COLLATERAL CONSEQUENCES: THE LATINX IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

by

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B.A., Arizona State University, 2015

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

University of Colorado Colorado Springs

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

2017
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ABSTRACT

Latinx immigrants’ experiences with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) are studied to describe the impact of criminalization on Latinx immigrants and their friends and families. Drawing on qualitative data, this research explores how immigrants are detained and deported, their treatment while in custody, and the collateral consequences experienced by families and friends. A total of 17 semi-structured interviews were completed with participants living in Colorado and Arizona. Participants were undocumented immigrants and family or friends of detained/deported immigrants.

This thesis describes the overall negative experiences that Latinx immigrants have in their interactions with ICE officials due to legal violence and enforcement of micro racial punishments. These experiences start when they are first targeted for detainment and continue throughout the deportainment process, and through deportation. I coin the term “deportainment” to refer to the point in time when undocumented immigrants enter a state of limbo about the uncertainty of their eventual release from ICE or deportation from the U.S.

The findings of this research reveal that gender and social ties impact experiences while immigrants are detained. In addition, this research highlights that family members and friends fear law enforcement and both immigrants and their friends and family develop strategies to avoid contact with them. Finally, this research shows how immigrants rely on family and community support networks to help them through the
deportation process. This research finds a need for ICE to revise and implement more humane policies when handling detainments and deportations.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Historically, rhetoric has shaped views toward immigrants entering the United States and helped influence immigration policy. Contemporary immigration rhetoric from the media and politicians have centered their focus toward 1Latinx immigrants. In 2010, Arizonan Sheriff Joe Arpaio and Governor Jan Brewer justified immigration raids and increasing deportation raids by using powerful rhetoric that framed Latinx immigrants as criminals and stealing jobs from U.S. citizens. Rhetoric from Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential campaign further criminalized and called for the mass deportation of undocumented immigrants by referring to them as “bad hombres” who bring crime and chaos. Further, Trump threatened to end immigration programs that grant individuals two-year renewable work permits like Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and threatened the construction of a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border. Such immigration rhetoric impacts many immigrants and their family and friends living in the U.S.

Trump’s rhetoric threatens to deport the 11.2 million undocumented Latinx immigrant population living in the United States (Brown & Stepler, 2016), of which Mexicans account for the majority at 52% (Brown & Stepler, 2016; Passel & Cohn, 2016). Children of unauthorized immigrant parents account for a total of 11.9% of the total U.S. children population (Brown & Stepler, 2016). Roughly, 5.1 million U.S. citizen and noncitizen children who are under 18 live with at least one parent who is unauthorized (Capps, Fix, & Zong, 2016). Of that number, at least 4.5 million of those

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1 Gender neutral term to identify Latinas and Latinos. Inclusive of members of the LGBTQIA+ community that are non-gender conforming.
children are citizens (Passel & Cohn, 2015). Due to the constant possibility of deportation, undocumented immigrants, their children, and families are at risk of higher stress and family separations.

Trump’s proposal to eliminate pathways to lawful status in the U.S. and to carry out mass deportations of Latinx immigrants threatens to have devastating impacts on undocumented Latinx immigrants and immigrants’ family and friends fueling fear and uncertainty throughout the Latinx community. This community worries about their own deportation as well as that of their family and friends. In addition, deportation of undocumented Latinx immigrants results in family separations and stress and other collateral consequences (Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015).

The following two research questions are examined in this thesis: (1) What kinds of experiences do Latinx immigrants have while being detained, questioned, and/or deported by ICE? (2) How do immigrants contacts with law enforcement and ICE impact their family members and friends? More specifically, what consequences arise from Latinx immigrants’ family and friend’s interactions with police officials, the court system, and detention centers? These research questions will provide a better understanding of the unique experiences of Latinx community members residing in Colorado and Arizona.

Existing literature highlights negative experiences that undocumented immigrants have while being detained and deported (Ackerman & Furman, 2013; Hernandez, 2013; Phillips, Hagan, Rodriguez, 2006; Tovino, 2016; Velez, 2014) and has revealed the devastating effects on Latinx immigrants and their families due to the constant fear of detainment or deportation (Brabeck & Xu, 2010; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Quevedo,
This thesis analyzes immigrants’ experiences while detained which includes their access to medical treatment, relationships with ICE officials, and the court and deportation process. Additionally, this study closely examines factors contributing to detained immigrants’ length of detainment or deportation, such as: development and use of immigration networks to share legal information, availability of financial resources to retain legal counsel, and awareness of legal rights. This research also analyzes the collateral consequences of detainment and deportation on family members and friends. Social networks (friends and family) are vital tools to help immigrants find jobs and places to live and this thesis seeks to understand how social networks act as forms of support to detained or deported immigrants. In addition, this study strives to understand the financial and emotional impacts resulting from detainment or deportation of a family member or friend.

A review of the literature on immigration policy in the U.S. as well as Latinx experiences highlight the importance of conducting research to help describe the various forms of treatment that take place within detention facilities, with police officials, and immigration officials. Not only are the experiences that Latinx undocumented immigrants have in their day to day lives important but so are the ones that their families and friends have. This thesis project explores how institutional practices produce traumatic experiences for undocumented Latinx immigrants who have been detained or deported, while highlighting how Latinx immigrants and their family and friends use a variety of coping strategies to rationalize and excuse the unfair treatment they experience from local law enforcement and federal immigration.
In the next section of my thesis, Chapter two, I examine the existing literature on historical immigration policies, the impact of detention and deportation on families, and the conditions within ICE facilities. Further, I discuss the theoretical framework used to explain the findings of this research. More specifically, I draw on LatCrit theory and Rios’ (2011) work on hypercriminalization to help understand the experiences of undocumented immigrants as well as those of their friends and family.

Chapter three describes the methodological approaches used for this research and the process of securing IRB consent. In addition, recruitment strategies, the interview process, barriers to interview collection, the research sample, and data storage and analysis are all detailed in the chapter.

In chapter four, the following findings are discussed to understand undocumented Latinx immigrant experiences during detention and/or deportation: relationships immigrants had with ICE guards and officers, relationships with fellow detainees, medical treatment during detainment/deportation, communication with family members and friends, financial and emotional impacts of detainment/deportation, forms of support, duration of detainment, and outcome of detainment/deportation. Further, support immigrants received from friends and family in detainment, community support and the role of non-profits, “dishonorable” deportations and the criminality of “illegal” immigrants are examined.

In chapter five, the following findings are discussed to understand the collateral consequences of detention and deportation and their impact on the families, friends, and community members of detained or deported Latinx immigrants: the role of the family before and after deportainment, avoiding deportainment, reuniting family and friends,
consequences on the family from being detained or deported, emotional consequences, family separations, and negative ICE interactions.

Finally, in chapter 6 analysis of the findings from chapter 4 and 5 are discussed. In addition, limitations of this research study are evaluated. Followed by suggestions that should be used for future research.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Immigration

Since European settlers began immigrating to the U.S., there has been ethnocentric biases and institutional practices that prioritize citizenship for certain European populations. In 1790, the first European settlers created legislation which attempted to ensure the nation remained White by passing a law that only granted citizenship to immigrants who were “free White persons” (Alba & Nee, 2003). These immigrants were predominately Northern and Western Europeans who spoke English and were of British heritage (Martin, 2006, 2013).

Racial privilege of citizenship and immigration status is illustrated through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1822. The Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited citizenship and barred Chinese immigration because of xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobic attitudes and fear of undesirable immigrants’ inability to assimilate to Northern and Western European ideologies drove additional immigration policies that excluded Asians, and Southern and Eastern immigrants (Martin, 2006). The 1917 Immigration Act extended the Chinese Exclusion Act to prohibit all Asian immigration while still allowing European immigrants to the U.S. if they could pass literacy tests and pay an eight dollar per person tax (Massey, 2016; Rosales, 1997).

In the mid-late 1800’s Irish immigrants were often scapegoated for hard economic times and framed through cartoons as an economic problem, dirty, ignorant, and incapable of assimilating to American culture, essentially establishing Irish immigrants as second-class people in the U.S. (Martin, 2013). These negative perceptions
continued to be reflected upon other immigrant groups such as Italians and Germans (Martin, 2013). When Southern and Eastern Europeans (Irish and Germans), Italians, and Austro-Hungarians began to migrate to the U.S. in mass numbers, more immigration policies were passed to protect Northern and Western Europeans ideologies (Alba & Nee, 2003). The Quota Act of 1921 capped immigration into the U.S. at three percent from each nationality (Bernisky, 2011; Martin & Midgley, 2010). Quotas were based on Northern and Western European immigrants’ ability to assimilate more easily into American society over Southern and Eastern immigrants (Alba & Nee, 2003). These quotas didn’t cap migration for Canadians or Mexicans but continued to bar Asian immigration (Alba & Nee, 2003). Mexicans were excluded from quotas due to U.S. reliance on cheap Mexican labor. Quotas continued with the passing of the 1924 National Origins Act which restricted immigration from Southern and Eastern Europeans through lowering quotas to two percent and continued to privilege people who policy makers believed could more easily assimilate (Rosales, 1997). However, the Immigration Act of 1952 reversed its racial restrictions on immigration and allowed Asian immigration to the U.S. (Alba & Nee, 2003). The Immigration Act of 1952 shifted priorities toward family reunification of spouses in Japan and Korea who married U.S. soldiers during WWII (Alba & Nee, 2003). The Immigration Act of 1952 helped set the precedence of immigration policies prioritizing family reunification because all future pathways to citizenship would be based primarily on family reunification (Alba & Nee, 2003). In the next section, I will detail the history behind the development of the U.S.-Mexico border, recruitment policies implemented to bring Mexican and Central Americans to the U.S., and the beginning of the shift toward criminalizing and prioritizing Latinx deportations.
Historical Latinx Immigration

In 1821, Mexico claimed its independence from Spain which included gaining current U.S. territories of Arizona, Texas, California, New Mexico, and parts of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Kansas (Rosales, 1997). Shortly after, Anglo-Americans began immigrating to Mexican territories and racial hostilities toward Mexicans and their government developed (Rosales, 1997). Anglo-Americans believed that Manifest Destiny$^2$ gave them the divine right to take Mexican land (Rosales, 1997). War between Mexico and the U.S. would start in 1846 and last until the signing of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe (Rosales, 1997). The Treaty of Guadalupe established a new border between Mexico and the U.S. and it gave the U.S. territorial control over New Mexico, Arizona, California, and parts of Utah, Colorado, and Nevada in exchange for 15 million dollars to Mexico (Rosales, 1997). Mexicans who chose to continue to reside in new U.S. territories after the Treaty of Guadalupe were promised “the constitutional rights of citizens and ostensibly protected their property, culture, and religion” (Rosales, 1997, p. 5). However, racial tensions continued resulting in the lynching of Mexicans and other systemic forms of oppression utilized to steal Mexican land (Rosales, 1997).

Before and after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe, Mexican migration from Mexico to the U.S. had little or no regulation (Rosales, 1997). In the late 1800s and early 1900s demand for cheap Mexican labor in the mining and agriculture industries were motivators for Mexicans to immigrate to the U.S. (Rosales, 1997). Construction of railroads further increased Mexican immigration from Central and Southern parts of

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$^2$ Anglo-American ideology that God has given the divine right to take over the pacific coast and Mexican territories without any punishment.
Mexico (Rosales, 1997). Starting in 1910, immigration from Mexico to the U.S. became more regulated because of the 20-year long Mexican Revolution (Rosales, 1997). Mexicans sought refuge in the U.S. and began immigrating in large numbers (Rosales, 1997). Mass migration from Mexico into the U.S. brought on the “brown scare,” a fear of crime and drug smuggling from Latinx immigrants. The brown scare simultaneously framed Mexican immigrants as criminals while increasing border enforcement and militarization that made Mexican immigration into the U.S. more difficult (Rosales, 1997). Additionally, rhetoric portraying Mexican immigrants as deviant criminals and threatening contributed to the development of laws and agencies that would prohibit unauthorized Mexican immigration such as creating the Border Patrol in 1924 and the 1924 National Origins Quota Act (Rosales, 1997).

Latinx migration dramatically increased again during World War II when there was a continued demand for low wage agricultural workers and employers began recruiting North, South, and Central American workers (Gutierrez, 1996). From the initial passing of the Bracero program in 1942 until its end in 1964, the program allowed the legal crossing of about 4.6 million people (Astor, 2009). The U.S. needed agricultural labor and in return for their labor Mexican workers were promised housing, food, and wages (Astor, 2009). However, tensions developed between Mexico and the U.S. when the program participants began experiencing xenophobic attacks and abuse from U.S. citizens (Astor, 2009). Additionally, the U.S. failed to uphold their end of the deal because they failed to provide adequate housing and safe working conditions, and pay wages or transportation expenses (Garcia & Griego, 1996). During this time, strict immigration policies were passed to criminalize and deport Latinx immigrants because of
the fears of non-assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2003). On June 9, 1954, Operation Wetback was signed by President Eisenhower which called for mass deportations of undocumented Latinx immigrants (Astor, 2009). Operation Wetback profiled Latinx community members as undocumented and consequently led to the deportations of both U.S. citizens and undocumented immigrants (Astor, 2009). In the next section, I will discuss the most recent immigration legislation enacted that criminalizes and prioritizes the deportation of undocumented Latinx immigrants.

**Recent Immigration Legislation**

In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was one of the first major bills to go into effect that simultaneously granted pathways to citizenship while militarizing and criminalizing unauthorized U.S.-Mexico border crossing to enforce more deportations and detainments of unauthorized immigrants (Lawston & Escobar, 2010). Under IRCA, pathways to citizenship were granted to unauthorized immigrants who had been present in the U.S. since 1982 and some agricultural workers. On the other hand, it also made it illegal for employers to hire unauthorized immigrants to work, and increased border patrol enforcement at the U.S. – Mexico border (Lawston & Escobar, 2010).

In 1996, the U.S. passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA). Together, these two laws increased the number of border patrol agents, extended the border wall, funded technological upgrades, issued punishments for companies who hired unauthorized workers, restricted federal government aid, and deported documented immigrants who have been convicted of crimes (Lawston & Escobar, 2010; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Zatz & Smith 2012). IIRIRA and AEDPA
eventually made minor civil offenses into aggravated felonies and in the process labeled immigrants as criminals (Lawston & Escobar, 2010).

Two key policies pushed by congress prosecuted undocumented Latinx immigrants as criminals: Criminal Alien Program (2006) and IIRIRA. During the 1980s, a prison overcrowding crisis resulting from Ronald Reagan’s campaign to crackdown on crime disproportionally affected African American and Latinx men (Macias-Rojas, 2016). The need to empty beds for new prisoners entering the system pushed congress to pass the Criminal Alien Program that would specifically target the deportation of noncitizens (Macias-Rojas, 2016). Consequently, the passing of IIRIRA pushed to criminalize authorized immigrants and revoke legal status (Lawston & Escobar, 2010; Macias-Rojas, 2016; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). The Criminal Alien Program and IIRIRA subsequently implemented detention bed mandatory, which today totals 34,000 people (Macias-Rojas, 2016):

Congress has attempted to mandate that ICE fill all 34,000 beds at its disposal, whether or not this is necessary based on the agency’s enforcement priorities or operational needs. Correctional officials often seek to decrease the use of prison beds and save government resources. Yet congress has stipulated that ICE ‘shall maintain a level of not less than 34,000 beds,’ which many members interpret to mean that ICE must fill 34,000 beds each night (Services, 2015).

After IIRIRA was the enactment of 287g, which gave authority to local and state police to enforce federal immigration law (Armenta, 2015; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Zatz & Smith 2012). According to ICE’s website:

ICE provides a four-week basic training program and a one-week refresher training program (completed every two years) conducted by certified instructors at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) ICE Academy (ICEA) in Charleston, SC.
According to the ICE website, there are 1,675 state and local offices in 16 states that have been trained and certified under 287g and authorized to enforce federal immigration laws (2015). These partnerships formed from 287g paved the way for controversial laws like SB90 in Colorado which required local law enforcement to report anyone they suspected of being undocumented to ICE. These suspicions profiled Latinx community members as being undocumented on the basis of not having a driver’s license or being born outside of the U.S. In Arizona, a very similar immigration policy was passed called Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighbors Act (SB1070) (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Theodore, 2011).

Policies like 287g, SB 1070, and SB90 create violent consequences for Latinx immigrants (Armenta, 2015; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Zatz & Smith, 2012). This is because policies like 287g, SB1070, and SB90 give law enforcement the power to question citizen status and detain or deport anyone who fails to prove U.S. citizenship (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Theodore, 2011; Velez, 2013). Profiling laws give authority to local law enforcement to “lawfully stop, detain, or arrest” persons if there is “reasonable suspicion” to believe that a person is in the country unauthorized (Diaz, et al. 2011. Theodore, 2011). 287g, SB1070, and SB90 deported thousands of people from Colorado and Arizona. Additionally, private prison corporations like Corrections Corporation of American (CCA) and the GEO Group, Inc. (GEO) earn profits from detaining and deporting undocumented immigrants (Ackerman & Furman, 2013). These corporations have lobbied and helped create state and federal bills like SB1070 that push for the criminalization and deportation of immigrant communities (Ackerman & Furman, 2013).
287g, which allowed police officers to carry out federal immigration investigations, and SB1070, which allowed racial profiling and inquiry of Latinx individuals immigration status, help create and maintain distrust for Latinx community members toward the police because of a fear of deportation (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). These legislations have instilled fear in immigrants’ lives of being separated from their families and communities by being deported or detained (Menjívar & Abrego 2012; Theodore 2011; Vidales et al., 2009).

During a five-day period of immigration raids in Arizona, better known as the Chandler Round-up, 432 U.S. citizens and Latinx immigrants were detained by the Chandler police and Border Patrol (Romero, 2006). Micro and macro aggressions were used to motivate unconstitutional racial profiling to target predominately Latinxs for deportations (Romero, 2006). Romero (2006) explains micro-aggressions as the “racial affronts on a personal level” (p. 453). An example of a micro aggression is an individual who through their role as either a law enforcement officer or Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) officer stops a member of the Latinx community and asks them to provide proof of legal presence (2006). The reason the community member is stopped is because of the racial bias by the individual officer, at the personal level. Macro-aggressions “are group affronts directed towards ‘Mexicaness’ in general” (Romero, 2006, p. 453). For example, macro-aggressions justify racially motivated stops and searches by targeting “dark complexions and physical characteristics characterized as ‘Mexican’ or ‘Latino;’ speaking Spanish, listening to Spanish music, shopping at Mexican-owned businesses, or any other cultural practices brought on by racially motivated stops (2006). At the macro level, these forms of aggressions are learned and
implemented in federal practices for policing and enforcing immigration laws. Increases in state and local federal immigration enforcement has elevated the perception of fear of the police through an increase in such immigration raids, and the deportation and detainment of undocumented immigrants for civil infractions (i.e., driving with a broken tail light or without a license) (Armenta, 2015; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014), thus maintaining and further elevating the fear and distrust that Latinx community members have toward the police.

Further, the Secure Communities Program started by President Bush and rolled out by President Obama bridged the criminal justice and immigration systems together. Before Secure Communities, if immigrants were taken to jail, they were fingerprinted and checked for prior criminal activity. After Secure Communities was launched, people who were arrested were fingerprinted and run through criminal and immigration databases. If an immigration record was flagged then there would be an immigration hold request asking law enforcement to hold individuals to be picked up by ICE. Ultimately, Secure Communities Program led to increased collaboration between the criminal justice and immigration systems further criminalizing Latinx immigrants.

Due to national lawsuits that argued the Secure Communities Program was a violation of the 4th amendment, Obama repealed the Secure Communities Program and replaced it with the Priority Enforcement Program (PEP). PEP is similar to the Secure Communities Program; however, when individuals are in jail, if they are flagged through the immigration database instead of ICE requesting a detainer form, ICE requests to be notified of their release date. PEP prioritized deportations for immigrants with felony charges, three or more misdemeanors, gang members, and terrorists. If an individual did
not fall into any of these categories they were given prosecutorial discretion. According to the American Society of Criminology, since Trump’s election into office, he has signed executive orders that bring back the Secure Communities Program and shifted deportation priorities to any undocumented person for any offense (2017). Ultimately, these anti-immigration policies and programs can be traced back to increasing Latinx immigration policies in the U.S. due to xenophobia and the ethnocentric belief that Latinx immigrants threaten American norms and values thereby setting the stage for criminalizing and prioritizing the deportation of Latinx immigrants through immigration policy. In the next section, I will discuss the negative implications that result from immigration policies developed in response to the Latinx threat.

Media and Politicians Shaping Latinx Immigration Policies

Historically, immigration policies have been shaped by rhetoric from politicians and reinforced through news media outlets. The same is true today of contemporary immigration policy. By creating what is referred to as the Latinx threat narrative, which helps legitimize the criminalization of Latinx immigrants, the media create a moral panic that reinforces the negative stereotypes that are associated with the undocumented community (Golash-Boza, 2009; Massey & Pren, 2012; Zatz & Smith 2012). The media targets Latinx undocumented immigrants as being the out-group and creates an “us vs. them” rhetoric (Diaz et al., 2011). Media outlets frame undocumented immigrants as greedy, lazy, bringing crime across the border, stealing jobs, and refusing to assimilate to the dominant U.S. culture (Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullings, 2011; McKeever, Riffe, & Carpentier, 2012; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).
The media depicts Latinx immigrants and immigration negatively through language used in news stories. While examining media representation of undocumented immigrants in Arizona, a study concluded that news outlets used dramatic language to create a moral panic around Latinx immigration (McConnell, 2014). For example, news articles in the Arizona Republic that described Latinx undocumented immigration as “Dangerous Waters” and “Bottomless Labor Pool” intensified negative perceptions of immigrants (McConnell, 2014). In addition, when media outlets use language like “illegal aliens” it both dehumanizes and criminalizes undocumented immigrants (Berinsky, 2011; Theodore, 2011), further perpetuating negative stereotypes that undocumented immigrants are dangerous and a threat to the U.S.

The negative stereotypes are contradicted by evidence showing contributions by immigrants. Statistics support that undocumented immigrants make significant economic contributions to the U.S. For instance, state and local tax contributions from the estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants present in the U.S. was roughly 11.64 billion dollars (Gee, Gardner, & Wiehe, 2016). The Institute on Taxation & Economic Policy predicts that if there were immigration reform that granted a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants there would be an increase in state and local tax by 2.1 billion dollars or more (Gee et al., 2016). Unfortunately, the media outlets and politicians neglect to depict how immigrant communities make significant contributions to the U.S. and instead choose to focus on how they are a threat to American norms and culture.

It is imperative to understand what messages the media are broadcasting because of the important role the media play in depicting social problems. News outlets are for-profit entities that broadcast news stories with the goal of attracting large audiences (Kim
et al., 2011). Specifically, with minority communities and Latinx undocumented immigrants, news outlets choose to frame immigration as a social problem which perpetuates stereotypes and racism. In addition, the media help construct a narrative that the solutions to solve the social problem are implementation of strict immigration policies and tighter control of the U.S.-Mexico border (Kim et al., 2011; Massey & Pren, 2012).

Since Trump was elected, he has signed executive orders that repeal and replace immigration enforcement programs. One of which, the Secure Communities Act, violates the 4th amendment because it requests sheriffs to detain immigrants again after they have been released from their custody when they have not committed a crime. Trump has also shifted priorities on deportations. However, Trump is not the only president to focus on immigration policies that impact the lives of Latinx immigrants. During Obama’s presidency, he focused on deporting “felons not families”. Individuals who had criminal records were priority for deportation and those outside of the dangerous category would not be detained or, if they were detained, they were given prosecutorial discretion to stay in the U.S. Obama quickly became known by immigration activists as the “Deporter in Chief” due to his record high number of deportations (Krogrstad, 2014). Through fiscal years 2009-2014, Obama deported a total of 2.4 million immigrants with a peak of 435,000 immigrants deported in 2013 (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogrstad, 2016). In the next section, I will describe how ICE detainment has negative consequences for Latinx immigrants and their families.

**Impacts of ICE Detainment and Deportation**

Detainment of undocumented Latinx immigrants is linked to collateral consequences for detained immigrants and their families. For instance, immigrants and
their families suffer from increased stress levels because of the fear of family separations (Ackerman & Furman, 2013). This is certainly the case for mixed status families with both authorized immigrants, unauthorized immigrants, and U.S. born citizens. Hanna and Ortega (2016) and Quevedo (2015) present evidence that stress created from being detained and/or deported can cause many problems for immigrants who are already experiencing poverty, discrimination, and have little to no education. For example, many unauthorized parents that are deported have fears of leaving their partners or children behind. Deportation of unauthorized immigrants who are parents creates separated families, many single-family homes, and sometimes results in the placement of children into the foster care system (Brabeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015). Placement into the system increases the likelihood of children eventually ending up in the criminal justice system (Ackerman & Furman, 2013). Policies that threaten deportation also impact Latinx families in the following ways: (1) Parents or U.S. born children or the entire family may have to leave the U.S., (2) temporary or permanent family separation causes negative emotional and trauma like effects, and (3) financial difficulties for family members left behind. However, there are additional ways that families experience collateral consequences from immigrants being detained or deported that will be analyzed in this thesis.

Additional impacts from anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric is what Abrego and Menjívar (2011) define as legal violence, which affects the undocumented immigrant community through:

Instances in which laws and their implementation give rise to practices that harm individuals physically, economically, psychologically, or emotionally (Menjívar and Abrego n.d.). Often discussed by politicians and scholars as merely the “unintended consequences” of the law, legal violence takes place when laws that
purport to protect the rights and control behavior for the general good simultaneously marginalize groups of people, leaving them not only unprotected but vulnerable to different forms of abuse. (pg. 11)

Menjívar and Abregos' work highlights “visible different forms of violence inherent in the implementation of the law, particularly when these become normalized and accepted” (2012, p. 1381). Further, physical harm, through acts of “interpersonal aggression” (p. 1383), is not directed upon immigrants but forms of “legal violence” from immigration policies affect undocumented Latinx in their work, family, and educational lives (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Undocumented immigrant communities experience forms of legal violence such as discrimination, racial profiling, stigmatization, physical and mental abuse, and fear from deportation of oneself and loved ones because of hyper-policing and hypercriminalization stemming from anti-immigration policies and laws. The social construction of authorized and unauthorized Latinx immigrants affords certain benefits to those who have lawful presence. Undocumented Latinx immigrants are more vulnerable to experience legal violence from being exploited for cheap labor or not being paid for their work (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Because undocumented immigrants feel they have no rights and fear deportation they are less likely to report poor work conditions, being cheated of wages, instances of abuse, crimes committed against them, and they fail to seek adequate medical care (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). As a result, immigrants fear the police, going out into public places, and suffer from stress due to the uncertainty that they could face deportation (Brabeck & Sibley, 2016; Hanna & Oretega 2016).

Another example of impacts from anti immigration policies is identified in the literature as reports of poor treatment of Latinx immigrants during detainment and deportation. Research finds poor treatment involves verbal, sexual, and physical abuse
from ICE officials (Hernandez, 2013). Immigrants also report feeling racially
discriminated against and experiencing dehumanizing treatment (Hernandez, 2013;
Phillips, Hagan, Rodriguez, 2006; Velez, 2014). Dehumanizing treatment has been
reported by detained immigrants as failing to receive medical care or receiving
inadequate care (Tovino, 2016; Venters et. al, 2011). Unacceptable medical care while
being detained or deported includes a failure to provide routine mental and physical
exams or misdiagnoses of health conditions (Tovino, 2016; Venters, Foote, et. al, 2011).
Poor medical care may lead to a failure to properly diagnose health problems which can
cause poor health outcomes for immigrants (Tovino, 2016; Venters, Foote, et. al, 2011).
Consequences of inadequate health care within ICE detention centers have resulted in

Poor treatment of Latinx detained and deported immigrants can be attributed to
undocumented immigrants not having the same rights that many U.S. citizens do and
coincides with little government oversight of detention centers (Velez, 2014). This lack
of supervision has been linked to the dangerous and lethal conditions that Latinx
immigrants experience while being detained by ICE (Hernandez, 2013). In total, there
have been 154 immigrant deaths under the detainment of ICE from October 2003 to
October 2015 (Tovino, 2016).

**Theoretical Framework**

**Critical Legal Studies**

In the 1970s, Critical Legal Studies (CLS) first appeared in the U.S. It critiqued
the “traditional U.S. legal academy’s reluctance to acknowledge the ‘politics of law’, as
well as a tendency to marginalize issues of class” (Aoki & Johnson, 2008, p. 36). CLS
explores how the legal system is a tool of class oppression and challenges the notion that the legal system is neutral and objective. However, CLS failed to analyze forms of oppression around issues of race and gender. Academics have asserted that, “civil rights discourse in CLS does not adequately address the experience of people of color” (Tate, 1997, p. 198), mostly due to the lack of racial and gender diversity among the first publishing CLS scholars (Aoki & Johnson, 2008). Consequently, the absence of exploring issues of how racial inequalities operate in the U.S. legal system led to the development of Critical Race Theory (Aoki & Johnson, 2008).

**Critical Race Theory (CRT)**

CRT is applied in fields like education, sociology, and women and ethnic studies to examine how law, race, and power shapes society (Taylor, 1998). The emphasis is placed on understanding “the historical centrality and complicity of law in upholding White supremacy” (Taylor, 1998, p. 122). Further, CRT examines the impacts of racism that perpetuates structural and systemic forms of oppression on the lives of people of color (i.e., higher incarceration rates, inadequate health care access, poor education, and poor access to good job opportunities) (Potter, 2015). CRT also examines how European colonization of the Americas has socially constructed societal views of race to favor Eurocentric dominated values and ideologies (Valdes, 2005). White individuals who align with these Eurocentric ideologies are awarded certain privileges and opportunities while people of color face prejudice and discrimination (Valdes, 2005). CRT seeks to explain how despite laws that promote racial equality, our society still favors and privileges Eurocentric dominated values and ideologies (Perez, 2010).
Historical context behind the intellectual movement of CRT “is rooted in the social missions and struggles of the 1960s that sought justice, liberation, and economic empowerment; thus from its inceptions, it has had both academic and social activist goals” (Tate, 1997, p. 197). Drawing from the critiques of CLS, CRT was developed by legal scholars such as Derrick Bell, Patricia Williams, and Kimberle Williams Crenshaw in the 1980s. Early CRT academic works from Derrick Bell focused on expanding the literature of the Black experiences with law (Tate, 1997). Richard Delgado highlighted the importance of incorporating the experiences of female academics and people of color within the legal system (Tate, 1997). Further, forms of protest organized by Kimberle Crenshaw at Harvard Law School in response to the lack of people of color on a tenure track started a “collaboration and discussions among a small cadre of legal scholars about different ways to conceptualize race and law” (Tate, 1997, p. 228). Crenshaw’s contributions to CRT included the idea of understanding systemic and structural forms of oppression through an intersectional approach that considers varying experiences depending on gender, all people of color, and class (Tate, 1997).

CRT recognizes that because of White people’s privileges they may be unaware of systemic and structural forms of oppression that affect people of color (Delgado, 1989; Potter, 2015). Thus, CRT pushes scholars who are people of color to document those lived experiences with racism and legal systems to showcase inequalities (Delgado, 1989; Potter, 2015). CRT scholars utilize a unique storytelling approach when describing inequalities in the legal system and race (Tate, 1997). Delgado utilizes story telling of legal inequalities to open the possibility for “community building” through understanding differential lived experiences between White and Black lives (Delgado, 1989; Tate, 1997,
Sharing these lived experiences helps educate marginalized people of color and helps them understand the history of their oppression in attempts to end “inflicting mental violence on themselves” (Tate, 1997, p. 221).

In Derrick Bell’s book *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, Bell (1992) uses narrative to highlight the fact that the economic interests of Whites always trump the social and economic equality of people of color. Bell states, “we all know that Black rights, Black interests, Black property, even Black lives are expendable whenever their sacrifice will further or sustain White needs or preferences” (Bell, 1992, p. 174). In Bell’s (1992) narrative, he shares a hypothetical situation where the U.S. is visited by aliens. The aliens offer the U.S. an unlimited power source that would help solve years of environmental harm to our nation. Additionally, they offer large amounts of gold to solve the debt crisis the U.S. has fallen into. In return for the unlimited power source and gold, the aliens require that the U.S. turn over all Black people living in the U.S. The nation holds a national election and the American people vote in favor of turning over Blacks because of the prosperity guaranteed to Whites who will remain on the planet. One can question whether or not a national referendum would actually result in the enslavement of Blacks; however, Bell (1992) argues our history reveals Whites have enslaved Blacks due to their own economic interests and they would do so again. Overall, his work addresses the lack of visibility of Black people in positions of power, historical forms of oppression and slavery, dismissal and negative perceptions toward Black people, and overall White supremacist ideology that places Blacks as undeserving of rights and equal treatment (Bell, 1992). Critiques of Bell’s work is that the Black experiences of systemic and
structural oppression are generalized to all people of color which does not recognize different forms of oppression unique to different ethnic/racial groups.

CRT is often critiqued for consistently focusing on publishing academic work from well-known names in the field (Aoki and Johnson, 2008), meaning only a few selected big names were published in academic journals. Further, apprentices to CRT scholars often reflected the thoughts and techniques of their mentors which limited the development of original thought and using the theory in new and creative ways (Aoki & Johnson, 2008). CRT theorists focus on the experiences within the Black-White binary but other races and identities aren’t considered (Aoki & Johnson, 2008; Sanchez & Adams, 2011). Given the Black-White binary critique, Latinx scholars have created LatCrit theory to help address the intersection of issues unique to the Latinx community and include the Latinx voice critiques of the legal system.

LatCrit Theory

LatCrit theory emerged in the 1990s when legal scholars recognized a need to analyze civil rights issues outside of the Black-White binary to include other ethnic/racial groups (Aoki & Johnson, 2008). LatCrit scholars diversified academic literature to include research that analyzes unique Latinx community experiences by considering class, gender, sexual orientation, citizenship status, ethnicity, language, and culture backgrounds (Aoki & Johnson, 2008; Valdez, 2015). Further, LatCrit scholarship utilizes an inclusive approach to research and engage academia through “open and encouraging of the participation of scholars from a wide diversity of background, including White, African American, Asian American, feminist, and gay and lesbian scholars” (Aoki & Johnson, 2008, p. 5).
The Eurocentric dominated American culture views the Latinx community as a threat because they believe the Latinx community refuses to assimilate (Kim et al., 2011; McKeever et al., 2012; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Latinx individuals who do not learn English or continue to celebrate their cultural traditions are stigmatized through derogatory terms. Even more injustices occur when we consider the criminalization and deportation of undocumented Latinx immigrants. LatCrit scholarship has been used to analyze how Eurocentric dominated American society has used institutional practices to oppress Latinx communities (Kim et al., 2011; McKeever et al., 2012; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). For example, LatCrit scholar Mary Romero (2006) highlights racist and classist based micro and macro aggressions that profile Latinx community members as undocumented to justify stops and searches and reinforce the inferior status for Latinx community members. Historically, Latinx people have been given subordinate status and faced both systemic and structural injustices (Kim et al., 2011; McKeever et al., 2012; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

Similar to CRT, LatCrit theory identifies racial and legal inequalities in specific areas of our society which negatively affect the Latinx community and advocates for policy change (Perez, 2010). For instance, LatCrit scholars Gonzalez and Portillos (2011) use Chicanx pedagogy to challenge institutional colorblind racism that occurs within the university setting. Gonzalez and Portillos (2011) challenge the traditional White educational experience through utilizing course material that provides a “critical and reflective pedagogy of and by Chicanas/os that draws from our historical, political, and cultural knowledge” (p. 23). Chicanx pedagogy uniquely develops course curriculum that highlights Chicanx experiences through understanding how racism operates in society,
challenging White nominative beliefs, and pushing for social change (Portillos & Gonzalez, 2011). Using this pedagogical approach helps Chicanx students who are already experiencing institutional racism and marginalization on college campuses connect with course material.

Scholars like Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016) argue that everyday racism is as prevalent in the operation of criminal courts today as Jim Crow practices in another era. Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016) described White upper-middle class attorneys and judges using a “moral rubric” to racially punish predominately low-income, uneducated, Black and Latinx defendants (p. 6). Criminal courts operate behind a colorblind façade, but the implementation of moral rubrics highlights how criminal and racial indicators label Black and Brown defendants as immoral:

Disdain for people of color is based not upon racial difference or inferiority as sets of biological features, but upon the moral inferiority that minorities embody. Often these immoral labels reference the historical stigmas, stereotypes, and controlling images associated with Blackness and brownness—the supposed tendency to be lazy, hypersexual, and under motivated, for example” (Gonzalez Van Cleve, 2016, p. 5).

Further, Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016) highlights how institutions that claim to practice race neutrality instead enforce micro and macro forms of racial punishment for Black and Brown defendants, their families, and any person of color who enters the criminal court.

In addition to LatCrit theory, I am extending the conceptual framework of hypercriminalization developed by Rios (2011). In his research, Rios explains that hypercriminalization is “the process by which an individual’s everyday behaviors and styles become ubiquitously treated as deviant, risky, threatening, or criminal, across social contexts” (p. xiv). Rios (2011) examined how Black and Latinx youth are hypercriminalized in their day-to-day lives and discovered that their behaviors were
perceived by school and criminal justice officials to be threatening and criminal. These perceptions affect Black and Latinx youth’s life outcomes because they are constantly punished by being stigmatized, policed, and arrested at disproportionate rates (Rios, 2011). In addition, Rios discusses how youth are also criminalized by their own family members. Rios (2011) reveals how Black and Latinx youth are criminalized for behavior that in the past was not brought to the attention of law enforcement, resulting in the introduction of youth to the juvenile and criminal justice systems at an early age.

Similarly, Sanchez and Adams (2011) uses this conceptual framework to analyze how hypercriminalization of African American and Latinx youth living in high crime Chicago Urban neighborhoods impacts non-delinquent youths by being hyper policed before, during, and after school (2011). Hypercriminalization of daily behaviors such as hanging around the school yard in groups or dressing in baggy clothing were reasons for the police to stop and search non-delinquent African Americans and Latinx youth (Sanchez & Adams, 2011). Sanchez & Adams’ (2011) research shows that not only are gang youth swept up in aggressive and proactive policing but so are youth who are not involved in criminal behavior. Using Rios’s conceptual framework, Sanchez and Adams conclude that urban schools “offer substandard education but also serve a criminal justice function” through hyper policing in and outside of school (2011, p. 327).

Drawing from Critical Race Theory and LatCrit theory, I analyze experiences with ICE by considering the impact of identities based on ethnicity, citizenship status, language, skin complexion, and gender. Further, I show how institutional practices are evident in the detainment of immigrants. More specifically, from Van Cleaves (2016) work, I show how detention is a form of racial punishment. I extend Gonzalez Van
Cleve’s argument to showcase how anti-immigrant rhetoric from the media, politicians, and immigration policies frame immigrants as criminal and morally inferior. Racial punishments are executed through criminalizing and mass detaining/deporting undocumented Latinx immigrants. In addition, Romero’s (2006) work is utilized to reveal how detainment policies and practices are a form of micro and macro aggression. Romero’s (2006) concepts of racially motivated macro and micro aggressions help explain treatment of Latinx immigrants, their families, and friends by immigration officers. Drawing from Rios’ (2011) conceptual framework of hypercriminalization and applying it directly to Latinx immigration we can better understand why society is hypercriminalizing Latinx immigrants, recognizing how this criminalization impacts undocumented immigrants’ experiences and creates collateral consequences for their families and friends. Throughout this thesis, I demonstrate how hypercriminalization impacts immigrants through specific institutional practices and reveal how families/friends are impacted.

From analysis of the existing literature, it is notable that little research documents Latinx experiences outside of predominately large Latinx communities of Arizona and California (Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Romero, 2006; Venters et. al., 2010). In addition to expanding the geographic scope of research, this thesis contributes to the literature by focusing on the time-period within the detainment called “deportainment.” ICE detainment, as defined by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency website is, “Non-U.S. citizens who are apprehended and determined to need custodial supervision.” ICE deportation refers to the removal of undocumented and documented immigrants back to their country of origin. Detainment and deportation
are clearly defined by being placed into ICE custody and/or removal from the U.S. However, deportainment contains uncertainty about whether a person will be deported or detained for an unknown amount of time. It is important to analyze this time period to fully understand the role ICE detainments and deportations have on Latinx immigrants and their families and friends.

Moreover, this research project also considers gender differences in deportainment experiences and contributes new data to the existing literature by considering the impact of social networks on deported immigrants’ experiences while in ICE custody. Existing research examines fear that immigrants, their families/friends, and community members affect their perceptions and interactions with ICE and law enforcement. This research examines new findings of financial burden and stressors inflicted on family, friends, and community members because of undocumented immigrants being deportained.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

Research Method

A qualitative life interview approach served as the best method to analyze the personal reflections of Latinx immigrants as they described their experiences of when they were detained or deported by ICE and to examine the collateral consequences that affect family and friends of previously detained and deported Latinx immigrants. Research conducted by Menjívar and Bejarano (2004) on Latino immigrants’ perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States shows that qualitative interviews can be used to highlight the lived experiences of Latinx immigrants. Thus, semi-structured interviews can provide insights into immigrants’ daily lives, community perspectives, and interactions with police officers and I.C.E officials. Because this research examined participants’ and members of their social networks experiences with ICE and law enforcement, potential participants must have previously been detained/deported by ICE or were a close friend or family member of someone who had been detained/deported by ICE. Open ended semi-structured interview questions helped guide the conversation while providing the participant the opportunity to deviate from the guide to highlight what they felt was most important from their experiences (Stebleton & Aleixo, 2015).

IRB Consent

Two separate IRB applications were approved for this research project. The first IRB approval was for a pilot study analyzing Latinx immigrant experiences with ICE. Approval was granted in spring 2016 and a total of three interviews were collected (See Appendix A for IRB approval). The second approval from IRB was granted in December
2016 and interviews began immediately and lasted through the end of February 2017 (See Appendix C for IRB approval). The second IRB approval added 14 interviews to the data for a total of 17 interview participants. There were 18 interviews conducted but one was excluded because the interviewee wished to withdraw their interview from the study.

**Recruitment Strategies**

Participants were recruited through word of mouth and social networks. I posted a flyer on Facebook and sent out email threads to recruit participants. Snowball sampling was used to solicit recommendations for additional interviewees. For example, after I interviewed a participant, I asked them if they knew of any other immigrants or family/friends of immigrants who would be willing to do an interview. If they replied yes, I asked for their contact information and called them later to request an interview. I also asked friends and family members to pass along my contact information and details about the research project to potential participants. Access to participants was difficult due to the research focusing on a vulnerable population who legitimately fear they may be deported which requires insider access to help develop trust. As discussed earlier in the literature review, immigrants live in constant fear of deportation and as a result they are weary of any interactions that may bring them to the attention of immigration officials. Breaking through this barrier was possible through friends and family vouching on my behalf that research being conducted would remain confidential and would not be shared with ICE. Enough immigrant interviews were conducted in order to observe and explore patterns present within the data.

**Interview Process**
Participants who were willing to be in this study chose the day, time, and place that was most convenient for them to participate in an interview. The majority of interviews were conducted at the homes of participants; however, a few interviews were conducted in coffee shops. Prior to the interviews, participants were informed that questions had the potential to invoke painful memories. Participants were given a detailed explanation of the consent form which explained that their involvement in the study was completely voluntary and that if at any time participants felt uncomfortable, unsafe, or unwilling to participate in the study, they could withdraw from the interview without consequence. Upon completion of the interview, one participant did request to withdraw their interview from the study. Before starting the interviews, I answered any questions or addressed any concerns participants had about the research project. Participants questions were directed mainly toward my personal background, interest in the subject, and what I intended to do with the data collected.

In order to protect participants’ identity, the IRB granted a waiver of signed consent. To further protect the identities of participants, pseudonyms are used in the thesis. Any identifiable data collected during the interviews was removed to ensure that data provided in the interview could not be linked back to the participant.

The length of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to two-hours. Each interview began with the same question and followed the question guide for the remainder of the interview. However, the nature of the semi-structured interview guide allowed the participant to discuss information they felt was most important and meaningful to them. Due to the research focusing on both immigrants’ experiences as well as family/friends’,
different interview guides were developed for each group (see attached interview guides in appendix D and E).

Research Sample

The total number of participants included in this study are 17 individuals. Ten interviews were conducted with participants who have been detained and/or deported by ICE. Of those ten participants, four participants had been deported and two of the four had been deported more than once. These interviews were utilized to help understand the experiences of immigrants who have been detained or deported. Seven interviews were with participants who were family members or friends of immigrants during the time immigrants were detained or deported. These interviews provide data on the collateral consequences of detention and deportation on immigrants’ families and friends.

Detained or deported Latinx participants’ (N=10) average age was 28 with the youngest participant being 20 and the oldest 46. Of the participants who had personally been detained by ICE, six were males and four were females. Seven of the 10 participants were currently living in Colorado and three were in Arizona. Participants identified themselves as: Mexican (3), Salvadorian (2), Mexicana (1), Hispanic (2), Hispanic/Latino (1), and Hispanic with Indigenous roots (1), and self-identified their skin complexion as: light brown skin (4), medium brown (1), medium/very brown (1), and dark brown (4). Immigrants who had been detained or deported also noted their sexual orientation as: straight (6), cis-hetero (1), heterosexual (1), and lesbian (1). A short summary of each participant’s life narrative and ICE experience can be found in appendix F and appendix G.
Participants who were family and friends of immigrants (N=7) who were detained or deported by ICE ranged in age from 20 to 67, with their average age being 37. There were three males and four females. Five participants were currently living in Colorado and two in Arizona. Participants self-identified as the following ethnicities: Mexican (3), Hispanic (2), Mexican-American, Latino (1), and Spanish, White, Mexican, German (1), and self-identified their skin complexion as: very White, very light skinned (1), light skin (1), lighter shade of brown (1), light brown (2), and Medium Brown (2). Participants also noted their sexual orientations as: Straight (5), gay, homosexual (1), and n/a (1). A short list of each participant’s life narrative, relationship to detained/deported immigrants, and ICE experiences can be referred to in appendix H and appendix I.

Data Storage & Analysis

Participants’ interviews were recorded using a password protected iPhone and then uploaded and stored on a password protected computer. There were no names or identifying information written on the notes or in the recordings. The researcher used Dragon Naturally Speaking software to transcribe interviews. Per IRB guidelines, upon completion of a transcription, audio recordings were deleted. However, the transcriptions themselves will be kept for three years after the study on a password protected computer.

The NVivo application was used to identify and organize major themes present in the data. Through this application, the researcher used line by line open coding to summarize major findings. Open ended questions and the responses were coded line by line according to major themes to help answer the research questions. After line by line coding, data were organized into main codes that help understand how detained or deported Latinx immigrants and their friends and families are impacted by interactions
with ICE and the police. These main codes help to structure and organize this thesis to answer the two primary research questions.
CHAPTER IV

LATINX IMMIGRANTS’ EXPERIENCES WITHIN ICE DEPORTAINMENT

This chapter focuses on undocumented Latinx immigrants’ experiences from point of initial contact with ICE through the duration of their detainment or deportation within ICE custody. The chapter begins by examining systemic issues evident when ICE detained and deported Latinx immigrants. Then, the chapter considers the overall treatment immigrants received from ICE officials throughout deportainment. Finally, this chapter shows that support from family and friends was not a given but rather depended on whether the deportainments of undocumented Latinx immigrants were considered dishonorable, preventable, or in the interest of keeping the family together.

Web of Deportation and Detainment Tactics

Participants described a variety of reasons why they faced detainment or deportation. All ten participants who had previously been detained and/or deported reported falling into ICE custody either through minor traffic offenses, attending court proceedings, warrants, or targeting tactics from immigration officials. One example of targeting tactics resulting in detainment is highlighted in Bobby’s 2010 deportation proceedings. Through the partnership formed between local law enforcement and ICE, the Secure Communities Program flagged Bobby’s unauthorized legal status to ICE, resulting in his detainer request. After serving one and a half years in jail for pleading

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3 This is a term coined by this researcher and it refers to undocumented immigrants who enter a state of limbo when facing the uncertainty of deportation or releasement from ICE detainment.
4 Pseudonyms are used for participant names throughout this thesis.
guilty to a breaking and entering charge, Bobby was told that if ICE didn’t come to get him within 48 hours he was free to go. After 48 hours passed and no immigration officers came, Bobby petitioned the police officer on duty to be released and he was ignored: “I don't remember if he threw it up or crushed it up or threw it away (the dismissal form).”

“On the third day,” well after the 48-hour detainer period, I.C.E came to pick up Bobby from the jail and deported him. Bobby’s experience exemplifies how the Secure Communities Program has bridged the criminal justice and immigration systems together through flagging undocumented immigrants to ICE’s attention thereby issuing detainer requests that lead to detention and deportations of undocumented immigrants.

In another case, Nathan recalled living in Arizona during a time when undocumented immigrants were unable to have driver’s licenses:

So, it all started by just getting pulled over… so I got ticketed. I got fines for driving without a license. I went in front of a judge and I told them I can’t present you with a driver’s license you know… so he gave me like the full fine. It was like 2,000 dollars and I obviously didn’t have that… I was like barely making enough money to like help my mom a little bit, let alone pay an extra 200 bucks a month to pay off fricken court fees. So… eventually I just fell behind. I had a warrant out for my arrest.

This case is an example of how a small misdemeanor case can provide the federal government with a reason to deport someone.

In a following incident, in 2010 when Nathan and a friend were unintentionally illegally crossing light rail tracks, security stopped them and asked for their identification. Nathan was undocumented at the time and could only provide his Mexican consulate card. Nathan described the situation as, “He’s (security guard) on his radio, he looks me up or whatever. So, long story short, I have a warrant ‘cuz of those fines because of the driver’s license and so I get arrested and taken to 4th Avenue jail because I have a
warrant and I have to go see the judge.” This eventually leads to the police reporting him to ICE and immigration detaining him for two months and facing the possibility of deportation. This is an example of legal violence, which Menjívar & Abrego (2012) argue are systemic and structural forms of oppression that make undocumented Latinx immigrants vulnerable through work, family, and educational experiences. Menjívar & Abrego (2012) argue that immigrants are vulnerable to being deported for minor civil infractions. This research mirrors these findings because of Nathan’s inability to obtain a driver’s license as a result of immigration policies that make life harder for undocumented immigrants to live in the U.S.

It is important to note that from November 2014 until January 2017 the Secure Communities Program was temporarily removed. Experiences within this time frame could have resulted differently and could be a reason why other participants who were detained weren’t prioritized for deportation. However, after his election as President, Trump rolled back the Secure Communities Program. The convergence of the immigration and criminal justice systems demonstrates how a series of immigration policies can result in the criminalization of immigrants, thus setting the standard practices of today’s contemporary immigration enforcement.

Tactics used by immigration officials to detain and deport undocumented immigrants also took the forms of harassment and hyper-surveillance. The day before graduation in 2011, Juakeim described receiving a phone call from his dad stating that he gave the police Juakeim’s phone number because they were searching for him about an ongoing investigation. Juakeim remembered that in his conversation with the police they didn’t provide information on which department they worked for or who they were. The
police only stated that, “we need to talk to you… Where are you at?” Juakeim provided the police with his friend’s home address and 30 minutes later,

They were outside and I went outside… And initially it was one guy in an undercover vehicle, I guess with like a bulletproof vest and I was already like what the fuck!? And so, he was turned away from me so I didn't see like a Phoenix PD or anything. As I walked towards him though, I slowly saw myself surrounded by five immigration officers. Three of them with assault rifles and like two of them just standing around being very intimidating.

Martin and Rosa similarly described how their family members were targeted for deportation by immigration officers. Martin and Rosa both recalled single immigration officers targeting members of their families for deportation numerous times. In Martin’s case, he described how his father experienced constant harassment from one immigration officer and was eventually deported on multiple occasions:

That individual knew my dad’s truck already. Knew what he look like… And he was the typical, stereotypical border patrol, blue eyed, ya know White guy. And so, he had something against my dad that every time he’d see my dad’s red Ford truck he'd pull him over and ask for documentation when he clearly knew my dad didn’t have any.

Rosa explained her sister-in-law’s experiences:

She use to come to the United States and the day after they coming knocking on the door for her (immigration). Somebody report her and they take her away, right away. They don’t give her a chance or nothing…then she was sent back. Two years later she tries again and she makes it there. And again, the same guy, okay, the same guy from the immigration...he was the one that was after her all the time. There was a way that he found out that she was back and he use to go for her all the time.

Martin also recalled friends from his community being deported through tactics of targeting undocumented Latinx immigrants:

If an individual got deported and they were doing something illegal or had criminal records, ICE would come for their family... So as soon they detain you, they check your criminal record, they’d call ICE... you know what this individual, his family or his other relatives might be there too so they’d use that so they wouldn’t say go deport their family but go see if there is any other individual that
might have that same criminal record. So that was their ticket in to the houses to get, I don’t know a, uhh, like a court ordered paper to go search...

In these instances, ICE officials hyper-surveilled undocumented Latinx immigrants to detain or deport them. Additionally, Rosa’s and Martin’s experiences contribute to a new and unexplored finding not discussed in the academic literature that highlight how ICE agents operate through obsessive and harassing tactics to detain and deport undocumented Latinx immigrants.

Criminalization and Racialized Punishments in Detention Centers

Criminalized Treatment

While being deportained by ICE, participants were handcuffed and treated as criminals until they were released or deported. Jose described that during his first deportation to Mexico, ICE officials kept him in the same dirty clothes for a week. Jose also recalled being handcuffed: “Oh yeah all time. Legs and hands. All the time”. Bobby described similar inhumane criminalized treatment during his deportation proceedings:

I just had shorts, no shoes, and a tank top. Before I got sent to the buses, I asked if I could get some clothes like if I can get pants or shirt or something so I wouldn't be cold but they were like no you don't deserve anything. So, I'm like cool… Then I came over here and I saw blankets on the plane. I asked them for a blanket and they were like no, you guys don't deserve blankets. I'm over here like freezing with like just my handcuffs, my shorts, my tank top.

Other participants described having to wear ICE jumpsuits that were color coordinated to distinguish who were first or multiple unauthorized immigrant offenders. Detainees were also separated by gender and separated based on civil or criminal offenses committed before they were placed into ICE custody. Detained immigrants were also subject to constant strip searches before entering detainment facilities. Jorge recalled each time he was transferred to a new detainment facility: “Every time we entered one of
those places they would take our clothes and they would search us to see if we had anything with us. That was the worst part that I remember.” Overall, while immigrants were deported, they had no control over their daily schedules, as described by Nathan:

They would wake us up at probably like 6 AM or something for breakfast. You had like 30 minutes to go eat, come back, if not like that's it, you missed breakfast basically. Then lunch, is was like at 11 – 11:30. You had to have your bed made. You have to, otherwise you aren’t getting fed. You had to clean, you better clean. There was like an hour or so where they made you clean. In the evenings, there was like some break time. They had like one TV you know.

There were multiple reports of ICE officials withholding food or participants receiving poor quality food. Jorge described his experience as:

They would receive our food and they wouldn’t want to give us the food when it arrived but until they felt like giving it to us. They didn’t want to feed us or give us water, I went about a day and a half without eating anything because they didn’t want to give us anything.

As discussed earlier, this is yet another example of racial punishment as described by Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016). Although crossing the border through unauthorized channels and over staying their visas are civil offenses, undocumented immigrants are also socially constructed as morally inferior by the media and as “illegal” and “criminals” (Berinsky 2011; Theodore 2011). As a result, this research shows that ICE officials enact micro forms of racial punishment that dehumanize immigrants and serve as informal forms of punishment.

Matthew described being verbally harassed by ICE officers: “The worst name that they call me was a motherfucker hot wheels. Yeah, cuz a lot of people call me hot wheels but in a good way. They call me wetback, stupid guy, retarded.”
Bobby recalled an interaction with an immigration official where he was verbally, mentally, and physically abused by an ICE official before leaving jail and transferring to an ICE detainment facility:

He was like ‘sign this!’ I was like ‘I'm not going to sign without a lawyer!’ He was like ‘are you looking at my gun… you know I could beat your ass over here if you don't sign and I could just say that it was self-defense!’ They try to go off on me! And I was like ‘okay, well then do it.’ And that's when he grabbed me from like my shirt and I got scared… I'm not gonna lie! Like I almost peed my pants that time. Ha. I signed real quick. I don't know what it was or why they made me sign. He was the only person that ever laid hands on me. Then from there, like he even tighten my handcuffs because they were pretty loose.

Later, on the bus ride to the detainment facility, the same ICE official would threaten Bobby to keep him from saying anything about coercing him to sign the document: “He was like ‘if you tell anybody I'm going to make your case a lot worse.’” Participants showcased instances of verbal, mental, and physical forms of abuse. Bobby’s experience of physical abuse from an I.C.E officer reinforces Hernandez’s (2013) findings that immigrants experience verbal, mental, and/or physical abuse during deportainment. Instances of abuse highlight how racist micro aggressions operate every day in institutions (Gonzalez Van Cleve, 2016).

**ICE, Micro-Aggressions, and Racialized Punishments**

Participants described receiving mental, physical, and verbal forms of racial punishments during deportainment from ICE officials. Analysis of data concludes that racialized punishments were enforced on the basis of micro-aggressions directed toward participants being male, originating from El Salvador, having a darker skin complexion, and not being able to speak fluent English at the time of deportainment. Forms of punishment during detainment included ICE officials failing to follow proper procedures for filling out the necessary paperwork for detention. Jorge described that as he was
entering detainment near the Texas-Mexico Border the initial ICE official who took his intake report told him:

‘Fucking El Salvadoreans come here to try and get your papers easily.’ I got upset and said ‘then if you don’t want to listen to us then why are you doing this interview? I didn’t want to tell you my story.’ It was simply because he had asked and because I said that to him he said you are going to be here a long time. He then grabbed my paperwork and he ripped them up and threw them away and put me into a cell where it was even more cold than the others.

Jorge was kept in detainment freezers “for three weeks when I should have only been there at most for three days…They are these really cold rooms.” Jorge remembered ICE officials would intimidate him and fellow detainees to be obedient by stating, “They are all the same (ICE officials) telling you to sit down and be quiet and they don’t want to hear a single word from anyone. If anyone talks, ‘I’m going to take you out here and teach you lesson so that you can learn to obey all the way to the freezers.’” Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016) asserts that every day racism operates through institutional practices and that micro forms of racial punishment are directed toward Black and Latinx people. In this incident, the ICE official is sanctioning a racialized form of punishment directed toward individuals from El Salvador. Due to the racial prejudices that the ICE official felt toward Jorge, the actions of the official display how he felt he could act with the full extent of his power by placing Jorge in the “freezers” for 15 days where conditions were cold and inhumane. This ICE official failed to write detailed reports that would push along the deportainment process and instead invoked his own forms of racial punishment where detainees are placed in a state of uncertainty, not knowing when they would be released or face deportation.

Negative interactions with ICE officials were reported from males who identified as lighter skin color, migrated from Mexico, and had the ability to speak English at the
time or detainment. However, interestingly, two of six male immigrant participants who identified as having dark skin color, migrated from El Salvador, and at the time of detainment did not speak English, reported having more serious problems with ICE including verbal, physical, mental, and medical abuses. In comparison, three of the four female participants - Veronica, Diana, and Jessica - who were from Mexico with lighter skin complexion and had the ability to speak fluent English, reported less intense abuse from ICE officials. The most extreme instance of abuse reported by all three female participants was described as: “We didn’t get food, they gave us chips.” Overall, male experiences were described as having more frequent and profound instances of verbal and mental harassment, experiencing racial punishments, and medical neglect resulting in lifelong disabilities. It is apparent that gender, ethnicity, skin color, and language spoken could help explain the differential forms of racialized treatment participants had from ICE officials. However, further research would need to be collected to generalize this finding.

**Medical Neglect and Inhumane Treatment**

A few participants described inhumane medical experiences during deportainment. One participant, Matthew, described having many negative experiences with immigration officers that resulted in serious medical problems. While eating lunch one day, Matthew began choking on a coin. Panicking from choking, and experiencing limited mobility due to being shackled at the ankles, Matthew fell and hit his spine on the concrete. The impact from his fall caused rectal bleeding and spinal fluid leakage. Matthew received medical treatment and was assured that his symptoms were “normal…they say it’s gonna be okay”. After being treated for his symptoms, Matthew
was sent back to deportainment and ICE officials gave him “pads that they use for dogs that were supposed to be to put on the floor” to control his rectal bleeding. A week passed and Matthew continued to suffer from rectal bleeding and kept telling ICE officials that he felt something was wrong with his legs but the officials ignored his complaints:

I told them I cannot walk anymore and they say, ‘no, don’t be overacting, you cool, you’re fine, you stand up and you can walk.’ So finally I show my legs and my foot, I lost my nails and they started turning Black… So I showed him my toe when it was Black.

It wasn’t until this point that they recognized his medical problems had become worse and sent him back to the hospital for treatment. However, the treatment received from his nurses was unprofessional and incompetent. One of the nurses gave him a dose of morphine but carelessly forgot to record it in the medical charts. Later, a different nurse gave him another dose of morphine that made him “sleep like 3-4 days, after that I wake up with a heart attack from morphine overdoses.” The actions and poor treatment from the medical staff in combination with the delayed response time in seeking medical attention for Matthew, contributed to his inability to walk, which placed him in a wheelchair. Furthermore, the carelessness regarding food safety (coin in the food) from ICE and criminalized treatment of immigrants are responsible for his severe medical problems and life-long disability. Matthew stated that I.C.E,

Took responsibility but when I tried to complain they say I cannot do nothing because they not use my Social Security number. They not use my name because it’s supposed to be that I am only a number because I have property of the government and so only the government can complain about that incident.

Ultimately, the inhumane treatment toward himself and fellow detainees that Matthew experienced and saw shaped the negative perceptions that Matthew has toward ICE:

They killing. I see a lot of people in there (starts to tear up) Jamaican Guy he hang himself on the cell and he die… when you die or when you commit suicide in
there it’s not because you be a coward, it’s because it’s the only way to get out of that place (still tearing up). Because otherwise, trust me, they don’t pay attention. Whatever you have happen wrong with you, they don’t care. You are like an animal, like a chicken on a farm hah and you can see a chicken with broken legs and they put ‘em in a corner and that’s it.

From this incident Matthew highlights how he and fellow detained immigrants are just another number in the system. Once again, the dominant rhetoric that dehumanizes undocumented Latinx immigrants as criminals and subhuman allows for the poor and inhumane treatment that immigrants receive in deportainment (Berinsky 2011; Hernandez, 2013; Phillips, Hagan, et. al, 2006; Theodore 2011; Velez, 2014).

Additional cases of inhumane treatment during deportainment processing are exemplified in Cesar’s story of his mom’s experiences with ICE. Maria, who is Cesar’s mom and undocumented, decided to travel to Mexico to visit her dying mother. After the visit, she attempted to re-enter the United States using 5 coyotes, but border patrol spotted her group in the middle of crossing the border. Maria was on top of the U.S.-Mexico border wall when the coyotes panicked from immigration sirens and “just dropped her from the top of the wall all the way down. So she fell from the top all the way down and that's when she broke her foots in two places in her ankle.” When border patrol placed her under ICE custody they took her to the nearest hospital where it was determined she needed surgery. Cesar discovered much later that Maria’s injuries were more extensive, he described her condition as: “She's bleeding, she's beaten up, she's dehydrated, and her foot is just completely broken. Her right foot's broken, her ankle’s broken.” The Mexican consulate spoke with a Tucson immigration officer and then they contacted Cesar to

5 Individuals or organizations who collect a fee for transporting undocumented migrants from Latin America to the United States through unauthorized channels.
inform him that his mom would have surgery and after “they were going to deport her at 2 o'clock in the morning and then just leave her at the border. It was just really inhumane to do what they were going to do with her… Just drop her off and leave her there without any actual healing.” In this instance, ICE pushed for a quick deportation and did not allow Maria proper time to heal from her injuries and surgery. Research asserts that Latinx immigrants receive inhumane medical treatment during deportainment (Hernandez, 2013; Phillips, Hagan, et. al, 2006; Velez, 2014). This is evident through ICE attempting to deport Maria hours after receiving surgery for serious injuries. Matthew’s and Cesar’s mother’s experiences highlight existing trends in the literature that document that within ICE custody, immigrants’ health care is delayed and neglectful which has lifelong consequences.

**Communication During Deportainment**

Previously detained immigrants expressed that their family or friends who were undocumented were scared to visit them in ICE facilities because of their own fears of being deported. Nathan described never receiving visitations from his immediate family during deportainment: “My mom never did because she is undocumented. She was afraid that something was going to happen.” Instead, Nathan would communicate with his mother through telephone calls: “I was detained with like $12 (laughs). I had like $12 to buy a phone card, get in touch with my mom so she could give me money, so that I can keep calling her.” The family visitations that Nathan did receive were from his uncle: “once…two visits max. I didn’t really want them to see me. Yeah, I was missing my family…I didn't really want anybody to see me in the state, so it was really my attorney that really, like saw my condition, like how I was in that time and stuff.” Nathan
purposely limited his uncle’s visitations because “I was already ashamed, the fact that I was there.” Juliet Stumpf (2006) states that “criminal and immigration law primarily serve to separate the individual from the rest of U.S. society through physical exclusion and the creation of rules that establish lesser levels of citizenship” (p. 381). In addition to the punishment from the state, Nathan self-isolated himself further because of the criminalization process and stigma associated with detainment.

Immigrants who were interviewed reported that they typically received visitations before deportation or their release from detainment facilities. Olivia described visiting with her husband to discuss their plan for “what we were goin to do next”. Olivia stated that she had to look through a glass window and speak to Jose using a phone. Other participants reported receiving visitations from non-family members who were trying to help them secure their release from detainment. Jorge remembered being visited by his lawyer who gave him a hug and reassured him that he would be out of detention before Christmas. Days before he was released, he also received a visit from a non-profit leader advocating for his release: “I could only visit with her through a glass window and a telephone to talk with her. She came to tell me that they had everything figured out and… I was going to be in an apartment.” Participants’ experiences highlight how U.S. immigration policies prosecute Latinx immigrants as criminals (Macias-Rojas, 2016), utilizing visitation protocols often employed in prison and jail settings.

Other participants experienced the inability to communicate with their family or friends because ICE restricted their visitations. Juakeim described having “zero contact” from family and friends:

No, they just wouldn’t allow me to. Yeah, they allowed me at the end when they told me they were going to release me. The officer allowed me to use his phone…
his work phone to call my parents and I called my parents and they came to pick me up. They picked me up at like a Circle K far away from the detention center... My parents actually thought I got kidnapped. So yeah that must’ve been scary for them for sure.

Jorge also experienced restrictions from ICE prohibiting him from contacting his family during detainment:

It had to of been twenty-five days that I had not spoken to them. So when I called for the first time it was a free call that the detention center gives to people, not in the freezers but in the detention centers, they give you a free call that is three minutes long. So I was able to call them and tell them that I was fine and that they had grabbed me. Well I couldn’t really talk because I was crying.

It is important to note that the long periods where immigrants cannot communicate with their family members are another form of racialized punishment created by institutional practices. This process of criminalization creates a web of punishments and, for immigrants not speaking to family members, a form of racialized punishment.

“Positive” and Gendered Perceptions of Treatment

Participants’ expressed receiving perceived “positive” treatment from ICE in regards to accessibility to recreational time and preferential treatment. A few participants reported having allotted time to exercise, watch TV, and use the library. During detention, Nathan reported using the library and fitness center: “The cool thing though, they had a library so I did a lot of reading! I did a lot of exercise. I came out pretty thin and I came out just like well read. I read a lot of books.” Bobby described his positive experience during detainment as him and other detainees being allowed to watch T.V. Bobby explained that depending on the ICE officers, “they would even leave the TV on until 12 o'clock at night and or turn it off at nine. So that was pretty cool.” Bobby even showcased preferential treatment he received from one ICE official by expressing how he felt like a “teacher’s pet”:
The guards, they were pretty cool. Most of the time it was the female and I was trying to like holler at her as she would take me like Snickers, she would let me borrow her pen. We would talk like we were friends and I think that was pretty cool. Like there would be times we’d be just sitting right next to her desk and she put YouTube on her phone and we would just be watching funny videos on YouTube. I think she was like incredible.

Bobby’s experience is perceived as positive because of the humanity shown by the female ICE official. Interestingly, Bobby detailed that within the deportainment process he had instances of positive experiences with ICE officials despite his previously stated experiences of mental, physical, and verbal abuse from ICE. Even though Nathan and Bobby describe instances of perceived positive treatment within detainment, they overall associate their experiences with ICE negatively.

Interestingly, the majority of female immigrants described an overall positive deportainment experience. Female participants reported not experiencing or witnessing perceived mistreatment from ICE officials. For instance, Jessica stated: “Like the way they treated us… They weren't mistreating us. They weren’t being like, they didn't discriminate or anything. They were actually being pretty nice. So I didn't have a bad experience there at ICE.” Another female participant, Veronica, explained that her “good opinion” of ICE was correlated to being released from detainment as long as she reported for deportation at a later date: “They let me out because of my kids. Yeah that’s what happened. I didn’t have any felonies. That was one of those cases that they were really good with me. I was surprised that they let me out that easy”. In addition, Veronica described her conversations with ICE officials in a positive light: “They try to be friendly with me and everything.” Despite stating that she is currently living in constant fear of deportation for failure to appear to her self-deportation date, overall she perceived her
experience with ICE as “lucky” and that she “had a good experience with them… I have a very good opinion of them because they be good to me.”

Despite reporting having received inadequate meals, Jessica, also described having overall a positive attitude toward ICE and their officers: “Oh well, the guards at ICE were actually pretty nice.” Jessica also reported that ICE gave her $80 as she was being deported, “which is a good thing. So they give you money so that you won't be without money.” These testimonies mirror Menjívar & Abrego findings of how immigrant participants normalize and accept legal violence they experience (2012). Thus, descriptions of being allowed recreational time and not experiencing any mistreatment from ICE officials are perceived as positive experiences.

Scholars have not yet examined differences in deportainment experiences based on gender differences, but I found that women tend to have more positive experiences with ICE officials than men: they said that they did not witness or experience negative treatment from ICE officials, including sexual harassment/assault, mental, or emotional abuse. Three of the four female immigrant participants described their experiences with ICE in a positive light. These perceptions are correlated to gendered differences where women received more informal treatment from ICE officials because they were single moms with families. Additionally, positive perceptions could be correlated with shorter lengths of time that women immigrants were detained in comparison to males.

Weak and Strong Social Ties During Deportainment

Weak Ties

For purposes of this research project, weak social ties are defined as brief conversations or interactions with other detainees that served to pass time, provide
comfort, or sometimes important information to deportained undocumented Latinx immigrants. Weak social ties were typically reported by participants who had been detained for shorter lengths of time such as hours or days at a time. An example of a weak social tie is when Juakeim described the relationships he developed with fellow detainees to pass time while in detainment:

Yeah, I mean we all knew what the fuck was going on so I guess I had conversations with people that were in my cell... You know, they told me their stories. Like one of them was just hanging out with his family and that must've been crazy cause they straight up, just like busted the door open and took him with the wife and kid in the house. So that was crazy. I think that is the only person who gave me a story. Other people were just like ‘hey what's up.’ That was it.

Bobby also recalled having brief interactions with fellow individuals that were detained. He described these interactions as superficial in nature:

We would talk. I wouldn’t really like talking to a lot of people but then people would talk to me and be like ‘hey what's up? Where you from? What's your name? What did you do to get here? I tried to keep it as simple as I wanted because I didn't want people to know the stuff that I had done.

These conversations were also used by immigrants to share knowledge about how to navigate the deportation process and would inform immigrants’ decision making process to fight deportation and pursue a court hearing. For example, Bobby stated, “Everyone told me, ‘don't sign anything without a lawyer’ and then so that's what I was doing. I was like, ‘I'm not going to sign anything without a lawyer.’”

Jessica described forming temporary friendships with some of the men who were being deported with her to Mexico. She stated she made friends because, “I won't be alone you know. Until I called somebody to figure out what the hell I was going to do for the next couple of days, because I know I wasn't going to be there for more than a couple days until I needed to get back.” She detailed her relationship with fellow detained
immigrants as her and some new friends getting a beer together after they were released by ICE at the U.S.-Mexico border. The depth of her relationships became clear as Jessica stated, “I never got a phone number, never nothing it was just that one night.” Even though participants recalled having brief interactions with other detained individuals, these moments provided a supportive environment when facing the uncertainties of deportation.

**Strong Social Ties**

These relationships are characterized as having more lasting impressions on participants because of friendships formed during detainment that helped immigrants survive emotionally and financially, or served as another source of legal knowledge. Strong social ties were linked with immigrants who were detained for longer lengths of time. Longer lengths of time are defined as participants who were detained for months and/or years at a time. Both weak and strong ties describe the conversations and bonds formed between detainees within ICE detention facilities. Weak ties describe more superficial relationships involving common small detention talk, whereas strong ties describe relationships that involve detainees relying on each other on a more personal and reciprocal level. An example of a strong social tie relationship is highlighted when Matthew described assisting other detained immigrants in their fights to secure release from detention:

I learn to help more people to fill out the forms for asylum. I know the names of the forms, 249 cancellation removal, 589 asylum, uh 781 against women… aw I’m forgetting now but I know hundred forms to fill out to help the people. But I always keep them in the law library, this is why they always call me a nerd.

Matthew also described how individuals he helped secure their release from detainment would send him money while he was still facing deportainment:
Actually, a lot of people that I helped, once they would get released they were helping with money because the most amount of money you could receive, which at that time was 25 dollars. So everybody sent me 25 dollars, but with 25 dollars, in that facility, you have a rich, rich man.

Jorge who was detained during the same time as Matthew recalled relying on other detainees for emotional support. Jorge described the relationships he formed during detainment as:

I got along very well with everyone and even when I was getting out they didn’t want me to leave. I was the only one who had an interest in them inside of there. They felt like they could count on me and they could talk to me on how they felt. There was always someone waiting for me when I would get there because I had been working in the kitchen. So, there was always someone waiting for me to tell me that they were sad, if I could sit down and pray with them, stuff like that.

When Jorge was released from detainment, he attempted to maintain a relationship with the individuals he formed friendships with while he was detained. However, it was difficult to maintain such relationships because those individuals “had already been deported three times and they don’t have any rights to get out and I’m not sure if they got out, some of them gave me their phone numbers and I have called but haven’t ever gotten an answer.”

A third participant, Nathan, also formed tight relationships with fellow detainees:

I got close with a lot of those people and before I left I was able to like, I got like a page, just like a random sheet and I had them all write me a little message before I left and I still have it. Like and it’s all these people that I just met and we became friends and just used to play chess a lot, basketball, and soccer you know when they would give us little time to go outside. So yeah, that’s cool.

Nathan also is uncertain of what happened to the folks he became close with. He stated that it “sucks” that he hasn’t been able to keep in contact with them because he did become very close with them in knowing their personal lives and backgrounds. These interactions are correlated with strong ties because of the description of emotional
connections between detainees. Further, participants demonstrated caring for people they were detained with long after the participant was released from detainment. Strong ties are important to consider because they show emotional connections that Latinx immigrants form with fellow detainees while deported by ICE. Further, strong ties reveal the importance of communities formed within deportainment. These communities serve as a reciprocal support system utilized by deportained immigrants.

Sources of Support During Deportainment

Family and friends of detained immigrants reported financially supporting immigrants during deportainment. If participants were eligible to bond out of detention centers family participants relied on friends and family members for financial support. During Olivia’s husband’s first detainment with ICE, she described receiving help to bond him out: “One of my sisters signed a bond in their name the first time that my husband was deported. So, she pretty much just signed… It was like a $10,000 bond that they just had a hold on her credit card.” In another instance, Ciara described relying on her friend to bond her brother out: “So he (Ciara’s brother) was put into immigration for like a week but we were able to bond him out… He (referring to participant Francisco) put his car up for bond and we were able to get him out.”

Additionally, immigrant participants reported receiving help from family and friends while they were deportained. In Nathan’s case, a month into the court proceedings, the “dick judge, the toughest judge” set his bond at $15,000 because he did not have any children or “demonstrate that there is a need like a life or death situation here in the U.S.” Nathan’s mother who was a freelance housekeeper and made low wages couldn’t afford the $15,000 bond on her own so she:
Went around to like my uncles, my cousins, and my family in the Midwest. My uncle from Wisconsin, he gave us like I don't know a thousand I'm assuming. My best friend’s dad gave us like $1000 or something like that. Yeah, it's crazy like the people that just helped me out at the time. I couldn't imagine but my mom tells me now, she's like, ‘I went into the living rooms of these people and I just started crying you know because I needed the money you know to get you out of jail. You're my son you know and I need to get you out of jail.’ That's what hurts the most! Just picturing her like worried for me being detained for over like stupid reasons. Me being immature. That's what hurts me the most not being detained not only that but all the crap.

Participants’ experiences demonstrate how families are put in situations where they often need to rely on larger social networks of family and friends for bonding detainees out of ICE facilities.

Family, friends, and community members also provided financial support to pay for lawyers to fight deportation cases. For instance, during Nathan’s deportainment he recalled his mother seeking advice from friends, family and community resources: “Talking to people ya know and she got me an immigration attorney… I think she went to the Mexican consulate to see like what resources were there and then the Mexican consulate was like go here, this is a good immigration attorney.” Additionally, when Juakeim was deportained he paid for his lawyer through the financial support of his parents: “My parents financed it all. So, I was still going to school and I was always responsible for paying my own school but obviously I didn't have any money for my legal proceedings!” Juakeim described that having resources to finance legal proceedings was expensive but correlated with having a positive experience with the lawyer: “Ale: do you feel like the lawyer helped you? Juakeim: Definitely. Most definitely. She was definitely a good lawyer. She was just expensive haha. Yeah. They definitely don't come cheap.”
Other forms of financial support were used to stay in contact with detained immigrants or to support their lives during detainment. A few participants reported receiving money deposited into their accounts to pay for commissary food or phone cards to stay in touch with their loved ones. Bobby stated:

I remember you would have to buy like a little visa gift card…I don't member how expensive it was but it was pretty expensive. Like maybe a $20 phone card last you like three phone calls.

Ale: wow. How would you get money to pay for that?

Bobby: my parents would send me money.

Overall, financial support benefited detained immigrants by ensuring they could communicate with the outside world or buy food from the commissary rather than eat meals prepared by ICE. In the next section, I discuss the support detained and/or deported immigrants received from the community and non-profits.

Community Support and the Role of Non-Profits

A few participants reported receiving support from community members or non-profit organizations that impacted their release from ICE’s detainment. Cesar’s mom was scheduled for deportation within hours after coming out of surgery to fix her broken bones. When Cesar arrived at the hospital, he found the room his mom was in and was able to see her:

So, I was with her for maybe less than 30 seconds before we could even say hi or what happened when an immigration officer came in and he said, ‘sir you can't be in here.’ He pulled me out of the room. So, I told him that it was my mother and that I hadn’t seen her and I wanted to know what was going on. But, he said that I had no authority to be with her and that she was under the Tucson's immigration authority and that no one was allowed to see her.

Cesar remembered becoming,

Emotional for 10 minutes, I got myself together and I called one of my cousins, who is also an activist and very well known in the community here in Arizona to get her advice. So, she was the one that kind of helped us and guided us through
the whole weekend... Her mother was also in Tucson for a conference on ICE actually. She was giving know your rights kind of workshops. So, she called her right away and she like I said again she just happened to be there and so she went to the hospital.

These two family members were knowledgeable on immigration rights and how to interact with ICE because of their activist work with non-profits. This background knowledge helped change the outcome of Cesar’s mom’s deportation. For instance, after Cesar’s aunt rushed to the hospital and snuck in to speak to Cesar’s mom when the ICE officer went on a bathroom break, she provided his mom with the following advice:

Don't tell him anything, don't sign any paperwork, we're going to figure this out, just prolong this whole whatever is going to happen next. Then, the immigration officer came back, with anger, and he liked pulled my aunt out of the room and said you guys cannot see her because she's under Tucson’s immigration authority. So, my aunt, she was able to speak with her for about 30 seconds too and all she said was don't sign anything, don't talk to anybody. We’re going to figure this out but we need some time.

As a result, the family became frustrated from not being able to see their mom during detainment and before surgery. Other frustrations were experienced when ICE wanted to inhumanely deport Cesar’s mom. Cesar’s aunt and cousin strongly advised their family to create a political campaign in attempts to raise awareness and stop the inhumane deportation that ICE was planning to execute. Cesar debated with his brother over starting the political campaign: “Like should we make it public and let the world know or our friends and family know that this is happening?" In the end, Cesar and his family decided to launch their political campaign and relied on their aunt to use social media to do so:

Facebook, Instagram, Twitter…they created a whole, just a whole… So, we took pictures of the officer without him knowing … So, it was a picture on Facebook and it said everybody needs to call the (names immigration office detaining his mom) and demand that we are allowed to see my mother because she is about to go into foot surgery. (starts yelling) AND, TO STOP HER DEPORTATION
WITHOUT PROPER HEALING (lowers voice) of her foot and not be thrown into the border on a wheelchair. So that was kind of the gist of it. There was a phone number and she posted it on Facebook.

Over the next two days, Saturday and Sunday, a large number of people from his community called the immigration office. The immigration office directed the calls to the Mexican Embassy which led to the embassy reaching out to Cesar’s family about her scheduled deportation. The Mexican Embassy told Cesar’s family they could not help until regular business hours on Monday. Becoming more frustrated from the lack of help from the Mexican Embassy, the family and the community took matters into their own hands. Cesar’s family began posting on social media requesting friends and family to come to the hospital his mom was being detained at to:

Physically stop the deportation vehicle from taking her from the hospital. So, with that you do need the manpower… just in case we needed to go to that level. So, we had kind of like a community of about 25 to 30 people who were ready to take that like drastic measures. So that was on Saturday, everybody was stressed, we hadn’t eaten, we were worried… All we knew was that media… Online media… Social media… at least had spread like wildfire, like people were calling all through… Till the very end.

ICE further criminalized Cesar’s mom’s deportainment by increasing security to control the situation:

I don't know if somebody had called the (Names immigration office) people but they were saying that we were planning on kidnapping my mother out of the hospital. So, at one point when we were in the hospital on Saturday there were 10 immigration officers and police people as backup because someone had called them and told them that we were planning to capture or kidnap her from the hospital. So, things were really starting to get out of control.

Eventually, due to high call volumes, the Mexican consulate had no choice but to intervene to avoid the perception that they were not helping their citizens. The Mexican consulate sent a representative at 5p.m. on Saturday to visit Cesar’s mom during ICE
deportainment. After the visit, the Mexican consulate communicated information with Cesar’s family about the extent of her injuries and how she became injured. The following day, “Sunday morning around 7 a.m., I got a call from the Mexican consulate saying that we were allowed to visit my mother and that she had been let go and that she wasn't going to be deported.” Due to the community’s efforts, “about 3500 people had called the immigration office. Along with another thousand people that called the Mexican Embassy”, this initiated the diplomatic intervention from the Mexican consulate to intervene in Cesar’s mom’s deportation proceedings. Cesar’s mom’s experience highlights the critical role family and community members play in coming together to assist individuals during the deportainment process.

In Jorge’s deportainment, his family relied on community connections to advocate for his release from detention. Jorge recalled not being allowed to make calls to speak with his family in El Salvador until three weeks after he was initially detained and permanently placed in a facility in Colorado: “Well, I would talk to my family in the central detention center. They were worried because I went so long without talking to them, that was when I was being sent from place to place. Until I got to… I called my mom on the phone.” During his conversations with his family he recalled feeling:

Great joy. My mom had more than me… Since I crossed the border until I got here with these people it had to of been 25 days that I had not spoken to them. So, when I called for the first time it was a free call that the detention center gives to people, not in the freezers but in the detention centers, they give you a free call that is three minutes long. So, I was able to call them and tell them that I was fine and that they had grabbed me. Well I couldn’t really talk because I was crying.

From Jorge and his mom’s conversation, “She told my grandfather where I was and that he knew some people who lived in Colorado.” Jorge’s grandfather’s contact was a university professor living in Colorado who used to do research in El Salvador.
According to Jorge, the professor had “told him that if I was in Colorado he was going to help me and he called (names law firm). He told them that he needed to help me and that’s when they got me the lawyer and that was the first visit I got.” Shortly after, Jorge was visited by the lawyer who told him that: “I didn’t need to do an interview because I had already done plenty of time there. Also, that they needed to let me go as soon as possible.” Through the help of the lawyer, Jorge’s bond was set at $2,500 dollars. The Colorado professor had also reached out to a key non-profit leader, Julia, who agreed to pay for his bond. Julia would also visit him in detention: “Julia got there like three or four days before I got out to let me know who was going to be waiting for me outside when I got out. So that they could take to me to ‘Org A”. Org A is a non-profit that houses immigrants who are released from detention and they helped Jorge after he was released. Org A also helped Matthew after he was released from a detention facility. A condition of Matthew’s release was that he had to be sponsored. So the ICE officer working his case referred him to Sandra, the non-profit leader of Org A:

When I get out, I see my Angel Sandra waiting for me in the lobby. I was looking everywhere but I wasn’t expecting the American woman waiting for me…When she say, ‘Hey Matthew’ Yeah? ‘Oh hi, I’m Sandra.’ Hi. ‘You gonna go to Org A.’ Uh oh seriously. ‘And I have a wheelchair for you.’ And I say no this is my wheelchair now. She say ‘now you have two wheelchairs’ cuz she find a wheelchair for me too.

Matthew referred multiple times to his sponsor and non-profit leader Sandra as his “angel” for supporting him emotionally, with housing, food, and financial aid.

Even though Jorge and Matthew reported having help from non-profit leaders, the people who advocated for their release were very different. Jorge had family pushing for his release with the support of non-profits whereas Matthew did not have any ties to any of his family members; thus, Matthew was unable to receive the same support. Matthew
had to rely on one ICE officer to correct the mistakes and neglect from another ICE officer:

They change my deportation officer. It was another, Mr. T. That officer was my angel. When they made me sign my transfer, there was 36 more years of prison so when I sign it and give it back to him, I told him, I sign this paper but at the same time I signed 32 times fail to deports and he started like no, 3 or 2 and I say no 32 3-2. And he made the same question in Spanish ok “tres o dos” I say no trienta-dos. And he started taking back the papers and rip it up. He said if you talk to me with the truth you will be released and I started laughing too because a lot of people told me, ‘hey you’re gonna be released.’

This ICE officer recognized that his case had been lost in the system and incorrectly placed him in detention. Mr. T began the process for him to be released and found someone to sponsor Matthew once he was released from detention.

Jorge’s and Matthew’s detainments show how crucial the role of family and community support is to determine how long people will be detained. Because of Jorge’s grandfather’s connections to non-profit leaders, his detention was only for four and a half months. Matthew was detained for 36 months because Matthew did not have family, friends or community agencies to advocate for him. Without the intervention from one ICE officer, Matthew could have still been improperly detained by immigration. Since only one immigrant had no family or friend ties to the world outside of detainment, further data collection would be needed to confirm a trend in the data and its impact on length of detainment for immigrants.

In Cesar’s mother’s experience, Latinx community members came together through organizing a political campaign, calling in with thousands of callers to the immigration authority and the Mexican consulate, and even traveling from Phoenix to Tucson to protest ICE’s deportation. New findings from Cesar’s mom’s story highlights how support from community members can effectively aid in the intervention of ICE
deportations. This research also mirrors findings that immigration policies inflict legal violence towards the Latinx community through exemplifying emotional strains from undocumented family members facing deportation (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

**“Dishonorable” Deportainments and the Criminality of “Illegal” Immigrants**

Immigrants themselves buy into and reinforce the discourse of criminality of undocumented Latinx immigrants in the U.S. This was seen when participants were asked what their thoughts were toward ICE and if they had any policy recommendations for immigration. Participants explained which immigrants they thought should be allowed into the U.S. The majority of participants explained that those who weren’t criminals should be able to come into the U.S. Francisco described it as: “I think people should be able to come to America as long as they do good and have jobs and don’t have a criminal history. I think they should be able to come over easier… a lot easier. Especially if they have children.” Rosa explained that the process of detaining and deporting people was appropriate for immigrants who were committing crimes but differed for other individuals: “I could see if they are criminals, okay, to criminals they should treat them like that. But peoples who are nothing like that… why they do all those things…give them a chance! Separate them from their families… that’s very ugly. Yeah.” Martin also agreed with the idea of deporting criminals:

Why is your goal to deport immigrants? Like try to catch or get the people that are violating this country and have crimes. I think they would have not act by the rules but act or take into consideration the emotional aspect of it. Cause it would be easier to just leave the family here. They are doing no harm.

Each participant placed emphasis on how immigrants who are coming here to be a productive member of society and be with their families should not be deported.
Participants expressed immigrants that should be deported are individuals who are criminals.

Participants identified criminals as people who are convicted of misdemeanors or felonies. In some instances, participants’ family members would not support people who were detained because of criminal charges. For instance, when Priscilla’s cousin was arrested twice for trespassing and a D.U.I., the police turned him over to ICE and he entered deportation proceedings. In the past, the family had financially supported her aunt by paying for a lawyer. In her cousin’s situation, there wasn’t as much familial support because of his criminal charges and single status. When asked, “so did your family do the same thing with your cousin? Raising money too?”, Priscilla responded:

No, they didn't. Well, yes, there was… It wasn't as much of a collective effort because (cousin) was drunk and kind of got himself into that so a lot of people were like reserved. So, they were just like well he kind of got himself into that. That had a lot to do with it. Then he was single at the time... Like he could just go and come back but my dad did help because of course he felt guilty so he did help but I don't remember it being as much of a collective effort as it was with my aunt who had her three children here and then her husband.

Here we see that there is preference over who is worthy of receiving support and who isn’t. Much like how immigration policies place importance on family reunification for granting visas (Alba & Nee, 2003), this situation highlights how at the family level there is preference for giving more support for individuals who have families over those who do not.

During her cousin’s first deportation, Priscilla mentioned her father felt responsible for having to turn Priscilla’s cousin into the police. Priscilla’s dad feared that if he didn’t turn his nephew in to the police they would look into his own undocumented status. This played a key role in Priscilla’s dad being one of the very few people to help
him in detainment: “So he and my uncle would go to visit him, they would go to visit my cousin, and then they would help with some of the money for like a representative, like a legal consultant. But then he eventually got deported.” Priscilla stated that she remembered communications occurring in a scolding tone:

I remember him speaking to my cousin a lot. Just like really scolding him like the second time definitely. Like the first time, I remember my dad feeling really guilty. The second time it was like, ‘man why do you keep doing this.’ He was like, ‘you're not even…’ He was like… ‘it's not even honorable the way that you got deported.’ It was like a joke, he was like ‘you were just drunk.’ He was like ‘you drove drunk.’ He was like ‘when are you going to learn’ and he would tell them things like that. Like ‘this is honestly your own fault. Like I'm helping you but just not as much’ but he did help him. Yeah just like a lot of scolding.

Priscilla’s story is an example of Rios’ discussion of hypercriminalization toward Black and Latinx youth (2011). This research finds that the police use the family to help criminalize immigrants because they desire to avoid their own legal troubles with the criminal justice. Similarly, this is what is happening with Priscilla’s dad when he is faced with the tough decision of having to turn his nephew over to the police or risk facing his own deportation.

Disapproving attitudes toward criminal acts that led to detainment also appeared when Bobby would receive financial support from his parents but his sister refused to help. His sister, Diana, stated:

I was like, ‘he's grown now, he made a bad choice… He was a troubled delinquent…’ Always in and out of jail because I told you he started doing drugs. So, he never felt like he would get deported because when you're under age they can't deport you. So as soon as he turned 18 and got caught up they actually let him go and immigration was right outside the jail. So, they detained him and took him to Denver.

It appears immigrants who are deemed as making a rational decision of participating in criminal behavior are scolded by family and don’t receive as much assistance from
family and friends. Consequently, the person facing deportation is hyper-criminalized by immigration policies that place them in detainment and they are also stigmatized within their own family if they believe their detainment was preventable.

This chapter highlighted forms of treatment within deportainment that were described from participants and organized into the following themes: (1) web of deportation and detainment tactics, (2) criminalization and racialized punishments in detention centers, (3) weak and strong social ties during deportainment, (4) “positive” and gendered perceptions of treatment (5) sources of support during deportainment, and (6) “dishonorable” deportaiments and the criminality of “illegal” immigrants. Data suggest that undocumented Latinx immigrants’ experiences with ICE are overwhelmingly negative. It is clear that undocumented immigrants experienced the consequence of deportation policies, but family members also often had to bear the brunt of the financial impact when people they knew were detained. Family, friends, and community members were found to be key resources for posting bonds, paying for lawyers, and giving money to communicate with the outside world during detainment. Further, family members and friends consider the level of individual responsibility when determining how much emotional and financial support they will provide to family members who have been deported.
CHAPTER V

COLLATERAL CONSEQUENCES of IMMIGRATION POLICIES

This chapter focuses on how Latinx immigrants’ experiences with ICE impacts the lives of family and friends of immigrants. I apply the concept of “collateral consequences” that Chin (2002) articulated in the study of the war on drugs to argue that immigration policies not only impact immigrants’ lives but also the lives of their friends and family. I document how families and friends experience emotional consequences when they are separated from a family/friend who is detained or deported. In addition, these friends and family members often report negative interactions with ICE officials.

Fear, Family and Deportainment

This section examines some of the collateral consequences of current U.S. immigration policies by exploring how immigrants, their families, and friends live in a constant state of fear that their loved ones could be deported. Due to this fear, family and friends support undocumented Latinx immigrants’ attempts to prevent deportainment from ICE. This section also explores the emotional consequences that deportainment has on family and friends and further highlights how deportained immigrants and their familial relationships are negatively affected when immigrants are detained.

Avoiding Deportainment – “Just One of Those Things”

All 17 participants reported having fears of being deported or their friends and family being deported. Veronica reported living in constant fear because of the possibility of her own deportation and family separation at any time. In addition, her family shared those same feelings while she was detained and facing deportation:

They were scared… The kids. My mom still gets very nervous when she knows that I have to go to court and so, yeah, I’m always scared. What if they take me
back? What would happen to the kids? It’s very scary. It’s very traumatic experience with immigration. I can’t even think good because it’s on my mind like what if they take me?

She continued describing that living in the United States is stressful for her because she has “no papers. I am driving with not a license. I am scared for if they stop me they could send me back to Mexico.” Nathan also experienced these levels of fear when talking about the possibility of his mom being deported:

My mom is undocumented, she drives like my little sister and I don't know what I would do if she gets deported where she was in immigration detention center, like what the fuck would I do?! It's weird thinking about it but like you have fear! Every day, like you live with it still you know. As far as we think we've come were still at square one basically. We still live in fear you know. We're still like man! Is my mom gonna come home tonight?

Olivia also described constant fears she has for her husband being deported and how these fears have impacted their daily lives:

I think it is very scary living like that, living with fear and we try not to, try not to think about it. But then you get those little instances where it pulls you like ughhh remember this you don’t have, you can’t go there, you can’t do this, you can’t do that.

The ramifications of targeting and deporting Latinx immigrants has created a constant environment of fear for both immigrants and their families (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Theodore, 2011; Vidales et al., 2009).

These feelings extend to friends of undocumented Latinx immigrants who also fear that their friends could possibly be deported. Francisco expressed significant stress and sadness when his best friend was under arrest for DUI charges and feared for the possibility of her deportation: “I would cry… I would be pretty upset. She’s like my other half.” In addition, Natalie described how the fear of her best friend being deported would impact her: “We are really close. I would feel really bad because he is my best friend.”
Menjívar and Abrego (2012) argue that legal violence created from immigration policies cause stress for the family because of the fear of deportation. This research extends their argument to explain that feelings of sadness showcase how immigration policies also create stress for friends of undocumented Latinx immigrants.

Due to the constant possibility of deportation, immigrants try to develop strategies to avoid it. One strategy involved avoiding police or sheriffs:

I mean I would avoid cops a lot of course. I would just avoid places where I could get in trouble… Not really in trouble but just be a little wary… Just in general it was scary you know. Just being an immigrant and getting out this door because anything can happen. Just get caught up or being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Like you always have to be on the lookout so you were never really like safe when you walk out that door (Ciara).

Juakeim additionally described avoiding the sheriffs in Arizona:

Juakeim: Fuck them! Fuck them! At least now that Arpiao is gone it's different probably but hell no I never went close to Sheriffs! If a sheriff was around it was like uh uh, oh no! It was not a good time if you saw a Sheriff, or vehicle or police person!

Ale: Would you avoid sheriffs?

Juakeim: Hell yeah I would avoid Sheriffs! Are you kidding me! At all costs! At all costs! Phoenix PD, whatever. I never really cared for Phoenix PD. I don't know what's up with Phoenix PD actually. To be honest with you but with Sheriffs, ugh! I would never get close to them, ever!

The majority of participants recalled similar views about local police and sheriffs due to fears of being deported. This fear stems from immigration policies that are forms of legal violence that disproportionately affect the undocumented Latinx community (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Immigration policies that target, arrest and deport undocumented immigrants create a constant state of fear.

Only participants who were previously detained or deported explained how they took certain precautions to avoid ICE. Jose described how his past two deportations made him hyper-alert of his surroundings:
Well every morning when I wake, the first thing I do, I look for different cars that I see (gestures toward the front yard). I already know all the cars around the corners so you just gotta be ready you know. You’re all the time thinking are they following me? If I see something following me, I take a different way until I lose them but I’m scared every day.

As a result of a past detainment, Mathew now always carries official documents to prove his deportable but non-removable immigration status to avoid detainment: “Now, it’s (legal documents) in my truck. The legal documents because right now it’s supposed to be that I don’t have ID, I don’t have birth certificate, I don’t have any documents of identification.” Each person who had been detained or deported described how they took certain precautions to avoid being detained or deported partly because their past experiences with ICE have caused lasting trauma and fear of being deportained again.

Other ways undocumented immigrants described avoiding deportation was by running away from the police. Priscilla described her experience with her father:

Sirens were going off and essentially what happened, the reason why my dad's car was being chased was because he needed to fix a taillight like a light in the back and he hadn’t fixed it. Like forgot all about it… So, I remember we were like driving as fast away as we could from this one police officer. I remember being like, oh my gosh! It was just like crazy. We were just like driving away from this one. So, we would drive and spiral like in and out of the community and that was just because like my dad did not want to get deported. It was just one of those things.

Bobby similarly described being in a police chase to avoid the police looking into his undocumented status:

I was speeding and going to work. Haha. And so I was going to pull over… I did pull over. He asked me my name and I gave him a fake name and he went back to the car and I just took off in the truck. I just took off! It was like maybe a ten-minute chase… They were chasing me but then I don't know how I lost them but I was going through like… You know when you're driving on (names highway), you see them fields of like nothing… I was driving through there like boom boom! Messing my truck up and I got home and it was the next day and I came up on the news right.
Using Menjívar and Abregos' (2012) research which explains how immigrants and their families experience legal violence as a result of immigration policies, Priscilla’s and Bobby’s experiences highlight how immigration policies may sometimes lead immigrants to take unreasonable risks that endanger both family members and the community. Similarly, both of these cases exemplify how hyper-policing and hyper-criminalization shape immigrants’ behaviors in ways that are dangerous for the immigrant and the community. In each of these incidents, participants expressed fear of the police investigating their legal status and impending deportation motivated them to avoid and flee the police. These fears stem from popular anti-immigrant rhetoric that shapes immigration policies which prioritize hyper-policing in Latinx communities, and the criminalization and deportation of undocumented Latinx immigrants.

Family members also reported taking certain precautions to avoid situations where a loved one’s immigration status may be questioned. For instance, Priscilla described how she will drive her aunt around to ease her worries of being pulled over by police and avoid her immigration status being investigated:

She's (Priscilla’s aunt) like scared of driving. I think it just like traumatized her completely because she's told me that before... She's like how about you drive? So, like we will be driving places, she’s like I hate driving and so she voices it and she's not comfortable with it at all. Yeah, she's not comfortable with it at all. It's just one of those things. It was just like a really bad experience for her so she like tries to avoid to drive.

Similarly, Jose described strategies he and his wife use to avoid traffic stops and investigations into his legal status: “Yea, I never (talking about driving). I just drive for my work, little things that I have to do, I do it... but she drive all the time (referring to his wife).” Jose’s wife Olivia stated, “I don’t let him drive. When he is with me, he never drives.” She also described that her driving patterns change when he is in the car:
I’ve actually never been pulled over with him in the car. I guess it changes me because I try to drive better when he’s in the car with me... I don’t know. But I’ve never been pulled over with him. And when we do our trips and we go out. He never drives.

Additionally, family members expressed avoiding deportation by hiding undocumented Latinx immigrants from ICE officials. Rosa described that when immigration would come to her sister-in-law’s house to try and deport her, “We hide her! I answer the door and he say I know that she is here. So, right away they tell you not to hide her because it could go bad on us.”

Friends of undocumented Latinx immigrants similarly reported taking action to prevent their friends from being in situations where they could face deportation. Natalie recalled easing her friend’s fears of deportation: “I remember one time my friend didn’t want to go home or drive around their house and he lives off of (gives cross streets in Mesa, Arizona) and there was immigration there so he didn’t come home and he just stayed here (referring to her house).” Another way participants helped their friends to avoid deportation was through marriage. When Ciara was asked what changed in her life as a result of her deportation scare and DUI, she stated that she got married. Ciara was asked if the police reported her to ICE and she replied:

   Nope, no they didn’t. It’s weird. I got lucky. No, they didn’t send me to jail, they gave me the option to just go to detox. So, they just took me there and that’s when I went to jail… ICE actually called and was trying to find out my information but by then I had already had my paperwork in and gotten married and everything so…

In these cases, friends provided support by hiding immigrants in their houses and sometimes marrying a friend to help speed along their legal status in the United States.

Family participants described avoiding the police and refusing to report information about crimes affecting their communities. Priscilla recalled when she was at
a family BBQ and a police officer came by asking the family if they had seen a suspect they were pursuing:

I remember wanting to offer like help... He was basically just giving us descriptions of the person and whether we had seen them and my family was not cooperative at all. They were like nope we haven't. Just trying to get him away from us as quick as possible. I remember I tried to be like, I think I had seen someone maybe not with like the jacket he described so I like tried to be like oh I think I... But my dad kicked me so hard underneath the table. Then after he was like dude what are you doing?! I was like I mean I'm trying to help the guy find this person. He was like we don't do that. And I was like why not? And he was like we just don't. But it was just like a hush came over us.

When asked: “why do you think your dad said that?” Priscilla replied:

Just like their experiences and the experiences that they've heard within their community and within our own family. There is just not trust for law enforcement and historically in the U.S. you see that. You see that they had to build trust and it's been slow and is just not all the way there especially not for people who are undocumented. Of course because you just fear for what's going to happen.

Additionally, Cesar highlighted the same distrust toward the police:

We do try to avoid them. I actually think we do. So yeah if we’re like bystanders and we see something happening... I think in general or at least I know for sure my father has told us don't get involved it's not your business because then when you get involved that's when the police can you know kinda ask you questions.

This distrust explains participants’ unwillingness to call the police for assistance. As described by Juakiem:

I would only call the police in an absolute emergency. Absolute emergency! Like legit somebody's getting shot or somebody is dying. Like the only time I would call the police is like if someone is in danger of losing their life... I would just like to keep cops out of everything until it's absolutely necessary. General rule is keep them away unless you need them.

Fear and distrust from the undocumented community toward law enforcement is a common theme that many participants reported feeling. Participants’ testimonies highlight how the possibility of their personal, family, or a friend’s deportation prohibited them and their families from helping the police with an ongoing investigation or
reporting crimes committed. These findings extend Menjívar and Abregos' (2012) argument that immigration policies inflict legal violence on Latinx immigrants and families and also confirm findings in the existing literature that the Latinx community has distrust toward the police because of fear of deportation (Martinez, 2016; Shedd, 2015).

Consequences for the Families of the Deportained

Family Separations

Research shows how immigration policies threaten family separations and negatively affect Latinx communities (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015). Similar findings were reported by participants when they described their family suffering because of deportainment. Veronica recalled the personal battle she had when deciding to self-surrender for deportation and the consequences of not reporting: “I was already getting ready to go but to leave my kids here and everything… I mean, I couldn’t do it and so I stay here…. And that is why I’m stressed out because what if they find me and take me away and report me back to them.”

Jose described how his mixed-status family was impacted from his deportations. Jose recalled the second time he was deported, he was prohibited by ICE from talking with his family. Jose recalled that his youngest U.S. born son was impacted the most: “It was bad for Javier…. He really miss me, ya know.” Olivia added she attempted to comfort her child by saying, “He’ll be back! Don’t worry he’ll be back. He’s just gone for a little bit but he’ll be back.” Because of immigration policies families experience stress from the threat of deportation or the consequences of deportation (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015).
Similar experiences were when Diana and Bobby discussed their sister who was deported to Mexico and had to send her U.S. born children with her to Mexico. All three children spent their lives in the U.S.: “I just feel bad. They used to love it here and they grew up here and they know how this life is here. They went from having everything to going to having nothing (Bobby).” Diana reinforced how their relocation to Mexico has hurt the family: “Now she lives in a dangerous part of Mexico. Durango. She is always like take my kids with you. Please. Find me a way. We have tried but nobody will work a case when she is already in Mexico and it’s, like, tough.” The story of their sister’s deportation highlights how immigration policies that focus on deporting undocumented Latinx immigrants impact the entire family (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Further, this research confirms that when immigrants are deported, families with mixed statuses experience family separations or family relocation (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015).

**Negative ICE Interactions**

Family and friends experienced poor treatment from ICE officials during their loved one’s deportainment. For instance, there were reports of ICE officials refusing to provide information on the medical status of their family member. Cesar described his interactions with ICE officials as:

It was really cold. It was very cold. It was just like a lot of anger… I don't know if it's them toward Latinos or if he was just having a bad day but it was just a really really cold interaction. Very negative, just very, umm, I hate to say this but just like a lot of hatred. He wasn't friendly, he was unapproachable, he would yell at us. It was just… I felt a lot of hate coming from these immigration officers… You know and whenever we asked a question or whenever we needed information he would just snap at us, he would just yell at us. Obviously, we kept their cool, we were very professional about it but they were not you know. They were… I'm telling you they were like very aggressive.
Excessive force used by ICE officers was also reported when Cesar and his aunt tried to sneak into the hospital room to see her and offer advice:

When he pulled me out of the room, like he just took me from the shoulder and legit just like drag me out of the room. The same thing with my aunt, he did the same thing. So I don't know maybe it's part of their job that they always have to be that aggressive because it is their job but I don't know… but yeah it wasn't friendly and it was cold.

These “cold” attitudes sometimes also included ICE officials making racist comments toward family and friends:

Most of the men that were there, they were Caucasian so I don't know if that has anything to do with it. There was one African-American there and another Latino there. The Latino immigration officer, I tried to speak with him in Spanish and he got offended. I thought maybe like he could help us out or maybe he's quote on quote on our side but no he was just as aggressive as everyone else. At one point they told us that we weren't allowed to speak Spanish because America and then I just laughed because it's like sir English isn't even the official language of the United States. Like we don't have an official language and he just kind of like… He took that as an insult.

Negative experiences from ICE officials also included the use of intimidation tactics against significant others to get them to comply with their investigations. Olivia described her experience as:

I guess they were expecting for drugs to be in the house and they didn't find anything…The immigration guy he took my license… He asked me for identification and I gave him my license so while they were searching the house which I never saw warrant or they never gave me anything. I mean they just came in, they started searching, they went through the whole house, and so while they were searching they found all of my papers, all of my acceptance papers to the police department. I was in the middle of being a sheriff and I was in my last step. So, everything was pretty much approved, I just needed to go to my last appointment. When they saw that, they saw all my paperwork the immigration guy told me I am going to make sure that you don't make it into the department. And I said do whatever you want… I wasn't… I was trying to say as little as possible. All I would tell them was that he didn't live here, that this was my house… And they would threaten me with taking my kids away. They threatened me with me not getting into that. I don't know… Those are the only two things I remember.
Olivia didn’t become a sheriff and she believed it was because of the ICE officer:

Ale: So, what happened with that? Do you know if he actually put a stop to you becoming a sheriff?
Olivia: I think he did. He took my ID and he wouldn’t give it back to me. He told me that it would be held downtown at the Police Department and that I would have to go get it over there. Which I did, I went and it was there at the front, and they gave it to me.

As Gonzalez Van Cleve (2012) argues, racism operates in institutions to racially punish Black and Brown defendants, their families, and people of color who navigate within institutions. This research reasserts her claims through participants’ stories exemplifying micro forms of racial punishments directed toward family, friends, and community members of deportained immigrants. Racial punishments included ICE officials using excessive force and racial slurs toward detained immigrants’ family members. Further, ICE officials used intimidation tactics to coerce friends and family members of detained immigrants to comply with their investigations.

**Financial Strain on Family and Friends**

Immigrant participants reported receiving help from family and friends while they were deportained. Ciara recalled her parents paying for her brother’s lawyer fees: “My parents since we came here have been always saving so they’ve always had savings. So, they used their savings for that.” Ciara also stated that they intentionally saved for “emergencies” when a family member would be detained. Priscilla also recalled that both times that her tia (aunt) was detained her family collected money to pay for legal assistance:

I remember like my dad and my family members raising money for her to have like a lawyer. So, like to be represented so she wouldn't be deported but then she was deported and then people raised money for her to be able to come back to the US.
In Priscilla’s case, her *tia* was deported even with the help from family and friends to pay for a lawyer. My research demonstrates how family/friends who pay for lawyers experience financial strains and how social networks are used to help family members throughout the deportainment process.

**The Role of the Family and Friends: After Deportainment**

**Reuniting Family and Friends**

When families were separated due to deportation, family, friends, and community members worked together to reunite families. Participants reported temporarily relocating to Mexico to provide support and companionship for deported family members or friends. Priscilla remembered when she was six years old and her family paid a “White lady” to bring her across the border while her dad and mom successfully crossed into the U.S. through a different channel. She and the lady bringing her across were caught by border patrol not too far from the border and taken back to Mexico. As a result, her family went back to Mexico: “We were returned and so because we were returned my dad went back. So, my mom and him were okay but then they decided to go back because they had sent us back to the states and we knew no one there.” Similarly, Diana’s dad moved back to Mexico to support her recently deported brother, Bobby: “When he found out that my brother was getting sent to Mexico he left because we have never been to Mexico. He wanted to be with him, show him where to go and stuff like that.” Rosa’s brother also went to Mexico each time his wife was deported:

My brother use to go over there to Juarez to find, to make sure, that if she was goin to pass over there over the Rio (Rio Grande River) or whatever. My brother was the one that was going over there to make sure that everything went good. Stay over there to make sure that the guy was going to bring her back to the United States. He would stay over there until she pretty much made it back over here.
My research shows how members of the immediate family are separated from each other because of deportation proceedings. Participants’ stories highlight that the deportation of family members places deported Latinx immigrants in vulnerable situations in a country they are unfamiliar with or at risk of being taken advantage of by a coyote or other criminals. Relocation of family members to Mexico reveals the legal violence that impacts families as a result of immigration policies that focus on the deportation of undocumented Latinx immigrants (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

The majority of participants reported that families would pitch in to pay for a coyote to bring their loved one back from Mexico after they were deported. Olivia reported spending $600 the first time her husband was deported and “maybe 5-$6000” the second time. She described how the family weighed the decision to use a coyote instead of hiring an immigration lawyer when a family member was facing deportation:

Ale: What was the most important and meaningful event that you experienced while he was detained and deported?
Olivia: I don’t know. I feel like if we had had that money none of that would have happened.
Ale: What do you mean?
Olivia: Uh, if he would have gotten a good lawyer… if he had someone to represent him, if he had been here longer that he could have stayed here. He has children here. I mean, I think if we would have had the money, he would have stayed.
Ale: How much was a lawyer looking like?
Olivia. It was outrageous. Ugh! Like over $5,000. It was like, do you pay $5,000 for a lawyer or do you pay $5,000 to get him back here and there’s no guarantees with a lawyer and you don’t pay until they bring him back haha. So. That’s why we just paid $5,000 so he could get back.

Immigrants deported to Mexico secured financial help from their families through hiring lawyers and utilizing coyotes to bring them back to the U.S. Priscilla remembered when a minor traffic stop with a police officer led to her aunt’s deportation:
So, she got arrested. She was with her children and all of her children are documented. They’re like citizens. They were born here. Yeah, she was deported. I remember like my dad and my family members raising money for her to have like a lawyer. So like to be represented so she wouldn’t be deported but then she was deported and then people raised money for her to be able to come back to the US. So, like family donations.

Martin illustrated that reciprocity was a reality within the social networks of undocumented immigrants’ lived experiences living in the U.S.:

You’d always hear, like oh…and I’m using just general names, Martha’s husband just got deported, we should go ask her if they need help or to an extent everyone would pitch in to for a coyote to bring them in because they knew it was an investment. So, they knew everyone was a community… If we do that for them, they’ll do that for us. So, it was definitely a whole cycle.

Instead of family members collecting money to bring back their loved ones, Jessica’s best friends and girlfriend went to Tijuana, Mexico to bring her back illegally. She described the incident as:

It was just at night, they came to pick me up and then we left and came back... I used someone else's passport and pretty much the officials didn't really check the ID, my face, they really didn't care. All they asked was what did you guys come to Mexico for and we said, oh you know, for a fun night. He was like, okay, well you know can I see your guy’s IDs or whatever and we all handed him our passports… he slides them through and then he told us to have a good night.

Participants’ experiences highlight the criminal and financial risks that family and friends take in order to bring back deported immigrants.

This chapter reveals how ICE detainment, deportainment, and deportation has collateral consequences for Latinx friends and family members. Experiences from participants were organized into the following themes: (1) fear, family, and deportainment, (2) consequences for the families of the deportained, (3) financial strain on family and friends, (4) the role of the family and friends: after deportainment. Data suggests that family and friends live in a constant state of fear of a loved one being detained or deported.
by ICE. Additionally, participants experienced emotional strains from family and friend separations and relocations. Thus, immigrants, family members, and friends developed tactics to avoid law enforcement and ICE officials to lessen the possibility of deportation. Finally, when immigrants were deported by ICE, family members and friends took criminal and financial risks to bring back their loved ones back from Mexico. These findings highlight how the entire social network of detained and deported immigrants are affected by legal violence spurring from anti-immigration policies.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this qualitative study was to research the experiences Latinx immigrants have during detainment and deportation and analyze how detainment and deportation impact family and friends of immigrants. The research project included data from 17 interviews (ten detained or deported Latinx immigrants and seven family/friends of Latinx immigrants). As outlined in Chapter 4, data revealed that Latinx immigrants largely had negative experiences with detention and deportation. In Chapter 5, data from family or friends of Latinx immigrants who had been detained or deported revealed that there are many collateral consequences of current immigration policies that impact immigrants’ families, friends, and community members.

The conceptual framework for this thesis draws from LatCrit theory to help highlight how racism operates in institutions to create systemic and structural inequalities for immigrants. This research also draws on LatCrit theories of micro and macro aggressions and racialized forms of punishment. Furthermore, this research extends Rios’ (2011) theory of the hyper-criminalization of Black and Brown youth to the Latinx undocumented community to help highlight how this hyper-criminalization disproportionately impacts undocumented Latinx immigrants, their families, their friends, and community members. Overall, through utilizing the LatCrit theoretical framework, this thesis highlights the poor treatment Latinx immigrants receive while in ICE custody, the collateral consequences as a result of ICE detainment and deportation, and the problems immigrants encounter due to deportainment.
This research demonstrates that a web of deportation and detainment tactics exemplify how legal violence is inflicted upon undocumented immigrants to criminalize and deport participants. Nathan’s description of how his unpaid traffic fine lead to his detention through Secure Communities screening which bridges the criminal and immigration systems together. Nathan’s story exemplifies how legal violence has severe effects on undocumented immigrants because of systemic forms of oppression that make immigrants more vulnerable to detainment and deportation. This becomes problematic because it places him and many other undocumented immigrants in a situation where they are given warrants for arrest and eventually detained or deported (Menjívar and Abrego, 2012).

Anti-immigration polices such as the Chandler Roundup, Mexican Repatriation Program, and Operation Wetback in 1954 all resulted in massive raids and deportations of Mexican and Mexican Americans (Arrocha, 2013; Astor, 2009; Romero, 2006). Additionally, targeting tactics have been used toward Latinx undocumented immigrants through immigration law that forges partnerships between local law enforcement and ICE to racially profile anyone who looks undocumented (Arrocha, 2013). This research mirrors these findings through highlighting participants’ experiences of being detained by ICE because of partnerships formed by ICE and local law enforcement. Moreover, participants recounted direct targeting from immigration officials that were in the form of harassment and hyper-surveillance in order to detain and deport undocumented immigrants.

The current literature argues that young Black and Latinx men are hyper-policed and hyper-criminalized during normal day to day behaviors (Rios, 2011; Sanchez &
Adams, 2011). Similarly, this research demonstrates that immigrants fear of deportation motivated participants to flee from the police because they are hypercriminalized. The strategies immigrants used to avoid the police placed immigrants, their family, law enforcement, and community members in dangerous situations because of the increased likelihood of accidents as a result of police chases. This research shows the distrust and fear of the police that forces immigrants and their family/friends to take extreme measures to avoid deportation. This is yet another example of how immigrants and their families experience legal violence stemming from anti-immigration policies.

Findings highlight how immigrants are criminalized through civil offenses and describes how Latinx immigrants are handcuffed, controlled in their day-to-day lives in detention, and placed into prison like facilities. Existing research shows how criminalization also results in restricted or limited communications which causes emotional distress for deported immigrants (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Quevedo, 2015). This research mirrors findings in the existing literature by demonstrating how participants experienced sadness and shame from restricted and limited communication with family members and the criminalization process of being detained (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Quevedo, 2015).

This study supports the current literature which asserts that detained immigrants do not receive routine physical exams or receive misdiagnoses for health problems which lead to poor health outcomes (Tovino 2016; Venters, Foote, et al, 2011). One participant described the difficulty of proving to ICE officials that something was physically wrong with him and it wasn’t until his foot was turning black and he couldn’t walk before he finally received medical care. This research confirms that detained immigrants

Research from Gonzalez Van Cleve (2016) argues that institutions enforce forms of racial punishment through micro-aggressions toward all people of color. This research confirms that ICE officers used forms of racial punishment toward family, friends, and community members who tried to help their loved ones during deportainment. Racial punishments included family and friends receiving poor treatment from ICE when inquiring about the status of their detained family and friends. ICE also displayed forms of racial punishment through the use of racial slurs and excessive force when engaging with family, friends, and community members of detained and deported immigrants. These forms of racial punishment exemplify how racism operates within institutions to punish people of color (Gonzalez Van Cleve, 2016). These consequences indicate that deported undocumented Latinx immigrants, their families, friends, and community members receive poor treatment from ICE resulting from legal violence from anti-immigrant policies (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

Further, Menjívar and Abrego (2012) argue that because undocumented immigrants believe they are not afforded the same rights as U.S. citizens, they normalize unfair and criminalized treatment as what is expected and normal. This research confirms their findings through testimonies from participants describing perceived “positive” treatment while in detainment (i.e., facilities providing recreational time to deportained immigrants). Additionally, how immigrants are treated, told to dress, and allowed certain privileges exemplifies how the day to day controlled behaviors of detained immigrants mirrors the criminalization process of inmates within the prison system.
This study confirmed how detaining and removing immigrants has devastating effects on family members (Quevedo, 2015; Brabeck, Sibley, et. al, 2015; Hana & Ortega, 2016). The current literature highlights how targeting and deporting of Latinx immigrants, partly because of new anti-immigrant policies, has created fear for both immigrants and their families (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Theodore, 2011; Vidales et al., 2009). Interviews with family members and friends replicate these findings by showing how they are also impacted from the fear of immigrants’ possible detainment and deportation. This research shows that this fear motivates family and friends of undocumented Latinx immigrants to develop strategies to avoid their loved ones from being picked up by ICE.

Current research suggests that deportations cause family stress, mix-status family separations, and family relocations (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015). Findings from this research show that family and friends of detained immigrants experienced emotional and financial strains from their loved ones being detained or deported. These strains were the result of children and family members being separated from detained and deported immigrants. This thesis similarly finds that deportainment causes family members to relocate to Mexico to provide emotional support and companionship for deported family members and friends (Barbeck & Xu, 2010; Quevedo, 2015).

The findings revealed that ethnicity, Spanish speaking, and skin complexion are factors that contributed to negative treatment from ICE officials. Male immigrant participants who identified as El Salvadorian, having darker skin color, and speaking Spanish at the time of detainment reported having more serious forms of verbal, mental, physical, and medical abuses in comparison to male participants who were form Mexico,
lighter skin color, and spoke English. For instance, Jorge described ICE officers as using their personal power to punish unauthorized immigrants by throwing them into the freezers for extended amounts of time based on his El Salvadorian background. Poor treatment from ICE and ICE officials highlight bureaucratic and individual practices that serve to further punish immigrants. Especially toward certain immigrants based on skin color, language spoken, and ethnic background. Unfortunately, the lack of accountability and government oversight provides ICE officials with the ability to act without impunity and this power places detained immigrants in a position to be treated inhumanely (Velez, 2014). These findings highlight how systemic issues are present in the current immigration detainment and deportation procedures further showing how ICE’s social practices allow for the possibility of ICE agents enforcing forms of racial punishment due to lack of governmental oversight.

Additional findings from this research illustrate how gender and ties to fellow detainees within ICE custody impacted experiences while immigrants are detained. Previously detained or deported Latinx female immigrants reported having more positive experiences from ICE officials than previously detained Latinx male immigrants. These positive experiences could be associated with the shorter length of time women were detained by ICE. Thus, women participants may not have been exposed to witnessing or experiencing poor treatment from ICE officials because of the shorter length of time they were detained. Additionally, ICE officials could have been displaying sympathy for single parent mothers. Additional research focusing on female detained/deported immigrants would need to be collected to confirm this finding. Even though some participants reported experiencing positive treatment during deportainment, I would
assert that undocumented immigrants rationalize these experiences as positive to cope with the trauma experienced from criminalized treatment during detainment and deportation. In addition, perceived positive treatment is also correlated to gendered differences.

Analysis of experiences during deportainment revealed that relationships developed with fellow immigrants are significant to both the participant and fellow detainees. Both strong and weak social ties formed in detainment served to benefit detained immigrants by developing a sense of community. These ties provided emotional or legal support to detained immigrants. Weak and strong social ties also served to help pass the time and mask the worries caused from an uncertainty of being released from detainment or through deportation. Also, the interactions that these participants formed during their detainment made lasting impressions on them. This finding is new in the literature and to my knowledge hasn't yet been examined.

Overall, findings highlight the importance of social networks in the undocumented community. In the undocumented community, social networks are utilized throughout migration stages:

In the initial stage of settlement, migrants' networks in the receiving area provide social capital to assist them in adapting to their new environment (Browning and Rodriguez 1985). Immigrants settling in communities with well-established networks generally seem to be incorporated into U.S. society more smoothly than do those in communities with poorly developed networks. Communities with mature networks provide newcomers with emotional and cultural support and various other resources, including initial housing and information about job opportunities; the latter can lead rapidly to access to labor market niches and the acquisition of new skills (Bailey and Waldinger 1991).

The utilization of social networks was demonstrated through community members pooling financial resources by a family member connecting with the rest of the family,
friends, or community members to raise money to bring someone back after they had been deported.

Findings from this thesis reveal social networks play a role in intervening in deportation cases. Agency has been defined as the “motivation, will, intentionality, interest, choice, autonomy, and freedom… an actors’ ability to operate somewhat independently of the determining constraints of social structure” (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009, p. 45). This research describes agency as deportained immigrants making their own choices in attempts to fight deportation despite constraints from institutions that inhibit their decision making. Latinx immigrants utilized their agency through resisting deportation proceedings by accessing and utilizing resources available through their communities and families such as mass calling into immigration facilities, receiving financial support for lawyers, and detained immigrants being bonded out of ICE detention. Specifically, immigrants utilized their own agency by contacting family and friends via telephone calls and visitations to request support. Family, friends, and community members played a huge role in financially supporting detained immigrants, transitioning immigrants out of detention, and organizing to prevent inhumane deportations. Findings revealed that family, friends, and community members contributed financially to help pay for lawyers, phone cards, bonds, and coyotes to bring back loved ones who were deported. Financial support was also more likely provided when an immigrant was attempting to reunite with their family. Reliance on family and friends for financial support appeared throughout this research project and shows that Latinx immigrants and their families and friends suffer from being detained by ICE.
Another interesting finding of this research is that immigrants and their families viewed some deportations as more honorable than others. That is, immigrants were less likely to provide financial support when family/friends viewed an immigrant making a rational decision to participate in criminal behavior. I argue that detainments and deportations receive considerably less support because of the criminality nature which reinforces negative stereotypes of Latinx immigrants. This is due to Latinx community members internalizing anti-immigrant rhetoric spewing form politicians and major news (Menjívar and Abrego, 2012). Anti-immigrant discourse criminalizes undocumented Latinx immigrants by portraying “illegal” immigrants as criminals and threatening to American values (Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullings, 2011; McKeever, Riffe, & Carpentier, 2012; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Dominant discourse about undocumented immigrants influences an “us vs. them” rhetoric which shapes the opinions of Latinx community members on acceptable and dishonorable deportations.

**Limitations and Future Study**

The findings in this research cannot be generalized to all Latinx immigrants and friends/family of immigrants because the research was conducted in only two states. Although immigrants’ experiences with ICE and the police were similar in both states, geographical differences and context of reception in other states may improve or negatively impact immigrants’ experiences. Locations such as sanctuary cities, new immigration destination sites, and cities with higher and lower Latinx populations may have different policies and views toward immigrants. Future ethnographic research should be conducted in multiple states to determine how geographical and political context may influence immigrants’ experiences with ICE. In addition, emerging
scholarship regarding the Mexican immigrant population in the roaring fork valley of Colorado and crimmigration literature should be used to help analyze future ethnographic research.

Also, since this research was conducted with a population that was difficult to find and the researcher had to rely on snowball sampling, it could be that when I asked if they knew of other people who had been detained, they may have sent me to like-minded people in terms of their perceptions and feelings about ICE. Future research should be more ethnographic in nature and be conducted in large immigrant communities to help the researcher observe a variety of people’s lived experiences and then recruit research participants in the community rather than through word of mouth.

Another limitation of this study is that the perspectives from Latinx immigrants originating from different countries is limited and this research can speak mostly to the Mexican immigrant experience. To determine if differences exist due to country of origin, other Latinx countries should be included.

Another limitation with this research is that most participants self-identified as straight except for one person who self-identified as a lesbian woman. Therefore, this research can only speak to the experiences of mostly cis-heterosexual individuals. Future research should consider whether or not sexual orientation in a locked setting might shape how detainment is experienced for individuals who are LGBTQIA+. It could be their experiences are more positive if they fear they will be abused by other immigrants and they seek and are provided help from ICE officers. However, it could be that the LGBTQIA+ population may more likely experience abuse by both immigration officers and fellow detainees.
Another limitation to the research was that the researcher was limited only to English speaking participants. This research doesn’t account for perspectives and experiences from Spanish speakers. As a result, this limited who could participate in the research and it could be that Spanish monolingual participants could provide additional insights about detainment. Future research should interview Spanish-speaking participants to analyze their experiences with ICE compared to English-speaking participants.

The current political climate is another limitation to the research. It could be that immigrants who are most scared to tell their stories of detainment might already have had negative experiences, and because of those experiences and the climate of fear, they are unwilling to discuss their immigration story.

Finally, because there were so many findings emerging within this project, conceptualizing the trends in the data proved difficult. Future research should focus on one central analytic and/or empirical lens throughout the project. By doing so, it would provide a solid argument to the research project.

**Policy implications**

It is important to understand the different experiences that undocumented Latinx immigrants have in order to bring awareness and change to ICE policies and practices during deportations and detainments. It is also equally important to understand how friends, family, and community members experience collateral consequences from undocumented Latinx immigrants being detained or deported. My research provides motivations for revisiting deportation and detainment procedures that negatively affect Latinx communities. Participants recommended focusing on creating policies that create pathways
to citizenship for immigrants who come to the U.S. to create a better life for themselves and their families. Additional participants stated that immigration policies should be created that are similar to DACA that allow for the legal presence of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. Participants recommended that ICE officers treat people more humanely by being friendly and listening to medical concerns, hiring more bi-lingual ICE officers to avoid miscommunications, and getting rid of private ICE facilities. Policies on how ICE handles detainments and deportations need to evaluated, challenged, created, and written to create more humane practices.

According to the American Society of Criminology (ASC) executive board (2016), undocumented immigrants who are facing deportation are not all violent and serious criminals. Latinx immigrants who come to the U.S. statistically commit less crime than non-immigrants (Vaugh, Salas-Wright, Delisi, & Maynard, 2014). For all deportained immigrants to receive criminalized treatment is inhumane. Their unauthorized presence in the U.S. is a civil offense which is nothing worse than a traffic infraction. Ending racial punishments enforced by ICE officers toward immigrants stuck in deportainment proceedings requires instituting new humane practices. The findings in this research suggest that adequate training for ICE officers is needed to identify medical crisis and avoid medical misdiagnosis. Additionally, more oversight within private and government facilities is needed to penalize ICE officers who choose to enforce their own forms of racial punishment toward deportained Latinx immigrants, their families, and friends.

The criminalization of the detainment and deportation process needs to be reevaluated. Implementing policies that would end local law enforcement and ICE partnerships that prioritize deporting undocumented immigrants would be the first step
toward rebuilding trust between Latinx community members and law enforcement. This trust is important because when immigrants trust the police they are more likely to call for assistance which helps lower crime rates. Building positive relationships with Latinx community members would aid in alleviating fears of deportation and prevent dangerous police chases from occurring. Additionally, immigrants, families, and friends would not have to go to extreme measures to avoid police/sheriff contact. Overall, positive relationships between local law enforcement and Latinx community members would make communities safer because people wouldn’t fear having to report crimes to police/sheriffs.

The current immigration system is broken and anti-immigration policies need to be challenged to create faster and more pathways for lawful presence or U.S. citizenship. More programs that grant authorized status like Deferred Action for Early Childhood Arrivals (DACA), work and school visas, asylum, etc., need to be created. Additionally, policies should require fewer restrictions and lower fees for immigrant applicants. Barriers from immigrants not meeting certain requirements for lawful presence in the U.S. prohibit immigrants who want to be here legally from being able to do so. Predictions indicate that immigration reform offering more pathways to citizenship for undocumented immigrants would increase state and local tax by at least 2.1 billion dollars (Gee et al., 2016). Further, implementing policies that would create pathways to lawful presence or U.S. citizenship would help end the legal violence that is inflicted upon the undocumented Latinx community and their social networks as a result of anti-immigration policies.
REFERENCES


Chin, G. J. (2002). Race, the war on drugs, and the collateral consequences of criminal conviction. *Journal of Gender, Race and Justice, 6*(2), 253.


APPENDIX A

Institutional Review Board Approval Letter for Pilot Study

University of Colorado
Colorado Springs

Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects

Date: 4/7/2016

IRB Review

IRB PRO00016-186
Protocol Title: Latinx/Hispanic Experiences in ICE Detention Centers
Principal Investigator: Ali Purtilla
Faculty Advisor (if Applicable): Hillary Smith
Application Type: New Application
Type of Review: Expedited
Risk Level: No more than Minimal Risk
Removal/Review Level (If changed from original approval): N/A, No Change
This Protocol Involves a Vulnerable Population: N/A (No Vulnerable Population)
Expedited: 6 April 2017

Note, if exempt: If there are no major changes in the research, protocol does not require review on a continuing basis by the IRB. In addition, the protocol may match more than one review category listed.
Externally Funded: No
Yes

IRB #: Sponsor:

Thank you for submitting your Request for IRB Review. The protocol identified above has been reviewed according to the policies of this institution and the provisions of applicable federal regulations. The review category is noted above, along with the expiration date, if applicable.

Once a human participant research has been approved, it is the Principal Investigator’s (PI) responsibility to report any changes in research activity related to the project:

- The IRB must provide the IRB with all protocol and consent form amendments and revisions.
- The IRB must approve these changes prior to implementation.
- All amendments concerning study subjects must also receive prior approval by the IRB.
- Any RDS must promptly inform the IRB of all unanticipated serious adverse (within 24 hours). All unanticipated adverse events must be reported to the IRB within 1 week (see 45CFR46.103(b)(2)). Failure to comply with these federal mandatory responsibilities may result in suspension or termination of the project.
- Review study with the IRB prior to expiration.
- Notify the IRB when the study is complete.

If you have any questions, please contact Research Compliance Specialist in the Office of Sponsored Programs at 719-255-3003 or info@uccs.edu.

Thank you for your concern about human subject protection issues, and good luck with your research.

Sincerely yours,

Michelle Clark, PhD
IRB Reviewer

www.ukcs.edu/researchcompliance
1425 Austin Bluffs Parkway Colorado Springs, CO 80918
719-255-3211 phone 719-255-3726 fax

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APPENDIX B

Pilot Study Interview Guide Questions

• Interview Questions
• Part I: Basic Biographic Data
• Where were you born?
• What is your age?
• What gender do you identify as?
• How do you view your identity?
  o For example, do you see yourself as Mexican, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Latin@, etc.
• What is your marital status?
• Do you have any children?
• Please tell me about your parents?
  o What did they do for a living?
  o Where were they born?
  o What was their educational background?
• What was it like growing up?
  o If he/she is an immigrant, ask the interviewee to describe where they spent most of their childhood.
  o Ask what their neighborhood was like. Relationships with teachers, police, other ethnicity groups.
• Tell me about your family.
  o Do you have brothers, sisters, kids, spouse, partner?
    ▪ What do they do?
  o Where do they live?
    ▪ Have they always lived there?
  o Is your family close with each other?
• What was the highest level of education you have completed?
  o Did you go to school in the U.S. or Mexico?
  o Only one or both?
• What is your occupation?
  o How many hours a week do you work?
• What kinds of social or professional organizations do you belong to?
  o When?
  o How long?
• Part II: ICE Detainment
• Please tell me about an experience with an ICE official.
  o Have you had contact with ICE officials (police, judges, etc.).
    ▪ If so, how many times?
    ▪ When did you have interactions with them?
    ▪ Where did you have interactions with them?
  o How were you approached?
  o How were you questioned?
What kind of attitude did the official have towards you?

Were you detained, deported, or released?
  - What was that experience like?
  - Where did they take you?
  - How long were you there?
  - What happened when you got to the place they took you?
  - Did you have a court hearing?
  - If you were deported, how long did the process take? How did they transport you back to Mexico?
  - What was the most important and meaningful event that you experienced while being detained?
  - What were your concerns during this time/process?
    - Family?
  - Were you able to have contact with people during this time? (friends, family, lawyer, etc.)
    - If so, who? How often?
    - Visitation or phone calls?
  - Were you able to call your family or friends while you were detained?
    - Did it cost anything?
    - How long or frequent were those calls?
    - How did it feel to talk to them?
    - How did it feel not being able to talk to them?
  - What are your thoughts on ICE?
  - How do you feel about the deportation process?
  - Do you know anyone who has been detained or deported?
    - What happened to them?

Part III: Identity and Future

How did you get along with the officials?
  - Did you have any language barrier issues?
  - Did you experience any racial/gender discrimination?

How did you get along with other individuals who were detained?

If they have children: How did your children feel about you being detained/deported?

How did your family feel about you being detained/deported?

How did your friends feel about you being detained/deported?

How did you feel about being detained/deported?

How did your employer or organization affiliates feel about you being deported/detained?
  - Did you lose your job? Your title? Responsibilities?

Did you notice if your friends, family, acquaintances, employers, or organization affiliates had an attitude change toward you after being detained or deported?
  - If so, how did that make you feel?
  - How did they treat you differently?

How do you feel about ICE and their officials?

How has your experience affected you?
Did it affect your relationships with your family?

- Do you have any recommendations on what could be done differently in ICE deportations/detainments? The immigration process?
- Do you have any recommendations on what the U.S. should do to respond to immigration issues?
- What are your dreams and visions for your future?
- Is there anything that you would like to add to the interview?

Thank you for your participation.
APPENDIX C

Waiver of Informed Consent and Institutional and Review Board Approval Letter

University of Colorado
Colorado Springs

Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects

Date: 12/3/2018

IRB Review

EDI PROTOCOL NO.: 17-078
Protocol Title: Collateral Consequences: The Latin Immigration Experience
Principal Investigator: Ale Portillo
Faculty Advisor if Applicable: Esteban Portillo
Application: New Application
Type of Review: Expedited

Risk Level: No more than Minimal Risk

Renewal Review Level (if changed from original approval): SIA No Change
This Protocol involves a Vulnerable Population: N/A (No Vulnerable Population)
Expiration: 13 December 2018

*Note: if consent: If there are no major changes in the research, protocol does not require review on a continuing basis by the IRB. In addition, the protocol may not exceed the approval category set forth.
Exclusively funded: No
OSF #: Sponsor:

Thank you for submitting your Request for IRB Review. The protocol identified above has been reviewed according to the policies of this institution and the provisions of applicable federal regulations. The review category is noted above, along with the expiration dates, if applicable.

Once human participant research has been approved, it is the Principal Investigator’s (PI) responsibility to report any changes in research activities related to the project:
- The PI must submit all protocol, amendment, advertising, and consent form amendments/revisions to the IRB for approval.
- If you are a student, please note that it is required to include the IRB approval letter in the library when you submit the dissertation/thesis.
- The PI must promptly inform the IRB of all unanticipated serious adverse events (within 24 hours). All unanticipated adverse events must be reported to the IRB within 1 week. (See: 45CFR46.103(d)). Failure to comply with these federally mandated responsibilities may result in suspension or termination of the project.
- Ensure study with the IRB at least 30 business days prior to expiration.
- Notify the IRB when the study is complete.

If you have any questions, please contact Research Integrity Specialist in the Office of Sponsored Programs and Research Integrity at 719-355-3003 or irb@uccs.edu

Thank you for your concern about human subject protection issues, and good luck with your research.

Sincerely yours,

Melissa J. Benson
Sponsor, PhD
IRB Committee, Chair

www.uccs.edu/irb
Version 2018

1438 Austin Rd, Fort Collins, CO 80525
719-355-3211 phone: 719-266-3788 fax
Title: Collateral Consequences: The Latinx Immigration Experience
Principal Investigator: Alie Portillos

Funding Source: None

Introduction
You are being asked to be in a research study. This form is designed to tell you everything you need to think about before you decide to consent (agree) to be in the study or not to be in the study. A member of the research team will describe this study to you and answer any questions. It is entirely your choice. If you decide to take part, you can change your mind later on and withdraw from the research study. You can skip any questions that you do not wish to answer.

Before making your decision:
- Please carefully read this form or have it read to you.
- Please ask questions about anything that is not clear.

Feel free to take your time thinking about whether you would like to participate.

Study Overview. This study plans to learn more about the different kinds of experiences that Latinx immigrants and their family/friends have while they or a family member/friend is being detained, questioned, or deported by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). You are being asked to be in this research study because I want to understand yours and other Latinx immigrants interactions with police officials, the court system, and in detention centers. In addition, I would like to see how you feel these experiences have shaped your identity and relationships in your family as a result of your or your family member’s/friend’s interactions with ICE.

Procedures. If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to take part in an interview that would last about 45-60 minutes. The interview will take place at a time and place that works best for you.

Other people in this study: Up to 35 people will be interviewed for this study.

Risks and Discomforts. You will be asked questions that could be emotionally hard to answer. The questions you are going to be asked can be very sensitive and could bring up difficult times. Therefore, at any time you become uncomfortable during the interview you can choose not to answer a question or end the interview.

Benefits. The benefits for you participating in this study will be giving you a chance to have your voice heard about any experiences you or your family members/friends have had with law enforcement and within ICE custody. Society would benefit from this study because your interview will help provide missing information that is currently not in books and journal articles. In addition, society would have a better understanding of the types of experiences undocumented Latinx immigrants and their social networks have as a result of their current legal status in the United States.

Compensation. There will not be any money paid for participation in this study.
El Consentimiento para ser un Sujeto de Investigación

Titulo: Estudio de La policía y inmigración de Estados Unidos

Investigador principal: Ale Portillos

Fuente de financiamiento: Nada

Introduction
Se le pide que participe en un estudio de investigación. Este formulario está diseñado para decirle todo lo que necesita pensar antes de decidir consentir (estar de acuerdo) en participar en el estudio o no participar en el estudio. Un miembro del equipo de investigación le describirá este estudio y responderá cualquier pregunta. Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria, y esta significa que no tienes que contestar a mis preguntas. En tiempo durante la entrevista, si hace no se siente muy bien y escogió no participarle puede retirarse del este estudio.

Antes de tomar su decisión:
• Lea atentamente este formulario o pidale que lo lea.
• Haga preguntas sobre algo que no está claro.

Tómese su tiempo pensando en si le gustaría participar.

Resumen de la investigación: Este proyecto de investigación tiene como objetivo analizar las experiencias personales, los impactos en las redes sociales o la autoidentidad de los inmigrantes y sus familias y amigos como resultado de las interacciones de los inmigrantes con las fuerzas de seguridad y el ICE. Se le pide que participe en este estudio de investigación porque quiero entender el suyo y otras interacciones de inmigrantes Latinx con los oficiales de policía, el sistema judicial y en los centros de detención. Me gustaría entender cómo usted siente que estas experiencias han afectado su identidad y las relaciones en su familia como resultado de las interacciones de su o de su familia y amigos con ICE.

El Procedimiento: La entrevista tomará aproximadamente 45 a 60 minutos de su tiempo. La entrevista se llevará a cabo en un momento y lugar conveniente.

Otras personas en este proyecto de investigación: Hasta 35 personas serán entrevistadas para este estudio.

Riesgos e incomodidades: Se le harán preguntas que podrían ser emocionalmente difíciles de responder. En tiempo durante la entrevista, si hace no se siente muy bien y escogió no participarle puede retirarse del este estudio.

Los Beneficios: Los beneficios de estar en este estudio le darán la oportunidad de que su voz sea escuchada acerca de cualquier experiencia que usted o sus familiares o amigos hayan tenido con la policía y con ICE. La sociedad se beneficiaría de este estudio porque proporcionaría información a la literatura actual. La sociedad tendría una mejor comprensión de los tipos de experiencias de inmigrantes Latinx indocumentados y su familia y amigos tienen como resultado de su estado legal actual en los Estados Unidos.
Appendix D

Detained/Deported Undocumented Latinx Immigrant Interview Questions

Part I: Background

1. Were you born in the United States?
   o If not, where were you born?
   o How old were you when you first moved to the United States?

2. Do you speak any language other than English?
   o If so, what language do you primarily speak when talking with friends & family?

3. Gender?

4. How old are you?

5. How do you identify your ethnicity?
   o For example, do you see yourself as Mexican, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Latin@, etc.

6. How do you identify your skin complexion in relation to others in your racial-ethnic group?
   o For example, very light/light/medium/dark/very dark?

7. Tell me about your family.
   o Do you have brothers, sisters, kids, spouse, partner?
   o Is your family close with each other?

8. Who do you live with?
   o What is your marital status?
   o Do you have any children?

9. Please tell me about your mom.
   o What did they do for a living?
   o Where were they born?
   o What was the highest level of school they completed?

10. Please tell me about your dad?
   o What did they do for a living?
   o Where were they born?
   o What was the highest level of school they completed?

11. What was it like growing up?
   o Where did you spend most of your childhood?
   o How would you describe the neighborhood where you lived?
   o Is it mostly Black, White, Latina/o, mixed?
   o How would you describe your school?
   o Do you think that all your teachers liked you?
   o Did you fight in school?
   o Who did you hang out with in school?
   o How were your relationships with teachers?
     ▪ Police?
     ▪ Other ethnic-minority groups?

12. What was the highest level of education you have completed?
   o Did you go to school in the U.S. or Mexico?
13. What do you do for work?
   o How many hours a week do you work?

14. Tell me about any volunteer work that you do or have done?

Part II: Police experience

15. Tell me about an experience you’ve had with the police
   ▪ When and where did you have interactions with them?
   ▪ Have you been stopped?
   ▪ Have you been search?
   ▪ Have you been arrested?
      ➢ If so, please describe the treatment you received from officers?
         o Did you have any language barrier issues?
         o Did you feel you experienced any racial/gender discrimination?

16. Please tell me about another experience you’ve had with the police?
   o Repeat questions above

Part IV: Immigrant Experiences within ICE

17. Have you been detained, deported, or released?

18. Please describe an experience when you were detained or deported.
   o What was that experience like?
   o Where were you detained?
   o How long were you there?
   o Did you have a court hearing?
      ▪ Did you have a lawyer?
   o If you were deported, how long did the process take?
   o If detained, please describe your relationship with the guards-detention officers?
   o What was the most important and meaningful event that you experienced while being detained?
   o Describe the contact you had with your family and friends during this time/process?
      o If so, who? How often?
      o Visitation or phone calls?
         ▪ Did it cost anything?
         ▪ How long or frequent were those calls?
         ▪ How did it feel to talk to them?
         ➢ How did you get along with the officials?
            o Did you have any language barrier issues?
            o Did you experience any racial/gender discrimination?
         ➢ How did you get along with other individuals who were detained?

19. How did your friends feel about you being detained/deported?
   o Did they offer support?
      ▪ Financial
      ▪ Emotional
20. How did you feel about being detained/deported?
21. How did your employer or organization affiliates feel about you being deported/detained?
   o Did you lose your job? Your title? Responsibilities?
22. Did you notice if your friends, family, acquaintances, employers, or organization affiliates had an attitude change toward you after being detained or deported?
   o If so, how did that make you feel?
   o How did they treat you differently?
23. Do you know anyone who has been detained or deported?
   o How was their experience in comparison to yours?

Part V: Perceptions of ICE
24. What are your thoughts on ICE?
   o How do you feel about ICE and their officials?
25. Do you have any recommendations on what could be done differently in ICE deportations/detainments? The immigration process?
26. Do you have any recommendations on what the U.S. should do to respond to immigration issues?

Part VI: Perceptions of the Police
27. How would you describe the relationship that the police have with your community?
   o Do you believe that the police are willing to help?
   o Would you say you trust the police?
     • Why or why not?
   o Would you say you respect the police?
     • Why or why not?
28. How do you feel the police treat members of your community?
   o Do you feel the police treat people from your racial group worse than people from other racial groups?
   o Do you believe the police treat rich people better than poor people?
   o How do you feel about calling the police for assistance?
29. Is there anything else you would like to add to this interview?
   Thank you for your participation!
APPENDIX E

Family or friend of detained/deported Latinx undocumented immigrant interview questions

Part I: Background

30. Were you born in the United States?
   ○ If not, where were you born?
   ○ How old were you when you first moved to the United States?

31. Do you speak any language other than English?
   ○ If so, what language do you primarily speak when talking with friends family?

32. Gender?

33. How old are you?

34. How do you identify your ethnicity?
   ○ For example, do you see yourself as Mexican, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Latin@, etc.

35. How do you identify your skin complexion in relation to others in your racial-ethnic group?
   ○ For example, very light/light/medium/dark/very dark?

36. Tell me about your family.
   ○ Do you have brothers, sisters, kids, spouse, partner?
   ○ Is your family close with each other?

37. Who do you live with?
   ○ What is your marital status?
   ○ Do you have any children?

38. Please tell me about your mom.
   ○ What did they do for a living?
   ○ Where were they born?
   ○ What was the highest level of school they completed?

39. Please tell me about your mom.
   ○ What did they do for a living?
   ○ Where were they born?
   ○ What was the highest level of school they completed?

40. What was it like growing up?
   ○ Where did you spend most of your childhood?
   ○ How would you describe the neighborhood where you lived?
   ○ Is it mostly Black, White, Latina/o, mixed?
   ○ How would you describe your school?
   ○ Do you think that all your teachers liked you?
   ○ Did you fight in school?
   ○ Who did you hang out with in school?
   ○ How were your relationships with teachers?
     ▪ Police?
     ▪ Other ethnic-minority groups?

41. What was the highest level of education you have completed?
Did you go to school in the U.S. or Mexico?

42. What do you do for work?
   o  How many hours a week do you work?

43. Tell me about any volunteer work that you do or have done?

Part II: Police experience

44. Tell me about an experience you’ve had with the police
   ▪  When and where did you have interactions with them?
   ▪  Have you been stopped?
   ▪  Have you been search?
   ▪  Have you been arrested?
     ➢  If so, please describe the treatment you received from officers?
       o  Did you have any language barrier issues?
       o  Did you feel you experienced any racial/gender discrimination?

45. Please tell me about another experience you’ve had with the police?
   o  Repeat questions above

Part III: Collateral Impacts from ICE

46. Do you know anyone who is an undocumented immigrant?
   o  From which country of origin?

47. How would you describe your relationship with this person?
   o  Significant other, spouse, family member, friend, etc.?

48. If your significant other/family member/friend/etc. were to be deported do you have a plan to financially support them and/or yourself?
   o  Money for a lawyer?
   o  Savings to pay bills?
   o  Family support?
     ▪  Money, childcare, etc.

49. If your significant other/family member/friend/etc. were to be deported do you have a plan to bring them back?

50. How do you and your significant other/family member/friend/etc. avoid police contact, immigration raids?
   o  If so, how?

51. Has your family member/friend/etc. ever been detained, deported, or released?
   o  If so, who?

52. Please describe that experience of when the person you know was detained or deported.
   o  How long were they detained/deported?
   o  How long did the process take?
   o  What was the most important and meaningful event that you experienced while your family member/friend/etc. was detained/deported?
   o  How did you and your family feel about your significant other/family member/friend/etc. being detained/deported?
     •  Did they offer support?
       o  Financial
       o  Emotional
If they have children, how did your children feel about your significant other/family member/friend/etc. detained/deported?

Describe the contact you had with your family member/friend/etc. during this time/process?

- How often?
- Visitation or phone calls?
  - Did it cost anything?
  - How long or frequent were those calls?
  - How did it feel to talk to them?

How did you get along with the officials that were there?

- Did you have any language barrier issues?
- Did you experience any racial/gender discrimination?
- If you had questions would they answer them?

53. Do you know anyone else who has been detained or deported?

- If yes, repeat questions from above. If no, move to Perception questions.

Part V: Perceptions of ICE

54. What are your thoughts on ICE?

- How do you feel about ICE and their officials?

55. Do you have any recommendations on what could be done differently in ICE deportations/detainments? The immigration process?

56. Do you have any recommendations on what the U.S. should do to respond to immigration issues?

Part VI: Perceptions of the Police

57. How would you describe the relationship that the police have with your community?

- Do you believe that the police are willing to help?
- Would you say you trust the police?
  - Why or why not?
- Would you say you respect the police?
  - Why or why not?

58. How do you feel the police treat members of your community?

- Do you feel the police treat people from your racial group worse than people from other racial groups?
- Do you believe the police treat rich people better than poor people?

59. How do you feel about calling the police for assistance?

60. Is there anything else you would like to add to this interview?

Thank you for your participation!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Life Narrative</th>
<th>Age Moved to the U.S.</th>
<th>Current Legal Status</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Highest EDU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veronica</td>
<td>32 year old, straight, bilingual, light skin completed Mexicana living in CO. Has close family ties. Niece of participant Rosa. Grew up and went to school in Mexico. Prefers it over there. Life was easier. Living in the U.S. is hard because she fears being deported all the time.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Unspecified highest level completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscilla</td>
<td>20 year old, heterosexual, bilingual, dark brown completed Hispanic with indigenous roots living in CO. Has close family ties. Grew up in a small Catholic town in Mexico. In the U.S. she didn’t have good relationships with teachers and counselors because there wasn’t enough support to undocumented students. Described having missed educational opportunities because of undocumented status.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>DACA</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>High school, pursuing college degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>24 year old, straight, bilingual, light brown completed American Hispanic living in CO. Has close family ties. Sister to participant Bobby. History of physical and mental abuse from mother. Sold into marriage at age 15.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>U-visa</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>High school in Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>27 year old, lesbian, bilingual, light complexion Mexican living in AZ. Has close family ties. Lived in a mostly Latino neighborhood. Was involved in fights in school and had to finish her education at continuation school.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>36 year old, straight, bilingual, dark complexion El Salvadoran living in CO. Doesn’t have close family ties. Detained during the same time as Jorge. Matthew grew up in El Salvador. Didn’t know his father. His mom was a part of the Guerrilla. At a young age his mom sent him to Mexico to escape the Guerilla in El Salvador. When he was 11 he crossed into the United States to escape the drug use, crime, and sexual abuse he experienced.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Deportable but non-removable, reports every month or two to sign passport to deport but can't be deported.</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Didn’t really have much education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
<td>Life Narrative</td>
<td>Age Moved to the U.S.</td>
<td>Current Legal Status</td>
<td>Country of Origin</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Highest EDU</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juakiem</td>
<td>24 year old, cis-hetero, bilingual, medium/very brown complexioned Latino living in AZ. Has very close family ties. Grew up in Mexico and the U.S. Very interested in technology and gaming. Family was very involved in his education and he excelled in school. No problems with teachers or police.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>DACA</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Associate in engineering, still pursuing degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>26 year old, straight, bilingual, dark brown complexioned Hispanic living in AZ. Has close family ties. Raised by single mother, moved around a lot, lived with uncles to for family financial support, lived in bad neighborhoods, and didn't have own room until he was 20. Maintains positive outlook toward life despite challenging times.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DACA</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Associates in arts, pursuing BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>25 year old, straight, bilingual, dark brown complexioned El Salvadorian living in CO. Detained during the same time as Matthew. Has close family ties. Grew up in a poor place and full of delinquency. Corrupt police beat him almost dead and had to leave to the U.S. Had good relationships with teachers and was involved in the church.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Worker's permit</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>46 year old, straight, bilingual, light brown complexioned Mexican living in CO. Married to participant Olivia. Very close with his family. Grew up in Mexico and mentioned the presence of cartels. Had fine relationships with police &amp; teachers.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix G
### Immigrant Experiences with I.C.E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Detained</th>
<th>How Released From I.C.E.</th>
<th>Length of Time</th>
<th>Deported</th>
<th>Date Deported</th>
<th>Knows Someone Who Has Been Deported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veronica</td>
<td>Court proceedings for domestic charges. Plead guilty during last hearing. Jail time turned into I.C.E. custody.</td>
<td>Released because of children at home and no prior felonies with the condition that she should self-report for deportation at later date.</td>
<td>Same day as when placed under ICE custody, 2009.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tia, many years ago (same person as Rosa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unspecified, less than 24hrs. 2015.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 older sisters and 1 brother (participant Bobby)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>Targeted by police. Pulled over as soon as he left his residence and arrested for false DUI charges.</td>
<td>Through the help of I.C.E. officer.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Received a call from his dad saying the cops needed to talk to him about an investigation.</td>
<td>Police turned him into immigration after serving jail time (1yr and 6months) for breaking and entering. Deported via airplane.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susiann</td>
<td>Unknownly illegally crossed light rail tracks. Lead to the inspection of his identity. There was a warrant for arrest for unpaid fines for driving without a license. Was arrested and turned into I.C.E.</td>
<td>Released on bond, still had to go to deportation hearings. PEP program prioritizing deportation of criminals, became eligible for self reconnaissance.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 and 1/2 months, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>1st time, 3 months, 2009. 2nd time, 1 week, 2012.</td>
<td>1st time - Going through divorce proceedings. ex-wife reported him to I.C.E. was picked up during a court hearing. Driven 1st time, 2009. 2nd time - raided at home by I.C.E. surrounded by three trucks and unmarked cars. Deported via airplane.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
<td>Life Narrative</td>
<td>Age Moved to the U.S.</td>
<td>Current Legal Status</td>
<td>Country of Origin</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Children</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>46 year old, straight, bilingual, light brown complexed Hispanic living in CO. Married to participant Jose. Has close family ties. Grew up in Mexico, Texas, and Colorado. Missed growing up in Mexico after she moved to the U.S. Living in the U.S. she was put in ESL classes and bullied for being Mexican. Growing up she stayed out of trouble because of undocumented status.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>U.S. Citizen</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesar</td>
<td>27 year old, multilingual, medium brown complexed Mexican American/Latino living in AZ. Has close family ties. Family grew up in an unsafe neighborhood in South Phoenix. Family is very close together and spent a lot of time with each other. Dad was very strict over educational goals and very involved in their academics. Cesar and his dad had strong relationships with his educators.</td>
<td>U.S. Born</td>
<td>U.S. Citizen</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>20 year old, straight, bilingual, very light complexed Hispanic living in CO. Has close family ties. Childhood spent in New Mexico, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez. Grew up in the borderlands where there was a lot of border patrol and checkpoints. Took ESL classes and had no trouble in school. Grew up in an undocumented community that really supported one another.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>DACA</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>67 year old, straight, bilingual, medium brown complexed Mexican living in CO. Aunt to participant Veronica. Has close family ties. Grew up poor in Mexico. Describes life in Mexico to be very different from the U.S. In school she hung out with her girlfriend, was very quiet and didn't get into trouble.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>U.S. Citizen</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciara</td>
<td>26 year old, straight, bilingual, light brown complexed Mexican living in CO. Very close and supportive family that would always do activities together. Grew up in majority Latin neighborhood. School was majority white and she had no problems in school or her with teachers.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Worker's permit</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>26 year old, gay, light skinned complexed Spanish, White, Mexican, and German living in CO. Best friend of Ciara. Has close family ties with his immediate family. Growing up he mostly spent time with mom's side of family. He didn't have strong relationships with his dad's side. Grew up poor and received help from his grandpa. He would get into trouble at school and described himself as a &quot;bad kid&quot;.</td>
<td>U.S. Born</td>
<td>U.S. Citizen</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natalie</td>
<td>49 year old, straight, bilingual, light brown complexed Mexican living in AZ. Has close family ties. Grew up in a single parent home and her mom worked in the fields. Her dad died when she was one year old. Describes living in Mexico, as beautiful.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>U.S. Citizen</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
<td>Knows Someone Who Has Been Detained</td>
<td>Length of Time Detained</td>
<td>How Their Family or Friend Was Released</td>
<td>Knows Someone Who Has Been Deported</td>
<td>Date Deported</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>Knows Someone Who Has Been Detained</td>
<td>1st time, 3 months. 2nd time, 1 week.</td>
<td>After community support, I.C.E. released custody of his mom to the Mexican consulate. Granted humanitarian permission to stay in the U.S. and has to go to courts when healed.</td>
<td>Husband has been deported twice (participant Jose)</td>
<td>1st time, 2009. 2nd time, 2012.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesar</td>
<td>Mother attempted to cross the U.S. Mexico border and border patrol spotted them. While his mom was on top of wall climbing over the border she fell and hit the floor. Border patrol transferred her to Tucson for medical care and detainment.</td>
<td>Over the weekend, 2016</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Participant stated the length of time varied on how many people were in detainment, sometimes quick sometimes longer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciara</td>
<td>Brother arrested by the police for vandalizing. Turned over to I.C.E. by the police.</td>
<td>A week, 2011.</td>
<td>Bonded out by Francisco.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>(Ciara) Best friends brother was caught by police for vandalizing and turned into I.C.E.</td>
<td>A week, 2011.</td>
<td>Francisco bonded him out.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natalie</td>
<td>Ex-boyfriend arrested for DUI and was going through court proceedings. After 5th court date immigration took him. Brother - was selling drugs. Serving 3 years in jail and will be deported.</td>
<td>Less than a month.</td>
<td>Bonded out by Natalie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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