

**Familial Deportation Experience, Undocumented Parents, and Depressive Symptoms  
among Early Adolescent Latinos**

**Abstract**

**Objectives:** Experiencing the deportation of close family members has been shown to adversely impact children's well-being, yet the role of parental documentation status for exacerbating adverse outcomes among youth following the experience of deportation has not been investigated.

**Methods:** Using a general population sample of Latino 7<sup>th</sup> grade students in an urban public-school district in the South-Central U.S. (N=661), we examined the relationship between familial deportation experience and psychological distress as well as the moderating associations of parental citizenship status.

**Results:** Ordinary least squares regression findings indicate that experiencing or witnessing the deportation of a family member is significantly associated with higher rates of depressive symptoms. Moreover, parental citizenship status has a moderating effect; depressive symptoms are magnified among youth who report that both of their parents have undocumented legal status.

**Conclusions:** The study findings suggest that there are significant consequences for youth well-being when a parent or close family member is deported and the child remains in the U.S. Further, the compounding effects for youth whose parents are both undocumented suggests fear of deportation. Immigration policies, programs, and schools need to consider the emotional needs of youth who have undocumented parents.

**KEYWORDS:** Deportation; Documentation; Immigration; Latino; Adolescence; Depression

### **Familial Deportation Experience, Undocumented Parents, and Psychological Distress among Early Adolescent Latinos**

More than 4.6 million undocumented immigrants were deported from the U.S. between 2000 and 2014; a number that is nearly double the total number of individuals deported in the history of the U.S. prior to 2000 (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2014). Both deportation and the fear of deportation are linked to adverse outcomes for children such as stress, poor physical and emotional health, and depression (Capps et al., 2015; Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009). The effects of deportation, however, are not only limited to those who are at risk of deportation. Approximately 5.3 million children live with undocumented parents, 85% of whom are U.S.-born citizens (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014). For these children, there is a persistent threat of arrest, detention and/or deportation of their parents (Rojas-Flores, 2016). Children who are U.S. citizens are vulnerable to separation from their parents due to deportation, while children who have undocumented status are vulnerable to deportation themselves. Although previous studies have chronicled consequences of family deportation, particularly for young children, there are some gaps in the literature. In particular, there is a dearth of population-based data as well as a focus on adolescents as compared to younger children. Additionally, less is known about factors that might enhance or reduce adolescents' psychological distress associated with deportation or fear of deportation. In this study, we utilize a population-based sample of Latino early adolescent youth in a new arrival state to examine how the experience or witnessing of a family member be deported is associated with depressive symptoms. Further, we examine how parental documentation status interacts with familial deportation experience to affect depressive symptoms.

### **Implications of Familial Deportation for Psychological Distress in Adolescence**

Immigration policies and practices leading to family deportation mark a potentially permanent change in the configuration of a family (Dreby, 2012). Many children with immigrant parents in the U.S. live in poverty, suffer discrimination, experience their parents' stress and anxiety, and have poor physical and mental health (Gulbas et al., 2016). Experiencing a parent's arrest and/or deportation can further compound the detrimental effects of these pre-existing stressors for the child's mental health (Zayas & Cook Heffron, 2015). In a comprehensive review of the literature from 2009-2013, Capps and colleagues (2018) found that children experience psychological trauma, material hardship, residential instability, academic withdrawal, and family dissolution after the deportation of a family member. For example, children whose parents were detained or deported exhibit increased crying, eating and sleeping disturbances, clingy behavior, increased fear and anxiety, angry and aggressive, and generalized fears of any type of law enforcement (Cervantes, Ullrich, & Matthews, 2018; Dreby, 2012; Chaudry et al., 2010). After immigration raids in the home, children report feeling abandoned, isolated, fearful, traumatized, and depressed (Capps, 2007). Consequences are more profound when children witness their parents being arrested (Chaudry et al., 2010). Moreover, deportation of close family members has been linked to long-term emotional and behavioral issues, including substance abuse, unemployment and interpersonal problems (Gulbas et al., 2015).

### **Undocumented Parents and Fear of Deportation**

Having undocumented parents can cause adverse consequences for children in the U.S.--regardless of their own citizenship status--due to increased family stress, fear of deportation, poor employment conditions and reduced income and unsafe housing (Capps, 2016). Dreby (2012) found that while the majority of children in her study had not had a parent deported, the

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

threat of deportability affected them profoundly. According to Gulbas and colleagues (2016), perhaps the greatest stressor for a U.S.-born child born to undocumented parents is fear of the discovery of their parents by U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials. The threat of a parent's deportation due to parental documentation status causes children to have constant anxiety and hyper-vigilance about the deportation becoming real (Gulbas et al., 2016). The rule that often governs the families whose parents are undocumented are "be silent about your family, tell no one about us" and "be still, don't draw attention by anything you do" (Zayas & Cook Heffron, 2015, pg. 1). Concomitantly, research generally shows that families who live in a chronic state of deportability due to parental documentation concerns have high levels of stress and anxiety (Dreby, 2012; Gulbas et al., 2015). Moreover, as a parent's risk of deportation increases, the stress that their children feel similarly increases (Brabeck & Xu, 2010).

### **Situational Context**

Our study included demographic variables including gender, economic hardship, and age due to previously identified linkages with adolescent mental health. Adolescent females, for example, are about twice as likely as males to report depressive symptoms (Wade, Cairney, & Pevalin, 2002). Unsurprisingly, economic hardship is associated with poor mental health, particularly with immigrant families (Alegría, Green, McLaughlin, & Loder, 2015). Lastly, research has shown that mental health (including psychological distress) in adolescence is associated with pubertal hormones (Sisk & Zehr, 2005). Because our sample straddles the line between pre-pubescent and post-pubescent age groups, age was added as a variable to control for any potential confounding due to puberty.

### **Current Study**

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

The current study extends the literature on the implications of deportation and deportation fear for adolescent well-being in several ways. Using a general population sample of 7<sup>th</sup> grade Latino students in an urban school district in the South-Central U.S., we first explore the prevalence of youth-reported familial deportation and compare self-reported depressive symptoms by deportation experience group. While other studies have examined depression or depressive symptomology following parental deportation (Allen, Cisneros, & Tellez, 2015; Dreby, 2012; Horner et al., 2014; Brabeck, Lykes, & Hershberg, 2011), none have utilized a large population-based sample of youth (the largest to our knowledge examines 110 children, with only 20% of those children experiencing family deportation; Dreby, 2012). To date, our sample comprises the largest number of participating children who have reported a parent or other family member deported (a total sample of 661 early adolescents, with 184 experiencing family deportation). Further, we examine the relationships between experience of deportation of a family member, parental documentation status, and youth self-reports of depressive symptoms. Finally, we examine the interaction between familial deportation status and parental citizenship status to determine if depressive symptoms are highest among youth with both circumstances. It is expected that among Latino youth who have experienced or witnessed the deportation of a family member, having both parents with undocumented status serves as a risk factor for psychological distress.

### **Method**

#### **Sample**

The sample draws from a larger data set of 7<sup>th</sup> grade students enrolled in an urban school district in a state in the South-Central U.S. ( $N = 1,736$ ). Because of low levels of missing values

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

(percentages missing range from 0.9 to 2.8) and because no systematic patterns were detected utilizing Bonferroni corrections, missing values were categorized as missing completely at random and treated using listwise deletion. Listwise deletion of missing data is regarded as an unbiased way of handling data when missing completely at random is a legitimate assumption (Allison, 2002). The sample for the current study is restricted to the 661 Latino youth participating in the study; 184 (28%) of whom have experienced the deportation of a family member.

### **Procedures**

The home institution's Office of Research Compliance, the school district's Research, and Evaluation Department, and the principal of each school examined the study procedures and granted authorization to conduct the study, which included the approved parent consent and adolescent assent forms. Parental consent forms were sent home to parents for review and copies of surveys were made available at both libraries and school offices (as well as an online option for parents to view). Because the study procedure was anonymous, a passive parental consent process was utilized which required parents to return the consent form only if they wished to opt their child out of participating. All students whose (1) parents did not object to their involvement in the study, (2) attended school the day of data collection, and (3) gave assent to participate the day of data collection at each school were surveyed, resulting in a participation rate of 98% (a total response rate of 83% of all potential 7<sup>th</sup> grade student participants). Data were gathered using a standardized self-report questionnaire in either English or Spanish. Survey items were read aloud to students to avoid confounding due to literacy abilities. Students with learning disabilities severe enough to be exempt from year-end exams were excluded from the study.

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

Students were verbally debriefed following completion the survey and received \$5 each for participating.

### Measures

**Depressive Symptoms.** Depressive symptoms were measured using a 10-item set of questions derived from the Center for Epidemiologic Studies – Depression Scale (CES-D; Andresen, Malmgren, Carter, & Patrick, 1994). The 10-item version of the CES-D has validity and reliability that is acceptable among adolescents and has also been utilized in other various community samples (see Bradley, Bagnell, & Brannen, 2010 and Cheung, Liu, & Yip, 2007 for examples). Participants were asked to identify how often they agreed with the statements in the past two weeks, which included items such as: “My sleep was restless;” “I felt depressed;” and “I felt that everything I did took effort.” Responses were coded on a 4-point Likert scale with answers ranging from “0” (*never/rarely*) to “3” (*most/all the time*). Items were coded and recoded so that higher scores were indicative of more depressive symptoms. The scale items were summed to create a scale ranging from 0-28. Alpha reliability for the scale using this sample was  $\alpha = .76$ .

**Deportation Experience.** Familial deportation experience was assessed by the question of “Have you ever known of or seen a family member taken away by immigration officials?” Answers were coded as “0” for *no* and “1” for *yes*.

**Parental Documentation Status.** Youth were asked about their parental documentation status by the question of “What is your parents’ citizenship status in the U.S.?” with responses of “Both are U.S. citizens or legal residents,” “One is not a legal resident”, and “Both are not legal residents.” The variable was then dichotomized into three dummy variables representing *one*

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

*parent not a legal resident; both parents not legal residents; with the reference variable indicating both parents are U.S. citizens/legal residents.*

**Demographic and Control Variables.** *Female* was coded as “1”, with “0” indicating *male*. *Economic hardship* was measured using three modified line-item questions derived from the 1990 survey of Work, Family, and Well-Being (WFW; Ross & Wu, 1995) and the 1995 Survey of Aging, Status, and Sense of Control (ASOC; Mirowsky & Ross, 2005). Questions included: “In the past year...Did you receive welfare or assistance from church or community organizations?” “Did your family go without meals?” and “Did you live outdoors, in a shelter, or a transitional housing facility?” Responses included “*Yes*” and “*No*.” Items were then summed to construct a scale from 0 to 3, with higher scores indicating more economic hardship experiences. *Age* was assessed by the question, “How old are you?” (range = 12-15).

### **Analytic Strategy**

Linear regression models were used to investigate the relationship between having a family member deported, citizenship status, gender, economic hardship, family structure and depressive symptoms. Table 1 estimated mean differences by family deportation for the study variables by using F tests. Table 2 examined bivariate correlations among the study variables. We then conducted a series of linear regression models in order to assess the association between the study variables and adolescents’ reports of depressive symptoms (see Table 3). Model 1 includes only the deportation variable. Model 2 includes the parental documentation variables. Model 3 includes the control variables of gender, economic hardship and age. Model 4 adds the interaction moderators of parental documentation status, which was calculated by the product of the deportation variable and each parental documentation status variable (one parent undocumented, and both parents undocumented), respectively.



## Results

[Table 1 about here]

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for study variables for the full sample, and separately for adolescents who have had a family member deported and those who have not. Almost one-third (28%) of adolescents reported having had a family member deported. The average depressive symptom score among all adolescents in the sample was 9.13, and youth who reported the deportation of a family member reported significantly higher depressive symptoms ( $M=10.83$  vs.  $M=8.47$ ;  $p<.001$ ) than those who did not experience the deportation of a family member. Approximately 20.5% of participants identified as having one undocumented parent, 30.5% identified both parents as undocumented, and the remaining 49% reported that both parents were citizens/legal residents. Youth who reported the deportation of a family member also reported significantly higher proportions of only one ( $M=27\%$ ;  $p<.01$ ) or neither parent ( $37\%$ ;  $p<.05$ ) as having legal status in the U.S., compared to youth who did not experience the deportation of a family member. Among participants in the sample, 46.7% reported being female, the mean age was 13.14, and the mean economic hardship score was .22 (ranging from 0 to 3).

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 presents the bivariate correlations among the study variables. Having a family member deported was significantly and positively correlated with the depressive symptom variable ( $r = .21, p < .001$ ), having one or both parents undocumented ( $r = .10, p < .01$  and  $r = .09, p < .05$ , respectively) and age ( $r = .09, p < .05$ ). Depressive symptoms had significant positive associations with being female, economic hardship and age ( $r = .13, p < .001, r = .08, p < .05$ , and  $r = .15, p < .001$ , respectively).

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

### **Familial Deportation and Depressive Symptoms**

[Table 3 about here]

Table 3 presents results of linear regression models conducted to investigate the associations between familial deportation, parental citizenship, and youth depressive symptoms. Results of Model 1 indicate that experiencing the deportation of a family member is associated with significantly higher depressive symptoms ( $B = 2.44, p < .001$  for the deportation variable). Model 2 included the parent citizenship variables (i.e., one only parent is a U.S. citizen and neither parent is a U.S. citizen, compared to both parents are U.S. citizens); neither were associated with significant differences in depressive symptoms as compared to the reference group. Model 3 added the control variables of female, economic hardship and age. Both the female ( $B = 1.49, p < .001$ ) and age ( $B = .9, p < .01$ ) variables were statistically significant in predicting depressive symptoms. Lastly, Model 4 added the variables indicating an interaction between familial deportation experience and parental citizenship status. The moderator of having both undocumented parents was significant, suggesting that when youth experience a family deportation, depressive symptomology is stronger among those who have two undocumented parents. Figure 1 presents the regression interaction results visually. Among Latino youth who have not experienced the deportation of a family member, depression scores averaged below 9 on the CES-D scale (i.e., below the conservative cut-off of 10 indicating depression; Andresen et al., 1994). Among those who experienced familial deportation but have two parents with legal status in the U.S., depression scores remained below 9.5 on average. Among those who both experienced familial deportation and have one or two parents with undocumented legal status, however, depressive symptoms are above the cut-off indicating depression. Youth who both have experienced familial deportation and have two undocumented parents reported the highest levels

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

of depressive symptoms (CES-D average score at nearly 12), a significant difference from those whose parents both have legal status.

[Figure 1 about here]

### **Discussion**

We examined the associations between family deportations, parental documentation status, demographic variables and depressive symptoms in an urban Latino, 7<sup>th</sup> grade sample. Results indicate that Latino youth who experienced a family member deported reported significantly higher depressive symptoms than youth who did not experience deportation. Moreover, the average depression score for youth who experienced familial deportation is above a conservative cut-off score (M=10) indicating depression (Andresen et al., 1994). This is consistent with a growing body of literature finding that children whose parents are deported are much more likely to show numerous signs of psychological trauma such as depression, anxiety, social isolation, self-stigma, aggression, withdrawal and negative academic consequences, and substance abuse (Allen, Cisneros, & Tellez, 2013; Brabeck & Xu, 2010; Capps, 2007; Cervantes, et al., 2018; Chavez et al., 2012; Chaudry et al., 2010; Delva et al., 2013; Dreby, 2012; Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013; Zayas, 2015; Zayas & Gulbas, 2016). Beyond its effects in childhood, a major finding of the past 20 years is the relationship between early life trauma or adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and the onset of disease in adolescence and adulthood (Felitti et al., 1998). Moreover, growing evidence suggests that psychological trauma may impact health and life opportunities in a way that reverberates across generations (Garner et al., 2012; Lupien, McEwen, Gunnar, & Heim, 2009; Metzler, Merrick, Klevens, Ports, & Ford, 2017). Because demographic projections highlight that 88% of U.S. population growth over the next five decades will be due to immigrants and their descendants, of

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

which the vast majority will be Latino (Pew Research Center, 2015), childhood adversity experienced by immigrants has enormous implications for the future health of our nation.

Our second finding highlights the added stress that youth feel when they have one or two parents who are not citizens, but only when they have experienced the deportation of a family member. As shown in Figure 1, there is little difference in depression scores among youth with no experience with deportation. Among those who have experienced familial deportation, however, self-reported depression is higher for youth with one undocumented parent and highest for youth with two undocumented parents as compared to youth with two parents with legal status. This supports previous research suggesting that nearly 75% of Latino youth from immigrant families report living in persistent fear of either being deported or having someone they know deported (Yoshikawa, Suárez-Orozco, & Gonzales, 2017). Further, our finding that even when Latino youth have two parents with legal status, depression is higher among those who experienced familial deportation may suggest a loss in social support provided from extended family members, or perhaps a “spillover effect” such that there is a general feeling of psychological distress in the Latino community due to the stigma attached to being an immigrant or being from an immigrant family. Because most immigrant families are made up of members with various legal statuses, we believe that the threat of deportation therefore affects the Latino community as a whole (Menjivar & Abrego, 2009), including those children whose parents are legal residents.

It is not unfounded or irrational that children of Mexican descent associate stigma with immigration, conflating it with criminality, and concealing their immigrant heritage (Dreby, 2012). In 1975, *United States v. Brignoni-Ponce*, the Supreme Court decided that “Mexican appearance” “constitutes a legitimate consideration under the Fourth Amendment for making an

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

immigration stop” (Johnson, 2000, p. 676), a decision still being cited by U.S. courts when adjudicating cases involving immigration enforcement (Briggs, 2015). This has resulted in legalizing micro- and macro-aggressions and law enforcement agents casting a generalized suspicion over an entire group simply because of their “Mexicanness” (Briggs, 2015; Romero 2006). One report estimates that 93% of individuals arrested in immigration enforcement are Latino, even though they only comprise 77% of the undocumented population in the United States (Kohli, Markowitz, Chavez, 2011).

Negative portrayals of Latino immigrants by politicians and the media accompanied by aggressive law enforcement that includes racial profiling have exacerbated prejudicial attitudes and anti-immigrant sentiment to a point that there is a heightened level of fear and psychological distress across the profiled group regardless of actual residency status or place of birth (Szkupinski Quiroga, Medina, & Glick, 2014). For example, Dreby (2012) reported that in two very different local contexts, she found the daily lives of children of Mexican descent being negatively impacted through state and federal immigration policies that criminalize their parents, relatives, and neighbors regardless of citizenship status and actual involvement with immigration enforcements. Similarly, Szkupinski Quiroga and colleagues (2014) found no significant difference in psychological distress among individuals of Mexican ancestry irrespective of documentation status.

Youth whose parents are both undocumented are therefore arguably the most vulnerable to the enforcement of immigration policies as they are at risk of having both parents deported. Our results suggest that once Latino adolescents experience the deportation of a family member, this risk becomes more salient in their daily lives. We posit that the particularly high rates of

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

depression among this group of adolescents in our sample is therefore likely due to a heightened fear of deportation and acculturative stress (Arbona, Olvera, & Rodriguez, 2010).

### **Conclusion**

Immigration policy that deports unauthorized family members is negatively associated with the mental health of early adolescent Latino youth. This is particularly true for youth with parents both of whom lack legal authorization to be in this country. Our findings converge with a small but growing number of studies suggesting that the impact of immigration policy is not limited to those individuals who are not authorized to reside in the U.S., but extends to create a general sense of psychological distress among the much of the Latino community including those children whose parents are U.S. Citizens. When children are continuously concerned and anxious about the stability of their families, it can have long-term and severe negative consequences to their mental health (Brown, 2010; Garner, et al., 2012). These findings have implications for school officials, medical practitioners, and others who interact with Latino youth. For example, based on research that points to the negative effects of adverse childhood experiences (Garner et al., 2012; Lupien et al., 2009) it may be that a significant number behavior problems at school can be traced back to the trauma experienced from having a parent deported or living under the stigma of coming from an immigrant family. This suggests the potential utility of screening Latino youth for trauma before applying punitive actions such as detentions and suspensions. There is an urgent need for educators and others engaging with immigrant youth to be aware of how traumatic experiences such as having a family member deported, living under the constant threat of deportation, or even the stigma associated with being from an immigrant family can affect the emotional development of Latino children.

### **Limitations**

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

Notwithstanding the many merits of this study, there are also several limitations. First, data were collected from youth in a single urban South-Central school district and should not be generalized to all Latinos. Because a majority of Latinos in the U.S. reside in areas including California, Florida, and Texas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017), the findings might vary due to factors such as access to resources, state immigration policies and/or procedures, and social networks. The state where data collection occurred had stricter immigration policies in place during the several years preceding data collection that resulted in a large-scale deportation effort. Second, although the CED-10 is a widely used measure of depression, it may not adequately capture culturally nuanced aspects of depressive symptoms more indicative of Latino immigrant youth. Additionally, there are some limitations due to survey wording. For example, we cannot ascertain which family member was deported, nor can we tease out youth who know about the deportation vs. youth who witnessed the deportation event. Because the variable likely includes extended family members beyond parents as well as knowing vs. witnessing the deportation event, we believe our findings are conservative estimates of the association between deportation of a family member and youth depressive symptoms. Finally, the cross-sectional design of the study precludes inferring causality. Although it does not seem probable that youth depressive symptoms cause deportation of a family member, it may be that external factors are responsible for both. Still, this study is among the first to study the relationships between familial deportation, parental citizenship status, and Latino adolescent depressive symptoms in a large population-based sample residing in a non-traditional settlement area for Latinos.

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

### References

- Alegría, M., Green, J. G., McLaughlin, K. A., & Loder, S. (2015). Disparities in child and adolescent mental health and mental health services in the US. *New York, NY: William T. Grant Foundation.*
- Allison, P. (2002). *Missing data.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Allen, B., Cisneros, E. M., & Tellez, A. (2015). The children left behind: The impact of parental deportation on mental health. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24*(2), 386-392.
- Andresen, E. M., Malmgren, J. A., Carter, W. B., & Patrick, D. L. (1994). Screening for depression in well older adults: Evaluation of a short form of the CES-D. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 10*(2), 77-84.
- Arbona, C., Olvera, N., Rodriguez, N., Hagan, J., Linares, A., & Wiesner, M. (2010). Acculturative stress among documented and undocumented Latino immigrants in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32*(3), 362-384.
- Brabeck, K. M., Lykes, M. B., & Hershberg, R. (2011). Framing immigration to and deportation from the United States: Guatemalan and Salvadoran families make meaning of their experiences. *Community, Work & Family, 14*(3), 275-296.
- Brabeck, K., & Xu, Q. (2010). The impact of detention and deportation on Latino immigrant children and families: A quantitative exploration. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32*(3), 341-361.
- Bradley, K. L., Bagnell, A. L., & Brannen, C. L. (2010). Factorial validity of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression 10 in adolescents. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 31*, 408-412. doi: 10.3109/01612840903484105
- Briggs, C. (2014). The reasonableness of a race-based suspicion: The Fourth Amendment and the



## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

- costs and benefits of racial profiling in immigration enforcement. *Southern California Law Review*, 88, 379-412.
- Brown, S. L. (2010). Marriage and child well-being: Research and policy perspectives. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(5), 1059-1077. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00750.x
- Capps, R., Koball, H., Campetella, A., Perreira, K., Hooker, S., & Pedroza, J.M. (2015). Implications of immigration enforcement activities for the well-being of children in immigrant families: A review of the literature. *Research Report, Sept. 2015*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Cervantes, W., Ullrich, R., & Matthews, H. (2018). Our children's fear: Immigration policy's effects on young children. *Center for Law and Social Policy, Inc.(CLASP)*.
- Chaudry, A., Capps, R., Pedroza, J. M., Castaneda, R. M., Santos, R., & Scott, M. (2010). Facing our future: Children in the aftermath of immigration enforcement. *Washington, DC: The Urban Institute*. Retrieved May 18, 2011.
- Chavez, J.M., Lopez, A., Englebrecht, C.M., & Viramontez Anguiano, R.P. (2012). Sufren Los Niños: Exploring the impact of unauthorized immigration status on children's well-being. *Family Court Review*, 50(4), 638-649.
- Cheung, Y. B., Liu, K. Y., & Yip, P. S. F. (2007). Performance of the CES-D and its short forms in screening suicidality and hopelessness in the community. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, 37, 79-88. doi:10.1521/suli.2007.37.1.79
- Delva, J., Horner, P., Sanders, L., Martinez, R., Lopez, W.D., & Doering-White, J. (2013). Mental health problems of children of undocumented parents in the United States: A hidden crisis. *Journal of Community Positive Practices*, 13, 25-35.

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

- Dreby, J. (2012). The burden of deportation on children in Mexican immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(4), 829-845.
- Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., & Marks, J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 14(4), 245-258.
- Garner, A. S., Shonkoff, J. P., Siegel, B. S., Dobbins, M. I., Earls, M. F., McGuinn, L., ... & Committee on Early Childhood, Adoption, and Dependent Care. (2012). Early childhood adversity, toxic stress, and the role of the pediatrician: Translating developmental science into lifelong health. *Pediatrics*, 129(1), e224-e231.
- Gonzales, R.G., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Dedios-Sanguinetti, M.C. (2013). No place to belong contextualizing concepts of mental health among undocumented immigrant youth in the United States. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(8), 1174–1199.
- Gulbas, L. E., Zayas, L. H., Yoon, H., Szlyk, H., Aguilar-Gaxiola, S., & Natera, G. (2016). Deportation experiences and depression among US citizen-children with undocumented Mexican parents. *Child: care, health and development*, 42(2), 220-230.
- Horner, P., Sanders, L., Martinez, R., Doering-White, J., Lopez, W., & Delva, J. (2014). I put a mask on” the human side of deportation effects on Latino youth. *Journal of Social Welfare and Human Rights*, 2(2), 33-47.
- ICE (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement). (2011). Removals by country for FY 2011 (Top 20 countries based on number removed to that country): Criminals and non-criminals. Washington, DC: ICE. [www.ice.gov/doclib/foia/reports/ero-facts-and-statistics.pdf](http://www.ice.gov/doclib/foia/reports/ero-facts-and-statistics.pdf).

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

Johnson, K. R. (2000). The case against race profiling in immigration enforcement. *Washington University Law Quarterly* 78(3):676–736.

Kohli, A., Markowitz, P. L., & Chavez, L. (2011). Secure communities by the numbers: An analysis of demographics and due process. *The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*, 1-20.

Lupien, S. J., McEwen, B. S., Gunnar, M. R., & Heim, C. (2009). Effects of stress throughout the lifespan on the brain, behaviour and cognition. *Nature reviews neuroscience*, 10(6), 434.

Menjivar, C., & Abrego, L. (2009). Parents and children across borders: Legal instability and intergenerational relations in Guatemalan and Salvadoran families. In N. Foner (Ed.), *Across generations* (pp. 160 – 189). New York: New York University Press.

Metzler, M., Merrick, M. T., Klevens, J., Ports, K. A., & Ford, D. C. (2017). Adverse childhood experiences and life opportunities: shifting the narrative. *Children and youth services review*, 72, 141-149.

Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (2005). Education, cumulative advantage, and health. *Ageing International*, 30(1), 27-62.

Office of Immigration Statistics. (2014). *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2014*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security. <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2014>

Passel, J.S., & Cohn, D. (2016). Overall number of U.S. unauthorized immigrants holds steady since 2009. *Washington, DC: Pew Research Center*.

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/09/20/overall-number-of-u-s-unauthorized-immigrants-holds-steady-since-2009/>

Passel, J.D., Cohn, D., Krogstad, J.M., & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2014). As growth stalls,

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

- unauthorized immigrant population becomes more settled. *Washington, DC: Pew Research Center*. [www.pewhispanic.org/2014/09/03/as-growth-stalls-unauthorized-immigrant-population-becomes-more-settled/](http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/09/03/as-growth-stalls-unauthorized-immigrant-population-becomes-more-settled/).
- Pew Research Center, 2015. "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065: Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed." Washington, D.C.: September.
- Robjant, K., Hassan, R., & Katona, C. (2009). Mental health implications of detaining asylum seekers: systematic review. *The British journal of psychiatry*, 194(4), 306-312.
- Rojas-Flores, L., Clements, M. L., Hwang Koo, J., & London, J. (2017). Trauma and psychological distress in Latino citizen children following parental detention and deportation. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 9(3), 352.
- Romero, M. (2006). Racial profiling and immigration law enforcement: Rounding up of usual suspects in the Latino community. *Critical Sociology*, 32(2-3), 447-473.
- Ross, C. E., & Wu, C. L. (1995). The links between education and health. *American sociological review*, 719-745.
- Szkupinski Quiroga, S., Medina, D. M., & Glick, J. (2014). In the belly of the beast: Effects of anti-immigration policy on Latino community members. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(13), 1723-1742.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). *Profile American Facts for Features*.  
<https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2017/cb17-ff17.pdf>
- Wade, T. J., Cairney, J., & Pevalin, D. J. (2002). Emergence of gender differences in depression during adolescence: National panel results from three countries. *Journal of the American*

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

- Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 41, 190–198. doi: 10.1097/00004583-200202000-00013.
- Yoshikawa, H., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Gonzales, R. G. (2017). Unauthorized status and youth development in the United States: Consensus statement of the society for research on adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 27(1), 4-19.
- Zayas, L. H., & Cook Heffron, L. (2016). Disrupting young lives: How detention and deportation affect US-born children of immigrants. *American Psychological Association: CYF News*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/newsletter/2016/11/detention-deportation.aspx>
- Zayas, L.H., (2015). *Forgotten citizens: Deportation, children, and the making of American exiles and orphans*. New York: Oxford
- Zayas, L. H., & Gulbas, L. E. (2017). Processes of Belonging for Citizen-Children of Undocumented Mexican Immigrants. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 26(9), 2463-2474.

## DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

### Tables

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Familial Deportation Status (N=661).

Variables	Sample		No Deported Family Member (N=431)		Deported Family Member (N=180)		F statistic	p
	M or %	SD	M or %	SD	M or %	SD		
Depressive symptoms	9.13	5.28	8.47	4.94	10.83	5.73	27.00	***
Family member deported	28%							
Parental citizenship status								
Both US citizens	49%		54%		36%		17.99	***
One parent US citizen	20%		18%		27%		6.96	**
Neither parent US citizen	31%		28%		37%		5.05	*
Demographics								
Female	47%		46%		49%		.61	
Economic hardship	.22	.50	.21	.50	.25	.48	.86	
Age	13.14	.66	13.11	.66	13.23	.67	4.93	*

\* p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001

DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

Table 2. *Bivariate Correlations Among Study Variables (N=661).*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Variables</i>							
1. Depressive Symptoms	-						
2. Family Deportation	.21***	-					
3. One Parent Undocumented	.05	.10**	-				
4. Both Parents Undocumented	.03	.09*	-.34***	-			
5. Female	.13***	.03	-.01	.04	-		
6. Economic Hardship	.08*	.04	.03	.06	-.05	-	
7. Age	.15***	.09*	.09*	-.02	-.12**	.04	-

\* p< .05, \*\*p< .01, \*\*\*p< .001

DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

Table 3. *Multiple Regression of Psychological Distress by Familial Deportation, Parental Citizenship Status, and Demographics among Early Adolescent Latinos (N=661).*

<i>Variables</i>	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 3							
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>						
Family member deported	2.44	***	.45		2.35	***	.46		2.14	***	.46	.85	.71	
Parental citizenship status														
Both US citizens (reference)														
One parent US citizen					.48		.55		.26		.54	-.18	.66	
Neither parent US citizen					.50		.48		.36		.48	-.35	.56	
Demographics														
Female									1.49	***	.41	1.46	***	.41
Economic hardship									.69		.41	.66	.41	
Age									.99	**	.31	.99	**	.31
Interactions														
Familial deportation X both citizens (reference)														
Familial deportation X one parent citizen												1.71	1.16	
Familial deportation X neither parent citizen												2.52	*	1.05
Intercept	8.43	***	.25		8.20	***	.31		-5.55		4.14	-5.21	4.13	

Note: Reference categories in parentheses.

\* p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001



# DEPORTATION AND YOUTH DEPRESSION

## Figures

