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Beyond the sorrow: Nuclear and extended families in the context of deportations and  
incarcerations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the

degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Yajaira Ceciliano

Committee in charge:  
Professor Tanya Golash-Boza, Chair  
Professor Marjorie Zatz  
Professor Paul Almeida

2021

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University of California, Merced 2021

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Immigration; deportations, incarcerations, race, ethnicity, inequality



## ABSTRACT

The impacts of policies of control and removal of people of color remain a matter of human, social, economic, and political implications. This dissertation examines the narratives of adult members of nuclear and extended families to understand the collateral consequences of these punitive systems.

In the first chapter, in addition to establishing the impact of having a father incarcerated, I describe the effects of having sons or brothers incarcerated. Additionally, I explain the impact of incarceration of extended family members such as cousins, grandchildren, or nephews.

Chapter two describes the effects resulting from the deportation of fathers and husbands and other nuclear family members as brothers. Furthermore, I describe the impact of deporting other extended family members such as uncles, aunts, godparents, and brothers-in-law.

In the third chapter, I take the narratives of the adults interviewed to understand if the experiences of having a family member deported or incarcerated are the same or different? Also, this chapter explores whether nuclear and extended families have similar or different experiences with these events.

The study of families in the Central Valley of California is significant since California experiences a considerable presence of migrants and people with different immigration statuses. Additionally, California has a high number of people incarcerated. Adults' narratives show the critical role of the extended family supporting in cases of family crises, and this study indicates that these repressive systems reach all family members. I found that extended family members have also been deported and incarcerated; their removal from these households meant a tremendous emotional and financial impact.

Nuclear families who suffer deportations and incarceration endure very similar impacts, a family member is no longer part of the household, their emotional and financial contribution is missing, and even after reunification, either because the deported person returns to the United States or because the person is released from prison, families continue to suffer emotionally and financially. In the case of the extended families, aunts and uncles deported have very close ties to their relatives left behind, and grandmothers can experience significant feelings of isolation and financial burdens when dealing with grandson incarceration.

The situation of nuclear and extended families experiencing deportations and incarceration is problematic because they belong to low-income communities located in the Central Valley of California, a region characterized by many socio-economic issues with few resources for families dealing with deportations and incarcerations. Therefore, these families in their generations are destined to exclusion and poverty.

Historically, the USA has had a peculiar relationship with people of color and immigrants, and laws have been one of the most important mechanisms to regulate this relationship (Chase 2019). Today, laws continue to make people of color vulnerable. Black people are disproportionately likely to be imprisoned, while Latinos are more likely to be detained and deported (Muloma 2000; Travis et al. 2003; Glaze and Maruschak 2008; Clear 2009; Shlafer and Poehlmann 2009; Warde 2013). Ample research shows that millions of incarcerated or deported people have been denied their fundamental rights (Loyd 2011; Shaw 2016; Western 2002). Consequently, their families' rights and benefits have also been taken away (Loyd 2011; Shaw 2016; Western 2002; Foster and Hagan 2007; Pereira and Pereira and Pedroza 2019).

Although it is apparent that both deportation and incarceration affect families, we know less about how the impacts of these two punitive policies compare to one another. We know that both deportation and incarceration affect children; however, less is known about how these effects extend to other members of households, including partners, cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. To address this void, this dissertation examines the experiences of any household member - including nuclear and extended families - impacted by the incarceration or deportation of relatives. The experiences of these adults with different legal status and family ties will allow us to understand the spillover effects of the systems of incarceration and deportation.

This dissertation focuses on the following research question: ***How do deportation and incarceration affect nuclear and extended families, and how are these effects different or similar?*** I argue that extended families have different roles in the context of deportation or incarceration. Members of the extended families can be deported or incarcerated but at the same time members of the extended family are the primary support when deportation or incarceration occurs.

This dissertation aims to expand the theoretical and empirical knowledge on the collateral effects of deportation and incarceration by describing the role of the extended family when the deportation or incarceration of a household member occurs, by recounting the impacts when a member of the extended family is deported or incarcerated, and finally by comparing the effects experienced by nuclear and extended families.

Each of the chapters focuses on a specific literature review on incarceration (chapter two), deportation (chapter three), and the comparison of incarceration and deportation (chapter four). The conclusions section revisits findings and their theoretical and empirical importance. Every chapter and its questions are relevant to the literature regarding immigration and incarceration.

**In the introduction,** I review the central literature on deportation and incarceration. I also explain the methods and data used in the study and the organization of the dissertation.

**In the second chapter,** I draw from the narratives of 54 adults who experienced the incarceration of a relative. I use the literature on the effects of incarceration on nuclear families to have a baseline to compare the impacts of nuclear families with extended families. I argue that extended family members can experience incarceration in different ways: they can be incarcerated, causing additional emotional and financial burdens on their relatives and the extended family is reach by the incarceration system since they are primary support when relatives get incarcerated.

**In the third chapter,** I draw from the narratives of 57 adults who experienced the deportation of a relative. I use the literature on the effects of deportation on nuclear families to have a baseline to compare the impacts of nuclear families with extended families. I argue that extended family members can experience deportation in different ways: they can be deported, causing emotional and financial burdens on their relatives. Equally, members of the extended family are the primary support when relatives are deported.

**In the fourth chapter and based on 111 interviews.** I start from the premise that both deportation and incarceration share at least some similarities. Therefore, the main research question asks: ***How do deportation and incarceration affect nuclear and extended families, and how are these effects different or similar?*** In this chapter, I argue that nuclear families can be impacted in different ways, members of the extended family can be deported or incarcerated, which negatively impacts their families, and with

extended families as the main support they satisfied different roles when deportation or incarceration occurs.

The conclusion section summarizes the main findings and offers recommendations for future research.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

According to the Child and Adolescent Health Measurement Initiative (2016), “more than 5.7 million kids under age 18, have experienced parental incarceration at some point during their lives” (1) while “roughly half-a-million U.S. citizen children experienced the apprehension, detention, and deportation of at least one parent between 2011 and 2013” (American Immigration Council Report 2019:1). Moreover, approximately “5.9 million US citizen children (at least three million more children who are in the US without authorization) have at least one caregiver who does not have authorization to reside in the United States (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018:5).

There are several studies that focus on the financial and emotional impacts of incarceration and deportation on children and families (Arditti 2012b; Mckay et al. 2018; Montes 2019; Patler and Golash-Boza 2017). Both incarceration and deportation studies have indicated that the absence of parents for children is detrimental (Solomon and Zweig 2006; Debry 2012). Emotional impacts have significant adverse impacts on children's behavior and school performance (Haskins 2014; Delva et al. 2013). Due to incarceration and deportation, many women are left as the single head of the families, which profoundly affects family dynamics and therefore, the children's well-being (Dreby 2013; Wright and Seymour 2000). These impacts are much more unfavourable because the men imprisoned and deported belong to low-income families and communities (Green 2019, Blankenship et al. 2018). However, to overcome these impacts, most of these families rely on the assistance of the extended family (Berger and Cardoso et al. 2018; Mumola 2000, Hairston 2009). The support of the extended family and the role of grandmothers and other relatives as caregivers has been evidenced in these studies (Turney 2014; Strozier et al. 2011). However, the specific ways in which deportation and incarceration impact extended families, and whether these impacts are similar or different from those suffered by nuclear families, have not been extensively studied.

## STUDIES ON INCARCERATIONS

Studies have shown that families experience the impacts of incarceration before, during, and after the event.

### Before incarceration

Families' emotional and financial burdens often occur even before the incarceration due to the context in which these families live (Agnew 2006; Christian and Kennedy 2011; Tasca, Rodriguez, and Zatz 2011; Uggen et al. 2005). Research indicates that incarcerated individuals are generally part of poor communities with limited housing and education and therefore attempting to get justice by families involved many economic challenges (Annie Casey Foundation 2016; Mckay et al. 2018). Besides financial vulnerabilities, families who encountered previous confrontations with the judicial system experienced domestic violence or criminal behavior (Tasca et al. 2011; Uggen et al. 2005; Miller 2006; McKay et al. 2018). Regarding the relationship of incarcerated fathers and their children, scholars found that only around half of the fathers supported their children financially before incarceration (Mckay et al. 2018; Glaze and Maruschak 2008). This financial instability increases the likelihood of low educational outcomes, poverty, and housing vulnerabilities, leaving very adverse impacts on children's well-being (Arditti 2018).

### During incarceration

Despite the existence of family instability and cumulative disadvantages (Mckay et al. 2018; Arditti 2012a), when incarceration happens, financial and emotional

conditions tend to deteriorate (Arditti 2012b; McKay et al. 2018). The absence of a significant parent effects children's emotions, behavior, school performance, as well as their overall physical and mental health (Hagan and Foster 2012). However, to better assess these emotional and financial impacts, studies indicate that it is critical to consider the type of the existing relationship with the incarcerated person, the contribution of the arrested individual to the household, as well as whether the incarcerated individual is the mother or the father (Miller 2006; Johnson and Waldfogel 2002; Travis et al. 2003; Haskins 2014; Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002; Clear 2007; Comfort et al. 2016; Tasca et al. 2011). For Tasca et al. (2011) when mothers are incarcerated "and frequently they are the 'primary caregiver,'" children can experience "residential instability" (234). Therefore, "the incarceration of a mother [is] potentially far more traumatic than the incarceration of a father" (Tasca et al.:234). In this sense, Wilderman (2014) found that paternal incarceration leads to homelessness while maternal incarceration often leads to foster care. Once the quality of the bond has been determined, we can then know how children "adjust to parental incarceration" (Miller 2006: 475). In this regard, guardianship changes and residential instability is an essential source of emotional instability for children (Tasca et al. 2011). The absence of the primary caregiver (mother or father) is traumatic, and children may be forced to live with different caregivers. Multiple caregivers limit children's ability to develop ties. Additionally, caregivers may not have the same supervisory pattern as parents, and patterns may differ across caregivers, making it easier for youth to participate in criminal activities (Tasca et al. 2011).

An emotional challenge for these families is maintaining the relationship with the incarcerated relatives and visiting them in prison (McKay et al. 2018; Lee et al. 2012; Cassidy, J., Poehlmann, J., and Shaver, P. R. 2010). Visits, as studies suggest, do not come easy, Patler and Branic (2017) describe how "phone calls are expensive and limited, guards read letters before delivery, and visitation is both limited to certain hours and often logistically difficult for families" (22). Other challenges have been described by Miller (2006); geographical proximity is a major determining factor for loss of contact since it is difficult for caregivers to arrange visits when parents are in prisons hundreds of miles from where the children reside.

Regarding the financial burdens, poverty can increase or become an outcome, exposing children to material hardship (Watts and Nightingale 1996; Geller et al. 2009; Miller 2006; Defina and Hannon 2010; Wildeman 2009). Where the incarcerated parent provided financial support, this household income 'virtually disappeared,' leaving many women to face the burden of dealing with these financial struggles (Bruns 2017). These financial burdens affect women and their children and translate into different financial vulnerabilities such as food insecurity and housing vulnerability (Arditti 2005; Wildeman 2014, Murray et al. 2009; Tasca et al. 2011, Siennick 2014).

#### After Incarceration

The release of an incarcerated individual generates different emotional and financial burdens on the formerly incarcerated and their families (Visher and Connell 2012; Bark 2014). Formerly incarcerated individuals face challenges reintegrating into society due to a "deterioration of human and social capital" that negatively affects their re-entry process (Warde 2013: 472). Many formerly incarcerated "are prohibited from working in the fields of childcare, education, security, nursing, and home health care, all of which labor economists agree are growing the fastest" (Warde 2013: 472). Warde (2013) points out that formerly incarcerated individuals are "ineligible for public and government-assisted housing, public benefits, student loans, and various forms of employment and licensing" (472). Thus, former inmates' employability and their economic assets stay suppressed after their release, and it places crucial limitations on their social reintegration, preventing them from being economically independent, and causing financial strain on families. (Rose and Clear 2003; Leverentz 2011). In Naser and Visher's (2016) study, "almost one-third of respondents (30 percent) were having financial hardships due to their family member's return" (24). These reintegration barriers have very negative consequences for children, families, and communities (Roberts 2003; Visher and Travis 2011).

In conclusion, scholars found that overall incarceration is a punishment for families and extends to other members with long term consequences (Arditti 2018; Braman 2002).

### The extended family

There is no specific literature on extended families and incarcerations, however some studies note the presence and role of the extended family (Carlson and Cervera 1991).

Cooperation and support networks have been part of Black families to cope with poverty becoming this a part of the black identity (Stack 1975). Based on these cultural collaboration patterns, black families turn to extended families for support in situations of crisis (Carlson and Cervera 1991). For McAdoo (1982), these systems of help and collaboration have allowed black families to cope with severe stress. More recent studies have evidenced how, based on cultural and norms, black and Hispanic families get the support of the extended family, particularly during incarceration (Ruiz 2002; Crockett and Gibby 2021).

Some studies on the extended family have focused on understanding the role of grandmothers. (McAdoo 1982; Hunder 1997; Ruiz, 2002; Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002). The support of grandmothers is expected but is also traditional in the care of children, especially when Black mothers are incarcerated. (Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002; Mumola 2000; Strozier et al 2011; Dallaire 2007; Hunter 1997; Engstrom 2008; Baker et al. 2010). In this sense, research has shown that children of Black and Hispanic men and women are most likely to be with the other parents while children of white parents “are more likely to be in state care than other children” (Crockett and Gibby 2021:x).

Other scholars have noted that some extended family relatives have varied roles; they can teach values and expectations to children (Dallaire 2007). However, when extended family members are incarcerated, this can be a risk factor for minors since the experience of imprisonment can be normalized in these families (Idem). Studies pointing out the importance of the grandmothers as caregivers have also demonstrated how they usually face financial hardships, with little income and health issues. Yet, they assume surrogate roles even under these circumstances (Ruiz 2002).

## STUDIES ON DEPORTATION

### Before deportation

Past and current political context, anti-immigrant narratives, and immigration laws have impacted immigrants’ and their families’ emotional wellbeing and, therefore, their economic opportunities (Abrego, 2016; Chavez et al. 2013; Zatz and Smith 2012; Zatz and Rodriguez 2015). Studies exploring the relationship between immigration status and mental health found that fear of detention and deportation is one of the most common emotions in these communities and families (Cavazos-Rehg et al. 2007; Clear 2008; Sanders et al., 2013; Satinsky et al. 2013; Brabeck and Xu 2010). This fear translates into depression and changes in daily routines that have different adverse outcomes (Zatz and Smith 2012; Delva et al. 2013). In the case of children or young individuals, it impacts their mental health and school performance (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013). Additionally, research found that even “among families who have not experienced separation, undocumented status is associated with significantly higher levels of parent-reported and child-reported anxiety and depression” (Berger Cardoso et al. 2018: 304). Therefore, “the fear of detection, the threat of deportation, and consequences of undocumented status extend to all members in the system” (Berger Cardoso et al. 2018:301).

Another source of emotional stress for families and children are the burdens related to immigration detention (Patler and Branich 2017; Koball et al. 2015). Immigration detention can be even more dramatic for individuals with no legal status. For instance, “spouses and other adult family members often could not enter detention centers because of their unauthorized status and logistical challenges (Patler and Branich 2017:19), and “some facilities warned unauthorized family members not to enter the building because of the risk of arrest if they met ICE enforcement priorities, while others prohibited them from visiting altogether” (Koball et al. 2015:7).

Studies on the financial situation of immigrant families indicate that “unauthorized immigrants and their children face restricted access to socioeconomic opportunities”

(Hamilton et al., 2019:9). Even though Latino men are less likely than others to be unemployed, they are over-represented among those with lower incomes (Noguera and Hurtado 2013).

#### During deportation

Whether the deportation occurs immediately or after a period of detention, in both circumstances families are exposed to emotions like fear and guilt while their poverty conditions increase (Hagan, Rodriguez, and Castro 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017; Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Boehm 2016; Montes 2019; Patler and Golash-Boza 2017). As a result, families are forced to restructure their daily activities, such as going to school or working (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017). For Dreby (2012), this restructuring depends on who stays and who goes and the role of the deported person in the family, since “men and women play different roles in their families” (Dreby 2012, 833). These emotional burdens will also depend on the type of relationship with the deported person. For instance, for some women, the deportation of an abusive partner can be positive (Dreby 2012). Considering the long-lasting emotional effects of removals, scholars affirm that the punishment experienced as the result of immigration law enforcement can cause multigenerational consequences since families experience a type of violence that “extend[s] across generations” (Enriquez 2015:941).

Once deportation is imminent, children and youth confront a series of events that affect their emotional and psychological state (Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014). Fear and trauma are among the most common sentiments after detention and deportation of a parent (Montes 2019; Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Vargas and Ybarra 2017; Enriquez 2015). This fear translates into families beginning to avoid leaving the house to go to work, to attend school meetings, medical appointments or reporting violence at home, affecting the whole family and children’s wellbeing (Capps et al. 2015; Green 2019; Hagan, Rodriguez, and Castro 2011; Enriquez 2015; Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2020). As a result, families must restructure their routines, but particularly women and children are forced to take new roles and obligations (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017; Garcia 2018; Silver et al. 2018). Thus, these families live with extreme stress and anxiety that, in the short term, restricts them from many daily activities (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017; Drotbohm and Hasslberg 2014).

Children separated from both parents are left in legal limbo, where they are often given up in adoption or trapped in a detention center for months without meeting with their families (Lonegan 2007; Zatz and Rodriguez 2015). This instability in caregiving impacts children’s wellbeing and becomes a stressful experience (Lonegan 2007; Koball et al. 2015). Ybarra and Peña (2017) found that children of mixed-status families also experience emotional impacts since they are forced to live in these transnational relations (Hagan et al. 2009; Silver et al. 2018).

When the person deported is a parental figure, families are more likely to experience impoverishment since, after deportation, an income is lost (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Gelatt et al. 2017; Warren and Kerwin 2017). For Lonegan (2007), and many children suffer food and housing insecurity (Dreby 2012; Montes 2019). These financial burdens have short- and long-term impacts, affecting children’s futures (Dreby 2012; Potochnick, Chen, and Perreira 2017).

#### After deportation

After deportation and when the person cannot return and must stay abroad, families are under significant financial pressure (Hagan et al. 2008). On the one hand, this person cannot contribute financially to the family living in the United States; particularly since it is common that they have difficulties integrating into the labor market and if they manage to obtain a job, it is barely enough to survive abroad. In fact, it is typically the families in the United States that send the deported relative remittances (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018).

It is challenging for families to maintain these ties because of the distance, and some families do not have the legal status that allows them to travel to visit their deported relatives. In addition, since there is not a means for a legal return, families decide to bring their relatives through informal channel, which becomes in an additional emotional and financial burden (Boehm 2017).

## The extended family

There is no specific literature on extended families and deportation. However, some studies note the presence and role of the extended family (Menjívar and Abrego 2009). The presence of diverse extended family members in migrant families has been reported in different studies (Menjívar and Abrego 2009). For many scholars, familism is one of the main characteristics in Latino families (Bermudez and Mancini 2013; Bacallao and Smokowski 2007; Campos et al. 2008; Cardoso and Thompson 2010). The support and cohesion of these families is an essential protective factor in situations of stress (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). This sense of cooperation allows women to seek help within the extended family in the absence of their partner.

Therefore, it is not extraordinary that in these migrant families, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins are part of these families, and that they are an essential source of assistance for families (Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez 2008). The presence of members of the extended family also puts them at risk, though, as the immigration system can reach and deport them (Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez 2008; Brabeck et al. 2014; Boehm 2017; Ojeda et al. 2020). Consequently, and considering this context, extended families are an essential source of support, but at the same time, members of the extended family can fear and even experience deportation (Capps et al., 2015 and Berger Cardoso et al. 2018).

Regarding the supportive role of the extended family, studies have mentioned the role of grandparents, uncles, and aunts in times of crisis, mainly when deportation occur (Muruthi and Taschman 2019). The undeniable participation of grandparents in the life of migrant families and the lives of US citizen children is presented in the American Psychological Association's *Statement on the effects of deportation and forced separation on immigrants, their families, and communities* (2018). This report showed that "more than 4.4 million children live in grandparent-headed households, thousands of whom are US citizen grandchildren of unauthorized grandparents" (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018:6).

Capps et al. (2015) and Copen (2006) stated that even these roles are challenging for grandparents. Being in the care of grandparents is much more beneficial for children than being placed into foster care (Capps et al. 2015). Other scholars, such as Taschman and Muruthi (2020), stated that the uncles and aunts have significant roles when parents are absent. However, relationships with the extended family are not without conflicts (Taschman and Muruthi 2020) and changes in the type of the relationship with the extended family can change due to the assimilation process of Latino families; as a result, familism and cohesion decrease (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007).

## STUDIES ON INCARCERATION AND DEPORTATION

In the face of the massive increase in deportations, scholars have begun to highlight the parallels between the deportation system and incarceration (Golash-Boza, Chase 2019, Zatz and Rodriguez 2015; Patler and Golash-Boza 2017). Golash-Boza (2016) states that one of the most significant similarities is how these systems of repression target Black and Latino men (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Zarrugh 2020). Another notable similarity is that both systems emerged to respond to economic crises (Golash-Boza 2016). Equally negative are the consequences of both systems for families and communities (Patler, and Golash-Boza 2017; Zarrugh 2020). After the removal of men, many women are left behind in charge of children, which implies different financial and emotional burdens for families (Golash-Boza 2016). Other studies have compared the emotional and financial strains of incarceration and deportation on families (Ceciliano and Golash-Boza 2021; Zatz and Rodriguez 2015). Additional research has been conducted to understand if visitation patterns for immigrant families during immigration detention are similar or different from visitation during incarceration (Patler and Branich 2017).

## DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION

This section describes the content of each chapter, along with a presentation of the theoretical framework as well as the methods section. Chapters one and two describe the emotional and financial burdens of incarceration and deportation on individuals who experience the imprisonment or removal of a relative. The third chapter compares both



incarceration and deportation experiences. I also include a section with the main conclusions of the study.

*Chapter one: Introduction.*

The first section is the introduction; it includes the approach to studying incarceration, deportation, the theoretical framework, and the methods section.

*Chapter two on incarcerations.*

This chapter is based on the narratives of 54 adults who experienced the incarceration of a relative. It begins with what we know from the extant literature on incarceration about the impacts on children and young members of nuclear families (Foster and Hagan 2007; Lloyd 2011; Miller and Barnes 2015; Siennick 2016). This chapter goes further to explore the narratives of adults, members of nuclear and extended families who have an incarcerated relative. The main research questions are: How does incarceration affect nuclear and extended families, and how are these affects different or similar? Results show that incarceration of members of the extended family can cause emotional and financial hardships in their families. I argue that the impacts generated by the incarceration of extended family members can be as adverse as the impacts suffered by nuclear families. I also argue that the incarceration of sons, brothers, stepsons, nephews, grandsons, and cousins have very adverse effects on those left behind, such as mothers, sisters, uncles, cousins, grandparents. Besides the burden of the incarceration of the extended family, this study shows all the different forms in which the extended family help nuclear families when incarceration happens.

*Chapter three on deportations.*

This chapter is based on the narratives of 57 adults who experienced the deportation of a relative. Considering the previous literature on deportations and the impacts on children and young members of nuclear families (Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2012; Dreby 2015; Arriaga 2017; Potochnick, Jen-Hao, and Perreira 2017; Capps et al. 2015; Lonegan 2007), this chapter explores the narratives of members of the extended family and their experiences with having a deported relative. The main research questions are: How does deportation affect nuclear and extended families, and how are these effects different or similar? I argue that deportation's impacts on the extended family members can be as adverse as the impacts suffered by nuclear families. I also state that these forms of punishment extend beyond the nuclear family with very negative emotional and financial consequences for those left behind, such as young individuals, adults, and the elderly. Moreover, extended family members are the primary emotional and financial support when deportation occurs. Additional findings show that emotional effects persist for both the nuclear and extended families. Nevertheless, the extended family's financial impacts are temporary, while these impacts can be permanent in nuclear families.

*Chapter four on Deportation and Incarceration*

Based on 111 interviews, the emotional and financial impacts of both deportation and incarceration are compared. According to scholars, both systems use 'legal' mechanisms (laws) to remove undocumented immigrants and control people of color (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Aranda and Vaquera 2015; Patler and Branic 2017). In addition, I compare the impacts of incarceration and deportation on the extended family to try to understand if these effects are similar or different to the effects that nuclear families experience. Therefore, the main research question asks: How do deportations and incarcerations affect nuclear and extended families, and how are these effects different or similar? In this chapter, I argue that nuclear families can be impacted in different forms. Members of the extended family can be deported or incarcerated, which negatively impacts their families, and that extended families are the main support and satisfy different roles when deportation or incarceration occurs. Narratives show that the impacts on families experiencing deportations and incarcerations are to some extent similar. One similarity is that the incarceration and deportation systems target men while women are more apt to be left behind with the burdens. However, beyond parents and partners this study show that the deportation and incarceration systems remove sons, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandsons, nephews, and aunts. The removal of these individuals threatens families emotionally and financially. Families experiencing deportations and incarcerations experience financial burdens. However, these burdens are permanent for nuclear families, while in extended families the financial hardships tend to



be temporal. One remarkable difference is the emotions that emerge in families experiencing deportations and incarcerations. Fatigue, anger, and disenchantment are common emotions in families suffering incarceration, while anxiety, depression or devastation are frequent in families experiencing deportations.

*Chapter five: conclusion.* The conclusion will include a section of findings and recommendations for future studies.

## METHODS AND DATA

Using the snowball method, 111 individuals over 18 years of age who have lived with a deported or incarcerated family member were interviewed to understand how deportation and incarceration affect families in the Central Valley of California.

The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2019. Out of the 111, 54 individuals experienced the incarceration of a household member while 57 experienced the deportation of a household member. The interview lasted from one to two hours, and notes were also taken during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in Spanish or English according to the participants' preferences. The interviews took place in different California locations, including participants' houses and public places.

The interview guide included various sections used to explore the person's family history, schooling, youth, and relationship with the deported or imprisoned relative. The interview guide also included a section about the vision of the current judicial system and interviewees' prospects for the future. For this study, the names of the interviewees were changed to pseudonyms. Participants received a \$30 Target gift card for participating in the study. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Later, each interview was transcribed and coded.

To analyse the information, an excel table was created to systematize information regarding age, year of birth, the number of siblings, approximate year in which the removal of the relative occurred, and other socio-demographic information. Interviews were coded by the pre-deportation/pre-incarceration, during deportation/incarceration, and post-deportation/incarceration context, and for each stage, we generated codes to identify information about these families' emotional and financial situations. In the case of the pre-deportation/incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to the type of relationship with the relative before deportation and testimonies reflecting the relative's financial contribution. For the during deportation/incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to individuals' sentiments during the incarceration/deportation. Other codes identified from the interviews were related to how families dealt with the judicial systems, burdens associated with new roles and emerging conflicts, and financial burdens. Finally, we coded the most striking and frequent testimonies related to the family's dealings with the deportees once they returned to the USA and the challenges families faced, or with the formerly incarcerated returning to the household.

### Sample Profile

The profile of the people interviewed align with research on incarceration and deportation that show more men are impacted by both punishment systems, while women are the ones who remain facing the complications resulting from the absence of their relatives (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Baker and Marchevsky 2019). In our sample, out of 111 respondents, 76% (85) individuals interviewed were females, while 23% (26) were males. The range of ages of the 111 participants was 18 to 80 years old. Seventy-four percent (83) of participants were born in the US, while 15% (17) were born in Mexico and 0.9% (one) in Yemen.

Table 1.  
 Profile of the people interviewed.  
 2015-2019 California.  
 N=111

	Incarceration	Deportation	Total
<b>Gender person interviewed</b>			
Male	14	11	25
Female	40	46	86
<b>Individuals of nuclear families interviewed</b>			
Individuals of extended families interviewed	11	9	20
Age (mean years)	41,5	28	
	20-80	(18-61)	
<b>Marital status</b>			
Single	19	42	61
Married	21	7	28
Cohabiting	3	4	7
Divorced	3	2	5
Others	8	2	10
<b>Country of birth</b>			
USA	46	37	83
Mexico	8	19	27
Other	0	1	1
<b>Have children</b>			
Yes	35	15	50
No	19	42	61
<b>Gender of the relative incarcerated or deported</b>			
	Incarcerated	Deported	
Male	53	47	100
Female	1	10	11
<b>Relative came back</b>			
Yes	32	20	52
No	22	37	59
Sample size	54	57	111

Profile individuals interviewed for the incarceration study

In our incarceration sample, 74% of individuals interviewed (40 out of 54) were females, while 26% (14) were males. Most of the relatives incarcerated are men, while only few women (5.5%) were incarcerated in this sample.

Table 2. Gender people interviewed, and gender of the relative incarcerated  
 2015-2019 California.  
 N= 54

	Female	Male	Total
Gender of person interviewed	40	14	54
Gender of relative incarcerated	3	51	54

The range of age of the 54 participants was 20 to 80 years old. The age mean was 42, while the mode was 20. The mean of schooling is 13.9 years.

As for marital status, 35% (19) of the interviewees are single while the rest are in different situations: 21 married, 3 cohabiting, 3 divorced, 2 engaged, 2 separated and 4 widowed.

Thirty-five of those interviewed have children.

Regarding the age and time when the events happened, 55% (30) experienced the incarceration of a relative when they were over 18 years old, while 44% (24) were under 18 years old. Most of our interviewees (55%) experienced the incarceration of a relative over ten years ago, while the incarceration occurred for the rest 44% (24) within the last decade.

The US-born individuals in our sample are 85% (46), while 15% (8) were born in Mexico.

Given the large number of state and federal prisons in California, it is not surprising that more than 50% (33) interviewed experienced the imprisonment of two or more relatives, and that 4.5% (5) experienced incarceration themselves.

In our sample, 75% (43) experience the incarceration of a nuclear family member while 20% (11) experience the incarceration of a member of the extended family. Those incarcerated included nuclear family members' sons, fathers, brothers, husbands, sisters, and mothers.

Table 3. Nuclear family members incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=43

<b>Relative Incarcerated</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Son</b>	14
<b>Father</b>	13
<b>Brother</b>	8
<b>Husband</b>	3
<b>Stepson</b>	1
<b>Sister</b>	1
<b>Partner</b>	1
<b>Ex-Partner</b>	1
<b>Mother</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	43

Participants of extended families experienced the incarceration of cousins, uncles, nephews, and grandsons (see Table No. 4)

Table 4. Extended family member incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N= 11

<b>Relative Incarcerated</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Nephew</b>	1
<b>Son in law</b>	1
<b>Uncles</b>	2
<b>Grandchildren</b>	2
<b>Cousins</b>	5
<b>Total</b>	11

Some of the reasons people were imprisoned are gang membership and drugs-related, drinking in public, and stealing.

The post-incarceration data shows that 59% of the relatives are no longer incarcerated; 22 returned with their families.

Profile of individuals interviewed for the deportation study

In this study, 80.7% (46) individuals interviewed in our sample were females, while 19.3% (11) were males. This profile aligns with research on deportation describing how more men are deported, while in contrast, women remain facing the complications that result from the absence of their relatives.

Table 5. Gender of the people interview and the gender of relative deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=57

	Female	Male	Total
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>	46	11	57
<b>Gender of relative deported</b>	10	47	57

The range of age of the 57 participants was 18 to 61 years old. The mean age of this sample is 28, while the mode is 20. This perhaps explains why most of the interviewees are single (42) and only 15 of them have children. Sixty-one percent (35) of the individuals in the study were under 18 when the removal of a relative happened, while 35% (20) of them were over 18. Around half of the deportations, 54% (31), occurred in the last decade 2010-2020 while 35% (20) deportations occurred during the 2000-2010 decade. Two individuals did not report when the events happened.

Most of those interviewed, 64.9 % (37), were born in the US, while 35% (19) were born in Mexico or Yemen. Given the high number of undocumented immigrants in California, it is not surprising that around 29% (17) participants experience the deportation of more than one relative, such as both parents or more than one sibling in our sample.

Table 6. Nuclear family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=48

Relative deported	Number
<b>Father</b>	22
<b>Brother</b>	10
<b>Mother</b>	6
<b>Husband</b>	3
<b>Both parents</b>	2
<b>Stepfather</b>	2
<b>Ex-fiancé</b>	1
<b>Ex-husband</b>	1
<b>Son</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	48

Participants of nuclear families 84% (48 cases) experienced the deportation of brothers, fathers, mothers, stepfathers, ex-fiancés, ex-husbands, and sons. In the case of participants that experience the deportation of members of the extended family, 16% (9 participants) reported the deportation of brothers-in-law, aunts, uncles, and godfathers.

Table 7. Extended family members deported.  
 2015-2019 California.  
 N=9

<b>Relative deported</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Brother-in-law</b>	1
<b>Godfather</b>	1
<b>Aunt</b>	3
<b>Uncle</b>	4
<b>Total</b>	9

The post-deportation information shows that around 52% (30) of the relatives deported are still abroad, while about 35% (20) are back in the US. Some of the reasons these individuals were picked up by immigration authorities and ultimately deported included being involved in a car accident, drinking in public, gang and drug-related issues, or being pulled over and showing fake immigration documents.

## CHAPER TWO: Narratives on incarceration, the experiences of nuclear and extended families

### INTRODUCTION

Incarceration adversely affects families, and particularly children. The number of children affected by mass incarceration in the United States is staggering, as “more than 2 million American children had a parent incarcerated” in 2010 (Geller, Jaeger, and Pace 2016:22). Impacts on families and children are more severe when the incarcerated individual contributes emotionally and financially to the household. Children impacted emotionally display behavioral changes, poor health, and low school performance (Comfort 2008; Martin 2017). The impacts at the financial level are in the short and long term. In the short term, families can experience housing and food vulnerabilities (Geller and Franklin 2014). Families are prevented from transferring assets and resources to children in the long term, impacting their social mobility and increasing social exclusion (Foster and Hagan 2007; Lloyd 2011; Miller and Barnes 2015, Siennick 2016).

These impacts are exacerbated by the fact that most people incarcerated are from low-income and minority communities (Wilbur et al. 2007, Subramanian et al. 2018). Research shows that Black and Latino men are more likely to be detained and incarcerated than their White counterparts (Noguera, Hurtado, and Fergus 2013; Blankenship et al. 2018; Subramanian et al. 2018; Denby 2012; Douglas et al. 2018). On top of dealing with the criminal justice system and stigma, many of these families also deal with other contextual problems such as mental and physical illness (Hairston 2009).

For these low-income families and communities suffering incarceration, the support of the extended family is vital (Hairston 2009; Denby 2012; Strozier et al. 2011; Geller et al. 2016; Berg and Huebner 2011). In this respect, Stack (1975) observed that black families receive help from their relatives based on cultural patterns of support and kinship; for these families, cooperation and reciprocity are outcomes that explain black low-income families’ functioning (Stack 1975). Other studies found that grandmothers and other relatives are essential for caregiving and co-parenting during incarceration (Baker et al. 2010; Strozier et al. 2011). Additionally, post-incarceration, studies report that individuals beyond the nuclear family are also vital in the process of reintegration. As Berg and Huebner report, “upon release from prison, offenders commonly rely on parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, and uncles” (2011:384).

The specific and different ways incarceration impact individual adults beyond the nuclear family have not been extensively explored. In this study, we will focus on adults who experience the incarceration of a member of their nuclear or extended families; for that, we will be answering the following research questions; How does incarceration impact nuclear families, how does incarceration impact extended families? Are these impacts similar or different?

Based on interviews with 54 individuals, this study shows that incarceration of extended family members can cause emotional and financial hardships. Moreover, extended family members are the primary emotional and financial support when incarceration occurs. Both nuclear and extended family members deal with emotional and financial burdens before and during incarceration; however, post-incarceration impacts persist for nuclear families since they support relatives once they are released from prison. Additionally, findings show that emotional effects persist for both nuclear and extended families. Nevertheless, the extended family's financial impacts are temporary, while these impacts can be permanent in the nuclear family.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **The pre-incarceration context**

When studying how children and families are impacted by incarceration, there are different factors to consider. The first aspect is the context in which incarceration happens, the type of relationship with the person incarcerated, and the role of the person incarcerated in the household (Arditti 2005; Tasca et al. 2011; Siennick et al. 2014). Considering the context in which incarceration happens will allow us to understand its effects better and if these impacts remain or are aggravated with incarceration.

Families experiencing incarceration typically are already vulnerable with intensive histories of cumulative disadvantage (Arditti 2012; Visher and Travis 2011;

McKay et al. 2018; Hairston 2009). Previous disadvantages include mental health problems, unemployment, substance abuse, and interpersonal conflicts (Tasca, Rodriguez, and Zatz 2011; Arditti 2014). Encounters with the judicial system and multiple incarceration experiences have also been described as a part of these pre-incarceration circumstances (Tasca et al. 2011, McKay et al. 2018; Arditti 2012). Additionally, many families experiencing incarceration were financially unstable before incarceration, and “the most vulnerable became even more financially strained afterward” (Arditti, Lambert-Shute and Joest 2003: 195).

Concerning the support of incarcerated individuals before incarceration, studies establish that only around 50% of parents lived with the children before incarceration, and a similar percentage contributed to the household (Visher and Travis 2011; McKay 2018; Hairston 2009). Hairston (2009) found that 26% of fathers provided most of the daily care for their children and that 63% of fathers shared responsibility for the daily care of their children with another adult. For scholars, these limited resources in families translate into other vulnerabilities such as housing instability, food insecurity, and limited access to educational and health opportunities (Tasca et al. 2011; McKay et al. 2018; Wildeman 2014; Wildeman et al. 2019).

### **The during incarceration context**

When fathers are incarcerated, 88% of them rely on mothers for the care of their children. In contrast, mothers are more likely to rely on the children’s grandparents or other relatives when they are incarcerated (Hairston 2009). This research makes the importance of studying extended families clear.

#### **Impacts on families and children**

Incarceration generates changes and disruptions that affect families’ daily routines (Sharp 1997; Wright and Seymour 2000). These disruptions become emotional and financial strains for families and children since they are forced to move from their houses or neighborhoods to live with other family members. Individuals within these families are forced to take over new roles and responsibilities (Christian et al. 2006).

However, scholars point out that the effects of incarceration will depend on the type of the existing relationship with the incarcerated person, the contribution of the arrested individual to the household, as well if the incarcerated individual is the mother or the father (Miller 2006; Johnson and Waldfogel 2002; Travis et al. 2003; Haskins 2014; Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002; Clear 2007; Comfort et al. 2016; Tasca et al. 2011). For Tasca et al. (2011) when mothers are incarcerated “and frequently they are the ‘primary caregiver,’” children can experience “residential instability” (234). The instability of residence also affects children's ability to attend school (Tasca et al. 2011). Therefore, “the incarceration of a mother potentially far more traumatic than the incarceration of a father” (Tasca et al. 2011 :234). In this sense, Wilderman (2014) found that paternal incarceration leads to homelessness while maternal incarceration often leads to foster care. These guardianship and housing changes are important sources of emotional stress for children (Tasca et al. 2011). When children are forced to live with different caregivers, that can limit children's ability to develop strong pro-social ties, and therefore, some children can show a tendency to participate in criminal activities (Tasca et al. 2011).

#### **Impacts on children**

The negative sentiments connected to the incarceration of relatives can affect minors’ physical and mental health. (Miller 2006; Geller et al. 2009, Arditti 2012). Children may have behavioral and cognitive changes that eventually impact their social and academic performance (Miller 2006; Arditti 2012). Health-related issues have been found in children enduring incarceration in their households; minors and teens can experience a lack of sleep and concentration problems, ultimately impacting their educational achievement (Miller 2006). Moreover, children’s academic performance’s detriment has short-term and long-term effects since insufficient academic performance limits future children’s social mobility (Miller 2006; Miller and Barnes 2015; Shaw 2016).

## Visits

These emotional impacts are increased by other factors such as visits to prison and the perceived stigma that children experience resulting from having a parent incarcerated (Arditti 2005; Clear et al. 2001; Comfort 2009). Some factors interfering with visitation patterns are resentful family members, logistical obstacles, location of prisons, lack of transportation, complications in scheduling these visits, and the high financial cost of visits (Dehart 2018; Browning 2001). Other challenges include long distances: over 50% of state inmates and 40% of federal inmates live between 100 and 500 miles from their children, and 43% of federal inmates live more than 500 miles from their children” (Miller 2006: 476). While visitation is challenging, it remains positive for both incarcerated individuals and children (Miller 2006; Arditti 2012; Martin 2016). Visits help maintain relationships with the outside world, and children could benefit from maintaining contact with their incarcerated fathers (Martin 2016; McKay et al. 2018). However, other studies have shown that the 'secondary prisonization', as noted by Comfort (2003), can be a source of emotional stress for families and children and may become the reason why these visits are often reduced (Arditti 2005; Miller 2006; Poehlmann 2005; Comfort 2003; Patler and Branich 2017). Other studies found that children's visits are also mediated by the caregiver or mother's relationship with the incarcerated individual. Many detained men feel powerless under these circumstances. The lack of visitation due to this reason will impact formerly incarcerated and their desire to resume their relationship with their children once they are released (Arditti, Smock, and Parkman 2005). All these difficulties in visitation affect the prisoner and their families. It also hinders the inmates' chances of successfully reintegrating because their relationships have deteriorated; therefore, the formerly incarcerated will lack a sense of family and community (Arditti 2005). Financial burdens are also part of maintaining contact with the person incarcerated (Christian et al. 2006). Families struggle with paying the expenses related to visits, calls, sending packages, and money to prisons (Christian et al. 2006; Shlafer et al. 2010; Comfort 2009).

## Stigma

The stigma of having a parent incarcerated can increase these emotional burdens on children, and they can experience it differently (Luther 2016). Children sort out different strategies to overcome stigma, such as keeping the incarceration event to themselves, excluding themselves from certain social events, or framing incarceration as a positive event in their lives (Luther 2016; Saunders 2018). Equally, the stigma that parents suffer from incarceration may prevent them from fulfilling the role of a provider since they “are prohibited from working in the fields of childcare, education, security, nursing, and home health care” (Warde 2013: 472). These reintegration barriers have very negative financial consequences for children and families (Roberts 2003; Visher and Travis 2011).

## Financial burdens

The incarceration system generally impacts low-income families and communities (Blankenship et al. 2018, Western and Wildeman 2008). When incarceration occurs, and the incarcerated individual contributes to the household, poverty can increase or become an outcome, exposing children to material hardship (Watts and Nightingale 1996; Geller et al. 2009; Miller 2006; Defina and Hannon 2010; Wildeman 2009). Likewise, studies indicate a pre-existing financial instability is common in families experiencing incarceration (Visher and Travis 2011; McKay 2018). Financial burdens lead to food insecurity and housing vulnerability, among other difficulties (Arditti 2005; Siennick 2014; Tasca et al. 2011). The adverse effects of incarceration are long-term and intergenerational due to parents' difficulty transferring assets and economic benefits to children (Foster and Hagan 2007; Miller and Barnes 2015). Studies also show that these financial impacts are particularly adverse for low-income women and what has been described as “‘the third burden:’ socially disadvantaged women, particularly Black women, must contend with not only their own positioning within race or class and gender structures but also the fate of the men to whom they are connected” (Bruns 2020: 202). For scholars, these financial difficulties also have racially disparate effects (Wildeman 2014; Shaw 2016); for example, in the case of child homelessness risk, “these effects are concentrated among black children” (92). Additionally, after incarceration and due to the inability of formerly incarcerated individuals to secure a job, families and children continue to suffer financially.



## The post-incarceration context

The post-incarceration process is another source of emotional and financial strain for formerly incarcerated individuals, their families, and their children (Bruns 2017). The studies on the post-incarceration context explain the main challenges for reintegrating into society (Clear et al. 2001; Leverentz 2011, Bruns 2017). These difficulties are associated with their economic and social reintegration since incarcerated people experience a “deterioration of human and social capital” that negatively affects their re-entry process (Warde 2013: 472).

If formerly incarcerated people can maintain contact with their families, they then may be able to rely on families for their reintegration (Naser and Visser 2006). Nevertheless, families are not always prepared for this responsibility and function (Taylor 2016). If the relations have deteriorated before or during incarceration, these reunions could generate extreme emotional burdens for families after incarceration (Naser and Visser 2006).

Other factors, such as problematic relationships and unrealistic expectations, can complicate the welcome of formerly incarcerated individuals (Naser and Visser 2006). Naser and Visser (2006) found that “nearly 10 percent felt more anxious due to his return, and four percent reported having trouble in relationships with others due to the return of their family members from prison” (Naser and Visser 2006:24). On the other hand, families may think that “the individual could destabilize the household or be a bad influence, and therefore they are not welcome” (Idem: 3). However, when families’ conditions and relationships are positive, the re-entry process can be less traumatic for formerly incarcerated individuals since families can offer a place to live and a stable situation to start a new life (Bradley et al. 2001 La Vigne et al. 2004; Naser and Visser 2006).

### The role of the extended family

Minority and low-income families depend on networks of extended family members for their survival to cope with poverty and moments of crises like incarceration (Stack 1975, McAdoo 1982). For Turney (2014), “through the removal of men from households, incarceration may reorganize intergenerational relationships by altering norms and expectations about kinship functions; also, by modifying obligations between parents, their children and grandchildren and therefore, increasing the necessity for family support” (Turney 2014:300).

Carol Stack (1975) argues that black families receive help from their relatives based on cultural patterns of support and kinship and that cooperation and reciprocity are part of black families functioning. For Daniel and Barret (1981), connectedness to relatives beyond the nuclear family and exchange of tangible help may result from Black and Hispanic communities’ norms and culture. Consistent with the study of Stack (1975) and Daniel and Barret (1981), McAdoo (1982) also found that extended families are emotionally and instrumentally helpful in environments of high stress in black families. Therefore, the role of the extended family in situations of stress, such as incarceration, has been the subject of different studies (Carlson and Cervera 1991).

Carlson and Cervera (1991) described how extended families support women with incarcerated husbands, but conflicts and differences can also mediate this assistance. Consequently, the help of the extended family is not always forthcoming and can generate disputes and arguments. In this study, Carlson and Cervera (1991) found that part of the conflict occurs because sometimes families can blame the wife for the husband's behavior. Hence, instead of receiving support, the wife gets criticism that can negatively strain family relationships. For Carlson and Cervera (1991), closeness to the extended family results from cultural patterns in black and Hispanic communities and closeness that is particularly beneficial for women. Hunter (1997) also found that the assistance of extended family is the result of cultural patterns and happens in contexts of poverty in Black families. Therefore, social, and economic factors explain the presence of extended family support "across race and ethnicity" (Hunter 1997: 254). For Hunter (1997) the role of grandmothers is fundamental in assisting children with mental health problems or children that experience early parenthood or motherhood.

Due to mass incarceration, “more than one half (1.7 million) of children are “cared for by a relative due to their parent’s incarceration” (Denby 2012: 104). Mumola (2000)

also illustrated the fundamental role of the extended family. The data showed that parents depend on the extended family for the care of their children since "about 20% of parents cited grandparents and other relatives as caregivers, and 2% had a child in a foster home, agency, or institution, while mothers in state prison most often identified the child's grandparent (53%) or other relatives (26%) as the current caregiver. These studies establish that these relationships with the extended family are fundamental when the mother is incarcerated (Engstrom 2008; Baker et al. 2010; Stroizer et al. 2011). According to these studies, mothers usually have better ties with their extended family. Therefore, the transition to the care of children is less dramatic (Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002).

On the role of grandmothers and these cooperative relationships, Ruiz (2002) stated that many of these supportive roles have changed because roles within families have changed, mainly because many grandmothers experience financial hardships and health problems and cannot assume these care roles. Therefore, the financial situation of grandmothers and extended family members shapes the assistance they can provide (Ruiz 2002).

Other approaches on the extended family's role have been evidence that extended family members do not provide only instrumental support, but extended family members teach values and norms to children (Dalliare 2007). However, for Dalliare (2007), familial incarceration is a factor to consider when studying extended families; the context in which children live provides information about the type of resources available for them in case of parental incarceration. Also, when familial incarceration is frequent, it can become a risk factor for children since the experience of incarceration can be normalized (Dalliare 2007).

More recent studies have also provided information about race and children's placement after parental incarceration. Crockett and Gibby (2021) found that "white women regularly reported feeling that extended family members were not expected to provide care and did not perceive these relatives as legitimate resources. In contrast, Black and Hispanic women often reported that family would be available to help in times of need" (2). This study showed that women of color, in general, are more likely to place their children in their familial networks (Crockett and Gibby 2021).

Studies on post-incarceration impacts mention how the extended family is also significant; "upon release from prison, offenders commonly rely on parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, and uncles" (Berg and Huebner 2011:384). Therefore, the reintegration process implies emotional and financial burdens for nuclear and extended families. Though, the specific impacts on how individuals beyond the nuclear family are impacted have not been extensively described. Consequently, this study will describe the main emotional and financial effects on individuals beyond the nuclear family following the incarceration of a relative and assess if these impacts are similar or different to the effects suffered by nuclear families.

As we observe, studies on the role of the extended family indicate how cultural patterns and socioeconomic contexts explain the support provided by the extended family. Studies also suggest that extended families not only provide instrumental but also emotional help in situations of parental absence. Studies suggest that this help is not always easy to obtain due to families' conflicts and the scarcity of resources. However, these studies do not account for other functions that the extended family may have when incarceration occurs. For example, how is an uncle shocked when his nephew is incarcerated or how does a cousin suffer a cousin's incarceration? Are these emotions different or like those experienced by nuclear family members?

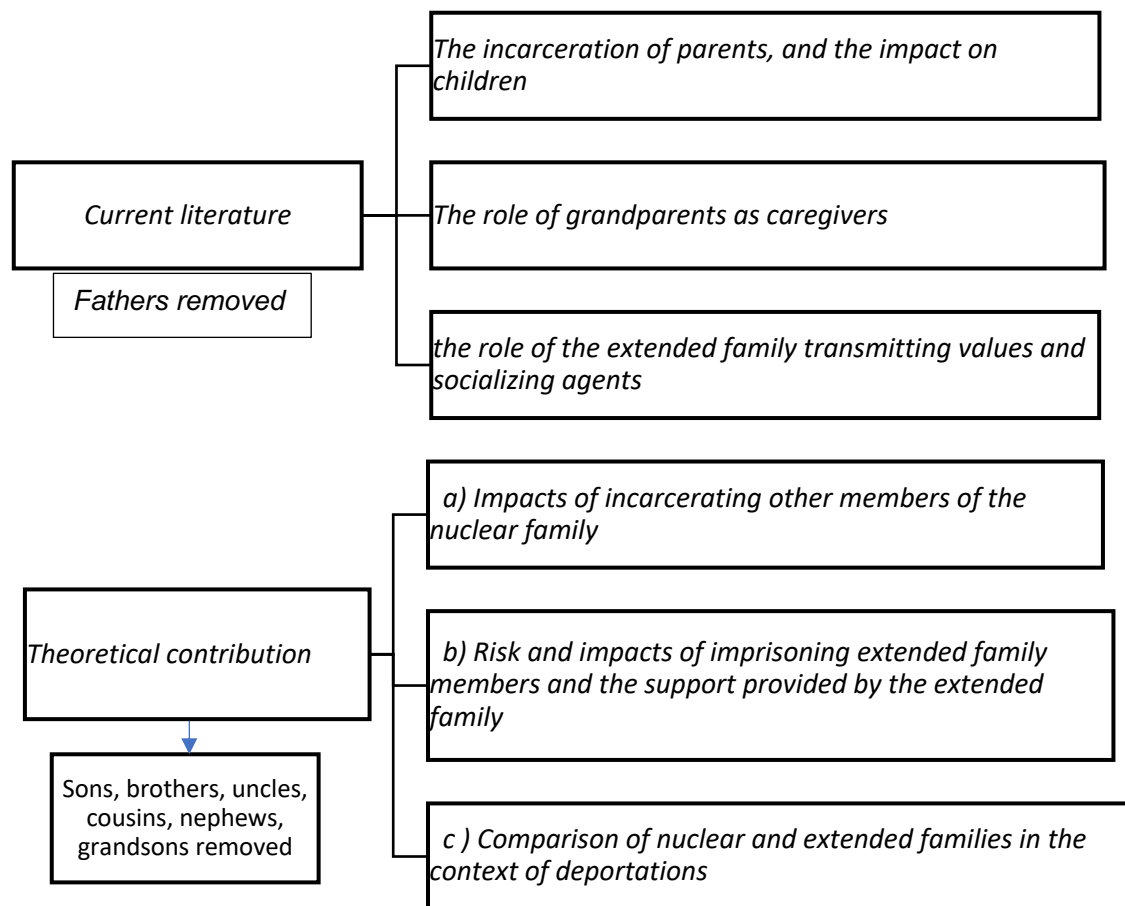
#### Gap, research questions and theoretical contribution

We do not know in detail yet how the judicial system impacts the extended family. Most of the literature shows that effects on nuclear families and their children are dire and have short- and long-term consequences (Arditti 2012, 2018; Braman 2004; Christian and Kennedy 2011; Chui 2010; Glaze and Maruschack 2008). Although some studies show that the extended family plays an essential role during incarceration, the description of these impacts in the literature has not been extensive. For example, we know that grandparents have a fundamental role since they are expected to be the caregivers of grandchildren, but what if a grandson is incarcerated? What about other relatives such as uncles or cousins? Also, the comparison regarding the burdens experienced by nuclear and extended family members is almost non-existent in the

literature. Therefore, we will be comparing the impacts of incarceration on members of nuclear and extended families to evaluate if they are similar or different.

The gap in the literature can be address by answering the following research questions; How do incarcerations impact nuclear families, how do incarcerations impact extended families? Are these impacts similar or different?

Figure 4. Theoretical contribution studies on incarceration



#### The incarceration beyond fathers

This chapter contributes to incarceration studies by describing the impacts families suffer when members such as brothers, sisters, sons are incarcerated. For nuclear families, dealing with the incarceration of these members is emotionally painful and expensive. To deal with these incarcerations, families turn to the help of the extended family primarily for financial assistance or help to organize visits to their incarcerated relatives.

#### The extended family

The study of the extended family is an essential contribution since they are essential to support nuclear families in situations of crisis. The financial support of the extended family is described in participants 'narratives but also extended family members such as grandparents and uncles are important role models in the absence of father figures.

This study also contributes to incarceration studies by demonstrating that extended family members are also incarcerated and that the incarceration of uncles, cousins, nephews, and grandsons generates adverse emotional and financial impacts. With the incarceration of the extended family, there is a deterioration of the support networks of nuclear families; this deterioration mainly affects children. Additionally, when the extended family supports the nuclear family, they must relocate resources from their immediate family to support the nuclear family. This causes that also children in extended families will suffer materially. Not only children but adults from extended families with close ties to their incarcerated relatives may experience financial expenses and adverse emotional effects. For example, grandmothers with incarcerated grandsons send money to their imprisoned relatives but also suffer because of these incarcerations; grandmothers

don't have contact with their great-grandchildren. Incarceration of extended family members generates long-term and intergenerational impacts.

#### Comparative studies

The comparison between the effects of incarceration on nuclear and extended families is another significant contribution of this study. Findings shows how the judicial system affects nuclear and extended families similarly. Both families see their financial resources diminished due to the responsibilities they must assume. Equally, both families see their relationships fractured with family members due to incarcerations. The most significant difference is that nuclear families deal directly with the return of the incarcerated relative. For nuclear families, the re-entry process is complicated since their relatives suffer from the stigma that limits them from reintegrating into the workforce and contributing financially to their families.

## METHODS AND DATA

To understand how deportations affect families in the Central Valley of California, and using the snowball method, between 2013 and 2019, our research team interviewed 54 individuals over 18 years old who have lived with a family member who has been incarcerated.

The snowball method as a non-probabilistic research technique allowed us to contact participants from different areas of the central valley of California. The two main requirements to be interviewed are that the participant is over 18 years of age and has experienced the incarceration of a relative. The sample obtained reflects those that studies have shown in the sense that more men are incarcerated than women and that women are the ones who are left in charge of their homes. Additionally, in this case, many of the interviews were conducted in cities with educational infrastructure, which perhaps explains why the people interviewed have high levels of education. This also reflects information from the census that indicates that 83.3% of adults completed high school (Census 2019).

The interview team included a graduate student and several undergraduate researchers. The interviews lasted from one to two hours. We conducted the interviews in Spanish or English according to interviewees' preferences, and in different California locations, in the participants' houses, or public places. The interview guide included different sections to explore the person's family history, schooling, youth, and relationship with the incarcerated relative. The interview guide also included a section about the vision of the current judicial system and interviewees' prospects for the future. For this study, the names of the interviewees were changed to pseudonyms. Participants received a \$30 Target gift card for their time. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Later, each interview was transcribed and coded.

To analyse the information, an excel table was created to systematize information regarding age, year of birth, the number of siblings, approximate year in which the removal of the relative occurred, and other socio-demographic information. Interviews were coded as pre-incarceration, during incarceration, and post-incarceration context, and for each stage, we generated codes to identify information about these families' emotional and financial situations. In the case of the pre-incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to the type of the relationship with the relative before incarceration and testimonies reflecting the relative's financial contribution. For the during incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to individuals' sentiments during the incarceration. Other codes identified from the interviews were related to families dealing with the judicial systems, burdens associated with new roles and family conflicts, and financial burdens. Finally, we coded the most striking and frequent testimonies related to the families dealing with the formerly incarcerated relative and the challenges families face.

### **Profile of individuals interviewed for the incarceration study**

The fact that more women than men were interviewed aligns with previous research stating that most of the people incarcerated are men and women are left with the burdens of their incarceration (Blankenship et al. 2018; Subramanian et al. 2018; Denby 2012; Douglas et al. 2018). In our sample, 74% of individuals interviewed (40 out of 54) were females, while 26% (14) were males. Most of the relatives incarcerated are men, while only a few women were incarcerated in this sample (5.5%).

Table 8. Gender people interviewed, and gender of relatives incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N= 54

	Female	Male	Total
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>	40	14	54
<b>Gender of relative incarcerated</b>	3	51	54

The range of age of the 54 participants was 20 to 80 years old. The mean age was 42, while the mode was 20.

#### Schooling profile of people interviewed

<b>Educational levels</b>	<b>Number of cases</b>
<b>PhD candidate</b>	1
<b>Master</b>	3
<b>Bachelor complete</b>	3
<b>Bachelor incomplete</b>	1
<b>College complete</b>	9
<b>College incomplete</b>	8
<b>GED</b>	8
<b>High school complete</b>	13
<b>High school incomplete</b>	2
<b>Middle school complete</b>	3
<b>Elementary school</b>	2
<b>N/a</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	54

Although the sample has higher education levels than the average population in California, especially in the Central Valley, it is essential to understand these educational levels in the context in which women are. More than half of the interviewees have children, all of the participants have dealt with relatives' incarceration, and more than half don't have a job. These factors reflect the reality and the few rewards offered by the education in these contexts.

As for marital status, 19 of the interviewees are single while the rest are in different situations, including 21 married, 3 cohabiting, 3 divorced, 2 engaged, 2 separated and 4 widowed. Thirty-five of those interviewed have children.

Regarding the age and period when the events happened, 55% (30) experienced the incarceration of a relative when they were over 18 years old, while 44% (24) were under 18 years old. Most of our interviewees experienced the incarceration of a relative over ten years ago 55%, while the rest 44% (24) within the last decade.

Most of the sample is US-born (85%, or 46 individuals), while 15% (8) were born in Mexico.

Given the large number of state and federal prisoners in California and the overrepresentation of blacks and Latinx persons in those prisons, it is perhaps not surprising that more than 50% (33) interviewed experienced the imprisonment of two or more relatives, and that 4.5% (5) experienced incarceration themselves.

In our sample, 75% (43) experience the incarceration of a nuclear family member while 20% (11) reported on the incarceration of a member of the extended family. Nuclear families experience the incarceration of sons, fathers, brothers, husbands, sisters, and mothers.

Table 9. Nuclear family members incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N= 43

<b>Relative Incarcerated</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Son</b>	14
<b>Father</b>	13
<b>Brother</b>	8
<b>Husband</b>	3
<b>Stepson</b>	1
<b>Sister</b>	1
<b>Partner</b>	1
<b>Ex-Partner</b>	1
<b>Mother</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	43

Participants of extended families experienced the incarceration of cousins, uncles, nephews, and grandsons (see Table No. 10)

Table 10. Extended family member incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N= 11

<b>Relative Incarcerated</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Nephew</b>	1
<b>Son in law</b>	1
<b>Uncles</b>	2
<b>Grandchildren</b>	2
<b>Cousins</b>	5
<b>Total</b>	11

Some of the reasons people were imprisoned are gang and drug related, drinking in public, and stealing.

According to 22 of the interviewees, 22 of the relatives are no longer incarcerated. Meaning this that some of the participants in this study are confronting their relative's re-entry process.

## **FINDINGS**

Although more members of nuclear families were interviewed than members of extended families, this study shows that extended families in this study have two positions when incarcerations occur.

1) extended family members are incarcerated, causing financial and emotional impacts on the family system.

2) the extended family is the principal support of the nuclear family. The extended family provides emotional and financial assistance, without which the nuclear family could not survive.

Table 11. Number of incarcerations of nuclear and extended family members.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=54

Participants of nuclear or extended families	Number
Individuals of nuclear families interviewed	43
Individuals of extended families interviewed	11
Total	54

In the following sections, we describe the impacts of incarceration on nuclear and extended families and assess whether these impacts are similar or different.

## FINDINGS

### The incarceration of nuclear family members

To understand how incarceration impacts nuclear families, we will describe the pre-incarceration context to have a better idea of the role of the person before incarceration. We also recount the sentiments emerging when the incarceration happened. In the final section, we describe the post-incarceration hardships for nuclear families.

#### Pre-incarceration

##### Context of incarceration

Prisoners often come from contexts characterized by social disadvantages such as mental health issues, unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, and interpersonal conflict (Tasca et al. 2011; Arditti 2014). Studies suggest that assessing incarceration's impacts can be complicated since many families undergoing relatives' incarceration may also be experiencing family instability or economic disadvantage (Arditti 2014). In this study, some participants expressed that their relatives had deviant or addictive behavior and encounters with the judicial system before incarceration. As Randy explained, his father was in and out of prison. Finally, his father ended up incarcerated. Randy explained how, because of these experiences, he never had a special attachment to his father.

*“My dad was in and out of jail, in my childhood, I don't remember my father that much until after, and even after when we did get older, we didn't have a special bond because he was always drinking and the alcohol made him do what he did, and that's how he ended up in jail.”*

**(Randy, 41 years old, father incarcerated)**

##### Incarceration is frequent

Scholars state that “having a family member imprisoned is common in the United States today; roughly 8% of US children born in 1990 had a father imprisoned by the time the child was age 14.3” (Wildeman et al. 2019: 164). This study shows that in our sample incarceration is common, 55%, (30 out of 54) underwent the imprisonment of more than two relatives, and at least five of the interviewees experienced incarceration themselves.

*“I have my brothers that were always incarcerated. My oldest who did fifteen years straight. And just came out maybe three or four years ago.”*

**(Lorena, 35 years-old, stepson still incarcerated)**

In this regard and considering that incarceration is reported as a ‘natural’ event, we can state that families are exposed to a context of "cyclical" involvement with the justice system (McKay et al. 2018; Arditti 2012). Additionally, related to the context in

which incarceration happened, 55% (30 out of the 54) said that the incarceration was not a surprise. As Lorena and Ariele explained,

#### Financial situation

Previous research revealed that “before the arrest, the incomes of 60 percent of jail inmates were below 138 percent of the Federal Poverty Level in 2002” (Tyler and Brockman 2017:553). These poverty levels can be explained by the fact that individuals incarcerated “come from economically depressed communities, and incarceration itself reinforces and perpetuates poverty for them and their families” (Tyler and Brockmann 2017:553).

The financial instability of families pre-incarceration results from relatives who don’t have a steady job due to their non-job-related activities or addictions that prevent them from having a job and being providers in their households. However, this pattern is more visible in nuclear families.

Drake shared how with his brother and father incarcerated, his mother was the one in charge of the household,

*“It was just all my mom supporting the whole house the whole time.”*  
**(Drake, 27 years old, brother still incarcerated)**

As we observe, familial instability leads to financial uncertainty (Arditti, Lambert-Shute, and Joest 2003). Some of the nuclear families explained how before the incarceration, they experienced emotional instability, while other participants described how the behaviour of their relatives created financial instability before incarceration.

#### 1.2.1.2 During incarceration

##### Emotional burdens

According to the literature, emotions related to the experience of having a parent incarcerated are described as traumatic, causing anxiety, depression, or post-traumatic stress (Miller 2006; Garland 2001; Arditti 2012). In our sample, interviewees also conveyed different emotions beyond sorrow, such as loneliness, new roles, guilt, worries, fragmented relationships, and concerns about their relatives in prison.

##### Feelings of loneliness

Scholars found that women are more likely to experience loneliness due to differences in how some family members deal with incarceration (Carlson and Cervera 1991; Arditti et al. 2003). In our study, Nina explained how after her son’s incarceration and the censure he received from his siblings finally left her alone with the incarceration burdens.

*“I was the only one writing to him, and then he would ask about them (siblings), and I was, they are doing fine, but they wouldn’t communicate with him, he was just all to himself, like he had no one.”*  
**(Nina, 66 years old, son incarcerated)**

This loneliness is also the result of disagreements in how families deal with incarcerated relatives. Also, due to gender mandates, women are more likely to become caregivers or guardians (Ferraro and Moe 2003), while for other male relatives is easier to ignore the adverse effects.

##### Feelings of guilt/responsibility for incarceration

The literature suggests that sometimes the immediate and extended family create more stress than support because women are held accountable by other relatives for the behaviour that led to the partner's incarceration (Carlson and Cervera 1991). However, in this study, there are parents who blame themselves for their children's behavior, and therefore, their incarceration. Dan explained why he has these emotions

*“Guilty that he could not give them everything they wanted (children), maybe that's why he (son) preferred to go with their friends, his behavior hurt me, I scold him, and I hit him, like two, three years ago I broke his nose because he challenged me.”*



**(Dan, 48 years old, son incarcerated)**

During the interview Dan explained that he has a complex relationship with his son. Dan not only blames himself for his son's behaviour but feels angry and frustrated. Dan expresses many emotions that prevent him from approaching his son, as he explains,

*"I do talk to him, but I don't like him; I have to have a firm hand with him."*

**(Dan, 48 years old, son incarcerated)**

For Dan, it is important to show his son that he does not tolerate his behaviour; Dan believes it is better to have a "firm hand." Dan does not visit his son because he is angry with him and because he is undocumented. Therefore, the wife deals with all the burdens of incarceration alone.

#### Disappointment and fatigue

Some interviewees were disappointed and presented emotional distance regarding the relative's incarceration. Interviewees communicated that they did not have any faith or energy to support their relatives

Ben voiced the same feelings regarding his brother's incarceration:

*"I don't have high expectations for Clark, because-...You believe in him so much that then he's going to let you down again, and it's going to hurt you. Then, like I said, [our mother] babies him a lot."*

**(Ben, 25 years old, brother incarcerated)**

Incarceration events are traumatic, but they also generate very diverse emotions. For many of those interviewed, the incarceration event occurred so often in their lives that their emotions were characterized by anger and frustration. Many of them were tired of dealing with their relatives' behaviours. These emotions are important to consider because these families will have to deal with their released relatives. If these feelings persist, it is likely that these families will not want to give more support during the post-incarceration period.

#### Strained relationships

When incarceration happens, there are many changes in the dynamics and relationships of families (Wright and Seymour 2000; Harman, Smith, and Egan 2007; Genty 2002). The changes can "decrease intergenerational contact" (Turney 2014:303), impacting the whole family system. For example, as Janne explained, before getting custody of her grandchildren, it was a period when she was not able to see her granddaughter

*"I couldn't see my granddaughter."*

**(Janne, 62 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

As stated by Carlson and Cervera (1991) incarceration strains family relationships. As a result of these disruptions individuals experience sadness, discontent, resentment, and anger. All these fragmented relationships have long-term emotional consequences. Besides, it takes away the rights of children to have close and healthy relationships with different family members.

#### New roles, conflicts and dilemmas

During incarceration, family dynamics change, and individuals are forced to undertake multiple roles and responsibilities (Christian 2006; Hairston 2009). Studies indicate that in nuclear families, women are forced to assume many new functions and roles (Christian 2006; Hairston 2009). However, when men in nuclear families take on new roles it can generate different type of conflicts; for example, when the father is imprisoned, and if there are other men in the family, such as brothers or uncles, usually they take the fathers' role. These new roles can have very negative implications for the rest of the siblings, especially if they are young women. As Sadie relates,

*“My brother took on that role of being the man of the house because my dad was gone...my brother would come out around the corner with a belt, and you know, we’d get hit, or you know, because he was like our dad... We weren’t allowed to go out with friends. We weren’t allowed to come home late.”*

**(Sadie, 33 years old, father incarcerated)**

As a result of her brother taking the role of the father and after more than 15 years, Sadie and her brother have a complicated relationship.

#### Stigma

Studies show how stigma affects incarcerated people and their families and that children of incarcerated parents are more likely to be incarcerated than children whose parents were not incarcerated (Foster and Hagan 2009; Keene, Smoyer, and Blankenship 2018; Martin 2016). In this regard, participants' testimonies align with previous research on stigma “for children of incarcerated parents, they may become ‘guilty by association’” and “fear being identified as ‘just like your Dad/Mom’ by both family and outsiders” (Adalist-Estrin 2006:7).

In our sample, some participants explained how they detached from their incarcerated relatives and how they think their relatives' criminal records would impact them. Some of the interviewees need to distance themselves from the prophecy that they will repeat the behaviour patterns of their incarcerated relatives, as explained by Angelic.

*“I don't really talk about my childhood cause...I don't- I always worried that like it wasn't like it was going to be... Like it's the stigma of that I always thought the stigma cure, like you, you're going to be the same as your mom.”*

**(Angelic, 22 years old, mother incarcerated)**

In contrast, for others, the stigma can have a different impact, for Sadie her father’s criminal record (no stigma) could impact her academic and professional future.

*“I think possibly getting into law. If there’s ever a time where you must do a background check or something. My dad’s past could get in the way is what I fear. And it might become an obstacle because they’re going to say I might have a conflicting view. Or that my intentions aren’t sincere because I might have some hidden motivations because of that.”*

**(Sadie, 20 years old, father incarcerated)**

As we can observe, the stigma is present in the narratives of our interviewees, and it has different impacts on their experiences.

#### Emotional burdens associated to the immigration status

For some participants, the burdens increase due to their immigration statuses. Some undocumented relatives face challenges since they cannot support their relatives. As Salma explained,

*“My husband is not here legally, if not I think he has already filed some kind of complaint against the police.”*

**(Salma, 48 years old, son incarcerated)**

For Salma, her son's imprisonment is a very complex situation because her husband is undocumented, and his status limits him to accompanying Sandra when she goes to prison or the court, or when she meets lawyers. Her husband is afraid of being arrested and deported.

As we can observe, families with various immigration statuses are more vulnerable when dealing with the prison system; it also translates into an intense emotional responsibility for women.

#### Burdens associated with safety in prison and future reintegration

#### Concerns about safety in prison

An additional source of stress for these families is the constant worry about the safety of their relatives when they are incarcerated. Some interviewees fear that their incarcerated relatives will have fights and be injured in prison.

*“I was worried the whole time. I was worried the whole time, because I’ve been told like what stuff that goes on there.”*

**(Janne, 62 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

### **Worries about future social reintegration of relatives**

Studies state that formerly incarcerated individuals face challenging times due to stigma and their criminal record limiting their employment chances (Clear et al. 2001; Leverentz 2011; Warde 2013). Literature also shows the importance of work as the setting for social reintegration and a pathway out of crime (Uggen et al. 2005). Nonetheless, interviewees constantly worry about their relatives’ future re-entry process. According to Ariele, her sons are going to have a hard time finding a job,

*“Because they have that record on their thing and they look at that, and then the tattoos.”*

**(Arielle, 66 years old, son incarcerated)**

For some participants, like Ariele, they experience the burden of being worried for their relatives’ future. Participants know that after the release from prison, their relatives will have a hard time securing a job.

As observed, when family members are incarcerated, participants experience diverse emotions. It is not only loneliness, sadness, and anger, but the constant concern of what will happen to the incarcerated relative, safety-wise and future-wise. These emotional apprehensions translate into anxiety, insomnia that later will have an impact on people’s health.

### **Financial burdens**

The economic impacts of incarceration on families have been widely studied (Braman 2004; Foster and Hagan 2007; Foster and Hagan 2015). These studies found that when incarcerated individuals can no longer contribute to the household, it results in a series of strains for families, such as housing, food, and educational vulnerabilities, particularly for children (Murray et al. 2009; Siennick 2014; Geller et al. 2009; Miller 2006; Defina and Hannon 2010; Wildeman 2009). Additionally, dealing with the judicial system, payment of bonds, and visiting prisons is expensive (Christian et al. 2006; Schlafer et al. 2010; Comfort 2009).

### **Long and permanent financial burdens**

The financial burdens have long-term consequences for families but can be permanent for some individuals. Gaby is 76 years old, and her son is incarcerated. She has been facing emotional consequences alone. Gaby’s husband never went with her to visit her son. She relies on female friends to organize the visits. Despite all the hardships and her age, Gaby thinks of opening a bank account for her son since he will be released in 15 years. Gaby believes her son must have savings to survive after his liberation,

*“Yeah. And I was telling him, I’m gonna start an account for you. I say, and uh, um, so I talked to my, my elder son Gilbert, and he goes, mom, when you open it up, give me a call and I will also be putting money in this account. Because you know, even if it’s nothing more than \$10 a week of my paycheck, that will accumulate.”*

**(Gaby, 76 years old, son still incarcerated)**

This testimony is heart-breaking and shows most intensely the incarceration system’s financial and emotional effects of incarceration, particularly on women, as Gaby expressed.

## The risk of housing vulnerability

The financial impacts can be more severe for nuclear families using their wealth to meet the financial demands of imprisonment. As Angelic said,

*“My parents had to put up their car and their house to get him out (her brother). I was so mad cause I needed money for school and they’re like, ‘no we gotta get a bail your brother out of jail.’”*

**(Angelic, 22 years old, brother formerly incarcerated)**

Their testimonies align with Siennick’s (2016) findings that parental incarceration prevents young adults’ access to material transfers and therefore generates intergenerational social exclusion (Siennick 2016; Foster and Hagan 2009). However, our findings show also how these types of financial family decisions generate many short-term and long-term emotional distresses.

## Financial burdens of the judicial system

### Visits

As scholars state, visits not only involve a tremendous emotional drain but a substantial economic expense, especially when the prisons are far or out of state (Comfort et al. 2016). Dani and Anne shared similar experiences regarding having someone incarcerated out of the state,

*“Because right now it costs me a lot more to see him because he is farther away from me, and I have to pay for a hotel stay for two days.”*

**(Dani, 49 years old, son still incarcerated)**

Anne also mentioned the costs of his visits,

*“... I feel like financially, it was a burden on my family because just he was moved in Arizona or like in different states. And traveling there to visit him as well as sending him money to make sure he was able to have the necessities while he was in prison.”*

**(Anne, 21 years old, brother formerly incarcerated)**

### Burdens relate to paying bonds

Bailing out relatives, visits, calls, and sending money or packages can become a real financial burden for nuclear families. For example, Jay-Jay mentions how his mother dealt with the financial cost of sending money to his father while members of the extended family helped with the costs of a lawyer.

*“There was the added expensive of the collect calls, having to put money in his books. I do not think I ever really contributed much to it to his attorney fees, but I know his siblings [Jay-Jay uncles] did chip in-- in the beginning but I think they too were tired of that whole situation.”*

**(Jay-Jay, 41 years old, father incarcerated)**

### Post-incarceration

Studies of the re-entry processes pointed out how those incarcerated have challenges to secure a job due to their criminal record (Rose and Clear 2003; Keene et al. 2018; Warde 2013, Bruns 2017). Likewise, these studies indicate that families are vital to facilitate the reintegration process of those released from prison (Naser and Visser 2006). However, this study shows the emotional and financial hardships that families face, especially because of the lack of resources to support their relatives.

### Emotional burdens

Families don’t have the emotional resources to receive their relatives

In the re-entry process of formerly incarcerated individuals, the role of the family is fundamental (Bradley et al. 2001; La Vigne et al. 2004; Naser and Visser 2006). Still, the support of their partners is particularly significant (La Vigne et al. 2004; Naser and Visser 2006). However, as some of the participants in this study pointed out, this is very challenging time. For Gise, whose father was incarcerated several times, she stressed the need for a “transition” time when receiving the formerly incarcerated relative:

*“There should be this transition of what’s going to happen next. What’s it going to look like? What’s going to happen from here? Of course, that’s too structured, right. And then I guess in a world where we had it all, that would be nice, but I don’t know if our incarceration, the prison system would ever get to that.”*

**(Gise, 40 years old, father formerly incarcerated)**

After 15 years of incarceration, Glory’s son came to live with her. In the interview, she described how she had to learn how to approach and to talk to him again:

*“You have to be very careful how you approach them, and you have to say, “I have something to tell you. Are you ready to listen or do you want to do it later?” Or “Do you want to hear it?”*

**(Glory, 80 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

Constant worries about recidivism

Additionally, families are in a constant state of worry about the possible recidivism of their relatives. As Sadie and Monse expressed,

*“I worry, he leaves with some of his friends a lot on the weekends, I start thinking the worst, that maybe it’s happening again (fathers’ incarceration).”*

**(Sadie, 20 years old, father formerly incarcerated)**

Monse welcomed his brother in her house after his release; however, she lives with a permanent sense of apprehension.

*“I have him on check.”*

**(Monse, 24 years old, brother formerly incarcerated)**

Ruptures and conflicts

As a result of these challenges and the context in which incarceration happens, other members of extended nuclear families deal with ruptures and conflicts post-incarceration, such as Ashley. In the interview, she explained that because of the constant encounters with the judicial system and behaviour of her son, she decided to break her relationship with him.

*“It’s distant, our relationship, he’s been in and out of prison since he was 21, and he’s always getting into trouble with the law, and he doesn’t want to change. I don’t want to help him anymore; he goes right back to the same thing. So, it’s been very, very difficult for me; I told him I can’t do this anymore.”*

**(Ashley, 57 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

As Alice explained, though she understood her husband’s need for support, nevertheless, it was frustrating for her that he expected to come back after incarceration to find the same family,

*“He feels like sad sometimes, like my daughter doesn’t even know who I am anymore (husband), I know he feel big kind of space between us too like you’ve been gone for so long and now you’re here.”*

**(Alice, 29 years old, husband formerly incarcerated)**

Dealing with stigma

As scholars state, the stigma associated with incarceration is detrimental for formerly incarcerated individuals regarding their employment opportunities but also for their morale and reputation (Braman 2004; Comfort et al. 2008; Wildeman and Wang 2017). This stigma prevents formerly incarcerated individuals from reintegrating socially. As Yolanda explained,

*“I would have been happier that my son didn’t get into trouble, he didn’t get arrested, all of this still affects him because when he presents himself, people still think he is in the gangs, and it has been years since he was in the gang, they still think of him as a gangster right here even though he has been away from Planada for 25 years.”*

**(Yolanda, 73 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

#### Financial burdens

As a result of these difficulties, formerly incarcerated individuals rely on the immediate family to survive, as Nina explained,

*“Sometimes he’ll ask for a couple of dollars, and I always buy his razors, everything, the clothes he has on his back because when he came out all he had was one pair of underwear, a pair of sweats, a t-shirt, and a pair of shoes, that’s all he had when he came, and I go like son do you have extra underwear?”*

**(Nina, 66 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

Families must continue to assume the expenses as their relative adjusts back to life outside of prison. We can observe how families deal with the formerly incarcerated individuals emotionally and financially. Especially concerning is that older women must bear these burdens.

#### **Summary of the impacts of incarceration on nuclear families**

The literature states that parental incarceration is detrimental to the family and children (Geller et al. 2012, Bruns 2017). However, in this study, beyond the incarceration of fathers and husbands, the incarceration of sons, brothers, sisters, stepsons consume families emotionally and financially.

Narratives aligned with previous research stating that families experiencing incarceration suffered different risks before incarceration (Johnson and Waldfogel 2002). In the pre-incarceration context, participants described familial incarceration and strained relationships with the relative before its incarceration. Some members of these families were not constant in their households before their incarceration, meaning that their financial contribution was also limited.

During incarceration, nuclear families present a more varied set of emotions when incarceration occurs, however these emotions are beyond sadness, and they express loneliness, anger and fatigue. Incarceration strains relationships and generates intergenerational conflicts and personal dilemmas. Participants with incarcerated nuclear family members deal with much stress thinking about their relatives inside the prison. Families worry about their safety and future; they know that their relatives will not have an easy time when released. Stigma is prevalent among these interviewees, and they provide examples of what kind of reasoning helped them cope with stigma. Financially, women are under much financial stress (Bruns 2017). Many families compromise their security to deal with debts and payments related to the family member's incarceration. Families experience the burden of sending money, accepting calls, and making expensive visits.

Post incarceration burdens show that nuclear families, particularly women, suffer because they are not prepared to receive their relatives. Women must deal with their sentiments as well and the formerly incarcerated own emotional struggles. Members of nuclear families also deal with the constant worry of possible recidivism by their relatives. As a result, some relationships can be strained. Additionally, members of nuclear families notice that the relatives suffer the stigma that prevents them from securing jobs. The lack of opportunities for formerly incarcerated individuals translates into financial hardships for these women.

#### **The incarceration of extended family members**

Minority and low-income households turn to their extended families to cope with stressful situations (Lombardi and Stack 1996; Stack 2019). These cooperative relationships are based on cultural patterns and kinship norms (Stack 1975; Daniel and Barret 1981). The role of grandmothers in providing care and other members of the extended family as transmitters of values and norms has been evidenced in the literature (Ruiz 2002; Dalliare 2007). The role of the extended family has been present in the different stages of families; however, the description of extended families' roles before, during, and post-incarceration and the type of support the extended family offers is not broadly present in current scholarship. Therefore, in this section, we describe how the incarceration of uncles, grandchildren, cousins and or nephews can generate severe emotional and financial hardships.

Table 12. Extended family members incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=11

Relative Incarcerated	Number
Nephew	1
Son in law	1
Uncles	2
Grandchildren	2
Cousins	5
Total	11

Additionally, at the end of this section will describe how the extended family is the principal support of the nuclear family when incarceration occurs.

### Pre-incarceration

In this pre-incarceration context, we will describe the existing relationship of interviewees with their relatives prior to incarceration. We will also examine other characteristics of the pre-incarceration context, such as the frequency of the incarceration or encounters with the judicial system and the relatives' financial contribution before their incarceration.

In this pre-incarceration context members of the extended family describe how they have close ties with the relative incarcerated, as Joseph described,

*“We're more like brothers, we just punch each other, we had fun.”*  
***(Joseph, 22 years old, nephew incarcerated)***

Extended family members also explained how incarceration was a frequent event in their families. As Mark describes,

*“It's kinda just like normal like 'oh I have a cousin', 'oh yeah me too' and stuff like that.”*  
***(Mark, 21 years old, cousin incarcerated)***

Studies have indicated that it is a risk for children when the experience of incarceration is normalized through extended family members since this could influence the criminal behavior of children or young people (Dallaire 2007). Our study shows that incarceration has a different effect (see section Learning from the incarceration event).

### Financial context

Some members of the extended family explained the financial role that their relatives had before being incarcerated. As Mirari explains,

*“He (cousin) was the main head of the family, he was the breadwinning person, he would be the one going out to work bringing the money for the food.”*  
***(Mirari, 20 years old, cousin still incarcerated)***

Some interviewees report family instability before the imminent imprisonment of their relatives, such as Mirari. Other interviewees explained the emotional role of their relatives before their incarceration. Some also explained the financial contribution of their relatives in their households.

### **During incarceration**

Members of the extended expressed different emotions regarding the incarceration of their relatives such as loneliness and sadness result of the fragmentation of their relationships.

#### **Loneliness**

Feelings of loneliness are common in people experiencing the incarceration of a relative since, generally, incarceration does not generate empathy (Carlson and Cervera 1991). This situation is particularly heart-breaking with older women experiencing relatives' incarceration. Cristal is 71 years old, and her grandson has been involved with gangs since he was very young; he is currently detained and soon incarcerated. Cristal explains how she is the one that maintains contact with her grandson,

*“Well, my husband, he just washes his hands, he said Crystal you are on your own.”*

**(Gina, 71 years old, grandson incarcerated)**

Crystal's daughter deals with other predicaments, such as caring for daughters who have also had behavioural problems. Hence, Crystal assumed the burden of maintaining communication and providing money and other supplies to her incarcerated grandson. Additionally, Crystal, because of her age, does not drive. Therefore, when Cristal visits her grandson, she relies on friends that can drive and stay with her. This loneliness is also the result of disagreements in how families deal with incarcerated relatives. Also, due to gender mandates, women are more likely to take care of others, while for other male relatives it is easier to ignore the adverse effects.

#### **Fragmented relationships**

During incarceration there is a change of routines and roles, these changes can also generate conflicts (Sharp 1997; Wright and Seymour 2000). This study highlights how extended family members have seen their relationships damaged. Many of them lost contact with relatives, especially with children such as nephews, nieces, grandchildren.

Maria expresses a similar sentiment as the rest of the interviewees,

*“Not being able to see my Great-grandson, That's sad about it. Now that he's not here, since January that he's been locked, she doesn't bring them around.”*

**(Grettel, 73 years old, grandson incarcerated)**

These testimonies show how family relationships can be strained due to incarceration, which is consistent with previous research on nuclear families (Carlson and Cervera 1991). Additionally, fragmented relationships cause long-term emotional consequences. For these grandmothers, not having a close relationship with their grandchildren or great-grandchildren is harmful. Maria's case shows how the impacts of incarceration are intergenerational, similar to findings by Foster and Hagan (2015). This type of rupture has adverse effects for our participants and for the children involved.

#### **Learning from the incarceration event**

Some scholars have pointed out that the state, through repressive actions like detention, disciplines citizens (Boehm 2016). Narratives in this study also show how members of the extended family 'learn' this lesson.



*“When he came out; he just told me it's like, yeah, well, there's a reason why you don't really want to go to prison, bro, he is just trying to stay out of it now. He said it was basically like war. It's like a jungle.”*

**(Joseph, 22 years old, nephew incarcerated)**

Studies have shown that having extended family members incarcerated could be a risk factor for children, as incarceration could be normalized (Dallaire 2007). However, our interviewees show a different pattern, and because of these vicarious experiences, members of the extended family ‘learned to behave’ and stay out of trouble.

Emotional burdens emerging when dealing with the system

Dealing with the incarceration system can become a source of emotional stress for nuclear families and their children (Comfort 2003, Miller 2006). Extended family members support nuclear families when they cannot make visits

*“I do visit him as much as I can depending on a lot of different factors like distance, work, money and time, but it is all worth it for a few hours with him.”*

**(Dayna, 32 years old, uncle incarcerated)**

Burdens associated with safety and the future

Members of the extended family experience burdens while their relatives are incarcerated. These concerns range from the safety of their relatives in prison to worries about their relatives’ future (after incarceration) to the burdens associated with visits. The burdens of visits in prison are similar in members of nuclear families as we will describe in this section.

Concerns about their relatives in prison and their security are recurrent among interviewees.

*“Because he was in a gang right, you have to be careful, so that's what we are afraid of.”*

**(Grettel, 73 years old, grandson incarcerated)**

Extended family members describe their concerns when their relatives are incarcerated. These concerns have negative impacts especially on adults. In the case of grandmothers, it is touching how they cry for their grandchildren. Equally, it also negatively impacts the health of our interviewees.

### **Concerns about future social reintegration of relatives**

Another source of emotional stress for extended family members is to think about the future of their relatives who are in prison. The participants' main concerns align with previous research stating that formerly incarcerated individuals will have a challenging time securing a job after their release due to the stigma of incarceration (Clear et al. 2001; Leverentz 2011; Warde 2013).

Mark has similar fears regarding his cousin’s incarceration,

*“He’ll probably have to do like a lot of schooling and like get himself on the right track, but I feel like it's going to be really really hard for him to find employment.”*

**(Mark, 21 years old, cousin incarcerated)**

Members of the extended family are aware that stigma will be one of the most critical challenges their relatives would face. Also, worries about the future put lots of emotional strain on family members.

Financial hardships

The literature identifies how nuclear families suffer several economic setbacks due to incarceration (Braman 2004; Foster and Hagan 2007; Lloyd 2011). These financial difficulties put at risk families' well-being and increase other vulnerabilities such as housing and food security (Geller 2014). Our findings show that members of extended families experience financial burdens in two dimension one related to how their relative struggle financially with their household responsibilities, and secondly, because members

of the extended family also dealing with the financial burdens of the incarceration system.

#### Income and housing vulnerabilities

In this study, members of the extended family expressed how the incarceration of relatives jeopardized their families' financial instability. Mirari explains how after the incarceration of her cousin, all her family was struggling trying to compensate for the lack of her cousin's contribution,

*"He was the main head of the family, he was the breadwinning person, he would be the one going out to work bringing the money for the food, the first few months, we look for jobs and everything to like compensate for it."*

**(Mirari, 20 years old, cousin still incarcerated)**

Housing vulnerability is a common impact on nuclear families, however in our sample, members of the extended family can experience housing hardships. As Cinthia explains, her cousin was incarcerated, and his wife could not afford to pay for the place they were living, so they moved in with Cinthia's family.

*"I think it was even more difficult for her knowing she had a mortgage, and she didn't really have a support system there, they moved into my house because they could not afford the rent of their own home."*

**(Cinthia, 20 years old, cousin formerly incarcerated)**

#### Burdens associated with bailing out relatives

Bailing out relatives, visits, calls, and sending money or packages can become a real financial burden for extended families, too. Joseph explained how his sister asked her siblings for money to bail out his son.

*"So, like, she basically asked all my sisters for thousands of dollars because his bail was, I think, \$10,000"*

**(Joseph, 22 years old, nephew formerly incarcerated)**

As described, extended family members resorted to relatives' financial contributions to pay the bond of their incarcerated relatives.

#### Post-incarceration

Findings show that members of the extended family are aware and can identify the post-incarceration burdens. However, the main difference is that after release the formerly incarcerated will return to the immediate family and not to the extended family, therefore, the burdens will continue for nuclear families.

#### Emotional hardships

##### Changes in relationships

Members of the extended family deal with ruptures and conflicts post-incarceration. For example, Cinthia describes how, after the release of her cousin, the relationship with the entire family changed,

*"He came different in a way, he was not the same person he was, I don't know, he used to talk, maybe religion was helping him, he is not the same, and she (cousin's wife) has not come to like any of the family barbecues or anything anymore. He will come with his kids, but she won't come. Um, I don't know. I feel like we really did help her out a lot during that time."*

**(Cinthia, 20 years old, cousin formerly incarcerated)**

For Cinthia, this change is painful and unfair. Cinthia considers that her family helped her cousin, and now the relationship is distant.

#### Financial hardships

As Joseph explains in the case of his cousin, due to his criminal record, he had limited job opportunities and had to go back to his previous job,

*“For him to get a job, it was kind of hard because, because he got out of the system, he ended up going back to his old job, which was a really horrible place.”*

**(Joseph, 22 years old, nephew formerly incarcerated)**

As we observe, participants in this study suffered emotionally and financially when extended family relatives got incarcerated. Hardships are very similar as the ones experienced by members of nuclear families.

### Summary

Parental incarceration has very harmful effects on families and children (Cassidy et al. 2010, Geller et al. 2012, Bruns 2017). Yet, in this study, beyond the incarceration of fathers and husbands, the incarceration of nephews, sons-in-law, uncles, grandsons, and cousins, drains families emotionally and financially.

The pre-incarceration context described by participants experiencing the incarceration of an extended family member suggest that familial incarceration was frequent (Dallaire 2007), but they recall close relationships with their relatives before their incarceration. Some participants mentioned the financial contribution of the person incarcerated to the household before their incarceration.

During incarceration, in the case of extended families, some members also experience loneliness and report how others single out their relatives due to their children's incarceration. However, they report a narrower range of emotions compared to the nuclear families. Also, due to incarceration, there are changes in relationships in extended families; as a result, it is common that there is no contact or communication between some relatives, which causes severe emotional impacts, especially when there are grandchildren or minors involved. Visits to prison cause financial and emotional stress for extended family members. For a variety of reasons, female citizens bear the burden of these visits. Another source of stress for extended families is the constant worry for the security of their relatives in prisons. They also stress about their future reintegration. Financially, the extended family is also impacted. Sometimes they must look for jobs to help their relatives or welcome other relatives into their houses (they don't always have enough space). The extended family also sends money to incarcerated extended family members, and they also have the burden of lending money to their relatives.

The post-incarceration scenario for extended family members shows that family relationships can be strained due to the experience of incarceration. Members of the extended family are aware of their relatives' limitations when they are released.

### ***The support of the extended family***

The existing literature points out that the extended family is essential when there are crisis events (Daniel and Barret 1981; Strozier et al. 2011; Mumola 2000; Hairston 2009). The previous section described the emotional and financial hardships when relatives of the extended family are incarcerated. This section shows some of the testimonies in which the nuclear family receives the support of the extended family.

For example, Brian explains how the extended family visited his son in prison:

*“His grandparents went over there to visit him so, renting of a car, going over there, giving him money, feeding him and whatever, spending just time, just car, self, and gas. Stuff that we should not have to go through, but we got through it. I don't think I would go through it again and stuff so.”*

**(Brian, 44 years old, son incarcerated)**

For others, extended family members have very significant emotional roles, as Sara explained,

*“I want to go into law. But my main motivator is honestly my grandfather. He recently passed away. He was kind of like a dad to me, in a lot of ways. Like he oftentimes [did] when I was younger, he would babysit me. He taught me a*

*lot of things. He was there for me a lot. He took me actually to college. He took me to any school events that I needed to. He was a big supporter.”*

**(Sadie, 20 years old, father incarcerated)**

For Sara, in the absence of his father, who was always in and out of jail, his grandfather was a significant support.

Equally for Alice, in the absence of her husband, members of the extended family offered her assistance,

*“I had my mom and my brothers and stuff, my cousins, my aunts.”*

**(Alice, 29 years old, husband incarcerated)**

The testimonies of our interviewees support previous research stating the role of the extended family when a situation of crisis happens, such as incarcerations (Mumola 2000; Hairston 2009). However, these data show that grandparents are not just caregivers. Grandparents can be role models when parents are absent (Dallaire 2007). Extended family members provide emotional support to the incarcerated person through visits. Moreover, as Alice explains, many other family members such as uncles, aunts, cousins supported and assisted her in the absence of the imprisoned couple.

### **The support of friends**

Although few studies indicate the role of friends during incarceration (Bruns 2020), it is not difficult to think that families could seek for additional support beyond the immediate or extended family as Nina, Franky, or Gaby informed.

Nina explained how his friend helped her to navigate with the protocol visits,

*“My friend Lin was the one that helped me I did not know what to do. How to call, what to take, how to dress, certain colors, you can’t wear navy blue, you can wear black, but you can’t wear white, and certain colors you cannot wear.”*

**(Nina, 66 years old, son incarcerated)**

In other cases, as Franky explained, the friends of his incarcerated brother helped giving his family a ride to prison

*“Since we did not have a car, he would call his friends, one of his closest friends to take us to prison maybe once a month.”*

**(Franky, 41 years old, brother incarcerated)**

For Gaby, the support of her friend is vital, her friend drives her and wait for her while she visits her son.

*“That, uh, driving alone and going over there and I count, but I don't drive alone. I always have a girlfriend that comes with me. She sits in the room till I come out.”*

**(Gaby, 76 years old, son still incarcerated)**

Given the loneliness in which some people experience the imprisonment of their relatives as is the case of Gaby, or in situations in which families do not have the resources to visit their relatives like Franky, the help of friends is essential.

## **THE IMPACTS ON THE NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILIES, ARE THEY SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT?**

In this section, we will describe the similarities and differences between nuclear and extended families experiencing incarceration. We will observe how nuclear and extended families undergo similar burdens. However, nuclear families suffer more conflicts between relatives than extended families. The financial obligations impact both nuclear and extended families. However, the expenses and burdens are more significant for nuclear families.

### **Main similarities between nuclear and extended families**

As we will observe, the similarities between nuclear and extended families are related to the context in which incarceration occurs, the emotions generated after incarceration, the changes in the relationships resulting from the incarceration of a relative, the burdens associated with the incarceration system, and the financial obligations.

*Context of incarceration.* Our sample narratives of familial incarceration are common. This finding aligns with what scholars pointing that incarceration is common in families and that “8% of US children born in 1990 had a father imprisoned by the time the child was age 14.3” (Wildeman 2019: 164). Moreover, our interviews described the incarceration of more than one family member, friend, and member of their communities.

*Similar emotions.* Some of the emotions experienced by members of nuclear and extended families are similar. For example, some interviewees reported loneliness since these people are the only ones who maintain contact or care about the incarcerated person. For example, these mothers and grandmothers are the only ones who send money or write to their relatives. Because the rest of the relatives do not want to deal with the incarcerated person, most of the burdens fall on these women. As studies show, sentiments of loneliness are common since incarceration does not always generate sympathy (Carlson and Cervera 1991).

*Strained relationships.* Another collateral consequence of incarceration is the damage in relationships between the father and the child (Genty 2002) and in other relationships, between grandmothers and grandchildren, uncles and nephews. Both nuclear and extended families see their relationships with other family members fractured. These fractured relationships generate different sentiments such as sadness, anger, or frustration. Likewise, the impossibility of having contact with grandchildren or nephews prevents the right of grandparents and uncles and children to have a family context that can provide care and protection. These children who do not have access to their extended family see their ability to grow up protected or cared for limited. These emotional wounds have short- and long-term impacts; for these families to regain relationships and forgive will take time.

*Dealing with the incarceration system.* Nuclear and extended family members experience difficulties visiting their imprisoned relatives due to distance and related expenses.

Another similarity shared by both nuclear and extended families is related to the burden generated by the judicial system, such as visits, bail payments, the cost of calls, sending money, etc. This study shows how nuclear and extended families experience moments of many concerns due to the safety and future of their relatives incarcerated in addition to these burdens.

*Legal status.* Extended and nuclear families with incarcerated relatives suffer additional burdens when there are members with undocumented immigration status. Members of nuclear and extended families explain how the immigration status of their relatives affected them to make visits to their incarcerated relatives, and their narratives describe how the burden of visits is transferred to relatives who are citizens. This not only creates an additional burden for citizens but also generates conflicts and resentments among families.

*Worries about security and future.* As if the concerns and financial expenses were not enough, the nuclear and extended families invest much of their thoughts and energy, wondering what would happen to their families once they are released. Members of nuclear and extended families know that their relatives will not have an easy time reintegrating because of the stigma and difficulties in finding employment.

*Financial burdens.* Another similarity between nuclear and extended families is that the two describe how the women were the ones who faced the financial responsibilities of the household. For nuclear and extended families, women were the ones facing these economic hardships. Some participants of extended families described how everyone in the household had to look for jobs to compensate for the lack of income. This research shows that these economic hardships can force extended families to assume financial responsibilities. However, further research should focus on understanding how prolonged the economic effects are on the extended family.

### **Main differences between nuclear and extended families**

This section will describe the differences between nuclear and extended families who suffer the incarceration of a family member. We will observe nuclear and extended families experience some differences related to the pre-incarceration context is different for nuclear and extended families; nuclear families assumed new roles, nuclear families expressed disappointment and fatigue. Nuclear families experienced stigma while members of extended family report “learnings.” Nuclear families experience long-term permanent financial burdens. Nuclear families deal with the formerly incarcerated person and the responsibilities associated, while the extended family identifies post-incarceration burdens.

*Pre-incarceration.* A difference in the pre-incarceration context is that nuclear families report more family and financial instability. In contrast, extended family members report closeness to relatives before being incarcerated. Both testimonies explain how members of nuclear and extended families have different relationships with their relatives before incarceration. This can be explained because nuclear families deal directly with the

behavior of the family member incarcerated and their constant involvement with justice. This cyclical involvement with the judicial system generates emotional and financially unstable family contexts.

Regarding the financial contribution of members of nuclear and extended families incarcerated, narratives show some differences, and there are few testimonies that refer to the financial contribution of the extended family members incarcerated, but one of the interviewees described how its relative was the primary breadwinner in his household. However, we can observe that in the case of nuclear families, women are the ones financially supporting the household.

*Nuclear families report new roles.* A significant difference is that nuclear families are more likely to assume new roles when the incarceration of an immediate family member happens. As a result, they report more conflicts emerging from these new roles. In the interview with Sadie, she describes how she currently has a bad relationship with her brother. She states in her interview that because of her brother's strictness, she began to run away from the house. As a result, she met her boyfriend at a very young age and became pregnant, which generated many conflicts with her family, especially her brother. To date, she avoids talking to her brother.

*Nuclear families expressed a different set of emotions.* In nuclear families, sentiments of fatigue and disappointment are prevalent. In Ben's case, he feels anger and disappointment about his brother and blames his mother for his brother's behavior. These accusations and feelings have generated many conflicts within his family. One main consequence is that his mother is dealing with his brother's imprisonment alone.

*Nuclear families reported stigma.* Studies show how stigma affects families and children and that it is expected that these children are more likely to be incarcerated (Foster and Hagan 2009; Keene et al. 2018; Martin 2016). In this regard, we found testimonies of participants in our sample stating how the stigma affected them and how they moved on from these expectations.

*Extended family members reported "learning."* Some scholars have pointed out that the state, through repressive actions like detentions, disciplines citizens on how to 'behave' (Haney 2003). Narratives in this study also showed how extended family members 'learn' a lesson, or 'being out of trouble', i.e., avoiding being imprisoned, as their relatives were able to convey the terror of incarceration.

*Nuclear families and the permanent financial burdens.* Something particular in nuclear families and as part of women's experiences is like for many of them, not only the emotional suffering but also the financial expenses are for life. Nuclear families have long-term and permanent financial burdens. Dealing with these long-term hardships is the case for many older women who have children currently incarcerated. For example, Gaby's testimony is heartbreaking; she is a 76-year-old woman who plans to open a bank account for her son. So that when her son is released, he has some savings to make his

life. Gaby knows that her son will deal with many difficulties after his release, for which she prefers to facilitate the way.

*Nuclear families deal with the returned incarcerated person and the burdens associated.* Narratives of nuclear families describe these difficulties and the consequences on their families. Participants of nuclear families reveal how the post-incarceration period impacts them directly since formerly incarcerated individuals are more likely to return to their immediate relatives than their extended family. Consequently, nuclear families continue to struggle emotionally and financially during this period. As has been demonstrated, the post-incarceration period is very tough for nuclear families. They are not prepared to receive the released relatives, and at the same time, they are still struggling financially. One participant expressed that she is unwilling to continue helping her son. This unwillingness to help her son brings more challenges for formerly incarcerated people. However, narratives in this study explain why families come to these decisions.

*Extended families identify post-incarceration burdens.* Extended families are aware of the challenges that their relatives will face. However, they don't have to deal directly with the consequences of relatives not having a job and providing for their households.

## DISCUSSION

### **The nuclear family**

The literature has shown the adverse impacts of the incarceration system on families and children (Comfort 2008, DeFina and Hannon 2010). The absence of the father means emotional suffering for children and increased poverty, housing, and food vulnerabilities (Foster and Hagan 2007, Geller et al. 2009). In this study, the narratives of adults who experienced the incarceration of other family members such as sons, brothers, sisters, and stepsons showed the emotional and financial suffering resulting from these relatives' incarceration. Participants of nuclear families described a pre-incarceration context of family instability, where many women were responsible for their households (Arditti 2014). Participants in this study show different emotions regarding the relative's incarceration; loneliness, guilt, resentment, fatigue were part of these sentiments. As a result of the incarceration of these relatives, participants described the roles they assumed and the conflicts and dilemmas emerging because of these new responsibilities. Regarding the financial burdens, they are permanent, especially for women. Finally, the scholarship on the reintegration of formerly incarcerated individuals has placed an important role on families (Taylor 2016). The participants in this study show how the post-incarceration process continues to be challenging for them. Families claim not to have the resources to welcome their relatives (Haney 2003). Additionally, they deal with the fact that their relatives cannot find jobs and provide financing to the household. As we can observe, a father's incarceration is detrimental, but other relatives such as sons, brothers, sisters, and stepsons also jeopardize families' ties and financial stability.

### **The extended family**

Studies on the extended family have highlighted how the help provided by the



extended family is based on kinship ties (Hunter 1997) and how the assistance of the extended family is critical, particularly the role of the grandmothers in the case of maternal incarceration (Strozier et al. 2011). The literature has also highlighted the risk to young people experiencing familial incarceration, as children and youth can normalize the experience of detention (Dallaire 2007). This study, based on the narratives of adults from extended families who experienced the incarceration of grandchildren, cousins, and nephews, had described the role of these adults before their incarceration and the type of emotions that arose once incarcerated. The pre-incarceration context shows that incarcerated individuals had essential emotional roles in the family. Consequently, when incarceration occurs, individuals express sentiments of loneliness, the disruption of relationships, and burdens associated with the judicial system. Incarcerating an extended family member such as a grandchild or nephew has severe emotional and financial implications—significantly appalling is the case of grandmothers who visit and send money to their grandchildren. Some of these grandmothers cannot see their great-great-grandchildren; this adds more negative emotions to their incarceration experience. The role of women, such as nieces visiting uncles, is also significant but translates into emotional and financial burdens. Post-incarceration demonstrates that extended family members are aware of the limitations that their released relatives will face, which becomes an emotional burden.

### **The support of the extended family to nuclear families in events of incarceration**

As mentioned previously, extended family members can be incarcerated, and it generates many negative emotional and financial impacts on their relatives, but also when the nuclear family experiences incarceration, it is the extended family that helps. The members of the extended family can support their relatives with visits or sending money, also. In these contexts where parents are absent, the extended family members have significant roles for children or young people to transmit values and norms or be models for these children without a father (Dallaire 2007).

### **Similarities and differences**

Nuclear and extended families suffer from the imprisonment of their relatives. The difference is that the extended family tends to have better family relationships with the incarcerated person, while the nuclear family reports instability in these relationships. The nuclear and extended family deals similarly with the judicial system, as many extended family members feel committed to do visits and sending them money to incarcerated relatives. The emotions that emerge from incarceration are similar for nuclear and extended families, a grandmother may be as involved in the incarceration of her grandson as a mother with her son; therefore, the emotional and financial burdens can be similar. Another difference is that the nuclear families cope directly with the formerly incarcerated after their return and the economic and emotional burdens associated with it.

### **Conclusion**

Scholars affirm that parental incarceration affects children emotionally and financially (Foster and Hagan 2007, Geller et al. 2011, Adams 2018); However, the narratives in our study show that adults members of nuclear and extended families recall very adverse consequences of the incarceration of a relative. Beyond fathers (Boswell 2002, Wilbur et al. 2007, Geller et al. 2012), the incarceration of sons, siblings, stepchildren, nephews, uncles, grandchildren, and cousins is emotionally and financially

devastating for families. The impacts on women, such as mothers, daughters, sisters, grandmothers, nieces, and aunts, are very adverse. This study shows that a grandmother can suffer the incarceration of her grandson as a mother for her son. Grandmothers also experience stress associated with visits, sending money, and worries about their grandchildren's future, just as a mother does for a son. In this regard, future research should try to understand how all these women, grandmothers, nieces, aunts, and sisters manage to cope with these emotional and financial burdens. It is equally necessary to study how these women solve the conflicts that arise when they assume roles that were not responsible. The impacts when extended family members are incarcerated are very harmful, resulting in strained relationships and several family conflicts. Families impacted by incarceration are from minority and low-income communities (Noguera, Hurtado, and Fergus 2013; Blankenship et al. 2018; Subramanian, Riley, and Mai 2018; Denby 2012; Douglas et al. 2018). This study shows that families are increasingly impoverished while the prison industry becomes financially more solid since these resources also come from poor families (Smith and Hattery 2006). The material hardships are not exclusive to children (Geller et al. 2009) but extended beyond children to every member of nuclear and extended families such as grandmothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, etc. The number of older women using their resources and money to support incarcerated relatives is concerning, thus compromising their well-being. In this sense, more research is needed to study these grandmothers and older women with their incarcerated children to understand their support networks and coping strategies.

## CHAPTER THREE: Narratives on deportation, the experiences of nuclear and extended families

### INTRODUCTION

Studies on deportations show that children suffer emotionally, physically, and financially after removing a significant adult (Dreby 2012; Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014, Lovato et al. 2018). Fear is a common emotion that translates into adverse health and school outcomes (Henderson and Baily 2013; Montes 2019, Green 2019). New roles taken by family members left behind generate different burdens on women and youth, especially if they must compensate for the lack of income (Koball et al. 2015, Lonagan 2007). Another hardship for these families is dealing with transnational relationships, which also foster emotional and financial strains since many families cannot visit their relatives abroad (Boehm 2016; Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019; Caldwell 2019). These impacts are aggravated because most of the people deported are immigrants of low-income communities and mixed status families, where the target of deportations are mainly Latino men (Gelatt et al. 2017, Green 2019, Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, Baker and Marchevsky 2019).

For families dealing with events of deportation, the extended family is vital (Boehm, 2017). Studies have indicated how other family members such as grandparents or uncles provide support during deportation (Chavez et al. 2013; Berger Cardoso et al. 2018), however as scholars state, impacts on the extended family are “largely absent from research” (Boehm, 2017:403). Other studies have also indicated that deportability can extend to other relatives in the household, causing further financial and emotional strains (Boehm 2009). Subsequently, the different forms in which extended families are impacted by deportation and if these impacts are similar or different to the ones experienced by nuclear families have not been fully explored yet. Equally, the focus of these studies has been on the impacts on children, but literature has not broadly described the narratives of adults who experienced the deportation of a relative. Therefore, this study focuses on adults who undergo the deportation of a family member but will primarily describe the extended family's role in the deportation context. This study will answer the following questions: **How do deportations impact nuclear families, how do deportations impact extended families? Are these impacts similar or different?**

Results of this study, based on interviews with 57 individuals, show that nuclear and extended family members can be deported, and their deportation cause emotional and financial hardships. Both nuclear and extended family members deal with emotional and financial burdens before and during deportation; however, post-deportation impacts persist for nuclear families since they support relatives if they return to the USA. Additionally, findings show that emotional effects persist for both nuclear and extended families. Nevertheless, the extended family's financial impacts are temporary, while these impacts can be permanent in the nuclear family.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Pre-deportation context

Studies indicate that families suffer emotionally and financially due to their immigration status (Sullivan 2005, Capps et al. 2015; Hamilton et al. 2019) because “unauthorized immigrants and their children face restricted access to socioeconomic opportunities” (Hamilton et al. 2019:9) and “children of immigrant living in low-income families had one or more foreign-born parents, and that children of immigrants are substantially more likely than children with U.S.-born parents to be poor, have food-related problems, live in crowded housing, lack of health insurance, and be in fair or poor health” (Capps et al. 2005:1).

Before deportation, we know that immigrant and mixed-status families are exposed to several stressors due to their immigration status (Cavazos-Rehg et al. 2007; Sanders et al., 2013; Satinsky et al.; 2013; Brabeck and Xu 2010, Perreira and Pedroza 2019). Fear of arrest and deportation is pervasive in these communities (Henderson and Baily 2013, Aranda and Vaquera; 2015, Green 2019), and have very negative impacts on families since they are forced to change routines impacting their health (they do not seek or omit to attend medical services), and children’s school performance as well (Gonzales et al. 2013; Zatz and Smith 2012; Delva et al. 2013). For undocumented people, the fear of deportation leads to not demanding their labor rights, which harms their income and the family's well-being (Chaudry 2011, Capps et al. 2015). Additionally, recent research confirmed that families can experience fear without having experienced detention, which is associated with higher levels of anxiety and depression (Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). In general, the fear of deportation and the lack of access to economic opportunities shape immigrants' daily experiences (Zatz and Smith 2012; Delva et al. 2013; Gonzales et al. 2013; Martinez et al. 2015). For scholars, “the fear of detection, the threat of deportation, and consequences of undocumented status extend to all members in the system” (Berger Cardoso et al. 2018:301).

Before the imminent event of deportation, many families must deal with the detention of their relatives. Most people detained are men, and visits can be stressful for minors and families (Zatz and Rodriguez 2015; Patler and Branic 2017). Contact with the detained relative is even more stressful for mixed-status families since they avoid visit their relatives because they fear deportation (Koball et al. 2015; Zatz and Rodriguez 2015; Golash-Boza 2019). In this sense, scholars agree that the experiences with immigration visits depend on “characteristics of detainees, their family members, or the facilities in which they are housed” (Patler and Branic 2017:19).

As described in the literature, immigrant families are emotionally and financially vulnerable due to immigration policies even before deportation. Consequently, it raises the question of how these conditions remain or aggravate during deportation; what are the main financial and emotional burdens during deportation for families?

### During deportation

### **Impacts on families**

Once deportation occurs, families are forced to restructure their daily activities, such as attending school or working (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017). For Dreby (2012), this restructuring depends on the type of relationship with the person deported and its role, since “men and women play different roles in their families” (Dreby 2012: 833). When deportation occurs, families with other members who are undocumented also experience fear that those family members will also be deported and change their daily routines such as leaving the house, going to work, attending school meetings and medical appointments, or reporting violence at home (Bernstein et al. 2019). These changes affect the whole family and children’s well-being (Capps et al. 2015; Green 2019; Hagan et al. 2011; Enriquez 2015; Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2020). The changes in these routines force women and children to take new roles and obligations (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017; Garcia 2018). Changes in routines and activities also increase families' stress and anxiety, impacting their emotional and financial stability (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017; Drotbohm and Hasslberg 2014).

### **Impacts on children**

When a loved one is deported, children and youth confront a series of events that affect their emotional and psychological wellbeing (Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014; Lovato et al. 2018). Children who witness the arrest of a parent can present behavioral changes including “sleep and eating disturbances, excessive crying, increased fear, and, in older youth, aggressive and withdrawn behavior, frequently persisting past 6 months” (Henderson and Baily 2013). Other emotions such as fear, and trauma are commonly present when deportations happen (Montes 2019; Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Vargas and Ybarra 2017; Enriquez 2015). These emotions severely impact children’s health and school performance (Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2012; Dreby 2015; Arriaga 2017; Potochnick, Jen-Hao, and Perreira 2017; Brabeck et al. 2014; Capps et al. 2015; Lonigan 2007). For scholars, this low school performance is an immediately visible consequence in children that has long-term outcomes affecting children’s social mobility (Capps et al. 2015; Chaudry et al. 2010; Brabeck and Xu 2010; Warren and Kerwin 2017; Montes 2019).

Another negative consequence for children is when they end up in foster homes or child welfare (The American Immigration Council 2019). Other children are forced to make decisions for which they are not emotionally prepared, such as “*whether they have to remain in the USA with other parents or relatives or leave with their deported parent*” (Chaudry 2010). As scholars state, these minors are left in a legal limbo, where they may be given up in adoption or trapped in a detention center for months without seeing with their families (Lonigan 2007; Zatz and Rodriguez 2015). This instability in caregiving impacts children’s wellbeing and becomes a stressful experience (Lonigan 2007; Koball et al. 2015).

When a relative is deported, children of mixed-status families also are forced to live in transnational relationships that can impact them emotionally (Ybarra and Peña 2017). Scholars describe how U.S. citizen children are also punished and must live in the

shadows due to the fear of a family member's deportation (Enriquez 2015; Asad and Clair 2018; Henderson and Baily 2013; Vargas and Ybarra 2017; Silver et al. 2018). For Rosas (2012). These fears, worries, and stressors lead many children or young people to live a life with feelings of alienation in the country where they have grown up, affecting them emotionally.

### **Financial impacts**

When the person deported is a parental figure, families are more likely to experience impoverishment (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Gelatt et al. 2017; Warren and Kerwin 2017; Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). The lack of income translates into housing hardship since families can no longer continue the mortgage or rent payments; therefore, they may be forced to leave their homes and move to live with other relatives (Brabeck et al. Hunter 2014; Koball et al. 2015). Also, due to the fear generated by these events, families often move to other neighborhoods or cities, which may require higher financial costs. These situations also force women to find additional resources, and young family members are also forced to join the labor market (Dreby 2012). For Sládková et al. (2012), the risk of the family becoming more impoverished and more vulnerable is because detention and deportation occur without warning (Lonegan 2007), and the family is deprived of their primary income which causes profound consequences for children (Chaudry 2011).

However, the specific forms in which extended family members are impacted during deportation have not been depicted extensively. Consequently, in this study, we will explain the different emotional and financial burdens that remain or are exacerbated after the deportation of a relative.

### **Post-deportation**

Reintegration abroad is a significant burden for the individuals deported and their families (Hagan et al. 2008). Deportees struggle to find jobs and support their families (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018; Hagan et al. 2008). Staying abroad is difficult for deportees, and their reintegration can be shaped by different factors such as the amount of time they lived in the US, their social networks, and financial resources, as well as the social and political context of the country to which they have been sent (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2020).

Studies on transnational families explain how a forced separation induces hardships on families, particularly women and children (Hagan et al. 2009; Silver et al. 2018). Remaining in contact with the deported individuals can be challenging, depending on different circumstances and ties in the USA (Hagan et al. 2008; Menjivar and Abrego 2009). These barriers become a source of emotional strain for families, resulting from the impossibility of the deported person's return through legal channels (Dreby 2012; Hagan et al. 2009). For deportees, loneliness and lack of emotional and material resources abroad have negative emotional consequences, and family relationships can deteriorate (Boehm 2018; Caldwell 2019). Although the extended family is vital to reintegration abroad since they provide a place to live and other resources, many deportees do not have these relatives, or if they have them, they are not close enough to ask them for such

provisions (Boehm 2018; Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018). As Menjivar and Abrego (2009) state, these hostile immigration policies spread in different physical and social locations.

As scholars state, deportation is not always the 'last word' (De Genova 2018), and many deportees are willing to make the 'U-Turn' back into the U.S. (Galvin 2015). The 'U-Turn' depends on different factors such as "geographical proximity, porous borders, and state practices that do not restrict deportees from re-entry can facilitate such movements" (Galvin 2015:629). Other studies have shown that family reunification is the primary reason for returning to the United States, especially in Mexican families where nine out of ten deportees are parents (Zatz and Rodriguez 2015).

Faced with the impossibility of returning legally (Boehm 2017), many deportees risk returning through non-formal channels, threatening families' emotional and financial stability. Returning is often costly, and once back, the returned relative struggles to find a job in the US (Boehm 2018; Caldwell 2019; Dreby 2012).

### The role of the extended family

Studies on immigrants' families indicate that the presence of the extended family can be explained by factors such as "demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants, cultural influences from communities of origin, and processes of family reunification" (Hagan et al. 2018: 73). Many children stay with their extended family while their parents migrate to the United States (Boehm 2008). Scholars also found that, due to cultural arrangements, it is not surprising that in these migrant families, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins are part of these families. At the same time, they may have different immigration statuses (Chavez et al. 2013). Hagan et al. (2008) also found that "Salvadorian deportees live with a wide variety of relatives in the United States, including parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws, children, nieces, and nephews" (73).

Familism, obligation, and cooperation towards family are among the main characteristics in Latino families (Bermudez and Mancini 2013; Bacallao and Smokowski 2007; Campos et al. 2008; Cardoso and Thompson 2010; Taschman and Muruthi 2020). This sense of cooperation allows women without their partners to seek help from the extended family (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). The families' support and cohesion is an essential protective factor in situations of stress (Taschman and Muruthi 2020). However, relationships with the extended family are not without conflicts (Taschman and Muruthi 2020), and the type of the relationship with the extended family can change because of the assimilation process of Latino families; consequently, familism and cohesion may decrease (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007).

Regarding the supportive role of the extended family, studies have cited the role of grandparents, uncles, and aunts in times of crisis, including when deportations occur (Muruthi and Taschman 2019). The undeniable participation of grandparents in the life of migrant families and the lives of US citizen children is presented in the *Statement on the effects of deportation and forced separation on immigrants, their families, and communities* (2018). This report shows that "more than 4.4 million children live in grandparent-headed households, thousands of whom are US citizen grandchildren of unauthorized grandparents" (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research

and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018:6). Different reports have stated that even though these roles are challenging for grandparents, being in the care of grandparents is much more beneficial for children than being placed into foster care (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association. (2018).). Other scholars, such as Taschman and Muruthi (2020), have noted that uncles and aunts also have significant roles when parents are absent.

Equally, it should not be surprising that the deportation system can reach individuals in these family systems. (Hagan et al. 2008; Brabeck et al. 2014; Ojeda et al. 2020). Considering this context, consequently, extended families are an essential source of support (Silver et al. 2018, Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019). Still, at the same time, extended family members can experience the threat of deportation or experience deportation (Boehm 2009, Berger Cardoso et al. 2018).

Reintegration abroad is a significant burden for the individuals deported and their families (Hagan et al. 2008). Deportees struggle to find jobs and support their families (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018; Hagan et al. 2008). Therefore, the role of immediate and nuclear families is vital in providing help to the deported person and their families (Boehm 2017; Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019). However, studies found that when deportees are sent back to the 'home country' the extended family is the only one to support them. Even though the extended family can be a family due to the loss of extended kin in Mexico (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). These extended families are the only ones who could provide housing or employment, while families in the US can send remittances (Brotherton and Barrios, Boehm 2017; Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019).

As described, the extended family and mixed-status relatives in migrant households is due to cultural, social, and economic reasons (Hagan et al. 2018: 73). Familism is one of the essential characteristics of these families; however, this feature can be dawned by acculturation processes or conflicts (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). According to studies, grandparents are significant in these households, also taking care of children when their parents are absent (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018). However, the impacts when extended family members are deported have not been described in the literature, nor have the different types of support that the extended family provides beyond grandparents been explored. Therefore, the questions arising are: what are the impacts of deporting an extended family member? In what ways does the extended family provide support when deportation occurs?

#### Gap, research questions and theoretical contribution

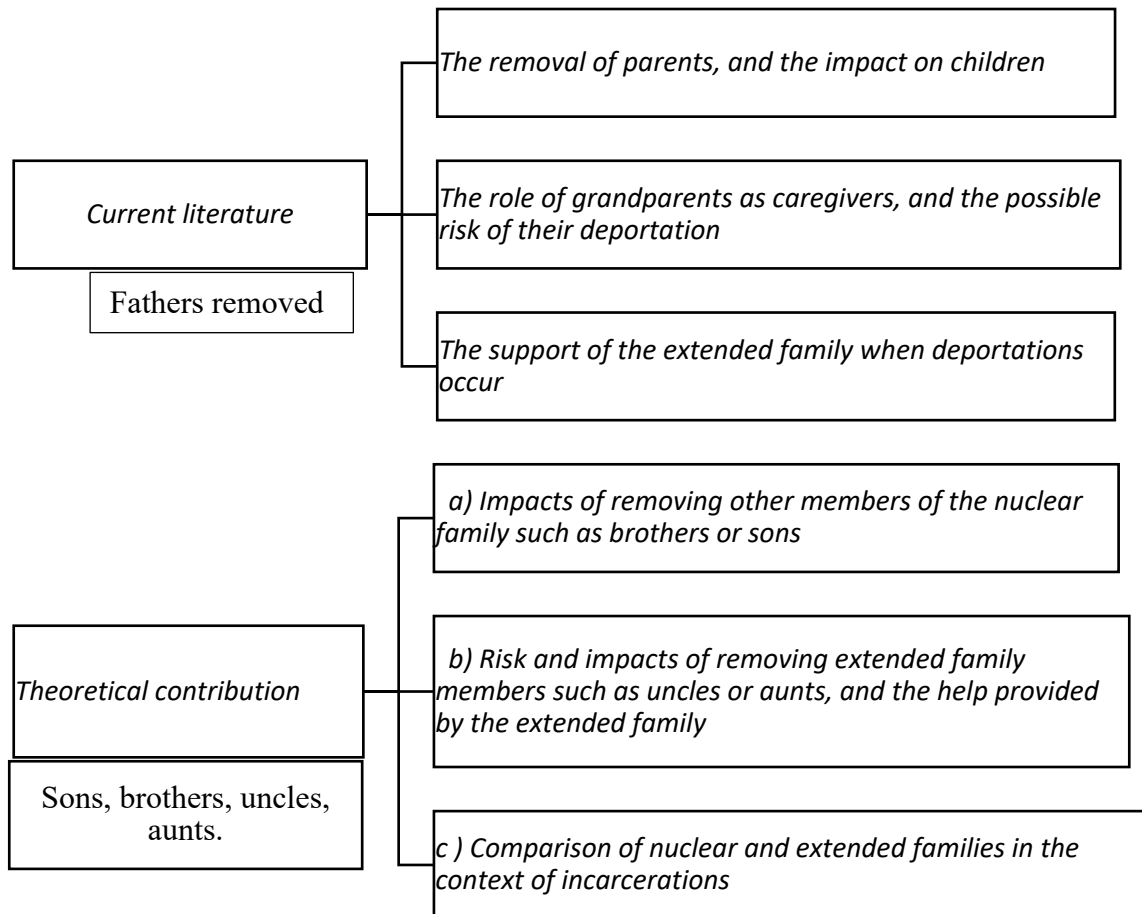
Most studies have explained the effects of deportations on nuclear families, particularly how children suffer emotionally and financially after the deportation of a parent (Mendoza and Olivos 2009; Dreby 2012; Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014; Lovato et al. 2018). The literature on the extended family members shows how the extended family can suffer deportation and how the extended family supports in situations of deportation (Hagan et al. 2008; Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). However, the study of how the deportation of other members of the nuclear family (sons, brothers) and



beyond (uncles, aunts) has not been explored in detail. Therefore, this study aims to expand the knowledge on the impacts of the deportation on nuclear families by explaining how deportations impacts other members of nuclear and extended families. This study will also compare if the effects on nuclear and extended families are the same or different. This study also will contribute to the literature by describing the support provided by the extended family and friends when deportations occur.

The gap in the literature rise to the following research questions; How do deportations impact nuclear families, how do deportations impact extended families? Are these impacts similar or different?

Figure 5. Theoretical contribution studies on deportations



#### The deportation beyond fathers

This study expands the knowledge on studies on deportation by demonstrating that the removal of other nuclear family members such as brothers and sons is equally traumatic for families. The absence of these relatives generated emotional and financial

burdens for families left behind, and it created burdens on the extended family abroad. The extended family abroad is essential in assisting the relative deported.

#### The deportation of the extended family

The study of the impacts of deportation on the extended family is crucial because not only does the extended family provide support to the nuclear family, but also that the deportation of the extended family members affects the nuclear family. When extended family members such as grandparents, uncles, or aunts are deported, the nuclear family is left unprotected and more vulnerable. Likewise, when deportations of members of the nuclear families occur, members of extended families are impacted emotionally and financially. For example, an uncle not only becomes emotionally involved in the care of his nephews/nieces (after the deportation of their parents), but this uncle must relocate family's resources to another family, by doing this, its immediate family also suffer emotionally and financially.

Therefore, the research question leading this study are How do deportations impact nuclear families, how do deportations impact extended families? Are these impacts similar or different?

Preliminary results show that the deportation of extended family members cause similar emotional and financial burdens as difficulties experienced by nuclear families. Furthermore, because to support the nuclear family of deported individuals, the extended family member must reallocate resources from their own immediate family, so deportation causes a ripple effect across the extended family. As a result, children of extended families have less resources available, increasing poverty and emotional burdens. Moreover, the extended family is vital supporting the nuclear family, and the presence of the extended family helps children, but this support can be a facade because family members can be detained/deported suddenly.

#### Comparative studies

This study contributes to comparative studies since it studies the similarities and differences of the impacts suffered by nuclear and extended families who suffer deportations. The findings of this comparison indicate that nuclear and extended families suffer emotionally and are impoverished due to facing situations of removal of their relatives. Both families must face unexpected expenses of deportation as well as assume new roles in the absence of their relatives. The main difference is that the nuclear family is the one that deals directly with the return of deportees, their fear, and their inability to secure a job immediately.

## METHODS AND DATA

To understand how deportations affect families in the Central Valley of California and using the snowball method. The information about the study were shared with local people in Merced, social organizations like Faith in the Valley, Inside the Garden Program, as well as students from the University.

The snowball method as a non-probabilistic research technique allowed us to contact participants from different areas of the central valley of California. The two main requirements to be interviewed are that the participant was over 18 years of age and has experienced the deportation of a relative. In this sense, considering that more men are deported than women, it is no coincidence that most of the people interviewed were women (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, Golash-Boza 2015, 2016, Baker and Marchevsky 2019). Additionally, since the interviews were conducted in locations with access to schools and universities, it may explain that the people interviewed have high levels of education. This also reflects census (2015-2019) data indicating that 83.3% of adults completed high school in California (Census 2019).

As a result, 57 individuals over 18 years old who have lived with a family member who has been deported were interviewed. The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2019. The interview lasted from one to two hours, and notes were also taken during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in Spanish or English according to their preferences. The interviews took place in different California locations, in the participant's houses, or public places.

The interview guide included different sections to explore the person's family history, schooling, youth, and relationship with the deported relative. The interview guide also included a section about their vision of the current judicial system and their prospects for the future. For this study, the names of the interviewees were changed to pseudonyms. Participants received a \$30 Target gift card in appreciation of the time spent. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Later, each interview was transcribed and coded.

An excel table was created to systematize information regarding age, year of birth, the number of siblings, approximate year in which the removal of the relative occurred, and other socio-demographic information. Interviews were coded according to pre-deportation, during deportation, and post-deportation context, and for each stage, we generated codes to identify information about these families' emotional and financial situations. In the case of the pre-deportation context, we coded testimonies related to the type of relationship with the relative before deportation and the relative's deported financial contribution. For the during deportation context, we coded testimonies related to individuals' sentiments during the incarceration. Other codes identified from the interviews were related to the family's dealings with the judicial systems, burdens associated with new roles and emerging conflicts, and financial burdens. Finally, we coded the most striking and frequent testimonies related to the family's dealing with the deportees that were able to return to the USA and the challenges that families faced.

Profile of the individuals interviewed

The sample for this study includes adult members of extended families with relatives having different migratory statuses and complex transnational relationships. This profile also aligns with the extant research on deportations, which finds that more men are deported, while women remain facing the complications that result from the absence of their relatives (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, Golash-Boza 2015, 2016, Bake and Marchevsky 2019).

*Table 13. Gender people interviewed, and gender relative deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=57*

	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>	46	11	57
<b>Gender of relative deported</b>	10	47	57

As we can observe, 80.7% (46) of the individuals interviewed were female in our sample, while 19.3% (11) were male. The interviewees in our sample experienced the deportation of the following relatives: 10 brothers, 22 fathers, four uncles, two husbands, and 10 assorted others, including ex-husbands, ex-fiancés, and brothers-in-law, for a total of 47 men deported and 10 women (see Table 2 and 3). Given the high number of undocumented immigrants in California, it is not surprising that around 29% (17) of participants experience the deportation of more than one relative, such as both parents or more than one sibling.

*Table 14. Nuclear family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=48*

<b>Relative deported</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Father</b>	22
<b>Brother</b>	10
<b>Mother</b>	6
<b>Husband</b>	3
<b>Both parents</b>	2
<b>Stepfather</b>	2
<b>Ex-fiancé</b>	1
<b>Ex-husband</b>	1
<b>Son</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	48

Table 2 and 3 show the numbers of people interviewed from nuclear and extended families. 84% (48 cases) correspond to nuclear families while 16% (9 cases) faced the deportation of an extended family member.

*Table 15. Extended family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=9*

<b>Relative deported</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Brother-in-law</b>	1
<b>Godfather</b>	1
<b>Aunt</b>	3
<b>Uncle</b>	4
<b>Total</b>	9

The range of age of the 57 participants was 18 to 61 years old. The mean age of this sample is 28, while the mode is 20. In general, the interviewees are, on average, very young; perhaps this explains why most of them are single (42) and why only 15 have children. The percentage of interviewees born in the US was 64.9 % (37), while 35% (19) were born in Mexico and Yemen.

#### Schooling of people interviewed

<b>Schooling</b>	<b>Number of cases</b>
<b>Grad student</b>	4
<b>Bachelor</b>	2
<b>College complete</b>	16
<b>Currently in college</b>	15
<b>College incomplete</b>	13
<b>High school complete</b>	2
<b>Middle school</b>	1
<b>Elementary school complete</b>	2
<b>Elementary school incomplete</b>	1
<b>n/a</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	57

Sixty-one percent (35) of the individuals in the study were under 18 when the removal of a relative happened, while 35% (20) of them were over 18. Around half of the deportations, 54% (31), occurred in the last decade 2010-2020 while 35% (20)

deportations occurred during the 2000-2010 decade. Two individuals did not report when the events happened.

The post-deportation information shows that around 52% (30) of the relatives deported are still abroad, while about 35% (20) are back in the US.

Some of the reasons these individuals got deported are being involved in a car accident, drinking in public, gang and drug-related issues, being pulled over by fake immigration documents.

## FINDINGS

Although more members of nuclear families are deported than members of extended families, this study shows that extended families have two positions when deportations occur.

- A. Extended family members can be deported, causing financial and emotional impacts on the family system.
- B. The extended family is the principal support of the nuclear family. The extended family provides emotional and financial assistance, without which the nuclear family could not survive.

*Table 16. Number of deportations of nuclear and extended family members. 2015-2019 California. N=57*

<b>Individuals of nuclear families interviewed</b>	48
<b>Individuals of extended families interviewed</b>	9
<b>Total</b>	57

In the following sections, we describe the deportation impacts on nuclear and extended families, and if these impacts are similar or different.

### **The deportation of members of nuclear families**

To understand how deportations impact nuclear families, we will first describe the pre-deportation context to have a better idea of the role of the person before their removal. We also describe the sentiments emerging when the deportation occurred. In the final section, we outline the post-incarceration difficulties for nuclear families.

#### Pre-deportation context

Studies have shown that in Latino families, men generally tend to live with their children and are employed, despite being overrepresented in low-income jobs (Noguera and Hurtado 2013). Studies show how the experiences of migrant families are marked by the constant fear of deportation because of media and immigration policies' narratives (Zatz and Smith 2012; Delva et al. 2013; Gonzales et al. 2013; Martinez et al. 2015).

In this study, we consider the context pre-deportation to have a better idea on the role of the deported relative before its deportation. In general, fathers and mothers had a very active role in participants' lives. As Julissa explained,

*"We went camping a lot. We were pretty stable; we would go camping, we would go to the beach, we went to Disneyland a lot."*

**(Julissa, 26 years old, father deported)**

Another feature of the context in which deportation occur is the constant threat of removal, participants explained how despite being citizen they lived with the fear of being deported.

*"But my mom's always been in fear. She's even put us in fear, and we're legal."*

**(Martha, 25 years old, mother deported)**

As mentioned, the threat of deportation is widespread in immigrant communities (Henderson and Baily 2013). In her testimony, Martha clearly described what scholars have stated in different studies; that "deportability can be transferred to those who are 'legally' in the US, even US citizens" (Boehm 2009:350).

Regarding the financial situation, most of the adults interviewed from nuclear families recalled stable financial contexts before deportation. We will also observe how members of the immediate family provided financially to their relatives before deportation.

*"My dad made he earned a lot for like my mom not to work and for us to still be good and stuff."*

**(Brenda, 21 years old, father deported)**

As we described, members of nuclear families have active emotional and financial roles in their households before deportation. This finding aligns with previous research stating that, in general, immigrants and mixed status families are typically in low-income families, generally do have a job, and live with their children (Noguera and Hurtado 2013).

During deportation

The emotional burdens

The literature has described the many negative impacts on families and children once deportation occurs (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Vargas and Ybarra 2017; Enriquez 2015). Notably, members of nuclear families (women and children) are forced to change their daily routines, which has very adverse implications as children's school

performance can deteriorate and women must take new responsibilities and jobs (Baker and Marchevsky 2019). This section will describe the experiences of our interviewees when their close relatives were deported.

Participants in our study shared how they felt after the deportations of their relatives, for Jay

*"She'd take us out a lot. She would cook. Her cooking was like probably one of the biggest things I missed from her being around."*

**(Jay, 28 years old, mother deported)**

Eduardo, who experienced the deportation of the father reported different sentiments beyond sadness, such as depression and anxiety,

*"I don't know I think I became very depressed, um very anxious, anxiety, uh, and it was affecting like my life, um my professional life and then also academically."*

**(Eduardo, 25 years old, father deported)**

For Eduardo, the deportation of his father is a more recent event; and he was already an adult when his father's deportation occurred. His testimony shows that, even as adults, the emotional impact of a parent's deportation continues to be devastating.

The threat of deportation

As described in the previous section, the lives of migrants and mixed-status families are characterized by the threat of deportation even when it has not occurred (Zatz and Smith 2012; Delva et al. 2013; Gonzales et al. 2013; Martinez et al. 2015). In this study, we observe that when deportation takes place, deportation is no longer an abstract concern but an action with real implications. For example, after her father's deportation, Julissa experienced the fear of her mother being the next to be deported

*"I do not know. I was like, oh, what if they take my mom too?"*

**(Julissa, 26 years old, father deported)**

For participants in this study, after the deportation of their close relatives, our interviewees began to wonder about the possible deportation of other relatives.

New roles, new responsibilities, intergenerational conflicts and strained relationships

When members of the nuclear family are deported, the whole system is affected (Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). The following testimonies will help to illustrate how adults in nuclear families describe the impacts for the entire family system. Lewis, for example, referred to his brother being deported to Mexico six years ago; since then, his brother's children have been under the custody of his family,

*"Me, my sister, my mom--, and we're close, his children are here, they're fine; and that maybe help him to feel more relax, knowing that his children are fine."*



**(Lewis, 29 years old, brother deported)**

Lewis, in his testimony, reflects some of the negative emotional impacts that his brother's absence has on his nieces and nephew

*"Not having a father, a father can play with them, be here with them, feed them, take them to school, or whatever."*

**(Lewis, 29 years old, brother deported)**

For Lewis, therefore, his help is not only practical, as providing money or giving the children a ride to the school. Lewis considers that he has a significant emotional role as a father figure for his nephews

*"May they see me as a father, as a father figure, in the same way my children see me. I think that makes it difficult for my nephew and nieces, not having their father here, it also makes me think about my children, I don't want them to go through the same thing."*

**(Lewis, 29 years old, brother deported)**

The deportation of his brother made Lewis reflect on his parenting style and affected the entire family system. Lewis' wife, his mother, his sister, and other relatives of the children became the caregivers. Lewis's testimony asserts that thanks to the closeness in his family, they can take care of his nieces and nephew. For Lewis, taking care of the children creates a sense of relief for his brother. However, during the interview, Lewis's sister said that she also wanted to gain custody of the children, but she could not because she was living with someone with a criminal record. In the end, the children's custody is shared between two grandmothers.

#### New responsibilities

Leticia's testimony also shows the immediate impacts she suffered following the deportation of both parents.

*"I put my education on hold until the process is completed, I have been working helping to help my parents with the lawyer and stuff like that so for me that's how it is, they maybe give me custody of my youngest sister so that she can finish school and once she turns 18 she can be free to do what she wants, but in the end I could gain the full responsibility of all four of them (siblings)"*

**(Leticia, 22 years old, mother deported)**

#### Intergenerational conflicts

Assuming these new roles can create different types of conflicts. The next testimony shows how Sandra has great resentment given that she had to take care of her siblings, and because of that, she could not fulfil her dreams.

*“I want to get married. I want to have kids. Just work. Be successful. And be happy, but I couldn't go to college. I couldn't do the things I wanted to do because I had to work. I had to work two jobs. I've always worked two jobs and take care of my brother and my sister. We always had to work. I couldn't go to college. I never had time for that.”*

**(Sandra, 30 years old, mother deported)**

Lewis, Sandra and Leticia stories demonstrate how deportation, as an unexpected event, changes families' routines, dynamics, and relationships. This finding aligns with previous research stating how “raising children in the context of deportation risk increases overall parenting stress for undocumented Latino parents” (Berge Cardoso et al. 2018:301). Additionally, these unexpected roles generate conflicts, disappointments, and financial drains. Likewise, it also translates into suffering for children; for example, Lewis' nephews must spend their weeks in at least three different houses. Also, two grandmothers and an aunt are responsible for establishing discipline and routines, which can be confusing for these children. As scholars state, these conditions translate into financial and material hardship for US-born children (Gelatt et al. 2017).

### Dealing with detention

As described in the literature, as more detained migrants spend long periods in detention (Patler and Branic 2017), families must deal with detention centers. The experiences with the system depend on the “characteristics of detainees, their family members, or the facilities in which they are housed” (Patler and Branic (2017:19). In this study, for nuclear families, visits depend on distance, availability of resources, and immigration status. Nevertheless, in this sample, most of the interviewees are citizens or residents (only seven participants out of 57 were undocumented). therefore, few participants report problems due to their immigration status.

Monica explained difficulties related to distance, while Mariluna explained that she never went to visit him because she was undocumented.

*“I just thought, it was just, it was very painful. From there he was held in a detention center. I think the trial was about, or not trial but the whatever amount of time, if he was finally able to go to court, maybe was three months. He was incarcerated in Arizona at this detention center for three months”*

**(Monica, 41 years old, husband deported)**

*We did not go because we don't have papers”*

**(Mariluna, 28 years old, brother deported)**

### The financial burdens

The financial difficulties that occur during deportations are related to families losing an income, and therefore families must face the responsibilities of the household associated with paying the rent, buying food among other expenses. Additionally, families must support deported relative while is abroad. In other cases, families raise money to bring their relative back either through formal or informal channels.

#### Material hardship in the household

Once the family member is deported, there is a lack of an economic income, which has very negative implications for the family (Warren and Kerwin 2017; Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). Some families suffer from housing instability and are also forced to assume different responsibilities to provide financially (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Gelatt et al. 2017). In this section, participants who had a member of a nuclear family deported described the primary financial burdens when their relatives were deported.

Dalia, described their financial struggles,

*“It was hard financially because I was on my own when I had my daughter. You know they need diapers and everything. My mom helped a lot there too but it’s the responsibility of the parent too you know?”*

**(Dalia, 30 years old, husband deported)**

Or as Alfonso explained,

*“She (mom) tried to keep the house, but it was hard she had to pay all the bills, and it was just so hard. And my brother tried to pick up a job and tried to help out, and it wasn’t just enough, so they had to sell the house.”*

**(Alfonso, 29 years old, father deported)**

Dalia and Alfonso recalled their families' financial hardship when deportation happened. Testimonies show that impacts are direct to the household; participants were forced to move from their houses, find jobs, or face financial responsibilities (Baker and Marchevsky 2019). Testimonies in this study align with previous research describing how women become “suddenly single mothers’ struggling with rent payments, costs of bills, raising children alone (Dreby 2015). However, this research also indicates how these burdens also extend to other members in the household such as brothers or sisters.

#### Burdens on helping the person abroad

Studies on reintegration state that deportation can be challenging for some deportees since they face significant barriers to finding employment (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018; Hagan et al. 2008). The challenges of finding a job are due to the limited social and human capital or related to the context of reintegration since they could be stigmatized as criminals (Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2020). As a result, many deportees depend on their relatives to survive abroad (Boehm 2017; Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019).

Participants who had members of the nuclear family abroad explained the extended families' role, helping their relatives to survive.

*“He lived with his family members in TJ for a while, my mom sent him his clothes and stuff, then he moved to Mexico City with the rest of his family that he hadn't seen for more than 20 something years.”*

**(Jocelyn, 27 years old, father deported)**

In other cases, the extended family supports the deported relatives by providing them a job, as Celina illustrated

*“He works on his cousin's ranch, but he doesn't accept his money.”*

**(Celina, 24 years old, father deported)**

#### Bringing the person back

For other families an important financial burden is to bring the family member back, families compromise much of their well-being when they make these financial investments. The extended family also is impacted by these expenses since they are asked for this financial support

*“Having to pay a coyote means more financial burden from my mother. Uh, thankfully, like we have family members who could like, you know, allow us some money. And so, my mother like went and asked for help from them and but like eventually she had to pay the money back as well.”*

**(Aslan, 20 years old, father deported)**

#### Post-deportation

#### Emotional burdens

#### Burdens when a relative comes back

That deportee's return to the United States depends on several factors, specifically geographic proximity and the need for reunification (Galvin 2015). Because there is virtually no way for deportees to return legally (Boehm 2016), many families decide to bring their relatives informally, which is another emotional drain for families and deportees (Dreby 2012; Hagan et al. 2009). Consequently, if the individual who was deported returns, the emotional and financial challenges continue. Some returnees face difficulties in finding a job because they do not have the proper documentation. Other individuals return but are forced to live in the shadows to avoid being deported again (Green 2019). Participants who had members of the immediate family deported expressed the different burdens that their relatives faced when they came back.

The threat of deportation remains

Jen described a similar experience,

*“Yeah, I think that scares him, but he doesn't talk about it, but I just think it limits him to do the things he wants to do.”*

**(Jen, 29 years old, stepdad deported)**

Challenges finding a job

Destiny's father, who was deported, shared a testimony like that of other individuals with members of the extended family deported

*“It's hard for him to get a job because they require like a social security or like his documents, but he doesn't have that. So, he must get like a low-key job. And that can be really dangerous because he could get like deported again.”*

**(Destiny, 21 years old, father deported)**

Nuclear family members described the burdens when their relatives return to the United States. They expressed how their relatives live in anonymity and fear, in addition to difficulties finding employment. In this sense, we can hypothesize that the financial impact will be more severe for nuclear families since their relatives come back to live with the immediate families instead of the extended family. Also, if they don't find a job it will negatively impact their immediate households, as scholars state “the financial effects of deportation are long reaching even after reunification” (Dreby 2012:837).

### **Summary**

The literature has highlighted the negative impacts of deportations on children and young people (Dreby 2012, Aranda et al. 2015, Lovato et al. 2018, Boehm and Terrio 2019). This research, in addition to describing the impacts of deportation of parents and husbands, shows that the deportation of other nuclear family members such as sons or brothers can be equally challenging, causing emotional damage and significant financial expenses.

The retrospective lens used in this study allowed us to have a broader picture of the families' experiencing deportations. Participants shared how, before the event of deportation, although they lived under the threat of deportation, they had a relatively stable family context. Deportation undermines that stability, and nuclear families, particularly women and children, are forced to face different emotional and financial responsibilities

When the deportee stays abroad, the burdens continue for members of nuclear families, since they must take care of themselves and the needs of the deported person.

These endless struggles remain when families decide to bring their deported relatives back to the USA. These burdens continue, especially for nuclear families, because they must deal with the challenges that deported relatives face, including living in fear and limited job opportunities. All these challenges affect families emotionally and financially.

## The deportation of members of the extended family

The presence of extended family members in migrant families is due to different factors such as "demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants, cultural influences from communities of origin, and processes of family reunification" (Hagan et. As of 2018: 73). These extended family members, like the grandparents, have a significant presence in these households and provide care when parents are absent (Muruthi and Taschman 2019). For these migrant families, the sense of familiarity and cooperation is one of the main characteristics that allow them to access this support and aid (Bermudez and Mancini 2013; Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). However, acculturation can affect this familiarism, such that this support could be limited (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007). According to the literature, the threat of deportation can reach extended family members (Boehm 2009); however, the specific ways in which these removals affect extended family members have not been described in existing studies.

Therefore, we will illustrate

- A) the burdens generated by the deportation of an extended family member and
- B) the type of support the extended family offers when deportation occurs.

Table 17. Extended family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=59

Relative deported	Number
Brother-in-law	1
Godfather	1
Aunt	3
Uncle	4
Total	9

### Pre-deportation

Emotional state

Participants with extended family members deported also described the relationship that they had with their relatives. In our sample, the mention of a close relationship with the extended family member deported is recurrent.

Roberto also mentioned the emotional role of her aunt

*“My aunt was, basically, the heart and soul of that family. I mean, she would always have everybody cracking up. And it’s just laughter, with laughter after laughter. And now that she’s gone, it’s just you miss those laughs.”*

**(Roberto, 25 years old, aunt deported)**

Regarding the financial role, some participants expressed how members of extended families have active financial roles in their households before deportation. As Diana described how her aunt used to live with them, and she was part of her household before deportation,

*“She (aunt) had a job working, she would weight trucks for a dairy, and she would wake up early in the morning and get home really late, I was close to her.”*

**(Diana, 36 years old, aunt deported)**

This finding aligns with previous research stating that, in general, immigrants and mixed status families, although they are over-represented in low-income families, generally do have a job (Noguera and Hurtado 2013). Most of the adults interviewed from extended families evoked stable emotional and financial contexts before deportation. Therefore, the next question is, do the burdens for these individuals remain or increase when deportations happen?

During deportation

According to scholars, experiencing a parent’s apprehension can be a very traumatic and it has very adverse effects on children’s health and school performance (Kubrin, Zatz and Martinez 2012; Dreby 2015; Arriaga 2017; Brabeck et al. 2014). Nevertheless, interviewees who experienced the deportation of an extended family members described their emotions as devastation or destruction of the family.

For Roberto,

*“I would say, it is just, basically, destruction of a family. It destroys a family in the sense of the family is here, and someone else is somewhere else.”*

**(Roberto, 25 years old, aunt deported)**

However, as scholars have found, for these families in such immigrant contexts, closeness and familiarism can be a protective factor in crisis situations of crisis (Bacallao and Smokowski 2007); as Ceci mentioned,

*“We were a really close family; I think the fact that we were so close that helped us all cope with the fact that my uncle was not in here.”*

**(Ceci, 28 years old, uncle deported)**

The type of ties that our interviewees had with their relatives explains why their sentiments are so intense when deportation happens. Uncles and aunts have crucial emotional roles in these families.

#### The threat of deportation

For the participants in this study, once the deportation of their relatives happened, they become more aware of their own deportability and of their immediate relatives, as Jen explained regarding her father,

*“I just got scared about my dad because he doesn’t have any papers.”*

**(Jen, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

For the participants in this study, once the deportation of their relatives happened, they become more aware of their own deportability and of their immediate relatives, as Jen explained regarding her father,

#### New roles

The literature on the extended family says that the role of grandmothers is significant when both parents are deported, and that for children is more beneficial to be with their grandparents than in foster care (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018). In this study we also found that children with deported parents stay with their uncles or aunts. For the extended family, taking on these new roles can mean financial and emotional hardships since their resources are also limited.

*“My uncle was taken to Eloy Detention Center which is in Arizona. My aunty and my cousin, and the kids got sent to Kearns Recreational Center. From there, the first person who got released was my aunty. Her sons were sent back to us, so we had to pay for their plane tickets, and that was like a big financial situation because we had to pay like \$400 something out of our pockets. After that, it was my cousin who got released with her son. So, we had to pay for the bus tickets because we didn’t have enough for the plane. Then after that, my uncle was not released; we had to pay an attorney from Arizona to represent my uncle, but it was really hard because we didn't have enough money to feed four more mouths.”*

**(Molly, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

As we learn from interviewees' accounts, these unexpected expenses put families at risk, causing other types of vulnerabilities, as Molly described, such as food insecurity. In Molly’s case, her family had an unexpected expense, but they were not permanently losing a person’s economic contribution.

#### Financial burdens when the deported relative is abroad

Studies on reintegration state that deportation can be challenging for some deportees since they face significant barriers to finding employment (Golash-Boza and



Navarro 2018; Hagan et al. 2008). As a result, many deportees depend on their relatives to survive abroad (Boehm 2017; Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019). In this section, we discuss the main burdens that extended family members face when deportations happen.

Meli also explained how her grandmother limits her daily consumption to send money to her uncle,

*“It was really hard on her, little by little, she started saving up money here and there. Like she wouldn't buy certain things anymore just so she can save up a little more money and send to him.”*

**(Meli, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

#### Post-deportation

In the post-deportation context, extended family members are aware of the challenges their family members face when they return to the United States. Anna and Diana describe how their relatives struggle finding jobs or how they deal with the threat of deportation,

*“She can't, like, get a job because she doesn't have papers or anything. It's mostly just her husband, um, that works. She does like odd jobs, but it's all like paid under the table obviously um she makes like food for parties and stuff.”*

**(Anna, 21 years old, aunt deported)**

Members of the extended families described the hardship when their relatives returned to the United States. However, the extended family, at least in this sample, is not directly affected by the return of their relatives.

#### **The support of the extended family**

Studies have shown that grandparents, uncles, or aunts may be part of nuclear families (Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez 2008). The role of grandparents has been revealed in these studies where it has been noted that thousands of grandparents are principal caregivers to many US citizen children (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action 2018). Narratives in this study show that members of the extended family can be touched by deportations but, also, the extended family is vital in supporting nuclear families when someone is deported.

*“There was like one aunt, my aunt looked out for my mom, she was my mom's support system, maybe a niece or a brother that would help too.”*

**(Jorge, 31 years old, father deported)**

Equally, the financial assistance of the extended family is also vital, as Joe described,

*"It was hard, I mean, my uncles and my cousins, they would help us out with food, I place to stay, clothes here and there, I would go work with my uncles. They did like kind of construction on the side. So, I would go and help them out whenever I could, and he would give me a little money here and there, which would give us a little – for whatever we wanted it, you know, besides the basic stuff that my uncles and my aunts would give us."*

**(Joe, 29 years old, parents deported)**

Every extended family member, such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, or nieces, provided shelter, food, clothing, and work; without this assistance, many nuclear family members would have been in an even more difficult situation after the deportation of their immediate relatives. Equally, for individuals abroad, the assistance of the extended family is vital; without these ties, deportees abroad would have a more difficult time.

### **The support of friends**

In addition to the extended family, we found that friends and neighbors also offer help in these situations, as Brenda, Sandra, and Mile described.

Brenda remembers that to make visits to her father, they resorted to the help of a friend since she (the friend) was 'legal',

*"It hit me when um when my uncle's wife had to pick or girlfriend who had to pick us up cause at that time was, she (friend) was the only one legal."*

**(Brenda, 21 years old, father deported)**

For others, the support of friends consisted of writing letters to the judges to avoid the relative's deportation, as Described by Sandra.

*"We were writing letters to the judge and having a lot of our friends and family do it, too. To keep them from not deporting her."*

**(Sandra, 30 years old, mother deported)**

In Sandra's case, friends were also vital because they provided lodging when her mother was deported.

*"We would just stay with friends. We didn't really have money like that until we started really working. Then we finally got our first place."*

**(Sandra, 30 years old, mother deported)**

Mile also explained how her mother's friend allowed them to live with them when her father was deported.

*"My mom's friend let us live with them. She knew about our circumstances, and she would charge my mom rent, but it was really cheap. She would charge my mom three hundred dollars for the master bedroom, so it was me, my brother, and my mom."*

**(Mile, 20 years old, father deported)**

For Joana, her friend's support was necessary, as her friends used to visit her brother,

*"I went with one of my friends from high school because she would write to my brother, so she'll always go visit him. I'd be like, "Hey, tell me when you're going."*

**(Joana, 25 years old, bother deported)**

As described, the help that families need during deportation processes goes beyond the immediate and extended family. In some cases, the assistance of friends is essential to make visits, have housing, or access other types of support such as writing letters in cases of deportation.

## **THE IMPACTS ON THE NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILIES: ARE THEY SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT?**

In this section, we will describe the similarities and differences between nuclear and extended families experiencing deportation. We will observe that nuclear and extended families undergo similar burdens but also there are some differences.

### **Similarities between nuclear and extended families**

The similarities between nuclear and extended families are related to the context in which the deportation occurs, the gender of the person who is deported, the emotions that emerge when these relatives are deported, the new roles they are forced to assume, the financial burdens they have, and the difficulties that arise after deportation when their relatives return to the United States.

*Nuclear and extended families report emotional stability.* Members of nuclear and extended families mentioned how they had emotional stability and close ties to their relatives before their deportation. Despite being low-income families, nuclear and extended families describe how their relatives had certain job stability before deportation.

*The gender of the person deported.* This study findings support previous research on the gendered impacts of these repressive systems, more men than women are removed from these households (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, Baker and Marchevsky 2019). However, this research shows that other nuclear and extended family members such as sons, siblings, uncles, aunts, godparents, are deported causing significant emotionally and financially stress in families. Likewise, with the deportation of these men, women such as mothers, daughters, sisters are force them to assume roles and face changes in their relationships and families (Baker and Marchevsky 2019).

*Similar emotions when deportation happens.* Once deportation occurs, both nuclear and extended families report similar feelings related to emotions such as sadness, depression, anxiety, devastation or destruction. These emotions are result of the close ties they have with their relatives.

*New roles.* Members of nuclear and extended families must take on new roles (Valdivia 2021). Assuming these responsibilities generate families' disruptions and long-term conflicts.

*The threat of deportation.* The threat of deportation is part of the experience of members of the nuclear and extended families. Nevertheless, nuclear families expressed that they grew up with fear, while extended family members referred to the threat of deportation in the moment that the deportation of the relative happened.

*Financial burdens.* Since deportation occurs unexpected (Lonegan 2007), the financial burdens arise suddenly. Therefore, the financial obligations are very similar for nuclear and extended families, both nuclear and extended families must deal with immediate expenses that arise at the time of deportation. Likewise, both the nuclear and extended families continue to have costs associated with sending money to the deported person. When the relatives come back to the USA the fear and challenges persist. Both participants of nuclear and extended families describe how their relatives back in the USA continue to live in the shadows. However, nuclear families are the ones dealing with their relatives, their fear and lack of employment.

### **Differences between nuclear and extended families**

The main differences between nuclear and extended families suffering deportations are related to the fact that nuclear families deal with more conflicts and strained. Nuclear families report having more and permanent financial hardships, while extended families have temporal and unexpected expenses. Another difference is that nuclear families relying on the extended families located abroad. Additionally, during the post-deportation period nuclear families must deal with the return of their relatives to the USA.

*Nuclear families, conflicts and strained relationships.* The literature has shown that assuming these roles has negative impacts on young people because these new responsibilities can interfere with their academic future (Valdivia 2021). However, other types of intergenerational conflicts can be generated because very young people assume roles for which they are not prepared. For example, the case of young women who have conflicts with their mothers over the parenting styles.

*Nuclear families: permanent financial impacts.* For nuclear families, the impacts are direct and permanent. The interviewees also describe some of them having to make important changes such as moving from their houses and having to look for jobs. All these changes have adverse effects on people in these households, especially if they are young.

*Extended families: temporal financial impacts.* Another difference is that while the extended family is impacted financially and emotionally, the financial impacts are temporary. These 'temporary' expenses mean that the extended family makes significant money disbursements that could eventually put their financial stability at risk. The difference is that the extended families maintain their homes and jobs, unlike the nuclear family that loses an income and sometimes their houses permanently.

*The extended family abroad.* An important feature of nuclear families is how they depend on the extended family for their deported relatives to survive. These family abroad are sometimes unknown, but the kinship between them facilitates offering and getting help.

*Nuclear families and the aftermath of deportation.* Another difference is that nuclear families deal directly with their relatives when they return to the United States. Nuclear families confront the difficulties that their relatives have in securing employment. Equally, formerly deported people return to live under the shadow of deportation, which is also harmful to these families.

## DISCUSSION

### The nuclear family

The literature has described the adverse effects of parental deportation on children and how they suffer emotionally and materially. (Mendoza and Olivos 2009; Dreby 2012; Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014, Lovato et al. 2018). Prior research has also shown how fear is one of the emotions that characterize the lives of these families and their children; many experiences this fear even without having suffered deportation (Green 2019, Lovato et al. 2018). Based on narratives of adults who experience the deportation of fathers and husbands and brothers, stepfathers, fiancés, and sons, this research demonstrates how the deportation of these relatives also causes emotional pain and financial hardships.

The adults interviewed in this study show how deportations have both short- and long-term impacts. In the short term, these people suffered from the removal of their relatives. Still, they deal with emotions and conflicts resulting from these events. For example, some women in this study have current conflicts with their brothers and mothers because of the roles that arose during the deportation of their relatives. For example, some sisters do not talk to their brothers or mothers who argue with their daughters about how they assume the care of the siblings. As a result of these conflicts, many families are destroyed, there is a lot of pain and many conflicts generated by these events; many of these conflicts will be with these families forever.

Nuclear families compromise their financial stability, and therefore some of them can experience housing vulnerabilities. For nuclear families, financial impacts have profound effects, their daily routines and roles change, and it has especially adverse consequences on women and children. For nuclear families, these economic impacts are more compromising because they are constant and permanent. On top of the suffering, nuclear families deal with the necessities of the deportee abroad.

Finally, this study shows how the threat of deportation characterizes the experiences of the interviewees. Participants described how, since they were children, and before the deportation of their relatives, they lived with fear, even if they are citizens. When

the deportation happened, this fear increased, and they became aware of their and other relatives' vulnerability to deportation. Moreover, participants explain how some of their deported relatives returned to the USA but live in the shadows, which also affects families financially and emotionally.

#### The extended family

Scholars on deportations have identified the role of the extended family, particularly the role of grandparents in coparenting with their grandchild's parent(s) (Fuller-Thomson & Minkler, 2007, Zug 2009.) The literature has also shown that the extended family can experience deportation (Boehm 2009, Berger Cardoso et al. 2018). In this section, we will expand the knowledge on the impacts when deportation reaches the extended family and the role of the extended family when deportations occur.

#### The deportation of a member of the extended family

In this study, members of the extended family can be deported, causing emotional and financial stress on families. Due to the extended family's ties with the nuclear family, removing an uncle, an aunt, or other relatives who have important emotional roles can be just as psychologically shocking as removing an immediate relative. The economic impacts can be equally dramatic if the deported person supports the household financially. The role of the extended family pre-deportation indicates that the extended family has significant emotional and financial functions in the lives of individuals participating in the study. The deportation of extended family members is emotionally painful due to their significant role in the families studied. Their deportation causes emotional and material hardship like that suffered by nuclear families, as well financial burden that, although not permanent, can jeopardize the financial stability of extended families.

##### **A) The assistance provided by the extended family**

Our data indicate that nuclear families turn to the support of the extended family when deportation occurs. The extended family assumes different emotional roles when relatives are absent, including providing financial help, housing stability, and other resources such as jobs and clothing. Equally important is the support of the extended family when deportations happen since they have very close ties with nuclear families. In this study, the extended family shares the nuclear family's home, work, and other caregiving activities. Therefore, when deportation occurs, the extended family provides emotional and financial help. A significant role of the extended family is related to the help they provide to deportees when they are abroad (Silver et al. 2018, Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019). This extended family is often unknown, but due to kinship ties, these relationships are activated, and they provide the necessary support for the deportee to restart a new life.

#### **Similarities and differences**

The similarities are that nuclear and extended families suffer emotionally and financially when deportations occur. Both assume roles of caregivers, and both nuclear and extended families experience emotional and financial burdens due to these new roles. Financial expenses impact nuclear and extended families. However, financial burdens for nuclear families are permanent since the nuclear family loses an income and sometimes their housing. In contrast, even the extended family makes significant financial expenses. Still, their income stability and housing security are not affected. An important difference is that nuclear families face the return of the deportee and their difficulties finding employment and dealing with the fear of deportation. While the extended family abroad is the one that deals with the deportee helping him with housing, work, and support.

#### Conclusion

Studies on deportations have described the adverse impacts on families and children (Mendoza and Olivos 2009; Dreby 2012). Millions of children have been left by their parents, with severe emotional and financial consequences (Mendoza and Olivos 2009; Dreby 2012; Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter 2014, Lovato et al. 2018). Likewise, literature has shown how this system hurts citizen children's future (Rosas 2012).

Nonetheless, this study shows that mainly women, who are adults, citizens, and members of nuclear and extended families, deal with the deportation of parents and husbands and other significant relatives such as stepfathers, brothers, sons, uncles, aunts, and other loved ones with adverse consequences at the emotional and financial level.

By looking at the pre-deportation, during deportation and post-deportation timeframes, we can affirm that the deportation process “begins long before and carries on long after” (Drotbohm and Hasselberg, 2014:551) deportation itself, and that fear and vulnerability is a never end state in their life’s (Green 2019).

For nuclear and extended families experiencing deportations, the economic impacts are severe because these families are from low-income and minority communities (Gelatt et al. 2017, Green 2019, Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, Golash-Boza 2016, 2019). However, the economic impacts on the nuclear families tend to be permanent, while in the extended family, they can be temporary.

Regarding the role of the extended family, our study confirms previous research stating the presence of extended family members in immigrants' households and that they can be reach by the deportation system (Capps et al. 2015, Boehm 2009). In this study, the deportation of members of the extended family caused severe financial and emotional impacts. Deportation of uncles and aunts cause extreme emotional stress, and for some families, the expenses related to these deportations can put their financial stability at risk. Additionally, regarding the role of the extended family, narratives show the undeniable role of grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, cousins in providing emotional support when nuclear families experience deportation. Extended families are vital to providing housing for children when their parents are deported or when the mother cannot afford to pay the rent or mortgage. Also crucial is the role of the extended family abroad (Silver et al. 2018, Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2019); without the extended family, the deportees would have a challenging time adapting to their 'home country.' The extended family is often unknown, but due to the ties of kinship, it is possible for them to get help.

#### Limitations and future research

Fear is an ever-present sentiment in families that experience deportations, and many times there is also this fear in sharing their stories. Therefore, there are topics or information that are not entirely clear or explained in detail which is a limitation in this study. Therefore, it will be ideal to have the opportunity to conduct a second interview to examine in detail some topics or events.

Future research should study how young women resolve the conflicts when they or their siblings assume roles as parents. In this study, many relationships are fracture with several conflicts because of these roles. Therefore, it would be interesting to understand how these women rebuild their lives. Another area of research is related to the role of extended families abroad and the burdens associated with assisting their deported relatives.

## CHAPTER FOUR: Comparison of the impacts of deportations and incarcerations

### INTRODUCTION

The rise in the number of incarcerations and deportations over the past few decades has generated a series of research studies focused on the reasons for these high numbers and the impacts of these systems of repression on communities, families, and children (Clear 2009; Johnson 2011; Golash-Boza 2015; Park and Gleeson 2014). The United States incarcerates millions of people. At the same time, it is the country with the highest number of apprehensions of undocumented people and deportations of immigrants." (Chase Ed. 2019: 8). Considering these high numbers, many studies on deportation and incarceration have examined both repressive social and economic systems and the prevailing consequences.

Studies on deportation focus primarily on understanding the impacts on families, children, and communities and the reintegration process for deported individuals (Gelatt et al. 2017; Martin 2017; Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018). Studies on incarceration have shown the burdens on incarcerated individuals, their families, and communities (Watts et al. 1996; Wildeman et al. 2019). Studies agree that through incarceration and deportation, a significant group of individuals and their families are left unprotected and deprived of fundamental rights such as voting, education, health, and housing, with immediate and long-lasting consequences (Loyd 2011; Shaw 2016; Western 2002; Foster and Hagan 2007). These studies have also shown how children and young people suffer emotionally and materially after the deportation or incarceration of their parents (Kubrin et al. 2012, Nessel 2019).

However, due to the high numbers of incarcerations and deportations, scholars have begun to identify the similarities between the two systems (Golash-Boza 2016b; Chase 2019). A study conducted by Golash-Boza (2016b) states that both systems are very similar since the two aim to control and remove Black and Latino men. For this author, although the two systems began at different times—incarcerations in the '70s and deportations in late 90s—both systems emerged as a response to economic crises. For Golash Boza (2016b), the systems of incarceration and deportation also have raced and gendered impacts, meaning that men are the ones who are removed from their homes while women are the ones who are left in charge of these homes (Golash Boza 2016b). Women are forced to assume new emotional and financial roles, which impacts their well-being and that of their children (Golash Boza 2016b; Baker and Marchevsky 2019). Patler and Branic (2017) were concerned with the high numbers of incarcerations and deportations and the long-term detention on detained immigrants; these scholars were occupied with understanding if immigrants' families experienced similar or different burdens as citizen families visiting their incarcerated relatives. This study found that immigrants' families experience immigration detention differently than U.S. families experiencing the consequences of incarceration (Patler and Branic 2017).

A recent study by Ceciliano-Navarro and Golash-Boza (2021) examine narratives of adults experiencing deportation or incarceration. This study's findings show that the emotional and financial burdens of deportation and incarceration are similar. However, the effects of deportation and incarceration on individuals beyond the nuclear family have not been considered yet. Therefore, the present study aims to expand on the previous literature by demonstrating in more detail the similarities and differences between the narratives of members of nuclear and extended families who experienced the incarceration or deportation of a relative.

In addition to comparing the impacts of incarceration and deportation, we also explore whether the effects suffered by nuclear and extended families are similar or different. Therefore, this research answers the following question: How do family members experience the emotional and financial burdens of deportation and incarceration?



## LITERATURE REVIEW

### STUDIES ON INCARCERATIONS

Millions of children in the United States have experienced the incarceration of their parents; according to the Child and Adolescent Health Measurement Initiative (2016), "more than 5.7 million kids under age 18, have experienced parental incarceration at some point during their lives" (Gotsch 2018:7). This situation is shocking, considering that most of these households are Black and in low-income communities, and many of these families are financially unstable (Blankenship et al. 2018; Arditti et al. 2003). For Arditti et al. (2003) "the most vulnerable became even more financially strained after incarceration" (195). These circumstances are worrying considering that only around 50% of the parents lived with the children before incarceration, and a similar percentage contributed to the household (Visher and Travis 2011; McKay 2018; Hairston 2009). Hairston (2009) found that 63% of fathers shared responsibility for the daily care of their children with another adult. Considering this context, the father's imprisonment implies many changes in families (Sharp 1997; Wright and Seymour 2000). The presence and income of this father no longer exist, so the family must manage to assume emotional and financial responsibilities (Arditti 2005; Wildeman 2014; Murray et al. 2009; Tasca et al. 2011; Siennick 2014). Usually, the mother must look for a job or two; sometimes, even the children must start contributing financially. When children are forced to assume emotional or financial responsibilities, it negatively affects their future development since they often must stop attending school. The mother's absence because she must work long hours also impacts the children's behavior, and without supervision, these children will see their school performance decline (Tasca et al. 2011; Comfort 2008; Martin 2017).

For many families, the father's absence implies vulnerability of housing and food (Tasca et al. 2011; McKay et al. 2018; Wildeman et al. 2019). Families are also prevented from transferring assets and resources to children long-term, impacting their social mobility and increasing children's social exclusion (Foster and Hagan 2007; Lloyd 2011; Miller and Barnes 2015; Siennick 2016). Children with incarcerated parents also suffer from stigma, anxiety, lack of sleep, and concentration (Miller 2006; Shaw 2016; Luther 2016). These emotions negatively impact their school performance (Comfort 2008; Martin 2017). Other children have behavioral changes that make them react violently or erratically (Miller 2006).

Maintaining contact with an incarcerated parent is an emotional and financial drain for families (Arditti 2005; Clear et al. 2001; Comfort 2009; Christian et al. 2006). Calls and package shipping are expensive (Christian et al. 2006; Schlafer et al. 2010; Comfort 2009). Other logistical aspects could limit this contact with the incarcerated parent, such as the location of prisons, visiting hours, and characteristics of the prisons (Patler and Branic 2017)

Likewise, after the release of the imprisoned family member, the burden continues. If the relationships were cordial during incarceration, this relative might return to his immediate family, which will involve emotional burdens as the family must adjust to the presence of the formerly incarcerated (Bradley et al. 2001; La Vigne et al. 2004; Naser and Visher 2006). Similarly, the financial burdens remain since many formerly incarcerated cannot find work due to the criminal record and stigma; consequently, they have limited possibilities to contribute to their household, causing further conflicts and financial vulnerabilities (Visher and Travis 2011).

These impacts are exacerbated by the fact that most incarcerated persons are from low-income and minority communities: Black and Latino men are more likely to be detained and incarcerated than their White counterparts (Noguera, Hurtado, and Fergus 2013; Blankenship et al. 2018; Subramanian, Riley, and Mai 2018; Denby 2012; Douglas et al. 2018). On top of dealing with the criminal justice system and stigma, many of these families also deal with other contextual problems such as mental and physical illness (Hairston 2009). For these low-income families and communities suffering incarceration, the support of the extended family is vital (Hairston 2009; Denby 2012; Strozier et al. 2011; Geller et al. 2016; Berg and Huebner 2011).

#### The extended family

Studies have shown that the support of the extended family in Black families is the result of cultural patterns of cooperation and support, which have also allowed these

families to deal with moments of crisis and poverty. (Stack 1975; Carlson and Cervera 1991). More recent studies have found evidence of how, because of these cultural norms, Black and Hispanic families get the support of the extended family, particularly during incarceration (Ruiz 2002; Crockett and Gibby 2021). In this regard, studies on child placement after parental incarceration found that Hispanic and Black children are more likely to be in extended family care than white children (Crockett and Gibby 2021).

The role of grandmothers in maternal incarceration has also been examined in the literature (Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2002; Mumola 2000; Strozier et al. 2011; Dallaire 2007; Hunter 1997; Engstrom 2008; Baker et al. 2010). Even grandmothers experiencing poverty and health problems are willing to assume the task of caring for their relatives (Ruiz 2002). The predisposition of grandmothers to be the guardian of children despite their poor conditions results from Black families' expectations regarding the extended family's support (McAdoo 1982).

The role of other family members has been also mentioned, as uncles and aunts can transmit norms and values to children in the absence of parents (Dallaire 2007). What happens in families when an extended family member is imprisoned or deported? What kind of impacts does this have on the family? What kind of support does the extended family provide when there is incarceration or deportation in the nuclear family? All these questions have not been answered in the current literature. Therefore, in this study following the question is answered: ***How does incarceration affect extended families, and how are these effects different or like the impacts suffered by nuclear families?***

## STUDIES ON DEPORTATIONS

Millions of children in the United States live with at least one caregiver who is not authorized to live in the country "approximately 5.9 million US citizen children (and at least three million more children who are in the US without authorization) have at least one caregiver who does not have the authorization to reside in the United States" (A Policy Statement by the Society for Community Research and Action: Division 27 of the American Psychological Association 2018:3). The situation is worrying for these children as many of the deported communities and families are low-income and minority (Gelatt et al. 2017; Green 2019; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Golash-Boza 2016, 2019). So, with deportation, the emotional and financial condition of these families is aggravated.

Several studies have found that immigrants and mixed-status families, although over-represented in low-income families, generally do have a job, and men tend to live with their children (Noguera and Hurtado 2013). However, once the father figure is removed from the home, it has negative financial implications for families and particularly for children. (Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017). The lack of the financial contribution of the deported person creates substantial economic instability, and families are usually forced to move with their relatives (Brabeck et al. Hunter 2014; Koball et al. 2015). Sometimes women and children are forced to assume financial responsibilities, which strongly impact their daily routines (Dreby 2012). In general, families are more likely to experience impoverishment (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2018; Gelatt et al. 2017; Warren and Kerwin 2017; Berger Cardoso et al. 2018).

Children must deal with many negative emotions when fathers are removed (Brabeck et al. 2014). The anxiety and fear that children experience have adverse effects on their health and school performance (Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2012; Dreby 2015; Arriaga 2017; Potochnick, Jen-Hao, and Perreira 2017; Capps et al. 2015; Lonigan 2007). For scholars, this low school performance is an immediately visible consequence in children, but it has long-term outcomes since it impacts children's social mobility (Chaudry et al. 2010; Brabeck and Xu 2010; Warren and Kerwin 2017; Montes 2019).

For families and children, maintaining contact with their parents while they are detained (before deportation) is an additional source of stress (Zatz and Rodriguez 2015; Patler and Branic 2017). This is due not only to the characteristics of the prisons, distance, schedules, and logistical issues but also to the immigration status of the families, who often must avoid these visits for fear of deportation. (Patler and Branic 2017; Montes 2019). When deportation is imminent, the emotional impacts on children and their families continue (Hagan et al. 2009; Silver et al. 2018). For many families it is difficult to maintain contact with the deported person or travel abroad to meet them (Hagan et al. 2008; Menjivar and Abrego 2009). Deportees also face challenges finding employment and, therefore, contributing to their families (Golash-Boza and Navarro 2018; Hagan et al. 2008).

Consequently, “the burden of supporting the deportee during readjustment to life in the home country often falls upon those left behind” (Lonegan, 2007:73). In addition, without the possibility of returning in an authorized manner, some deportees return by their own means, which implies emotional and financial burdens for their families (Boehm 2017). Some returnees face difficulties in finding a job because they do not have the proper documentation. Other individuals come back but start to live in the shadows to avoid being deported again (Green 2019).

These impacts are aggravated because most of the people deported are immigrants of low-income communities and mixed status families, where the target of deportations are mainly Latino men (Gelatt et al. 2017; Green 2019; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013). For families dealing with events of deportation, the extended family is vital (Boehm 2017).

## STUDIES ON DEPORTATIONS AND INCARCERATIONS

Recently, and due to the high numbers of incarcerations and deportations, some scholars have begun to study the similarities between these two forms of state repression (Golash-Boza 2016; Chase et al. Ed. 2019; Lonegan 2007). Studies state that "it is well known that with 2.3 million people caged in jails and prisons that the United States incarcerates more of its people than any nation on the globe. With 5 percent of the world's general population but 25 percent of the world's prison population, the United States has been rightly marked on the world map as a global empire for human caging" (Chase 2019:6). For Chase (2019) "beyond the caging of U.S. citizens, the United States apprehended another 662,000 undocumented immigrants and ICE expelled 438,000 undocumented immigrants in 2013 alone." (8). Considering the high numbers of incarcerations and deportations (Arditti 2018, Lonegan 2007), scholars have analysed the various similarities between these two punitive systems (Golash-Boza 2016). One of the similarities is that Black and Latino men are mostly imprisoned or detained. In addition, both systems emerged as a response to economic crises, incarceration in the '70s with the oil crises and deportation during the great recession of 2007 (Golash-Boza 2016). For Golash-Boza (2016), there are also "raced and gendered discourses that made this targeting possible" (492). The discourses of fear of crime have portrayed Black people as the only perpetrators of crimes, therefore justifying their incarceration. At the same time, anti-immigrant rhetorics present them as dangerous, savage, illegals which allows them to be criminalized and, therefore, detained, and deported.

The adverse effects of these repressive systems do not only impact Black and Latino men but their communities and families (Sharp 1997; Wright and Seymour 2000; Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017). Thousands of children grow up without the presence of their parents, and the lack of these parental figures has negative emotional, social, cognitive, and health impacts, with long- and short-term effects on the opportunities of minors (Miller 2006; Arditti 2012; Kubrin, Zatz, and Martinez 2012; Dreby 2015; Arriaga 2017). Since in both incarceration and deportation, women are the ones left behind, and in charge of the households, scholars agree the consequences of deportation and imprisonments on families are "gendered and racialized" (Golash Boza 2016; Baker and Marchevsky 2019).

Although these studies have demonstrated the similarities of the incarceration and deportation systems, few studies have shown the similarities and differences regarding the adverse impacts on families and their children. Patler and Branic (2017) stated that there is "an unprecedented convergence in immigration and criminal laws, leading to an influx of noncitizens into the federal criminal justice system" (18). In this study, the authors try to understand the impact of "long term detention on detained immigrants and their families" (19), since "more than 15 percent of Mexicans deported from the interior of the United States had been held in ICE custody for more than one year before deportation" (19) suggesting that immigration detention has become much more akin to incarceration. For Patler and Branic (2007), even though there are similarities between immigration detention and criminal incarceration, it is plausible that due to characteristics of the migrant population, they experience immigration detention differently than U.S. families experience incarceration.

In a recent study, Ceciliano-Navarro and Golash-Boza (2021) compared the narratives of adults who lived with someone who was deported or incarcerated. This study, based on 111 adult individuals with a family member incarcerated (54) or deported (57),

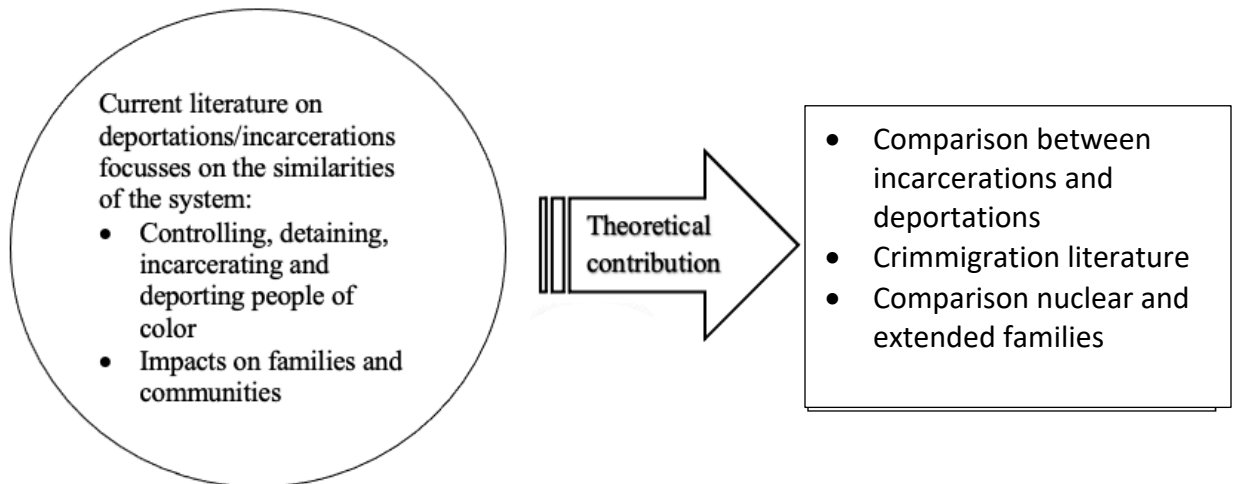
unveiled that experiencing deportation or incarceration has long-lasting emotional and financial impacts and that the deportation or incarceration of other relatives such as brothers, aunts, cousins also have severe emotional and economic impacts. Therefore, and considering the previous scholarship on deportation and incarceration, this study answers the following questions: 1) Are the impacts of incarceration and deportation similar or different? 2) Are the incarceration or deportation impacts experienced by nuclear families similar or different from extended families?

Gap, research questions and theoretical contribution

Most studies on deportations and incarceration have been describing how the systems that deport, detain and incarcerate people are similar (Golash-Boza 2016; Chase et al. Ed. 2019; Lonagan 2007). For scholars, both systems emerged in times of economic crisis and have focused on the removal of poor people of color. However, few studies have compared the effects of deportation and incarceration on families, and if the impacts are similar or different on nuclear and extended families similar way.

Therefore, this study will contribute to understand if the impacts of incarcerations and deportations are similar, how the intersection of the judicial system and immigration making immigrants vulnerable, and finally by demonstrating if nuclear and extended families undergo similar or different impacts result of deportations or incarcerations.

Figure 6. Theoretical contribution studies on incarcerations and deportations



Studies on deportations and incarcerations

One of the main contributions of this study is to compare whether the effects of incarceration and deportation are similar or different. Findings show that families who suffer deportations and incarceration experience very similar burdens. Both families suffer the removal of a family member and their emotional and financial contribution. Both families suffer disruptions in their relationships and must assume roles that generate emotional stress. Families who suffer incarceration and deportations are from low-income communities, and their economic situation tends to worsen after the deportation or removal of a relative. These families are destined to experience greater poverty and exclusion.

METHODS AND DATA

Using the snowball method, 111 individuals over 18 years of age who have lived with a deported or incarcerated family member were interviewed to understand how deportation and incarceration affect families in the Central Valley of California. The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2019. Out of the 111, 54 individuals experienced the incarceration of a relative while 57 experienced the deportation of a family

member. The interviews lasted from one hour to two hours, and notes were also taken during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in Spanish or English, depending on participants' preferences. The interviews were occurred in different California locations, in participant's houses, or public places.

The interview guide included various sections used to explore the person's family history, schooling, youth, and relationship with the deported or imprisoned relative. The interview guide also included a section about the vision of the current judicial system and interviewees' prospects for the future. For this study, the names of the interviewees were changed to pseudonyms. Participants received a \$30 Target gift card for participating in the study. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Later, each interview was transcribed and coded.

To analyse the information, an excel table was created to systematize information regarding age, year of birth, the number of siblings, approximate year in which the removal of the relative occurred, and other socio-demographic information. Interviews were coded by the pre-deportation/pre-incarceration, during deportation/incarceration, and post-deportation/incarceration context, and for each stage, we generated codes to identify information about these families' emotional and financial situations. In the case of the pre-deportation/incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to the type of the relationship with the relative before deportation and testimonies reflecting the relative's financial contribution. For the during deportation/incarceration context, we coded testimonies related to individuals' sentiments during the incarceration/deportation. Other codes identified from the interviews were related to families dealing with the judicial systems, burdens associated with new roles and emerging conflicts, and financial burdens. Finally, we coded the most striking and frequent testimonies related to the families dealing with the deportees once they returned to the USA and the challenges families faced or with the formerly incarcerated returning to the household.

The profile of the people interviewed align with research on incarceration and deportation that show more men are impacted by both punishment systems, while women are the ones who remain facing the complications resulting from the absence of their relatives (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Baker and Marchevsky 2019). In our sample, out of 111, 76% (85) individuals interviewed were females, while 23% (26) were males. The range of ages of the 111 participants was 18 to 80 years old. Seventy-four percent (83) of participants were born in the US, while 15% (17) were born in Mexico and 0.9% (one) in Yemen.

*Table 18. Profile people interviewed.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=111*

	Incarceration	Deportation	Total
<b>Gender person interviewed</b>			
<b>Male</b>	14	11	25
<b>Female</b>	40	46	86
<b>Individuals of nuclear families interviewed</b>	43	48	91
<b>Individuals of extended families interviewed</b>	11	9	20
<b>Age (mean years)</b>	41,5	28	
	20-80	(18-61)	
<b>Marital status</b>			
<b>Single</b>	19	42	61
<b>Married</b>	21	7	28
<b>Cohabiting</b>	3	4	7
<b>Divorced</b>	3	2	5
<b>Others</b>	8	2	10

<b>Country of birth</b>			
<b>USA</b>	46	37	83
<b>Mexico</b>	8	19	27
<b>Other</b>	0	1	1
<b>Have children</b>			
<b>Yes</b>	35	15	50
<b>No</b>	19	42	61
<b>Gender of the relative incarcerated or deported</b>			
	Incarcerated	Deported	
<b>Male</b>	53	47	100
<b>Female</b>	1	10	11
<b>Relative came back</b>			
<b>Yes</b>	32	20	52
<b>No</b>	22	37	59
<b>Sample size</b>	54	57	111

Profile of individuals interviewed for the incarceration study

In our sample, 74% of individuals interviewed (40 out of 54) were females, while 26% (14) were males. Most of the relatives incarcerated are men, while only few women were incarcerated in this sample.

*Table 19. Gender people interviewed, and gender of the relative incarcerated. 2015-2019 California. N=54*

	Female	Male	Total
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>	40	14	54
<b>Gender of relative incarcerated</b>	3	51	54

The range of age of the 54 participants was 20 to 80 years old. The mean age was 42, while the mode was 20. The mean of schooling is 13.9 years.

As for marital status, 19 of the interviewees are single while the rest are in different situations, 21 married, 3 cohabiting, 3 divorced, 2 engaged, 2 separated and 4 widowed.

Thirty-five of those interviewed have children.

Regarding the age and time when the events happened, 55% (30) experienced the incarceration of a relative when they were over 18 years old, while 44% (24) were under 18 years old. Most of our interviewees experienced the incarceration of a relative over ten years ago 55%, while the rest 44% (24) within the last decade.

The US-born individuals in our sample are 85% (46), while 15% (8) were born in Mexico.

Given the large number of state and federal prisons in California, it is not surprising that more than 50% (33) interviewed experienced the imprisonment of two or more relatives, and that 4.5% (5) experienced incarceration themselves.

In our sample, 75% (43) experience the incarceration of a nuclear family member while 20% (11) the incarceration of a member of the extended family. Nuclear families experience the incarceration of sons, fathers, brothers, husbands, sisters, and mothers.

Table 20. Nuclear family members incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=43

Relative Incarcerated	Number
Son	14
Father	13
Brother	8
Husband	3
Stepson	1
Sister	1
Partner	1
Ex-Partner	1
Mother	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>

Participants of extended families experienced the incarceration of cousins, uncles, nephews, and grandsons (see Table No. 23)

Table 21. Extended family members incarcerated.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=11

Relative Incarcerated	Number
Nephew	1
Son in law	1
Uncles	2
Grandchildren	2
Cousins	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>

Some of the reasons people were imprisoned are related to gang membership and drugs, as well as drinking in public and stealing.

The post-incarceration data shows that 59% of the relatives are no longer incarcerated; 22 returned with their families.

#### Profile of individuals interviewed for the deportation study

In this study, 80.7% (46) individuals interviewed in our sample were females, while 19.3% (11) were males. This profile aligns with research on deportation describing how more men are deported, while in contrast, women remain facing the complications that result from the absence of their relatives.

Table 22. Gender people interviewed, and gender of relative deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=57

	Female	Male	Total
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>	46	11	57
<b>Gender of relative deported</b>	10	47	57

The range of age of the 57 participants was 18 to 61 years old. The mean age of this sample is 28, while the mode is 20. This perhaps explains why most of the interviewees are single (42) while only 15 of them have children. The 61% (35) of the individuals in

the study were under 18 when the removal of a relative happened, while 35% (20) of them were over 18. Around half of the deportations, 54% (31) occurred in the last decade 2010-2020 while 35% (20) deportations occurred during the 2000-2010 decade. Two individuals did not report when the events happened.

Sixty-five percent (37) of the interviews were born in the US, while 35% (19) were born in Mexico and Yemen. Given the high number of undocumented immigrants in California, it is not surprising that around 29% (17) participants experience the deportation of more than one relative, such as both parents or more than one sibling in our sample.

Participants of nuclear families 84% (48 cases) experienced the deportation of brothers, fathers, mothers, stepfathers, ex-fiancés, ex-husbands, and sons.

*Table 23. Nuclear family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=48*

<b>Relative deported</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Father</b>	22
<b>Brother</b>	10
<b>Mother</b>	6
<b>Husband</b>	3
<b>Both parents</b>	2
<b>Stepfather</b>	2
<b>Ex-fiancé</b>	1
<b>Ex-husband</b>	1
<b>Son</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	48

In the case of participants that experience the deportation of members of the extended family, 16% (9 participants) reported the deportation of brothers-in-law, godfathers, aunts, uncles, and godfathers.

*Table 24. Extended family members deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=9*

<b>Relative deported</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Brother-in-law</b>	1
<b>Godfather</b>	1
<b>Aunt</b>	3
<b>Uncle</b>	4
<b>Total</b>	9

The post-deportation information shows that around 52% (30) of the relatives deported are still abroad, while about 35% (20) are back in the US. Some of the reasons these individuals got deported were being involved in a car accident, drinking in public, gang and drug-related issues, or being pulled over and using fake immigration documents.



FINDINGS

DEPORTATIONS AND INCARCERATIONS: SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT IMPACTS?

SIMILARITIES

The literature has shown the different impacts that incarceration and deportation have on nuclear families, particularly children and young people (Miller 2006; Shaw 2016; Luther 2016; Dreby 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Ybarra and Peña 2017). In this section, we will highlight the similarities between nuclear families experiencing deportations or incarcerations.

*Similarities on the gender of the person removed from the household (Gendered impacts)*

This study shows that primarily men are removed, and women are left behind, supporting previous research on the raced and gendered impacts of both repression systems (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Baker and Marchevsky 2019). In our sample 86 out 111 interviewees suffered the deportation or incarceration of a male relative.

Table 25. Gender of people interviewed, and gender of the relative incarcerated or deported.  
2015-2019 California.

	Incarceration	Deportation
<b>Gender of person interviewed</b>		
Male	14	11
Female	40	46
<b>Gender of the relative incarcerated or deported</b>	Incarcerated	Deported
Male	53	47
Female	1	10

The next table describes the family members deported or incarcerated. As we can observe, fathers are the most deported or incarcerated, while the category brother accounts for second one to be more deported or incarcerated.

Table 26. Nuclear family members incarcerated and deported.  
2015-2019 California.  
N=91

Incarcerated	Number	Deported	Number
Son	14	Father	22
Father	13	Brother	10
Brother	8	Mother	6
Husband	3	Husband	3
Stepson	1	Both parents	2
Sister	1	Stepfather	2
Partner	1	Ex-fiancé	1
Ex-Partner	1	Ex-husband	1
Mother	1	Son	1
	43		48

### ***Similar fractured relationships, new roles, and conflicts***

In both incarceration and deportation, families experience fractured relationships, and they take on new roles, which generate conflicts. These cause severe emotional impacts on families and erode the foundations of relationships and limit people's ability to have cordial and close relationships with each other (Carlson and Cervera 1991).

*"You don't even see her. So, it's like- it hurts us because we can't see her. Cause his baby's mom is like being a total b... like not even let us see her at all... it sucks."* **(Drake, 27 years old, brother still incarcerated)**

*"It has affected me a lot, because the mother, she won't let us see them (grandchildren), we did not know about them (grandchildren) if they ate, if she treated them well, or if they had where to sleep (grandchildren) it was very difficult, a lot."*

**(Paule, 46 years old, son deported)**

As many authors state, the extended family is important since grandparents can not only care for children but also transmit values and provide a stable context when a crisis happens (Dallaire 2007; Taschman and Muruthi 2019). The testimonies presented show how these children without access to their grandmothers or uncles are being prevented from having the influence of the extended family, their values, norms, and emotional support.

This intergenerational punishment is similar for families experiencing deportation or incarceration. As stated by scholars, this multigenerational punishment "is a distinct form of legal violence wherein the sanctions intended for a specific population spill over to negatively affect individuals who are not targeted by laws" (Enriquez 2015:939). When incarceration or deportation happens the goal is to punish the one who committed the 'crime' however, as we can observe, uncles, nieces, grandmothers, and grandchildren are also punished because of these laws.

This research shows that family members affected by both incarceration or deportation assume roles (Christian et al. 2006) but they generate many other conflicts between relatives (Carlson and Cervera 1991). In the event of an incarceration, when a brother takes the role of the father, disagreements among siblings can be generated. For example, Franky explains how he in the role of a father, he was not aware of his siblings' emotions, he was just the man of the house

*"I did not know what my sister and what my little brothers were going through and how they felt but I felt like I was the man of the house."* **(Franky, 41 years old, father incarcerated)**

In the event of deportation when a brother assumes to be the guardian for his brother's children, it can generate conflicts with the wife and his own children, as Jacobo explained.

*"A lot of this took a toll on my marriage because, in six years, I had two extra children living with me, that weren't mine, but I had to care for them, and my kids would see it, my older ones. My wife would be like okay, you're not spending all your time that you're supposed to with your own kids, and now, you have two other kids (nieces)."* **(Jacobo, 40 years old, brother deported)**

The conflicts generated by these new roles have immediate yet long-term emotional impacts on these people's relationships. As scholars have stated, these "forms of legal violence" interrupt usual family dynamics and erode individuals' social capital (Enriquez 2015). As noted, before, these individuals will probably never overcome the resentment and anger resulting from these conflicts.

### ***Similar experiences with the judicial system***

Studies point out that due to the expansion of the deportation system and the influx of non-citizens into the prison system is getting higher, it is possible that more and more families and communities immigrant communities and mix status families experience similar burdens to those experienced by people with incarcerated relatives.

In this study, people who have family members detained (before deportation) and incarcerated family members must deal with the judicial system. The narratives of members of nuclear families who experienced the detention or incarceration of a relative explain the similar challenges they faced regarding visiting their relatives. The burdens are related with the organizations of visits and the cost associated with having someone detained or incarcerated.

#### *The experience of visits or encounters with the system can be traumatic for both*

In both cases people with family members detained or in the process of imprisonment show how these experiences can be traumatic, for Joana the arbitrariness of getting to see her brother and not being allowed to do so, while for Jay to see his father detained, feeling how really what is happening is something serious and traumatic. In both cases dealing with the System generates very adverse emotions.

*"My mom told me two weeks I had that I was gonna see my brother, and I hadn't seen him for a year, so I was very excited. I get there, I go through the whole process, and at the end they just tell me I can't go. I was just like, "How could you do that to someone?"*

**(Joana, 25 years old, bother deported)**

Gigi shared a similar experience with her fiancé, sometimes the authorities simple cancelled the visits

*"The 30 minutes they gave him on Sunday, if they didn't cancel them, because to get there from where I was, it was two and a half hours to get to the detention, and from there, they just gave you half an hour to be on the visit."*

**(Gigi, 33 years old, fiance deported)**

*I went to attend a couple of his court when you see them being taken into a courtroom where they are in a jumpsuit and handcuffs that is where you get a reality check. Then you realize, "wow this is for real, this is as real as it gets pretty much."*

**(Jay-Jay, 41 years old, father incarcerated)**

#### *The system threatens undocumented individuals and generate fear*

Another similarity is that people with detained or deported relatives experience the fear of deportation.

*"I do not have papers, and what if I go there and they detain me and deport me."*

**(Mariana, 39 years old, brother deported)**

*"I feel like it's just made me more aware, like not to do anything that is illegal. And, the fact that like, being undocumented, it does Kinda like skip-make you afraid of like any authority that has power to like arrest you and detain you. Um, so it has made me calmer and more like aware not to do anything bad."*

**(Mark, 21 years old cousin incarcerated)**

#### *Sending money to the person in detained or incarcerated*

Both nuclear and extended families experiencing deportations and incarcerations deal with the expense of contributing to the personas detained or incarcerated

*I think we were just allowed to give him money, nothing dangerous, nothing – I remember I tried to give a belt for his pants. I was like, “Can I give him a belt?” They were so rude. They were like, “What do you want him to do? Hang somebody, they’re like, “No. You can only give him money. That’s really about it for whatever he’s gonna need.”*

***(Laura, 38 years old, father deported)***

*“I was talking this is between me, my mother, and my sister-in-law, we get him about \$80 a month for his books and his basic necessities, almost a \$1000 a year, he’s been in jail for 15 years we basically put in \$15,000, that is like a new car...and then his phone is about \$100 a month, we are up to about \$500 every time that we visit him.”*

***(Jesse, 34-years-old, brother still incarcerated)***

Families experiencing detention and deportations have burdens associated to sending money to the detained/incarcerated relative. In these cases, the most important to determine in future research is the duration of this burden, that is, how long families should make this expense.

#### *Burdens with lawyers and cost of bonds*

Both families with detained or incarcerated members must deal with the high costs of paying bail bonds and lawyers, equally both families must deal with the consequences of these costs. In the case of Mariana for her and her family it was to accept that her brother was going to be deported since they did not have money for the defense of her brothers, while for Yolanda these expenses would have other implications such as compromising her housing stability.

*“And the lawyer says, it is \$8000 and just to start the case, and well I say \$8000? I said, no we can’t “*

***(Mariana, 39 years old, brother deported)***

*“It affected me a lot because I was at the point of selling my house to pay for an attorney to get him out because at that time, they charged me \$10,000, but I started thinking, I am going to lose my house, and maybe my son won’t get better, I decided for him to stay in jail even if it meant suffering seeing him there jailed.”*

***(Yolanda, 73-years-old, son formerly incarcerated)***

#### *Logistical challenges*

For families with relatives detained (before their deportation) and incarcerated relatives, distance remains a fundamental factor in maintaining contact with their relatives, for both Alfonso and Monse, out-of-state visits were not possible.

*“I visited him when he was in Fresno and I visited him when he was in Bakersfield, I never went to visit him in Arizona.”*

***(Alfonso, 29 years old, father deported)***

*We were only able to visit him when, he got locked up here, when he came back and that was in Fresno. Because everywhere else he was kind of out of state.*

***(Monse, 24 years old, brother incarcerated)***

This study shows how relatives of detainees (before deportation) and incarcerated people deal with similar challenges when faced with the judicial system. Both families who experience detentions and incarcerations face logistical problems as well as the high costs generated by the system (payment of bonds, calls and sending of money). Likewise, for undocumented people with both incarcerated and detained people it becomes a greater

challenge to be able to support their relatives in prison. As Patler and Branich (2017) state “immigrant families experience immigration imprisonment differently than families of U.S. citizens do criminal incarceration” (p. 23). These limitations on visits for migrant families and mixed immigration status generate ruptures with detainees that also constitute another way of punishing detainees. (Patler and Branich 2017).

### ***Similar financial burdens***

We can observe, families experiencing deportation or incarceration suffer similar difficulties. Women must face the financial responsibilities of the household while at the same time must assist with the incarcerated or deported person's needs. As scholars have stated, families experiencing deportation or incarceration face extreme financial hardships and, therefore, are reduced to poverty (Lonegan 2007; Warren and Kerwin 2017).

*Women deal with their own needs and responsibilities and the ones of the incarcerated or deported person*

*“Yah because I would only have that one source of income and he would want so much money on his books, I would send him \$100, he would only get 50 or 40 bucks because they would take 60 or 50% of the money to go for his restitution.”*

**(Alice, 29 years old, husband formerly incarcerated)**

*“Because we have always bought everything for the children (in USA) and also helping him (send money in prison in Mexico).”*

**(Paule, 46 years old, son deported)**

### ***Similar post-incarceration and post-deportation challenges***

Something similar in experiences of deportation and incarceration is that families suffer emotionally and financially from the inability of their relatives to get work in the post-deportation or post-incarceration period.

In the case of families with formerly incarcerated relatives, and due to the stigma, they do not find jobs, and therefore, they become a financial burden for the families.

*“It leads to like you said, you cannot find a job when you’ve been to jail because they might think you might steal or you’re not responsible, so there is always something that stays with you until you get cleared with that in your record.”*

**(Mireya, 50 years old, brother incarcerated)**

In deportations, even if the relative deported returns to the United States and due to the fear of deportation and the lack of documents, they had a hard time finding a job, and therefore, contribute to the family.

*But it's constantly that fear. Like just now, on his drive to work, can he be stopped?*

**(Anne, 21 years old, father deported)**

As we can observe, families suffering incarceration and deportation continue to struggle in the post-deportation or post-incarceration period. Stigma remains for individuals who are released from prison, while fear remain for deportees who return. Stigma and fear prevail in narratives of families facing deportation and incarceration.

## DIFFERENCES

This section will describe the main differences when families experience deportation and incarceration.

### ***The context in which incarceration or deportation happens is different***

In the case of families experiencing incarceration, participants report contexts where familial incarceration was common, therefore, “cyclical” involvement with the justice system was frequent (McKay et al., 2018; Arditti 2012).

*“You know, we all grew up with all our family going in and out of prison and jail, and the system.”*

***(Arielle, 66 years old, husband, and son incarcerated)***

On the other hand, families experiencing deportations expressed that fear of deportation marked their childhoods due to their parents' immigration status (Satinsky et al.; 2013; Brabeck and Xu 2010; Perreira and Pedroza 2019).

*“I think we grew in fear; when my dad brought us to the U.S, he instilled in us a lot of fear, we are not going to go out, we are not going to drive, he bought a car, and he didn't even like to drive, we grew up like not going anywhere, not going out and just kind of like with fear, and that's all we knew right and so, but at the same time we were like well if it happens, it happens, you know, we are undocumented, so it could happen.”*

***(Eduardo, 25 years old, father deported)***

Knowing the pre-incarceration context and patterns of familial incarceration is necessary since it gives information on the “presence of stable, supportive alternative care arrangements available to children during parental incarceration” (Dallaire 2007:451). Additionally, this background provides information to understand the emotions that arise when someone is incarcerated, and it also helps to predict the likelihood of families supporting their relatives after they are released from prison. Likewise, information about the context of families is vital to understand the support networks available for children. In incarcerations, children will have more issues getting support due to context of family instability. In deportation, context of family unity helps children adapt, but stability is a facade because family members can be detained/deported suddenly.

### ***The emotions emerging when deportation or incarceration happens are different***

Once the deportation or incarceration occurs, even though the event is traumatic, families experience different emotions.

#### ***Emotions when incarcerations happen***

In the case of the incarcerations, since it is a frequent event; many families have conflicts about how they deal with the person incarcerated. In this regard, scholars found that these conflicts are because the incarceration event did not always generate sympathy; therefore, the support from the family is not straightforward (Carlson and Cervera 1991). As a result of these perceptions and views of incarceration, women suffer marginalization, guilt and must face emotional and financial burdens alone (Comfort 2003).

*“I handled on my own. I had to do that on my own. There was no help from my husband. He was never home, you know. So that... all that took... after the years and after so much, it took... it broke me down.”*

***(Ariana, 51 years old son incarcerated)***

Other interviewees such as Gil, expressed guilt.

*"I mean, that really worried me when, when the judge gets to him (son) five years, I felt so devastated, and I felt so guilty, I felt like I screwed up raising him, that shouldn't happen."*

**(Gil, 60 years old, son formerly incarcerated)**

The prisonization experience described in the literature (Comfort 2003) is also present in our narratives. This experience generates several different emotions but clearly shows how women feel about the incarceration event.

*"I had to be the one to give him the support because he was the one in (prison), I'm not incarcerated but I'm still going through it with him, because I choose to stay by his side."*

**(Alice, 29 years old, husband incarcerated)**

The prisonization is not limited to the experiences that arise from visits to the prison system (Comfort 2003). As Alice explains, she lives as she is incarcerated too.

#### *Emotions when deportations happen*

The emotions expressed by people who experienced the deportation of a relative are devastation, depression, or anxiety, very different to the emotions expressed by participants in the incarceration study.

*I think maybe birthdays like him not being there for any of my birthdays or any of my mom or my siblings' birthdays because I know we like birthdays are kind of like not a big deal for us but they're kind of like what brings us together we have to buy a cake and its usually just our little family who does it so him not being there it's like something was missing*

**(Luna, 22 years old, father deported)**

*"I felt very sad but more than anything for my parents because they were ninety-year-olds. My mom when she saw us crying. That made us cry too."*

**(Jasmine, 49 years old, brother deported)**

*"We were very close so not having him there, it was very hard."*

**(Miranda, 23 years old, father deported)**

We can observe that the emotions expressed by the interviewees go beyond sadness or nostalgia. These emotions, as mentioned, are the product of the context in which these events occur. Knowing these emotions is fundamental because it also allows us to understand how people rationalize the events they go through, but also allows us to understand the role of these families in the post-deportation or post-incarceration stages.

#### ***The intergenerational conflicts present (deportation)***

In our sample, when deportation occurred, our interviewees were in general young. The 61% (35) were under 18 when the removal of the relative happened, while 35% (20) of them were over 18, 3.9% (2) did not reported when the event happened. Therefore, they assume roles at a very young age. These new responsibilities generate a series of intergenerational conflicts. Some interviewees feel frustrated because when they took on the care of their siblings, they could not have a 'normal' life.

*"Me and my mom fight so much because we just have different views on parenting. And she always throws me you're not the parent and I'm like I know but I technically was for a long time."* **(Martha, 25 years old, mother deported)**

These intergenerational conflicts will have impacts not only in the short but long term. For these families to heal these relationships will take time. Future studies should try to find out the mechanisms these people use to resolve these conflicts and move forward with their lives.



### ***The worries about security and future (incarceration)***

Something very particular about families experiencing incarceration is the constant apprehension over the safety of their incarcerated relatives inside the prisons, since there are gangs, fights, etc., Participants in the study constantly worry about it

*“I was just so hurt; I was just so devastated because I didn’t know if he was going to make it be incarcerated. Because you hear the rapping, the stabbing, the killing, the gangs, and I didn’t know how he was going to be able to handle that. You know is he going to try killing himself?”*

**(Nina, 66 years old, son incarcerated)**

These constant worries have very negative effects on people's health, some report anxiety, lack of sleep, and other health problems.

*“Yes, I have posttraumatic stress disorder, I have panic attacks, I have anxiety, I take sleeping pills, I take antidepressants.”*

**(Salma, 48 years old, son incarcerated)**

### ***The stigma (incarceration)***

Stigma impacts incarcerated individuals and their families (Foster and Hagan 2009; Keene, Smoyer, and Blankenship 2018; Martin 2016). Scholars also found that "for children of incarcerated parents, they may become "guilty by association" and "fear being identified as 'just like your Dad/Mom' by both family and outsiders" (Adalist-Estrin 2006:7). Some of the interviewees described how for them it was a process to detach from the stigma of having a parent incarcerated,

*“Because even though it's your family member, some people may think that it's something you also done or something that you're okay with. So, I try to not really bring it up. The thing that is embarrassing is if you ever google my last name, I mean, she comes up with all of her charges.”*

**(Laurel, 33 years old, sister incarcerated)**

## **IMPACTS WHEN MEMBERS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILIES ARE DEPORTED OR INCARCERATED: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES**

The presence of extended families has been reported in the migration and incarceration literature. The literature on incarceration show that extended family members can transmit roles and values (Dallaire 2007). However, for Dallaire (2007) familial incarceration can be a risk factor since incarceration can be perceived as a 'normal' event. In the case of deportations, the deportability can reach members of the extended family since they are part of immigrants' households (Boehm 2009; Montes 2019). However, the exact burdens experienced when an extended family member is deported or incarcerated has not been extensively described. Therefore, in this section we highlight the main similarities and differences that members of extended families experience when a nephew, sons-in-law, uncles, grandchildren, cousins, aunts are deported or incarcerated.

### **SIMILARITIES**

#### ***Dealing with the judicial system***

The literature explains that dealing with the judicial system is emotionally and financially draining for nuclear families (Patler and Branic 2017). However, extended family members described how they dealt with similar burdens. They also shared their sentiments when they visited their relatives and the challenges they faced when they visited them, due to their immigration status, as Karla explains.

For Karla and because her aunt is undocumented the extended family support her with the visits,

*“We have a lot of families out there in Houston that have been like visiting him, helping him, because her mom, she’s not from here- she’s scared to go over there. I’ve gone to visit him. I went in December.”*

**(Karla, 22 years old, cousin incarcerated)**



Karla experience reflects what previous research has shown regarding visits in the sense that these occur "depending on the characteristics of detainees, their family members, or the facilities in which they are housed" (Patler and Branich 2017:19). As scholars state, visits not only involve a tremendous emotional drain but a substantial economic expense, especially when the prisons are far away or out of state (Comfort et al. 2016). However, we can observe how logistic issues can also impact the extended family.

Molly explains how she was the only one who was a citizen and, therefore, the only one who could attend the hearings of her uncle and claim him

*"I was the person that was going to claim him because I'm the only one with a social security"*

**(Molly, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

As we observe when kinship relationships are close and meaningful, extended family members will also deal with the judicial system. Visits generate emotional but also financial expenses on these individuals, but the contact and communication are significant for our interviewee and their relatives detained or incarcerated.

### ***The financial hardships***

Members of the extended families dealing with deportation and incarceration report financial burdens. However, for extended families these burdens can be temporal while for nuclear families are they can be permanent.

When incarceration happens, extended family members approach relatives in the whole family system to request money and help. For example, Joseph explains that his sister turned to all members of his family (siblings and aunts) to bail out his son (Joseph's nephew). Joseph's testimony also shows how women are affected by these unexpected expenses; his sister had to get a second job to provide bail for her son.

*"My siblings gave her like \$1000, others gave her like, uh, \$500. I think the rest, she just ended up getting it from either one of my aunts, she had to get a second job because, like I said, the father isn't around, she (Joseph's sister) basically did everything she could to get him out of, out on bail, get him situated."*

**(Joseph, 22 years old, nephew formerly incarcerated)**

Housing vulnerabilities and burdens come in different forms. Not only does the extended family experience financial instability that limits them from paying their mortgages, but it also puts a burden on other relatives as well. As Cinthia explains, her aunt could no longer afford the house where she lived and finally her aunt moved in with them. For Cinthia to have her aunt and children at home was stressful as she had to give the room to her relatives.

*"I think it was even more difficult for her knowing she had a mortgage, and she didn't really have a support system there, they moved into my house because they could not afford the rent of their own home." I feel like I had to adjust a lot to her, for a long time I had just been me, my dad, and my grandma in that household. Also, her strictness upon her own kid would also fall upon me at times, so I feel like I would just get mad at her because I'm just like, you're not in charge of me*

**(Cinthia, 20 years old, cousin formerly incarcerated)**

When deportations happen, extended families are affected emotionally and financially. Many of them must assume financial expenses for which they are not prepared. These unexpected financial expenses put the family's financial stability at risk.

*"We had to pay an attorney from Arizona to represent my uncle, but it was really hard because we didn't have enough money to feed four more mouths."*

**(Molly, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

As shown, extended family members suffering deportation or incarceration do indeed face financial difficulties. However, the biggest difference is that the difficulties for the extended family are temporary while for nuclear families they are permanent.

### ***The deported or incarcerated relative destined to be a burden***

Incarceration and deportation systems dismantle families financially; hence, people incarcerated or deported, and their families are destined to poverty (Lonegan 2007; Warren and Kerwin 2017). First, when the relative is removed from the household, families miss the contribution of a deported or imprisoned person. Second, families are forced to assume not only their own needs but those of their deported or imprisoned relatives. Therefore, families have a hard time accumulating wealth (Lonegan 2007). Whether money is sent to the prison or sent to the deported person, the incarcerated or deported person remains an emotional burden to their relatives.

*"Yes, we send him money, his mom and me, we usually send him the 1st and, on the 15th, (every month) so he could have money there to buy whatever he needs or stuff like that." **(Grettel, 73 years old, grandson incarcerated)***

*"My grandpa sends him money and my dad does as well, I want to say -pause- they send him like \$150 a month probably ever."*

**(Jen, 20 years old, uncle deported)**

As described by Grettel and Jen, they continue with the burden of support financially their relatives whether they are deported or incarcerated. Families who suffer deportations or imprisonment are destined for impoverishment, since they cannot devote their resources to their own needs but their relatives.

## DIFFERENCES

### ***The take on new roles (deportations)***

In the case of deportations and extended families, some of them report taking on new roles, like Diana explains. For families these new roles are emotionally draining but also financially. Some families need to make changes in their houses if they want to be the formal guardians of children. Rebuilding a house implies financial costs, and many families are not prepared for this type of expenses.

*"We called to see where the kids were, and if we could take them, and the social worker said that we could, but they needed to come to the house to see how many rooms it had, and if it was a safe environment for the kids. I remember my parents did that, another of my dad's brothers did the same thing, and they gave them to the other brother. He had a bigger house, the other brother ended up taking them after a week."*

**(Diana, 36 years old, aunt deported)**

### ***Worries about future social reintegration of relatives (incarceration)***

Members of the extended family worry about the future social reintegration of their incarcerated relatives once they are released.

*"Just knowing that his life is basically over 'cuz, he's not going to be able to get a good decent job anymore. It makes me think like when he does get out, he's going to be doing the same thing because he's not going to get a job."*

**(Karla 22 years old, cousin still incarcerated)**

*“Luckily my, my uncle has a house there so he, my dad was able to stay there but if it wasn't for that again, he's screw because you would have to probably find like some cheap place to stay because we didn't know anybody there.”*

**(Jorge, 31 years old, father deported)**

## DISCUSSIONS ON THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

### 1.1 What's similar between deportations and incarcerations?

#### **Men removed and women left behind**

Deportations and incarceration, as stated by the literature, are very similar because it removes men leaving women with the burdens associated (Golash-Boza 2016, Ceciliano-Navarro and Golash-Boza 2021). However, this study shows that the system of incarcerations and deportations removes spouses, fathers, brothers, sons, uncles, aunts, nephews, sisters, grandchildren, and cousins. Each of these people has essential roles and functions in families, and their absence also causes suffering and financial expenses. In this regard, this research reveals how wives, but also mothers, daughters, sisters, grandmothers, and nieces are punished by the system of incarcerations and deportations Garcia 2018, Comfort 2009). Many of these women experience resentment since they must assume responsibility and roles they are not prepared for.

#### **The destruction of the family**

In this research, the testimonies reveal that deportation and incarceration lead to the dismantling of families. Families are destroyed because they are separated, and there are many conflicts among relatives. These conflicts erode kind relationships. The inability to have contact with great-great-grandchildren, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews also destroy families. Mourning by the incarceration of a grandson also destroys people. Destruction also happens when families cannot visit their detained relatives for fear of deportation or visit their relatives abroad. These families have many difficulties in recovering financially and emotionally. Enriquez (2015) stated that legal violence is not restrictive to familial relationships but extended to different generations, causing multigenerational punishment.

#### **The burden of the judicial system**

Both families experiencing deportations and incarceration face similar burdens related to the judicial system. This happens because, as Patler and Branic (2017) have pointed out, people detained for deportation are staying in detention centers for longer times. Hence, families experiencing deportations of relatives must deal with the judicial system similarly to families that undergo incarcerations.

Dealing with the judicial system is challenging for undocumented people; in our sample, there are seven participants born in Mexico (with different immigration status) that have relatives incarcerated, while in the deportation study there are seven undocumented participants. These interviewees expressed how they avoid these institutions because of the fear of deportation (Bernstein et al., 2019). However, when undocumented individuals don't participate in visits and other activities associated with the judicial system, it has adverse effects for women in mixed-status families. These women usually assume visits and court hearings since they are the only ones who can do it because of their migratory status.

#### **The person imprisoned or deported**

According to the narratives, it is financial for both nuclear and extended families, whether incarcerated or deported. If they are incarcerated, families send money and accept calls and make visits. If they are deported, and abroad, many families continue to send money. In the case of deportations, when deportees are abroad, families experience the burden associated with distance and the impossibility of visits. Moreover, when the relative is released and cannot find a job, families must provide financially. When

deportees can return, they struggle to find employment, and therefore, financial burdens continue for these families. The system is set so that men deported or incarcerated are limited to reintegrate socially; similarly, families are intended to poverty and exclusion (Lonegan 2007; Warren and Kerwin 2017).

Worryingly, both in deportations and incarcerations, is how children are exposed to emotional and material vulnerabilities. However, this study shows that women such as grandmothers must deal with the incarceration of their grandchildren, or older women must deal with the deportation of their sons. Women in general, but elderly women especially, are more vulnerable in these situations.

### 1.2 What's different between deportations and incarcerations?

In these narratives, incarceration is still considered a personal problem, not a structural one; the problem is the individual who does not want to change. Therefore, the emotions that emerge from incarcerations are characterized by anger, disappointment, tiredness, very different from the feelings that arise when deportations happen, which are described as devastation, anxiety, depression. This also explains that the contexts in which deportations and incarcerations occur are different; in the case of deportations, families report more emotional stability, while there are more frictions and relational conflicts in the case of incarcerations.

Another difference is the support provided by the immediate and extended family. Support among families suffering incarceration exists; however, this assistance is provided with anger, fatigue, and resentment. In the case of families who suffer deportations, support is given, but there is no feeling of disenchantment. For families who suffer deportations, there is a sense of closeness and a need to reunite with the deported person. Closeness and familism (Taschman & Muruthi 2019, therefore, was more evident in families experiencing deportation than incarceration

Another difference present is that in the case of incarcerations; reunification with the incarcerated relative is a complicated process; as Naser and Visher (2006) state, these reunions could generate extreme emotional burdens for families after incarceration (Naser and Visher 2006). In our study, families described the need for assistance and resources to receive their relatives back home. In the case of deportations, returned individuals don't have problems adapting to the family, although they face other challenges such as living with fear and job limitations, families undergoing deportations don't report the need of an adaptation process.

### 1.3 What's different between nuclear and extended families?

The most significant similarity is that nuclear and extended families suffer emotionally after the incarceration or deportation of a relative. The most important difference is that the extended family in the case of incarcerations is closer to the relatives before their imprisonment. The nuclear family reports more nuclear instability when incarcerations occur.

A significant finding of this study is how extended families suffer ruptures in their relationships due to incarceration, which has severe emotional impacts. For example, uncles cannot have contact with nieces or nephews or grandmothers with their grandchildren.

A significant difference is the financial consequences; in nuclear families, these impacts are permanent and impoverish families every day. In the case of extended families, the financial impacts are temporal, however, they can undermine the family's financial stability.

#### The support of the extended family

The extended family is very important for nuclear families experiencing deportations or incarcerations. Extended families have different roles in the whole process of deportation and incarceration and their functions go beyond the instrumental

ones such as providing money or housing, the extended family is emotionally important not only for nuclear families but also for incarcerated or deported individual.

## CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion

This dissertation aims to expand the knowledge of the spillover effects of the incarceration and deportations systems. For this, adults were asked about the financial and emotional impacts when a family member was deported or incarcerated. In addition, to the narratives of nuclear family members, we also include the testimonies of extended family members. Results show that other nuclear family members such as sons, brothers, nephews, and uncles are removed beyond parents or husbands, leaving wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, nieces, nephews, and cousins with the associated burdens. This study demonstrates that the incarceration and deportation systems extend beyond the nuclear family, either because extended family members are deported, detained or incarcerated. Moreover, this study also shows the fundamental role of the extended family providing assistance to nuclear families undergoing deportations and incarcerations.

### INCARCERATION CHAPTER

I draw on interviews conducted with adults who experienced the incarceration of a family member. The interviews reflect that beyond the imprisonment of parents or husbands, other nuclear family members such as sons, brothers, stepchildren, and sisters are also incarcerated.

Also, this study points out that there is also the incarceration of extended family members such as cousins, grandchildren, uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, which also generates emotional and financial impacts. For both the nuclear and extended families in this study, due to the incarceration of their relatives, they undergo a series of changes in their routines and take on new roles that generate several intergenerational conflicts.

Families in this sample come from contexts where familial incarceration is prevalent; therefore, the sentiments expressed are beyond sadness, such as anger, fatigue, and disappointment. The material impoverishment experienced by the nuclear family is also shared by the extended family, especially since there are women like grandmothers who use their already limited resources to make visits or send money to their imprisoned relatives.

The impacts experienced by nuclear and extended families are very similar; the differences are that the extended family has more cordial relations with the relatives before their incarceration. The economic impacts depend on how close the bond is. For example, in this study, grandmothers and grandsons have a strong emotional connection that explain why some emotional and financial hardships can be permanent.

#### *Similarities between nuclear and extended families*

As we described, the similarity between nuclear and extended families is that both report context of familial incarceration (Dallaire 2007). This context provides information about the contribution of relatives to their families before imprisonment. When these families live in cyclical involvement with justice, they are more likely not to have stable jobs. Therefore, there is no financial contribution to the household. Some emotions emerging in the context of incarceration are very similar. For example, mothers or grandmothers can experience loneliness or isolation after the imprisonment of a family member. These sentiments of loneliness or isolation result in many women alone with the incarceration burdens (the visit of relatives on their own, write them, or send them money without any help or assistance from other relatives).

Both nuclear and extended families express how their families suffer strained relationships. For example, grandmothers who cannot see their grandchildren or great-grandchildren; both situations are emotionally painful.

Both nuclear and extended families deal with the burdens associated with the incarceration system. Both families face the emotional and financial costs of visits, sending money, and help with the payment of bonds. Also, nuclear, and extended families with undocumented family members experience additional burdens since their undocumented relatives, due to fear, avoid the system. This avoidance generates sentiments of exhaustion in these relatives. Another similarity is that women from nuclear and extended families are the ones bearing first-hand with financial burdens when incarceration happens. These women have assumed new roles such as work on different jobs.

### *Differences between nuclear and extended families*

One of the main differences between the members of the nuclear and extended family is that the nuclear families deal directly with their relatives. Therefore, the burdens are more intense and permanent. Another difference is regarding the context of incarceration, the participants of extended families report closer relationships with relatives before their incarceration than members of nuclear families, who report distant relationships with their relatives before being imprisoned. Nuclear families report how they often take on new roles that also generate many intrafamilial conflicts. Extended family did not necessarily take on these new roles. As a result of the type of relationship and context (family incarceration), extended family members report feelings such as exhaustion and frustration; this has long-term implications and could affect families' willingness to support their relatives when they are released. One difference between nuclear and extended families is that members of nuclear families report how stigma has affected them and how they have had to process these emotions, while for extended family members, and through these vicarious experiences, they have learned to "behave." Another critical difference is that the expenses associated with incarceration for nuclear families are permanent, while extended families are temporary. The nuclear family must deal day by day with the lack of income of the detained relative. In contrast, the extended family can temporarily and "voluntarily" support their families financially during incarceration. Finally, an essential difference is that nuclear families must deal directly with the emotional and financial burdens in the post-incarceration period. This situation is very adverse for families who have become impoverished during incarceration, are tired, and do not have the resources to cope with the traumas and difficulties brought by their released relatives.

### DEPORTATION CHAPTER

I draw on interviews with adults who experienced the deportation of a family member. Findings show that nuclear families experience the deportation of their parents, husbands, sons, and brothers. In contrast, extended family members experienced the deportation of uncles, aunts, or brothers-in-law.

The context in which deportations occur demonstrates closeness and significant emotional ties between these families. Therefore, when deportations happen, sentiments of depression or devastation arise. Families suffering deportations, many of whom live already in financial vulnerability, have seen their economic situation aggravated. On top of assuming new roles or jobs, women must ensure the needs of their deported relatives.

Nuclear families suffer permanently the expenses associated with the deportation of their relatives, while for extended families, these expenses tend to be temporary. This study shows how the extended family, and its deportation can cause emotional and material damage due to the close ties with the immediate family. In addition to the deportation of the extended family member, the extended family has a primary role when deportations occur. The extended family provides housing and emotional support to those left in the U.S. The extended family is also vital in helping deportees abroad, often in a country unknown to them.

### *Similarities between nuclear and extended families*

One similarity is that both nuclear and extended families report similar stable context before the deportation of the relative, and that the emotions that emerged when the deportation happened are similar. Sentiments of emptiness, devastation, and destruction were part of the emotions described by participants. Both nuclear and extended families must assume new roles, for which they are not prepared emotionally or financially. These new roles can lead to conflict with other family members. The financial impacts are similar due to the proximity they have. In this study, it is shown that the women of the nuclear and extended families are the ones who are left in charge of the responsibility and expenses of the household while they also must support the person who has been deported. Both nuclear and extended families report how their relatives who managed to return to the United States continue to live under the threat of deportation, which has implications for their mental health and impacts their daily activities such as working.

### *Differences between nuclear and extended families*

The most significant differences lie in the fact that the nuclear family experiences more conflicts due to the closeness with their relatives. These nuclear families often see their relationships fractured, for example, grandmothers who cannot see their grandchildren after the deportation of the father. The financial impacts on nuclear families are more detrimental because they must restructure their daily routines to assume new jobs to face further financial obligations. Members of nuclear families are more likely to experience housing vulnerability due to deportation. Members of extended families can face financial impacts that could be classified as unexpected and temporary. However, due to the economic conditions of these families, these expenses could put at risk their basic needs temporarily. Extended family is vital for families suffering deportations, primarily to support the deported person abroad. Without extended family abroad, deportees and their families would have much more emotional and financial stress. The ultimate difference is that the nuclear family deals with the fear and lack of employment that their relatives experience when they return to the United States. Deported people tend to reunite with their immediate nuclear family.

## COMPARISON CHAPTER

In this article, I compare the impacts of the system of incarceration and deportations. By making this comparison, we realize that, while both systems deport and incarcerate mainly men what aligns with previous research stating that the judicial system targets primarily men (Golash Boza 2016; Baker and Marchevsky 2019). However, this dissertation shows that the judicial system removes uncles, cousins, brothers, children, nephews, godparents, aunts, sisters, generating severe emotional and financial instability these families.

These punishment systems impact individuals beyond nuclear families, with very adverse consequences, mainly because it fractures the relationships within these families. For example, grandmothers who do not have contact with their grandchildren or uncles who cannot communicate with their nephews or nieces. These ruptures weaken the systems of support and connection between families and deprive children of having relationships with their extended family.

Both families who experience deportations and incarceration are destined to live in poverty due to the ongoing expenses associated with the judicial system, as well as the constant financial support they must give to the deported or incarcerated relative. Families support the removed relative throughout the incarceration or deportation process, even after being released from prison or returning to the United States. Due to these expenses, families are unable to generate wealth and inherit it.

In summary, this study reveals the similarities between the deportation and incarceration systems. Men and women from nuclear and extended families are punished by the deportations and incarceration system.

The fact that our interviewees are adults demonstrates that the impacts of incarceration and deportations are short- and long-term, affecting these individuals' entire life course. Some of the interviewees experienced deportations as adults, and they expressed the multiple adverse effects at the professional, emotional, and economic levels. Other adult women see their basic needs limited because they must send money to their deported sons. Likewise, in the case of incarcerations, it is worrying that older adult women must deal with the return of their children without the resources to do so. At the same time, other adult women also send their money to their sons and grandchildren who are incarcerated. Also, many of these women must turn to friends or neighbors to assist them in making visits to prisons; all these situations are risky due to their advanced age. The system of incarceration and deportations reaches not only individuals beyond the nuclear family and people in all age ranges but also citizens, mixed-status families, and undocumented individuals.

A troubling issue is that undocumented people cannot support family members with visits to the prison or immigration detention center because of fear. In all these situations, undocumented people are vulnerable either because they have family members imprisoned, detained, or deported. This situation also generates vulnerabilities for these low-income women, who are sometimes very young or old. These women with an "authorized" immigration status are the ones who must deal with procedures and visits related to the judicial system. Future research should understand how the extended family deals with these emotional impacts, particularly the rupture of grandmothers'



relationships with their grandchildren and uncles with their nephews or nieces. Also, given the loneliness and lack of resources that many older women experience in the processes of incarceration, it is important to know the role of the church or informal groups in these communities. Likewise, in the study of incarcerations, it is essential to comprehend more how these families perceive crime or criminal behavior. For many of our participants, the reason for incarceration is at the individual and not the structural level.

## THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

### **Comparison of studies on deportation and incarceration**

This dissertation contributes to the existing literature on deportations and incarcerations by describing and explaining the impacts of the removal of other members of nuclear and extended families such as brothers, sons, aunts, brothers in law, godfathers, stepsons, sisters, nephews, uncles, grandsons, cousins and sons in law). This research shows that after the deportation or incarceration of these relatives, their families undergo similar emotional and financial hardships. Families experiencing deportation and incarcerations must cope with their needs and the needs of the person deported or incarcerated.

This study contributes to the literature on patterns of family visitation (Patler and Branic 2017) by considering and comparing the experiences of individuals with relatives detained or incarcerated. Findings suggest that families with relatives detained or incarcerated undergo similar experiences with the judicial system. Incarceration and deportation affect people with different immigration status (undocumented, residents, DACA recipients, and citizens). However, undocumented people suffer from their inability to visit and support their imprisoned, detained or deported relatives, and in the case of mixed-status families, legal status confers burdens, particularly on women. Women are the one with the burden of visits and dealing with lawyers and courts.

### **The extended family**

#### *The risk of removal of members of extended families*

Likewise, this research contributes to the few existing literature on the extended family by revealing the adverse effects of deporting, detaining or incarcerating members of the extended family. When these people are deported from these families, the nuclear family is left without their support networks, and nuclear families become much more vulnerable to face situations of poverty or events such as deportations or imprisonment. Likewise, when the extended family is imprisoned or deported, their immediate family is left unprotected.

#### *The vulnerability of the extended family*

The extended family is vital supporting nuclear families. The extended family provides emotional and instrumental assistance to nuclear families and have important roles as agents of socialization and transmitting values. However, there is a risk of impoverishment for extended families as they must take from their own emotional and financial resources to support nuclear families.

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Families who experience incarceration suffer from stigma; therefore, sometimes, it is not easy to delve into questions because they do not want to share details of their families. Families also experience guilt for the behavior of their relatives incarcerated. This creates difficulties when exploring their emotions. Also, the places where the interviews are conducted are not always the most appropriate, they prefer to have the interviewees at home, but there are other relatives at home, which makes them more discreet when sharing their stories. Although interviewees were on average one hour of duration, ideally, there should be the possibility of doing a second interview to explore specific topics; this is sometimes not possible due to time limitations and availability of the participants.

Future research should explore coping strategies of older women facing incarceration and the role of informal groups and churches. Equally necessary, we must

study the impacts of incarceration on women's health. Many women suffer from extreme anxiety, which could be impacting their well-being. It is necessary to explore more the intergenerational impacts, specifically, the burdens when women cannot see their grandchildren or great-grandchildren; this has adverse implications for both women and children.

#### PUBLIC POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study is very relevant in current discussions of police brutality and migration, particularly the effect on families. Regarding the policies that must be implemented, more support is still needed for families dealing with formerly incarcerated individuals and their re-entry process. Many families, especially in poor communities, still struggle to find help.

Many families continue to be impoverished by the state's actions, so it is necessary to have more precise mechanisms to identify and support them. In this regard, this study demonstrates the high risk of poverty that adult women are due to incarceration.

Likewise, public policies must help undocumented individuals who need and want to support their detained and imprisoned families. This research shows how the system punishes undocumented people since they are prevented from maintaining contact and supporting their families arrested or incarcerated.

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