emotions do you feel when you think about your family's separation?

5. Is there anything else I need to know about how Guatemalan immigrants are affected by deportation and/or family separation?

APPENDIX I: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol, Spanish Version

Protocolo de Entrevistas Individuales

1. ¿Cómo le fue en cuando fue deportado de los Estados Unidos?
    a. ¿Cómo se diferencia su vida en Guatemala a la vida que llevaba en Estados Unidos?
    b. [Cuando / si menciona cambios relacionadas con la deportación] ¿Cómo ha afectado el ser deportado a su relación con su familia?

2. ¿Ha afectado la separación de su familia a causa de la deportación el papel que usted está acostumbrado a tener con ellos? ¿Por que, o porque no?
    a. ¿Sus creencias acerca de su obligación familiar han afectado la forma en que usted enfrenta la separación con su familia?
    b. ¿Cómo ha afectado la separación de su familia su capacidad para apoyarla o mantenerla?
    c. ¿Cómo ha afectado su capacidad de cumplir con sus obligaciones hacia su familia?

3. ¿Si su papel familiar ha cambiado, como le ha afectado emocionalmente?
4. ¿Cuáles emociones se siente cuando usted piensa en la separación de su familia a causa de su deportación?
5. ¿Hay algo más que debo saber acerca de cómo a los inmigrantes guatemaltecos les afecta la deportación y la separación familiar causada por ella?