

Immigrants and Minorities, Politics and Policy

Bryan Roberts · Cecilia Menjívar · Néstor P. Rodríguez *Editors*

Deportation and Return in a Border-Restricted World

Experiences in Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras

This volume focuses on recent experiences of return migration to Mexico and Central America from the United States. For most of the twentieth century, return migration to the US was a normal part of the migration process from Mexico and Central America, typically resulting in the eventual permanent settlement of migrants in the US. In recent years, however, such migration has become involuntary, as a growing proportion of return migration is taking place through formal orders of deportation. This book discusses return migration to Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, addressing different reasons for return, whether voluntary or involuntary, and highlighting the unique challenges faced by returnees to each region. Particular emphasis is placed on the lack of government and institutional policies in place for returning migrants who wish to attain work, training, or shelter in their home countries. Finally, the authors take a look at the phenomenon of migrants who can never return because they have disappeared during the migration process. Through its multinational focus, diverse thematic outlook, and use of ethnographic and survey methods, this volume provides an original contribution to the topic of return migration and broadens the scope of the literature currently available. As such, this book will be important to scholars and students interested in immigration policy and Latin America as well as policy makers and activists.

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Over the last fifty years, immigrant and minority population growth has transformed much of the global north, particularly the United States, Canada, and Europe. Understanding the political and policy consequences of such demographic change is essential to scholars and practitioners alike. On topics ranging from elections to policymaking, immigrants and minorities are—or should be—increasingly important parts of the discussion. Scholars also need to know more about migration itself, including migrant incorporation, return migration, internal migration, the implications of migration for sending nations, and the forces that structure migration. This interdisciplinary series is designed to address these interrelated topics. If you would like to propose a book or edited volume, please contact the series editor or Springer's Economics and Political Science editor.

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Guatemala, and Honduras

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In memory of the many men, women, and children who have perished migrating to other lands or trying to return home. May the stories of migrants always be remembered as a testament to the enduring human spirit to go beyond.

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Trapped at the Border: The Difficult Integration of Veterans, Families, and Christians in Tijuana

M. Dolores París Pombo, Diana Buenrostro Mercado
and Gabriel Pérez Duperou

Abstract The chapter characterizes Tijuana, Mexico, as a deportation city partly due to the large numbers of Mexican migrants deported to the city by the U.S. government. Adjacent to Southern California, Tijuana has long been a major destination for Mexican migrants headed north to the United States. The chapter uses data from the *Encuesta de Migración en la Frontera Norte de México* (Survey on Migration on the Northern Border of Mexico), as well as data from ethnographic observations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and meetings with deported migrants, including deported U.S. war veterans and other deported migrants who have become members of a Christian church in Tijuana. Using these data sources, the chapter gives a demographic profile of the deportees in Tijuana. From a gender perspective, the chapter analyzes institutional and family conditions that facilitate the settlement of deportees in the city, or that lead to difficulties that drive deported migrants into situations of precariousness or exclusion. The analysis also focuses on the different strategies that deported parents undertake to cope with their forced return to Mexico and their separation from family remaining in the United States, as well as strategies to re-establish family relations along the divisive border.

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Introduction

Located at the northwestern end of the border between Mexico and the United States, the Mexican city of Tijuana received an average of 86 repatriated persons each day during 2012 and 2013 (INM 2013). More than half were deportees who had lived in the United States for at least a year¹ (El COLEF 2014).

Upon entering Mexico, the deportees are interviewed by employees of the Instituto Nacional de Migración (INM).² Some deported migrants look for governmental support from the Humane Repatriation Program, coordinated by INM, in order to return to their communities of origin. Others wait to receive resources from their families and attempt to cross back into the United States without authorization. Finally, about one-third of the deportees stay in Tijuana and try to obtain identification documents, recover their belongings, and take decisions about their future movements. Those who do not have relatives or acquaintances in the city, or in the region, look for a hotel or for another place to stay, such as in a temporary shelter for migrants.

In this chapter we analyze the institutional and family conditions that facilitate the settlement of deportees in Tijuana. We demonstrate the difficulties that drive deportees into conditions of precariousness or exclusion. We also discern the different strategies that deported parents carry out in order to cope with their forced return to Mexico and their family separation, and we describe how they continue developing family relations along the divisive border. We consider it particularly useful to analyze the conditions of social insertion in Tijuana from a gender perspective, given the differentiated forms of male and female participation in migrant, family, and friendship networks.³

We raise the following questions: In which ways does deportation fragment social networks and institutional ties? Which strategies do men and women utilize to settle in Tijuana, reunite with their children, maintain family ties with relatives who stayed in the United States, and build new family and institutional ties? Which resources do institutions or family networks provide for migrants to integrate or reintegrate in Tijuana?

In order to describe the demographic characteristics of the deportees in Tijuana, we utilized data from the Survey on Migration in the Northern Border of Mexico (*Encuesta de Migración en la Frontera Norte de México* or EMIF-Norte 2012), in particular, the questionnaire applied to "migrants sent back by the U.S. migration authorities," selecting the sample of those who had lived more than a year in the

¹In contrast, in 2005, less than 6% of the repatriated persons had lived a year or more in the United States before being deported. The great majority were apprehended by Border Patrol within hours or days of having crossed the border.

²National Institute of Migration.

³Names and/or locations when relevant have been anonymized to protect study participants' confidentiality.

United States before returning to Mexico.⁴ To analyze the institutional ties and the processes of breaking down and building up social networks, we will draw upon fieldwork carried out between September 2012 and March 2014. The fieldwork included ethnographic observation, 32 semi-structured interviews of the deportees, 8 focus groups in a shelter for migrant women, *Instituto Madre Assunta*, and informal interviews carried out at the shelter *Casa del Migrante* and at the *Desayunador del Padre Chava* (a dining hall that serves 1200 breakfasts daily to poor and homeless people in Tijuana). The fieldwork also included two meetings with deported U.S. war veterans, two meetings with deported migrants who are now members of a Christian church in Tijuana, and three walks in *el Bordo*⁵ to observe conditions of deported migrants who live or congregate in the area.

The Context: Tijuana

Through observations from 1985 to 1988, Kearney (1998, 122) described the Zapata Canyon which was then the most heavily trafficked corridor of undocumented crossing on the Mexico-US border. This profound fissure that runs along the northern edge of Tijuana was the stage where the Border Patrol attempted to interdict undocumented crossers every afternoon. In small groups, sometimes led by a *coyote* (smuggler), and other times by an experienced migrant, the border-crossers set out on foot at dusk through the Canyon up to the hills where the "Migra" patiently awaited them. With their jeeps, motorcycles, and horses, the border patrol agents pursued and detained many migrants, while most of the group inexorably escaped, reached the hills of San Ysidro and continued the trip north. Those who were apprehended by the Border Patrol were returned almost immediately to Tijuana, and very probably intended to cross again in the following days.

Until the 1990s, Tijuana was the main border crossing point into the US (Santibáñez 1998). The route through Tijuana was not only relatively easy, but closer to California, where the majority of the Mexican migrants were headed. For example, Cerruti and Massey (2004, 33 and 38) found, using data from the Mexican Migration Project, that between 1985 and 1989, 73.1% of the Mexicans that emigrated for the first time, and 70.6% of the recurring migrants, were headed to California. Between 1990 and 1995, that percentage dropped to 66.1 and 54.5%, respectively. The large migratory flows that passed through the western side of the border was certainly one of the factors that drove Tijuana's extraordinary demographic expansion. During the 20th century, Tijuana went from being a small town of fewer than 300 habitants to a metropolis of more than one million residents. In a

⁴According to the EMIF-Norte interview of repatriates, sampling those who spent more than a year in the United States, we are disregarding the population that was apprehended and returned by Border Control.

⁵This is an area situated two miles along the bed of the Tijuana River and near the border fence, where homeless people and drug users congregate.

period of large population growth, from 1940 to 1960, the population of the city multiplied by 7.5, going from 21,977 habitants to 165,690 (Zenteno 1995, 114). This period coincided with the *Bracero* Program (1942–1964) that contracted temporary Mexican migrants primarily for work in U.S. agriculture. Many of the *braceros* made their families move to Mexico's northern border cities in order to be able to visit them, and another important flow of migrants emerged heading north in order to cross with documents.

When the United States government terminated the *Bracero* Program in 1964, Tijuana's population growth subsided. During the 1960s, the city's annual population growth rate was 7.6%, and in the following decade it dropped to 2.9%. However, economic restructuring and the growth of the manufacturing sector caused a new internal migration wave to the northern border area of Mexico that increase Tijuana's demographic growth rate to 4.9% annually during the 1980s (Zenteno 1995, 114).

Another factor that affected Tijuana's growth during the second half of the century was economic development that was strongly dependent on California. The construction of a large naval base in San Diego during the Second World War converted Tijuana into an entertainment center for U.S. marines and San Diego's general public (Sparrow 2001, 76). Halfway through the century, distinct tourist attractions were developed in downtown Tijuana (very close to the border) as well as in the Pacific coast of Mexico. Another economic push occurred in 1965 with the Industrialization Border Program driven by the Mexican government. The *maquiladora*⁶ industry was established in the main northern border cities of Mexico and quickly became a strong attraction for workers from Central and Southern Mexico (Sparrow 2001; Fussell 2004). Thus, the migrants that arrived at the northern border of the country did not necessarily intend to cross to the U.S. Indeed, the first survey results of the EMIF-Norte, in 1993–1994, indicated that more than half of the people who arrived at the northern border (55.6%) intended to stay in the Mexican border cities (Anguiano 1998, 267).

It is important to emphasize the high labor absorption capacity of Tijuana's economy during the second half of the 20th century. Despite Tijuana's accelerated growth between 1985 and 1993 the city's average unemployment was only 1.1% during these years. The average salary was also higher than in the rest of the country (Alegría 1994, 69). This explains why, as Fussell (2004) shows, despite living on the border, residents from Tijuana were less likely to migrate to the United States than residents from the central, southern, and western regions of Mexico. However, a particular type of Mexican workers crossed regularly to work in San Diego: commuters. Alegría (2012, 105) calculated that this sector of workers in Tijuana constituted 8% of the city's economically active population. Most of these border crossers did not have a permit to work in the United States, but still crossed

⁶According to Alegría (2012: 104) "the *maquiladora* is a diverse mix of industrial activities that include exportation, primarily by foreign companies—whose principle role is to produce goods for final consumption".

with commuting visas (U.S. border crossing cards given to Mexican residents in local border areas).

After the United States launched Operation Gatekeeper in 1994 in the Tijuana-San Diego region, and after border patrol security increased in this sector following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the construction of the border fence moved the flow of undocumented migrants eastward, particularly to more isolated regions, such as the desert zone that extends between the state of Sonora in Mexico and Arizona in the U.S. During the 1994 fiscal year, the Border Patrol in the San Diego sector carried out 46% of the arrests at the southwestern border, but that percentage decreased to 16% in 1998, to 12% in 2004, and to only 6.6% in 2013 (USBP 2013).

The extraordinary increase of border control and surveillance affected not only undocumented migration but also the crossings with regular visas and passports. New technology has been brought to points of U.S. entry such as document scanners and equipment to collect biometric data, which has significantly increased the workload for the border agents. This has increased the waiting time for regular crossers considerably, making their crossing time unpredictable—anywhere from 20 minutes to four hours. Moreover, the number of tourists and visitors from California decreased. The introduction of the new technology to monitor border crossings brought trouble for commuter workers due to the unpredictable long waiting times to cross and to the new techniques that track frequent border-crossings, which can help reveal when commuters are crossing the border to work in the U.S. side without authorization.

As migratory flows decreased since the 2000s, the city's economy slowed down dramatically, and in 2008 it entered a recession. The growth of *maquiladora* employment stalled as of 2004, and the 2008 crisis substantially constricted the *maquiladora* industry, as it did for other industries in the city as well. The unemployment rate in the city rapidly increased going from 2.1 to 4.0 to 7.2% in 2007, 2008, and 2009, respectively, and surpassed that of other cities in the country (Coubès and Silva 2009).

The economic crisis coincided with a wave of social violence that shook the city in 2008 and 2009. A rupture within the so-called Tijuana Cartel (or the Arellano Félix Organization) and the fight among criminal organizations for control of the border region caused a rapid increase in serious felonies, such as kidnappings and murders, linked to organized crime; the number of homicides in the city went from 176 in 2007 to 614 in 2008 (Rios 2014). In those years, the U.S. Embassy in Mexico constantly urged U.S. citizens not to visit Mexico's northern border cities, especially Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez. However, U.S. authorities continued deporting migrants to these two cities.

The Profile of Tijuana's Deportees

Here we present a general profile of the deportees retrieving data from the EMIF Norte 2012 database. We selected the sample of migrants who had lived in the U.S. for at least one year before being sent back to Mexico. We found that the migrants

deported to Tijuana on average are older (37 years vs. 34 years for the rest of Mexican deportees), have lived longer in the United States, and are more likely to have children and a spouse there. The great majority of the deported population to Tijuana resided in California. As we have stated earlier, nearly two thirds of Mexican migration headed towards that state until the 1990s. Thus, we can hypothesize that Mexican migrants have deeper roots in California than in the rest of the United States.

Gender differences are noticeable as well: deported women who spent more than one year in the U.S. represent only 8% (7.8% in Tijuana) of the cases in the EMIF Norte 2012 database. However, they often have multiple family ties in the United States. A possible explanation is that women emigrate more frequently than men and are accompanied by relatives for the purpose of family reunification (Cerruti and Massey 2001). Deported women also tend to have a better command of English than men. This could be because they usually interact more often than men with local institutions in order to get education and health care for their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994) (Table 1).

The strong family ties in California explain a tendency for migrants sent back to Mexico by the U.S. government to remain on the border in order to stay close to relatives. According to the EMIF Norte 2012, we can observe that unlike the deportations to the rest of Mexico, where only one in ten migrants tended to stay in the border city, in Tijuana, more than one-fourth of the men and almost half (46.5%) of the women intended to stay on the border. Thus, despite comprising a small proportion of the deported, female deportees have a significant need for housing in Tijuana. The field interviews showed that the primary reason for both men and women to stay on the border is to remain close to relatives living in California, for the purpose of receiving regular visits from them (Table 2).

The deportees who stay on the border in migrant shelters are generally those who have spent more time living in the United States, and who lack networks of reciprocity in Tijuana that could offer them support once they are deported.

Focus-group fieldwork at the *Instituto Madre Assunta*, where some deported women stay in Tijuana, provided a profile of deported women staying at the shelter.

Table 1 Characteristics of the deported population with more than one-year residency in the United States: Point of entry by sex, 2012

Place of deportation Sex	Tijuana		Rest of Mexico	
	Men n = 27,303 (%)	Women n = 2613 (%)	Men n = 68,125 (%)	Women n = 5380 (%)
Has a spouse in the U.S.	56.8	60	37.3	38.3
Has children in the U.S.	60.2	65.5	40.8	44.7
Has siblings in the U.S.	78.3	81.4	56.2	53.9
Speaks English well or very well	21.9	28.2	22.4	29.3

Source EMIF Norte 2012; survey of migrants sent back to Mexico by United States authorities

Table 2 Percentage of deported men and women who spent more than a year in the U.S., according to their intention to cross back to the US or return to community of origin, 2012

Place of deportation Sex	Tijuana		Rest of Mexico	
	Men n = 27,303 (%)	Women n = 2613 (%)	Men n = 68,125 (%)	Women n = 5380 (%)
Intends crossing to the United States again	25.4	8	22.3	20.7
Will return to their community of origin	47.1	45.5	67.6	68.7
Will remain on the border	27.5	46.5	10.1	10.6

Source EMIF Norte 2012, Survey of migrants sent back to Mexico by the United States' Authorities (sample of population who spent more than one year in the U.S.)

With the objective of obtaining data exclusively for migrants removed from within the country, we select from the survey population those who lived at least one year in the U.S. before being returned to Mexico

The focus groups consisted of 21 women who stayed at the shelter from October to December 2012, 36 women from February to April 2013, and five from January to March 2014. We observed three generations in order to determine the differences and similarities of the migrants regarding age and the moment of arrival from the United States.

Some of the differences concerned the marital status of the women. While the women that were 50 years of age and older were married or widowed, the younger ones were unmarried, lived in a domestic partnership, were divorced, or were single mothers. This generational difference corresponded with a decrease in the number of children, and an increase in educational attainment. One also observes an increase of younger women working in fields other than cleaning houses and taking care of children, which were common jobs for migrant women in the U.S. during the 1980s and 1990s (see Table 3).

Using Rumbaut's proposal (1997) of the distinct generations of migrants based on the age on arrival in the U.S., we observed that among young women (20–34 years) 67% were from the generation 1.75⁷; in other words, they had arrived to the United States before the age of five. Among women from 25 to 49 years, 38% were from the generation 1.75, and finally, among those 50 and older, the five women had arrived at an adult age.

The differences regarding age of arrival to the United States could explain the differences in educational attainment. Indeed, 23 of the younger women said they had completed high school, and one of them had attended almost two years of

⁷Rumbaut proposes considering generation 1.25 as those who arrived to the U.S. between the ages of 13 and 17; generation 1.5, between 6 and 12 years of age, and generation 1.75, between 0 and 5 years of age. According to the author, migrants of this last generation were socialized and schooled in the United States; in the least their experience adapting is close to the generation of migrant children born in the U.S.

Table 3 Classification of deported women, by age difference, at the Instituto Madre Assunta

	20–34 years n = 25	35–49 years n = 32	50 and older n = 5
Marriage status	Single mothers, divorcees, and domestic partnership	Married, divorced, and civil union	Married, widowed
Occupation	Employed in a store or office, cleaning houses, waitress, laborer, and farm worker	Cleaning houses, taking care of children and elderly, housekeeper, waitress, saleswoman	Cleaning houses, housekeeper
Number of children	0–3	2–10	1–10
Average number of children	1.2	3.5	5.4
Maximum educational attainment	2 years of college (half of the women have high school)	Secondary	Primary
Average time in the U.S.	17.3 years	23.7 years	27 years
Range of time in the U.S.	2–29 years	10–35 years	18–37 years
Cause of detention	Traffic tickets, drugs, robbery, and domestic violence	Traffic tickets, raids, drugs	Raids

Source Data based on fieldwork

college by the time she was deported. In most cases, the women who grew up in the U.S. have a higher educational attainment, especially those who arrived before the age of 17.

Regarding the family life cycle, we found that 72% of the women were mothers. Only two of them had only Mexican children, one of which had two children living in Mexico when she was deported. The other mothers had children born in the United States and were living there.

Of the 45 deported mothers, 28 of them reported living with their partner when they were deported. These data are relevant because only 10 of the women who had a partner were working when they were deported. It is worth noting that, except for one, all the younger women worked outside the home.

Another important difference among the deported women is their migrant status before deportation. Indeed, the majority of the women who had a green card had grown up in the U.S. and had no social or family networks in Mexico. The deportation of these women (8 in our study) is due to having several misdemeanors or a felony (usually related to drugs). However, the great majority of the women (69%) were arrested by the police for committing a traffic violation. Alarcón and Becerra (2012) give a similar profile of the deportees housed in *Casa del Migrante*:

the majority were migrants who had spent several years in the U.S. and were deported due to minor offenses. From the 3457 interviews conducted with deported males in 2010, they found that only 6% had lived less than a year in the United States, while 37% had lived there more than 11 years.

Upon studying the causes of deportation, they found that 36% had been removed after committing traffic offences, including DUI (10.5%); 27% of the deportees were removed after being detained due to police inspections, including drinking alcohol in public spaces; and only 10.7% had been deported due to violent or potentially violent crimes.

Some deportees who stay in Tijuana end up homeless and living in extreme poverty. After trying to cross the border back into the United States multiple times, and spending their savings and other economic resources provided by family and friends, they are driven to destitution. The extreme poverty experienced by deportees trapped in the city, without social networks or job opportunities, is highly visible in the zone by the border wall known as *El Bordo*. According to the survey applied by El COLEF⁸ between August and September 2013 (Velasco and Coubés 2013), there were between 700 and 1000 persons living in that area, 96% of them males.⁹ Ninety-one percent of the inhabitants of *el Bordo* had lived in the United States; among them, 72.6% resided in California. More than 40% of this population had lived in the U.S. for more than 15 years, and 38% lived between 6 and 15 years in the U.S. (Velasco and Coubés 2013).

As a whole, most of the inhabitants of *El Bordo* have lived in the United States for long periods and have all their relatives there. They live in extremely poor and unsanitary conditions, in houses made of sheet metal, cardboard, fabric or other waste, called “ñongos”,¹⁰ in excavations, in the sewage and under the bridges. The majority (69%) use drugs. Almost all have informal work, primarily cleaning cars and taking out trash from the market, and they receive food from local charity workers (Velasco y Coubés 2013).

Temporary Shelters

As an archetypical city of South-North migration, Tijuana has dozens of organizations dedicated to helping and defending migrants. Most of them were formed during the migration flows prompted by IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act—1986) and during the strengthening of border control in the 1990s. In 1987,

⁸El Colegio de la Frontera (a Mexican research institute network with its main office in Tijuana).

⁹At that time, between 700 and 800 people that had been displaced from *El Bordo* by the police camped temporarily in a public square.

¹⁰Probably derives from the English word “jungle”.

the Scalabrini¹¹ founded the *Casa del Migrante* in Tijuana in order to attend to a large number of men and women from Mexico and Central America that were arriving to cross the border into the United States. In 1990 Casa YMCA (Center for young migrants) was established. In 1994, Scalabrini nuns finished building "Instituto Madre Assunta," a home for migrant women and children, located close to Casa del Migrante.

Currently, many deportees and migrants in transit find temporary shelters in Tijuana while planning to cross the border, or while recuperating from deportation and deciding their immediate future. Velasco and Coubès (2013) calculated that the shelters for migrants house approximately 1000 people each day. Both private and public institutions provide assistance with housing and food, as well as legal counseling. These services provide a certain stability to the deportees and also serve as a platform to allow deportees to access help through public programs that otherwise would be inaccessible given their vulnerability and unfamiliarity with the city of Tijuana.

Casa del Migrante has 120 beds and accepts migrants for a maximum of 12 days, while they decide their next movement. Aside from lodging, the shelter provides two meals daily and various services, such as phone, internet, bathrooms, clothing, and medical and psychological services. Instituto Madre Assunta and Casa YMCA operate as emergency support as well (migrants can stay for a maximum of two weeks). However, women and minors that cannot be reunited with their families, and thus are highly vulnerable in the city, can extend their stay. These shelters offer many complementary services as well—lodging, food, clothing, job placement, communication with the family, medical assistance, and psychological and legal counseling. Legal counseling is focused mainly on family reunification, that is, reuniting with family members, such as small children, left in the United States.

Some institutions in Tijuana give support to the deported population that has run out of economic resources and social ties, and live mainly in El Bordo. These organizations are the dining hall of Padre Chava, the *Casa de los Pobres*, and several Christian churches that provide food, clothing, health services, and housing (usually costing around \$1.20 USD per night). The dining hall of Padre Chava, a project of the Salesian mission in Tijuana, was conceived in order to give a complete meal once a day to the poor and homeless. It was founded in 1999, in a borrowed warehouse located in downtown Tijuana. In 2009, it acquired a piece of land close to el Bordo and constructed a building with a kitchen, a dining room, a dormitory, bathrooms, and three living rooms where internet services and telephone calls are provided. Currently, the project works with 46 volunteers, and serves 1200 breakfasts daily, primarily to homeless people who live in El Bordo.

¹¹The Scalabrini are a Catholic congregation originally established in Italy in 1887 and are dedicated to the care of migrants across world regions.

Contrary to the strong presence of social organizations, the Mexican government has lacked in providing programs and developing institutions to help the situation of deportees. In 2008, the federal government implemented the *Programa de Repatriación Humana*, (Humane Repatriation Program) coordinated by the INM and *Repatriados Trabajando* (Working Repatriates), from the Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare. The first program does not have its own resources and is completely reliant on the actions of social organizations. The most visible government support has been the discount for bus fares of the repatriates headed toward their original communities in the interior of Mexico. "Working Repatriates" is a program that certifies or validates the labor experience acquired in the United States, and it provides a meager sum (the equivalent of \$100 USD) for expenses during the search for employment in the area.

Social (Re) Integration

A conglomeration of obstacles makes social integration difficult for deportees in Tijuana. Firstly, the lack of identification documents: very few have their birth certificate and even fewer have the credential from the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE),¹² which in Mexico is the main identification document, essential for cashing checks or recovering postal packages sent from the U.S. If deportees decide to stay in Tijuana, lacking identification documents becomes a fundamental obstacle in seeking employment. In addition, the majority of the deportees lack proof of their working experience. The women who stay in the Instituto Madre Assunta, however, have access to contacts there, allowing them to do domestic work. Many deportees enter the informal labor market in Tijuana: cleaning cars, selling products in the street, etc. Sometimes, relatives who visit them from the United States bring them merchandise to sell in flea markets in Tijuana. The deportees with higher educational levels and who are fluent in English can obtain jobs at the call centers in the city, where employers wait weeks or months for them to obtain identification papers. For the children of deportees who reunite with their parents in Tijuana, the absence of birth certificates and school records are serious barriers for entering the Mexican education system (see also Medina and Menjivar 2015). Given this obstacle, sometimes children from the United States who reunite with their deported parents in Tijuana will finish the school year in the U.S. system through home schooling.

Another factor impeding integration in Tijuana is the stigma attached to deportees. Usually, the media and local authorities associate deportations with the incidence of crimes committed in the United States. Furthermore, deportees with more visible marks of their stay in the U.S., particularly having tattoos and wearing U.S. style clothing, are constantly harassed by the local police in public areas. The

¹²Since 2014, the institution changed its name to "Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE)".

police arrest them, take away their identification papers, and rob and extort them, and often put them in jail (Velasco and Coubès 2013).

During the deportation process kinship networks can be important for emotional and economic support; however, the possibility of social reintegration depends on permanent, long-term economic support. The deportees depend on relatives for economic support but they also need other assistance, such as legal support, childcare, help in retrieving belongings from the United States, etc. Compounding the problems of deported migrants, their families usually have scarce resources. Very soon, the family networks break down according to what Menjivar (2000) calls the "structure of opportunities."

We have observed Christian churches giving strong and lasting support to deportees, especially to those who converted to Protestantism in the United States. This conversion is often associated with drug or alcohol rehabilitation, and with time spent in jails, prisons, or detention centers. The formation of friendships and ties with "brothers in the faith" allows deportees to easily access information that prepares them for entry and assimilation into Tijuana. The church works as a support base to help migrants with basic needs after their deportation, and as a link to external labor or educational networks. This support is more than providing immediate assistance. Through prayer meetings and Bible studies, conferences, missionary visits, family get-togethers, etc., some deportees find a job, locate housing options, receive advice about personal problems, and also make new friendships that can result in marriage. An example of this process of "deportation in the heart of the church" is that of Nicolás (37 years of age). He joined an evangelical group inside a detention center. The friendships Nicolás made in the group allowed him to be in contact with people that belonged to the same church in Tijuana. Upon arriving in Mexico, he called the phone number given to him at the detention center, and group members came to take him to one of the church's rental properties for him to stay. This temporary attendance to a primary need extended to long-term support. Through another "brother-friend" in the faith, he found employment, which enabled him to rent an apartment and become independent. Additionally, Nicolás met his current wife in the church. The marriage allowed him to secure his stay in Tijuana.

The participation of a couple in activities with Christians and the church has a central effect in the integration of the couple in Tijuana. When the migrants are deported, the reunification process begins with the wife and children moving to Mexico in order to maintain, if not strengthen, the family bond. Nevertheless, such changes lead to adaptation problems concerning such issues as the children changing schools, difficulty communicating in Spanish, lack of knowledge of the bureaucratic procedures for starting a business, lack of contacts related to the labor market, among others.

Another group that has achieved institutional support consists of U.S. war veterans. In Tijuana, deported former U.S. soldiers have joined organizations such as "Veterans without Borders" and "Banished Veterans." Both organizations mobilize resources through social media (Facebook and Twitter), with the support of U.S. veterans who regularly travel to Tijuana to support them. Thus, the deported U.S. veterans receive help to contest their deportation and reenter the United States

legally, maintain communication with their relatives, earn a living wage, and form organizations in order to support other deported veterans.

Guillermo's trajectory illustrates this process and shows its limitations as well. He migrated to the United States with his family when he was 7 years old, obtained a green card, got married, and became the father of a girl in the United States. He enlisted in the army as a means to avoid violence, drugs, and insecurity in his neighborhood. He was recruited into the army in his high school, and the recruiter promised him citizenship once he finished his service. After basic training, he became a paratrooper and a member of the Special Forces. Even though he never participated in armed conflict, staying for more than four years in the army allowed him to form friendships and acquire an identity as a U.S. soldier, serving the country where he grew up. Nevertheless, because he was charged with driving under the influence of alcohol, he was discharged from military service and could no longer receive the benefits that he once enjoyed. He did not receive citizenship as he had been promised, and he did not follow-up on the promise after he was discharged. Although he was a legal resident, the subsequent offense of drug possession led to his deportation. However, while Guillermo lost the support of the U.S. military, which had promised him citizenship, when he was deported to Tijuana, he was able to recover his ties with veterans and reclaim his identity as part of the U.S. military.

It is important to understand that for deported veterans, the military does not only serve as a source of identity, but it also serves as a platform to design socio-economic strategies. In veteran organizations and through social media, the deportees create and maintain relationships with other social organizations, activists, migration attorneys, documentary makers, scholars and government officials.

The deported veterans in Tijuana, nonetheless, have focused their activism on returning to the United States, which many consider their home country. For example, five years after being deported, Guillermo still has trouble speaking Spanish and regularly says that he feels like an American citizen. He takes temporary low-skill jobs, with low salaries and no Social Security benefits. He feels forced to stay in Tijuana, and his only ties are with old army friends and with social activists who support his cause. Separated from his daughter, his relationship with her is now funneled through social media and monthly visits. Through the help of other veterans in the United States, he has been able to obtain some resources to rent a place to live, which he shares with other deported veterans.

Processes of Separation and Family Reunification in Deportation

Family separation has become an acute problem with the politics of deportation. According to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), between January and June 2011, 46,486 deportees claimed to be parents of U.S. children (ICE 2011). It is

worth noting that many deportees do not mention that they have children in the U.S. for fear that other undocumented relatives might also be deported.

In a study on deportees in several cities on the northern Mexican border, Butler and Mancillas (2011, 57) found that in Tijuana the majority of deportees registered high levels of psychological vulnerability due to family separation. The degree varied by gender: men felt greater stress when separated from their partners, while women experienced greater pain from being far from their children. The interviewees showed high levels of stress, depression, and feelings of despair; furthermore, they experienced severe economic hardships.

As the study above shows, deportation has different consequences depending on which family member is deported. Almost all the deportees perceive family separation as shattering. But it is especially hard on the mothers, who express profound sadness and suffering about being separated from their children. After deportation, mothers are not able to rebuild their lives by distance, as if family space was the only social space that can provide identity and a sense of belonging. An untimely deportation and its social consequences, therefore, can cause grief over the loss of a significant part of the self.

For the women who migrated to the United States as adults, motherhood is at the core of their identity as women, and being physically close to their children seems to be a crucial and indispensable condition for envisioning themselves as mothers. In this regard, they try to reunite with their children in Mexico. Thus, the women often stay on the border for weeks or months waiting for some family member with legal residency in the United States to bring their children to Tijuana. However, family reunification in Mexico becomes more complex when Child Protection Services in the United States takes custody of the children.

For example, Juana (25 years of age), deported in September 2012, is mother of five children born in the United States. Originally from Michoacán, she arrived in California at age 17. In 2010, when she was pregnant with the youngest child, she was attacked several times by her partner. On one occasion, a neighbor called the police, and they arrested the father for domestic violence, and accused the mother of child endangerment. As a result of that event, Juana lost custody of her two oldest children. At the beginning of 2011, Juana made monitored visits to her children, and she also took parenting courses in order to recover custody of them. After she had met all the requirements to recover custody, she was arrested and deported for not appearing at an immigration hearing. When she crossed the border back into the United States, she was apprehended and tried for unauthorized reentry. She spent six months in a detention center and was deported again. After her last deportation, Juana's three youngest children stayed in the United States under her sister's care, while the two oldest remained with Child Protection Services. She decided to live in Tijuana and reunite with her children in the city. Her relatives brought her three youngest children to her, but she had to initiate a long and complex legal process to get her oldest two children from Child Protection Services and reunite with them in Mexico.

Deported women who grew up in the U.S. attempt more often to reunite with their children by crossing the border back into the United States without authorization, and make arrangements for a relative to stay with their children. It is important to point out that, in the case of women who spent time in prisons or detention centers, there was a previous experience—sometimes for several years—of family separation. Therefore, many of these women had previously depended on relatives to take care of their children.

The story of Maria (age 40) illustrates this process well. She arrived in the U.S. at six years old. Originally from Michoacán, she crossed the border with her mother, two sisters, and a brother. She was the youngest sibling and spent most of her adolescence in a small city in southern California. She did not graduate from high school, and was introduced to the world of drugs five months before completing the twelfth grade.

Selling drugs provided her enough money to purchase a plot of land in Tijuana and build a house that she could use in case of an emergency. This emergency occurred: Maria was arrested and sentenced to two years in prison for selling illegal drugs. In 2001, when she was released, she gave birth to a son, and she raised him as a single mother. In 2005, she was arrested and imprisoned again for drug trafficking, but after being released, she was deported from the U.S. Fortunately, she had the house in Tijuana. However, that was all she had there: she had no friends or relatives, nor anyone else to support her.

Aside from her house in Tijuana, another reason Maria remained on the border was to be close to her child, who would come with her grandmother to visit her in Tijuana. In early 2014, Maria's child, now 12 years old, moved to live with Maria because his grandmother developed cancer.

The children of deported mothers almost always stay in the care of another female family member. By contrast, when fathers are deported, the children usually stay with the mother in the United States. Interviews with deported men show, in almost all cases, a weakening of paternal ties months or years before deportation. Generally, this has to do with the separation of the couple, family disintegration and breakdown, or with domestic violence, gangs, and abuse of alcohol or drugs.

Detention and deportation often lead deported men in Tijuana to strengthening or reinitiating ties with female kin. After deportation, men undergo a strengthening of relationships particularly with their mothers and wives or ex-wives. Deported men who experience prolonged or recurring stays in prison tend to lose gang-based friendships while imprisoned, but bonds with their mothers become stronger as contact between mothers and their imprisoned sons increases. Also, wives or ex-wives give material and other social support to husbands or former husbands during detention, and provide resources (money, information, emotional support, etc.) for the men's survival in Tijuana post-deportation. In some cases, deported men re-establish relations with ex-partners, especially if these men and their ex-partners had children born in the United States.

Conclusion

As a deportation city, Tijuana is characterized by its proximity to Southern California, which is a major destination for Mexican migrants. Thus, the deportees who decide to stay in Tijuana, whether temporarily or for a long period, do so to be close to their family and friends who remain in the U.S. The field research shows that the great majority of deportees who stay in this border city come from families that have mixed immigration statuses, with children living in the U.S. side of the border.

Deportation and family separation have different consequences for women than for men. The removal of women breaks the care chains they have in their families, and especially with their children. Upon being forced to separate from their children, the women lose a primary, child-caring bond, which severely compromises their maternal role. The loss of meaning that accompanies the maternal restriction forces the deported mothers to reshape their parenting and care practices. When mothers are deported, their children are usually left in the care of female relatives, or, in some cases, the children are taken by Child Protection Services or placed in foster care. By contrast, when the father is deported, the children almost always stay with their mother. In this case, the family often reunites in Mexico. This creates significant difficulties, however, for the U.S.-born children, since they are not fluent in Spanish. The reuniting of the family on the Mexican side of the border also usually leads to impoverishment of the family due to scarce employment opportunities in Tijuana.

In the presence of scarce support from public institutions, reciprocity networks and social organizations fulfill a crucial role. They lessen the trauma caused by deportation and allow migrants a period of time to recuperate, so that they can make decisions about their future movements, the care of their children, the repatriation of their belongings, and the processing of their identity documents by government agencies. Family networks can provide material resources in the short term, as well as provide crucial moral support for emotional recovery. In addition, organizations and shelters give emergency support for immediate survival. But after a certain period of time, the deportees become a further burden for most families, or for social organizations. Often, it takes months to find employment, and wages will be lower than in the United States. The structure of opportunities (Menjívar 2000) notably limits the support that deportees can get from family networks, as well as limit the possibility to integrate in Tijuana. Institutional networks, thus, usually provide the bonds that facilitate permanent and long term support. Through some Christian churches, deportees find social support and contacts with other deported persons facing similar circumstances. The relationships established among church members—many of whom were deported with histories of addiction and imprisonment—provide valuable information sources to settle in Tijuana, to join the labor market, and enroll in schools.

In the same way, deported veterans have formalized organizations that mobilize resources shared through ties with veterans in the U.S. These groups help the

deportees endure their stay in Mexico. However, the veterans' long term integration seems compromised by their main goal: their legal return to the United States.

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Displacing Lives and Closing Pathways to Hope: The Health Impacts of Deportation and Return Migration in El Progreso, Honduras

Juliana E. Morris and Daniel Palazuelos

Abstract The United States detains and deportes over 400,000 people annually. A growing body of research on the health impacts of migration suggests that this large-scale return has important consequences for the health of deportees, their families, and their communities. This pilot study aimed to develop an initial characterization of the types of health impacts most commonly observed after deportees arrive in their countries of origin. Twenty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted with people deported from the U.S., their family members, and community leaders in the medium-sized Honduran city of El Progreso. Using mixed content analysis methodology, three major deportation-related health categories were identified: social and family stressors, economic deprivation, and exposure to violence. While some of the subthemes identified were described as positive (i.e. family reunification), the majority was associated with negative health impacts. These impacts extend to the broader community, contributing to local economic instability, insecurity, and destabilization. Notably, the negative health impacts of deportation were identified as key “push factors” that contribute to the local population’s desire to emigrate to the U.S. Thus, it is possible that deportation, promoted as a means of decreasing the number of undocumented immigrants in the U.S., is actually fueling additional unauthorized immigration while also contributing to the suffering of many Hondurans. The authors propose that future policy decisions on migration and deportation more actively incorporate public health perspectives in order to mitigate the health challenges facing Honduran migrants, their families, and their communities.

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