

“LOS DEPORTADOS”:
THE TRANSNATIONAL BLOWBACK OF THE UNITED STATES DEPORTATION
PRACTICES AND THE HIDDEN COSTS OF MASS DEPORTATIONS

by

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Los Deportados”: The Transnational Blowback of the United States Deportation Practices
and the Hidden Costs of Mass Deportation

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts at George Mason University

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to the brave souls who journey across borders on the quest for a better life. While you have been labeled as “*undocumented*” and may be living in the *shadows*, I pray this thesis brings to light your contributions to the world and that we may move towards documenting and addressing the complexities of a globalized 21st Century society.

“Ahora los niños lloran a la salida
Lloran al ver que no llegará mamá
Uno se queda aquí, otro se queda allá,
Eso pasa por salir a trabajar.”

English Translation (" video: La, "):

“Cry, Children cry when they get out
They cry when mom’s not coming to pick them up
Some of us stay here
Others stay there
That happens for going out to find work.”

-La Santa Cecilia –El Hielo (ICE)

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ABSTRACT

LOS DEPORTADOS”: THE TRANSNATIONAL BLOWBACK OF THE UNITED STATES DEPORTATION PRACTICES AND THE HIDDEN COSTS OF MASS DEPORTATION

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George Mason University, 2013

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The narratives of deportees’ experiences as they are forcibly returned “home” deserves more attention especially if the United States government fails to achieve comprehensive immigration reform in the near future. What is happening to *los deportados* we have been sending to their “homes” in Latin America that are struggling to maintain their societal structure with their current populations? This thesis explores how Honduran immigrant deportees are being reintegrated in their “homeland”. Through ethnographic research of the practices of the Honduran agency responsible for receiving the migrants and general observations of Honduran society, semi-structured, in-depth interviews with deportees and content analysis of major United States and Honduran newspapers, this thesis explores how the systemic inefficiencies of the United States deportation practices result in a transnational blowback affecting both the United States and the Honduran societies. Moreover, the study explores how Honduran institutions are

playing a role in the reintegration of their returned migrants and how these migrants are forming or reforming their identities post deportation. The findings of this study allude to an unspoken and undiscussed transnational blowback that has severe social, economic, and political costs. Moreover, the study outlines how neither the current United States deportation system nor the receiving Honduran society have a successful mechanism for individuals to be reintegrated into their native societies thus resulting in: 1) the recidivism of immigration violations (i.e. reentry); 2) marginalization of returned migrants which leads to the creation of “floating populations”; and 3) negative economic ramifications for both Honduran society and US society.

Key terms: immigration; integration; transnationalism; deportation; deportados (deportees); repatriation; blowback, homeland; sending countries; receiving countries; identity; crime; deviance; delinquency; root shock

CHAPTER 1: THE INTRODUCTION

The following four vignettes may have the obvious underlying similarity that they all describe the experiences of Hondurans who migrated to the United States ; however what they all *lack* is the more intriguing story. All of these migrantsⁱ, and the other four whom I will discuss later in this thesis, post deportation experiences are virtually nonexistent in discussions regarding the United States immigration system and or its potential reform. Considering the large study populationⁱⁱ available to extract data from, experiences after deportation or repatriationⁱⁱⁱ have been given inadequate empirical attention and deserve more sociological observation (Brotherton and Barrios, 2011, Chapter 1; Kanstroom, 2012). In this study I will discuss how the United States repatriation process theoretically and in practice excludes the reintegration stage and respective efforts by the sending and receiving nations and how these systemic inefficiencies on both parties result in a transnational blowback. The study discusses where the strengths and weaknesses in this process lie in the transnational field.

ⁱ The stories of the migrants who participated in this study are accurate. Actual names of individuals were, however, replaced with pseudonyms to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants.

ⁱⁱ See Department of Homeland Security deportation statistics for the past 10 years.

ⁱⁱⁱ In a more traditional sense the term has been used to simply describe the act of returning a person to one's country of origin. As used in this paper the terms deportation and repatriation are used interchangeably to describe the process and the mechanism of forcibly returning people to their place of origin or citizenship.

MEET THE PARTICIPANTS

Mr. Hernandez

After spending sixteen years of his life in the United States , Mr. Hernandez came back to Honduras with two large luggage bags and a brown cardboard box. I was interning at the Centro de Atencion Al Migrante Retornado ^{iv}(CAMR) when Mr. Hernandez arrived. That day, I had been assigned to monitor the line where the migrants were waiting to be interviewed. While waiting in line, Mr. Hernandez seemed to recognize me and greeted me with a hug. With great confusion, I hugged Mr. Hernandez back, but informed Mr. Hernandez that I did not know who he was. Mr. Hernandez took a step back and convinced he knew me, spent the next two minutes attempting to trigger something in my mind that was proof we knew each other. Then, Mr. Hernandez used the key word...my current town of residence in the United States and it was at that point that I could no longer deny that we knew each other, even if in another life, across borders.

I originally met Mr. Hernandez in a day labor center in a suburb outside of Washington D.C. where we both resided. Mr. Hernandez was a regular laborer at the day labor center and I was a volunteer/on call staff member. In our first interaction, there was an immediate bond over the fact that we were both natives of Honduras. During the last discussion with Mr. Hernandez in the United States , I mentioned to him that I would be going away to Honduras for the next six months to conduct research on deportees. Mr. Hernandez commended me for the project and fared me well.

Aside from being a day laborer in the United States , Mr. Hernandez was also a landlord. He had worked several jobs in his fifteen years in the United States and saved

^{iv} Attention Center for the Returned Migrant

enough money to purchase a home which he occupied, but also rented out the spare rooms. One of his tenants was a young undocumented couple. In one evening, the couple was involved in a domestic dispute where the young woman was physically abused by her partner. After the incident occurred, the young woman learned about the possibility of her partner's deportation. The young woman did not want her partner to suffer legal consequences for his actions, but was informed that if someone could not appear in court and testify that her partner had been in the country for a determined period of time, he would be referred to immigration authorities and possibly deported. Subsequently, the young woman pleaded with Mr. Hernandez to go to court with her so that he could inform the court how long his tenants had resided in his house, which would in turn determine whether the young man would be sent to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) or not. Reluctantly, Mr. Hernandez agreed to appear in court. However, after receiving the last warning from the Department of Homeland Security that his visa must be renewed, Mr. Hernandez reneged on his agreement with his tenant.

The young woman became inconsolable and spent considerable time explaining the importance of Mr. Hernandez's court appearance and why her partner could not be deported. Mr. Hernandez was moved by her story and although he was unable to renew his visa before the court date, he went forward with the appearance. Upon his arrival at court, Mr. Hernandez was asked for identification by a Deputy Sheriff and Mr. Hernandez provided the only identification he had, the expired work visa. The deputy proceeded to detain Mr. Hernandez and later referred him to ICE who ordered his deportation.

Teresa

The moment she stepped out of the CAMR, she immediately stood out. Teresa was certainly not like the rest of the Honduran migrants who returned to Honduras by means of deportation that afternoon. The trendy American style clothes she was wearing, the makeup and hairstyle were only a few of the indicators that her experience was different from that of the other migrants. But it was not until the moment that she started panting for air, nervously asking the cab drivers and the *cambiadores*^v (in English) if anybody had a phone, that anyone observing this young woman could tell that this was not a “typical case” of a deported migrant. It was evident by her command of the English language that she had been in the United States for a while and the frantic look upon her face suggested she had no clue what awaited her upon her return to the country she had left when she was twelve years old.

Her involuntary departure from her “homeland” while she was a child was the result of her mother’s sole decision to leave the impoverished Central American country. Teresa’s mother was a young single parent raising twin daughters and like many Honduran international migrants, her mother lived a nomadic life moving around from city to city in Honduras before arriving at the land of opportunity. As Teresa stated, her mother “lived anywhere and everywhere”. After years of moving back and forth between

^v These are individuals who are self-employed and make money by making foreign currency exchanges. They provide an above market value exchanged for the foreign currency that international travelers have. Individuals who usually make these above market value exchanges usually do it out of convenience of not having to find a bank or because they are not knowledgeable about where else they can make the exchanges. Many usually station themselves in airports or near international borders. Because of the increase of deportations, many individuals in Honduras have seized the opportunity to make gains from returned migrants reifying the commoditization of the migrant which will be discussed later.

her hometown, the industrial capital of Honduras, San Pedro Sula, to the political capital of the country, Tegucigalpa, Teresa's mother finally set her eyes out of the country.

Out of what Teresa described as "infatuation for adventure" her mother decided to move to Mexico. Before actually arriving in Mexico, however, the family of three spent a short while in Guatemala. After living in Mexico for a few years and reestablishing her life with the twins and a new spouse, Teresa's mother looked northward again, this time towards the United States . After several attempts at evading the border patrol, Teresa's mother was finally successful in achieving her goal to move to the United States . Teresa, her twin sister and stepfather reunited with the mother shortly after. Teresa would then spend some years in California, where she: learned English; moved out of the household with her twin sister and lived without adult supervision by age sixteen; and became engaged, married, impregnated, and divorced by the age of seventeen. After a domestic dispute with her spouse, in which Teresa was physically assaulted, Teresa decided to move across the country to Florida where she had the support of her aunt (mother's sister), maternal grandmother and a slew of extended family members. In Florida she would finish high school with a 4.0 grade point average (out of 4.0), give birth to her daughter, meet her second spouse and have a child with him. Teresa would finally settle in Texas where she gave birth to her three other children. She developed a cocaine addiction, lost custody of her children and was detained for a possession charge and subsequently deported. While the twenty nine year old mother of five endured what you may consider a tumultuous childhood, the next three months for Teresa in Honduras

would prove to be some of the most difficult months in her young but already seasoned life.

Pito

Since he fell off the top of *la bestia*^{vi} in Mexico, en route to the United States , Pito spends most of his days sitting around the house. It is not necessarily that the prosthetic foot he was given after the amputation makes him immobile, but the thirty three year old man suffers from schizophrenia¹, a mental disorder that went unnoticed until he was diagnosed in the United States when he was detained by migration authorities. Providing health evaluations is a standard procedure at United States detention facilities, which is a benefit to many migrants who have limited to no contact with health care professionals in their home country. The problem is, that knowing that they have a problem is not “the first step” when treatment facilities are, if not scarce, grossly underfunded, unmaintained, and unproductive (see endnote “i”).

He was thirty years old when he was diagnosed but his family had long suspected something was wrong. While in theory Pito should be able to receive proper attention now that he has a diagnosis, nothing has really changed other than the fact that now his family can account for his erratic behavior. Unclear which one, it is believed that Pito’s father also suffered from a mental disorder which is hypothesized to be the cause to why he willingly “gave away” his children (Pito and his sister) to the neighbor and

^{vi} This Spanish term literally translates to “the beast” in English. The colloquial meaning of the term is used in Mexico and by migrants who evade the border to describe the networks of freight trains migrants take to travel from Mexico to the United States border.

disappeared. Pito and his sister were later retrieved by their cousin (a minor at the time) and raised by his aunt, who he calls his mama-tia (mother-aunt).

Ana

Then there was Ana. Her manifest reason for journeying up North was the thrill and adventure. The latent reason, however, involved the killing of her older brother by LAPD. Ana does not deny that she was enticed to migrate to the United States by the way that life in the United States was described to her. That however, was not the sole reason, because unlike many migrants who decide to leave Honduras to go to the United States , Ana was from an upper middle class family and was enrolled at a private university.

These qualities almost guaranteed her a better life in Honduras compared to the majority of her Honduran peers. Her close relationship with her brother, who was financing her education, motivated her to find out the details regarding his untimely death. The parents were so distraught by the news, that they did not want an official account of how their son was killed, but merely wanted to bury his body and move on for the sake of their four children. Her curiosity led her to agree to be trafficked up north by a *coyote* (trafficker), where she was kidnapped for a few days and later released after ransom was paid. When she finally reached her destination in California, she spent several years being mistreated and exploited as a live in nanny for a wealthy Anglo family. Ana would then, ironically, meet a man from her hometown in Honduras to whom she would fall in love with and have a child with. Shortly after, however, Ana decided that life in the United States was not what it is made out to be. So after living in the United States for several years, Ana decided to go come back home with her

American born child, but without her partner, to her small rural hometown in Western Honduras.

WHY THIS MATTERS

As will be discussed later, the phenomenon of immigration can no longer be simplified to an “assimilated newcomers” model that was prevalent in previous immigration literature, but must account for the ever present, but more recently, theoretically articulated phenomenon of transnationalism (Brotherton and Barrios, 2011, Chapter 1). If the UNITED STATES immigration deportation system continues to operate in its industrial framework of inputting massive undocumented and visa violating migrants into the system to massively deport them back (as has been observed over the last 12 years) to their countries of origin for social, political and economic benefits to the United States ; then a thorough cost-benefit analysis would require investigating what happens to these individuals after they are removed from the United States . This analysis would allow the United States truly measure whether these ends are being met from a transnational lens.

If the theoretical presumptions of the deportation system as serving as extended border control and post-entry social control (Kanstroom, 2007, 2012) are accepted, an analysis of their efficacy is needed from the lens of the deportees post deportation experiences. This analysis is necessary as it transcends the geopolitical constructs of the modern nation state and accounts for the repercussions of extended border control and post-entry social control in a globalized, transnational socio-political economy. From a transnational purview, we must develop the understanding that social control via our

immigration system does not just have serious ramifications for the socialization and mobilization for the international migrants in the United States , but also for their interconnected networks in their countries of origins.

To determine if the system is working effectively and efficiently, we must look beyond the inquiry of whether removing undesirables from the United States is alleviating homeland societal burdens (i.e. public safety, over expenditure in public benefits, increasing unemployment, etc.), to what occurs outside United States borders in the sending countries of the migrants, in this case Honduras, and what collateral effects, if any, does this have for the United States . Of primary interest should be the micro effects of this process on the lives of the migrants. It is through the observations from the lifeworlds of the deportees in their returning society (see Brotherton and Barrios, 2011 for an outline on a transnational methodology) that we will be able to extrapolate the macro effects on the United States and Honduras.

For the past two decades, for various reasons, the United States has seen an influx of the foreign born population and their United States born offspring (for explanations on the population changes in Honduras see Chavarria Flores et. al, 2012; PNPRRS, 2011; for statistics on population changes see Pew and United States Census data). During this same time period, however, there has also been an increase in the deportation of foreign born nationals out of the United States (Chavarria Flores et. al, 2012; PNPRRS, 2011 and also see Department of Homeland Security removal data in Appendix H). Naturally, the

massive deportations have caused the sending^{vii} countries of the foreign nationals to adapt to these influxes of returning compatriots by instituting action plans or organizations responsible for serving the returned migrants. In the case of Honduras, a unique partnership between four organizations was started over a decade ago.

Since its inception in 1999, the CAMR, has had to facilitate the reception of returned migrants and provide additional services that this population requires (i.e. provide medical referrals, certifications so migrants can obtain IDs, workshops to learn new skills, employment leads, etc.) In the beginning, the deportation of Hondurans was low in numbers; however, over time the volume of deportations of Hondurans has drastically increased, causing the organization to struggle to keep up with its mission of reintegrating the deported Hondurans.

During the questions segment of his first post-reelection press conference, President Obama was asked by Lori Montenegro, a Telemundo reporter, if he will be successful in introducing an immigration bill to Congress in his second term and what he had in mind for that reform (Federal News Service, 2012). His reply was reminiscent of the presidential candidate we were introduced to in 2008 as he stated, “And my expectation is that we get a bill introduced and we begin the process in Congress very soon after my inauguration” (ibid). The Senate did pass a Comprehensive Immigration

^{vii} Nations from where international migrants originate from. The term is juxtaposed with *receiving nations* which are nations which receive international migrants, which in this thesis will only include the United States of America, although the United States is certainly not the only country that has seen an influx of international migration.

Reform bill mid-year, however the House did not come to any agreement. Whether President Obama and Congress are able to accomplish the immigration reform task or not in this presidential term, there is still another important story worth telling about the effects of our immigration policies that has been widely overlooked in public discourse, the aftermath of mass deportations.

While President Obama ran a strong pro-immigrant campaign in 2008 and in 2012, he has been, as Honduran American journalist- Hector Luis Alamo, Jr, put it, history's *Great Deporter*². No president in the history of the United States has expelled as many foreign born as President Obama has and is continuing to do so. In his first term in office, he deported an astounding 1.5 million people! To provide a sense of how large this number is, consider that number is equal to the current population of Philadelphia, the fifth largest city in the United States and second most populated city in the East Coast ("Philadelphia county, pennsylvania,"). This was not accomplished at an even rate as he broke the single year deportation record 3 times in that four year period. Perhaps in his pro-immigrant rhetoric, "bringing them out of the shadows" was doublespeak for bringing them out of the shadows to deport them. While this is certainly politically problematic for the President (considering that a significant population block voted for him on precisely that issue) and the legislators failing to undertake the task of reforming the immigration system, there are also social and economic ramifications of such disruptions in populations which deserve more scrutiny.

The societal implications of the population shifts for sending countries of the early 21st century, due to return international migration or deportation, have been widely

ignored in public discourse and scholarly research. The effects of deportation in sending countries must be an important consideration in the political dialogue. It is empirically evident that many of the home countries where the deported are returning to (especially in Latin America) are struggling to maintain their current societal structure with their current populations (i.e. widespread poverty, corruption, and crime just to name a few of the problems), so integrating a “few” more hundred thousand will be no feasible task (Kanstroom, 2007, Barrios and Brotherton, 2011 and Kanstroom, 2012).

In the summer of 2012, the New York Times reported that Mexico has never before seen so many American children in its classrooms. They further noted that the wave of deportations in the past decade along with tougher state laws and persistent unemployment, “have all created a mass exodus of Mexican parents who are leaving with their American sons and daughters.” (Cave, 2012) Another key point in the New York Times report is that many of the returned migrants are taking with them their United States born children. This creates a serious concern in immigration policy because while the deportation of United States born children is not *de jure*, or rather sanctioned by immigration law, it becomes the *de facto* reality for some second generation Americans of undocumented (or visa violating) parents (Kanstroom, 2012). In fact, the issue of unlawfully detaining and deporting United States citizens should not be overlooked as it is more problematic when you consider the empirical evidence demonstrating that the practice has been occurring for over 100 years (Kanstroom, 2007, Stevens, 2011 and Kanstroom, 2012).

Also represented by the narrative is the notion that much focus on Latino immigration issues is, by default, focused on the largest group of immigrants (Mexican), but it is important to note the asymmetrical flows of the other immigrant groups; one in particular is that of the Honduran born who, as estimated by the United States Census, have seen an 80% population increase in the United States and 120% increase in their native^{viii} born descendants in the first decade of the 21st century. As the Pew Hispanic Center reported in the summer of 2013, Hondurans are currently the 9th largest group of Hispanic origin (Brown & Patten, 2013). Hondurans are also the second most likely deported migrants in Central America (the first being Guatemalans). This population growth of Hondurans in the United States deserves more attention especially when one considers the deteriorating political, economic, environmental and social realities that the Honduran society is currently struggling with and when it is juxtaposed with the increase in deportations for that group during that same time period (400% increase in total deportations ---both criminal and non-criminal immigrants, as shown by the Department Homeland Security's records of deportations over the past decade). Also noteworthy is the fact that Honduras has been designated as the "murder capital of the world" for the last two consecutive years for its high homicide rates (Romo & Thompson, 2013).

What happens to these Honduran deportees as they "return home"? Are they stigmatized by their compatriots as have been the reported empirical cases with the Salvadorans, Mexicans, Haitians, Jamaicans, Dominicans and other immigrant groups? (see Dingeman and Rumbaut, 2010, Brotherton and Barrios, 2011 and Kanstroom, 2012).

^{viii} As used in this study, *native born* refers to individuals born in the United States .

If this is the case, are they experiencing the common results of this stigmatization: harassment by law enforcement officers, limited employment prospects, limited educational and personal growth opportunities? While comprehensive immigration may resolve the concerns for the millions of undocumented children and adults in the United States, if history has any predictive validity, this does not mean that there will be no future deportations and thus some individuals will continue to be exiled from the United States. The expansion of this “new American diaspora” as Kanstroom (2012) refers to it, can no longer go unnoticed. We must give more serious consideration to the lived experience of los deportados after their deportation.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The vast immigration literature either ends with the successful or unsuccessful integration stories of these individuals into American society or with the statistics of deportation. This however, undermines a significant stage for many immigrants in this century, especially for Honduran immigrants, repatriation. It has only been until recently that scholars have been delving into the important issue of what happens post-deportation. The lack of studies covering the lived experiences of deported individuals being reintegrated back into Honduran society is problematic when trying to assess the real cost (political, economic, and social) of mass deportations to Honduras, the murder capital of the world. This study examines the repatriation stories and attempts to answer how Honduran deportees are (re)adapting to the illusory state³ that is the Republic of Honduras. The study will assess the role of the center for deportees in Honduras (CAMR) and qualitatively (critical ethnography of the NGO; and a grounded theory approach to

exploring deportees' experiences through semi-structured interviews, and content analysis) explore if the institutions that play a significant role in the integration and or assimilation process of Honduran American immigrants (i.e. religious, education, political, and social) also play a role in their repatriation process in Honduras. Addressing this gap in research in Honduran repatriation will add to the scant literature in the aftermath of deportation and may, with enough enlightened political will, aid in improving immigration policies for both sending and receiving countries.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A CONCISE HISTORY OF DEPORTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

While Obama has shattered his predecessors' (and his own) deportation records, the expulsion of non-citizens is hardly a new trend in American history. In fact, for a nation commonly referred to as "the nation of immigrants", history reveals a contradictory and dark past of the exclusion and expulsion of immigrants in the United States dating back to the colonization of the New World (i.e. 17th and 18th century deportations of the poor and criminals from the English mainland out to the colonies, and then further deportation within the colonies, etc). Legal scholar, Daniel Kanstroom who has an impressive career in immigration law has provided one of the best accounts of that deportation history in his book titled, *Deportation Nation, Outsiders in American History*. Exploring the historical accounts of his well-researched book on the United States deportation history, will provide a better understanding of the basis of the research problem, the deportation system.

As noted above, deportation of non-citizens is not a new practice. More specifically, Kanstroom has noted that since 1925 (until 2007 when the book was published), "...the number of times an individual noncitizen has been caught somewhere on UNITED STATES soil and determined to be subject to deportation has exceeded 46 million..." (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 3). Out of those 46 million, 44 million people have

actually been ordered to leave. That is a mind blowing figure when you consider that it represents 15% of the current United States population. It should also be noted that the figure since the publication of the book has increased by a few more million. The question of relevance when studying this phenomenon is its origins; what were the social, political, and economic^{ix} conditions that created the modern day United States deportation system?

A little known fact that Kanstroom emphasizes in his book is that deportation is not one of the enumerated powers granted to the federal government in the United States Constitution (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 3) In fact, while the Constitution grants Congress the authority to create "...an uniform rule of Naturalization...", it says "...nothing explicitly about either the admission or the deportation of noncitizens..." (ibid). So if it is not in the Constitution, then how did it become legal? This inalienable right that the federal government has assumed on its own authority has been made possible through a process of three distinct stages that Kanstroom describes as: "the federalization of immigration control; the legitimation of federal deportation laws; and post-entry social control deportation laws to extended border control laws" (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 92).

The federalization of immigration control

The initial stage of the federalization of immigration control arose from the need to shift the powers of immigration control from the states to the federal government. Ironically enough, in the past few years it seems as if border states and certain Southern

^{ix} The Kanstroom review in this section only slightly discusses the economic reasons, but for a more thorough discussion of the economic reasons read Alamo's analysis in his article reprinted in this thesis located in endnote 2.

states with high populations of immigrants are attempting to reverse this historical shift in power by enacting their own set of laws to restrict and regulate the flow of individuals within their borders. Originally, “each state had its own system of exclusion laws and practices to protect its populations from unwanted immigrants --- the poor, criminals, the sick and various types of “immoral” people” (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 92). As noted above, the deportation and exclusion actually predate the establishment of the country, so it is important to remember that exclusion and expulsion laws originated from the colonial period. One such example is that of the Acadian Deportation in the early 18th century^x.

At the outset, the Supreme Court supported the states’ power; notably in 1837 in *The City of New York v. Miln*, the Court sided with the states to allow them to enact laws “requiring masters of ships to provide detailed reports on passengers about to land” (ibid). A decade later however, the Court began restricting the states’ control on “head taxes” that were imposed on immigrants. The latter decision signified that the “...era of state control was clearly ending” (ibid). The enactment of state immigration laws, however should not be confused with evidence of a consensus of anti-immigrant sentiments. In fact, the “dominant trend of the 1860s and 1870s was toward the encouragement of immigration” (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 93). The need for immigrant labor was the aftermath of emancipation and the Civil War (Kanstroom, 2007, Chapter 3). As many as twenty five states undertook initiatives to encourage immigration and then President, Abraham Lincoln also exercised his political capital to inform Congress of the importance of immigrants for nation-rebuilding.

^x For the complete summary of how these early settlers were forced out of their settled land from colony to colony read Kanstroom Chapter 1, Antecedents.

At the federal level, however, laws regarding the exclusion and expulsion of migrants and United States citizens can be traced back to as early as 1790 when Congress established uniform rules so that "free white persons" of "good moral character" could apply for citizenship after two years of residency. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 can be viewed as the "fruits of a gradual acceptance of the legitimacy of ideological exclusion and removal laws" (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 30). These laws authorized the then (Federalist) President John Adams to "deport foreigners deemed to be dangerous and increases the residency requirements to 14 years to prevent immigrants, who predominantly voted for the Republican Party, from becoming citizen" (Harvard University Library Open Collections Program). Laws of exclusion at their basis originated from what Obama referred to as an "us versus them" (Press Secretary, 2013) mentality that has been persistent in UNITED STATES history

The legitimization of federal deportation laws

While the Court began shifting powers of immigration control from the states to the federal government as early as 1837, it was not until 1876 in the cases of: *Henderson, et al. v. Mayor of New York, et al.*, and *Chy Lung v. Freeman*, that the Court was able to "effectively mark the death knell for most state immigration control" (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 94). In *Chy Lung*, the Court held that the "passage of laws which concern the admission of citizens and subjects of foreign nations to our shores belong to Congress, and no to the States." (ibid) The opinion of the Court justifies this power via the "Commerce Clause"⁴ of the Constitution. Similarly in *Henderson*, the Court invoked the Constitution's Commerce Clause to support federal immigration control. For the next two

centuries, even to present day, the United States federal government continues to regulate its laws of exclusion and expulsion.

Once the stage was set, the federal government was able to monopolize the regulation of exclusion and expulsion of non-citizens (and citizens alike). While the shift in power was made possible by the commerce clause, the evolution of the exclusion and expulsion laws, however, was progressed by a doctrinal shift known as plenary power. The doctrine holds that the legislative branch (Congress) and the executive branch (President) are empowered to make laws and policies regarding the exclusion and expulsion of immigrants. Additionally, the doctrine makes way for limited (if any) judicial review regarding immigration matters. The articulation of the power comes from the landmark *Chae Chan Ping v. United States* case (also referred to as the *Chinese Exclusion Case*):

“The power of exclusion of foreigners being an incident of sovereignty belonging to the government of the United States ... the right to its exercise at any time when, in the judgment of the government, the interests of the country require, cannot be granted away or restrained on behalf of any one...The political department of our government...is alone competent to act upon the subject.”

(Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 96 citing *Chae Chan Ping v. United States*)

As Kanstroom notes, although the doctrine has been the subject of severe criticism since its inception, “it remains the law, and it serves to this day as the doctrinal substratum for deportation law” (Kanstroom, 2007, pg. 96).

Through the federalization of immigration law and the subsequent legitimization of deportation law, the United States deportation system expanded exponentially over the centuries. From various episodes of the exclusion and expulsion of groups of people based on race, religious beliefs, political ideology, etc. the United States deportation system can be characterized as the staunch contrast to the “nation of immigrants” ideal. The final stage, post-entry social control deportation, is the current stage of our modern immigration system.

Post-entry social control deportation laws to extended border control laws

As referred to in this thesis, post-entry social control deportation is the system by which the state maintains order in the United States by removing certain undesirables or individuals who are not deemed fit or have not shown the appreciation to enjoy the privileges of living within the United States borders. The modern day immigration wave will be explored in greater detail later on, but it is important to understand that post-entry social control deportation has become possible because of failed border control initiatives that resulted in the inward shift of border control. Because millions of individuals have successfully evaded the border control, the government has responded by enacting laws that limit the social mobility of undocumented workers through limiting their employment prospects by imposing financial sanctions on individuals and companies who knowingly hire such individuals. Additionally, the elimination of the “revolving door” that allowed undocumented seasonal workers to come to the use during agricultural seasons and return home has been eliminated which has forced many to stay within the United States and live in the shadows. Significant initiatives in American history that

have expanded this immigration subsystem (deportation system) are the Wars on Crime and the War on Terrors, respectively.

HONDURAN IMMIGRANTS: WHO ARE THEY?

The depth of the Latin American immigrant experience is vast so the goal here is not to synthesize the research but to be able to provide rudimentary understanding of Latin American to United States immigration in order to discuss the basic stages (more specifically for the undocumented): the move; integration; deportation; repatriation. The international migration of Hondurans has been noted to have begun in the 1980s and then intensified in the 1990s. One significant event in recent Honduran history that has caused mass outbound migration north was Hurricane Mitch in 1998. The destruction caused by this storm had drastic economic, environmental, political and social impacts that are still being felt today. Additionally, as the team of Honduran researchers from the National Program of Prevention, Rehabilitation and Social Reinsertion (or PNPRRS for its Spanish acronym) noted in their 2012 report, the economic complications in the country in the 1990s, which were a result of the adoption of neoliberal macroeconomic policies, drove a great number of Hondurans to extreme poverty which increased the flow of illegal immigration in the search of the American Dream (PNPRRS, 2012).

In general, however there are several reasons why international migration occurs and these migrants could be broadly categorized by their motives and means to migrate into the following categories: labor migrants; professional immigrants; entrepreneurial immigrants; refugees and asylees (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Of interest in this proposal is the narrative of the labor migrant and the refugees and asylees as the individuals who

can be categorized into these group have comprised the bulk of the outbound migration (legal and unauthorized) in the past few decades (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006), especially those of Honduran origin. However, we will also explore how the two middle categories (professional and entrepreneurial) may not be so straightforward and need to be recontextualized when considering a transnational framework. As found Brown and Patten (2013) noted in the Pew Hispanic Center's report there are an estimated 702,000 Hispanics of Honduran origin who resided in the United States in 2011. The typologies of these Hondurans migrants are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Labor Migrant

This group of migrants is comprised of low-skilled, low educated, laborers. After much internal migration in search of employment within Honduras, many of these migrants become international migrants and move north when they have exhausted their employment opportunities in their homeland. When they arrive in the United States their geographic dispersion is primarily a result of existing networks. Many of the networks for Hondurans are situated in some of the major metropolitan areas in the United States (i.e. NYC, Miami, Houston, Dallas, LA and the New Orleans Metropolitan area). Over the past few years, however, shifts in United States immigration laws have caused internal United States migration for many immigrant groups, namely those of Mexican origin moving from West to East. Empirical support for this typology of Honduran migrant is provided by the Honduras Migration Statistics; of the approximately 33,000 Honduran migrants deported out of the United States in 2012, approximately 32% were farm workers; 14% brick layers; 5 % street vendors, 5% motorists, 4% mechanics, 3%

electricians and 14% were not employed at all prior to their immigration to the United States . Of the remaining 20% of the deported Hondurans, 5% were students prior to their departure and the remaining 15% had menial jobs in virtually all sectors of the labor market.

Professional immigrant

The second category has provided the main entry channel (until recently) for international migrants overall (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). The main distinction between this category and the first category is that latter immigrants enter the United States lawfully as they are a preference category for international migration because of the advanced degrees and or exceptional abilities they possess. It is very unlikely that these individuals are deported back to their home countries, and even more unlikely that they were born in Honduras so this will not be an immigrant category of focus for this proposal.

Entrepreneurial Immigrant

As the name implies, this category of immigrants is comprised of the immigrants with an entrepreneurial niche. Because they [entrepreneurial minorities] have been the exception in both early 20th century and contemporary immigrations, as Portes and Rumbaut describe, while historically, economically, and politically significant in the United States , this category will be outside of the scope of this research because of the lack of Honduran representation in the category. However, if we reconceptualize this category, and do not limit it to their status when they left their home country, but rather their status when they return back, we may see that there is some room for Hondurans in

this category. In the discussion, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that the entrepreneurial immigrant paradigm should be reconsidered in the wake of massive return international migration to sending countries. Although not statistically clear how many Honduran international migrants fall under the reversed category, the examples, to be discussed later, of international migrants who have amassed the necessary economic, social, and cultural capital to become successful entrepreneurs deserve more attention.

Refugees and asylees

The last group comprises of a category of international migrants that are provided special protection by the government. This status of immigration has particularly changed since 1980 when President Jimmy Carter signed into law The Refugee Act of 1980, a law, “aimed at eliminating the former practice of granting asylum only to escapees from Communist-controlled nations” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, kindle location 655). President Carter’s intention was to bring the United States policy in congruence with international practice and to simplify the definition of *refugee* as anyone with a “well-founded fear of persecution or physical harm”, regardless of the political aim of that individual’s host country (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, kindle location 663).

As just noted above, there is a special protection for refugees and asylees, however, these individuals may still be subject to deportation should they violate the terms of their special status and historically this has been the case for many international migrants, including Hondurans. The deportation of such migrants is antithetical to its legal purpose and can have adverse effects as history has demonstrated. A failed integration and their eventful deportation in Los Angeles, California of Salvadoran

refugees fleeing the civil war in the 1980s had a direct hand in the creation of the biggest transnational gangs in the world, Mara Salvatrucha 13 and 18th Street Gang which have become widespread in Central America, especially in the country of focus (Brotherton and Barrios, 2011 and Kanstroom, 2012). The genesis of the Mara Salvatrucha illustrates that while this category of international migrants may be provided “special (legal) protection”, it is equally important to consider that the protection does not necessarily reach the social structural contexts of the micro societies or lifeworlds these migrants settle into (i.e. states, counties, cities, neighborhoods). Additionally, as will be discussed later, the failed promise of The Refugee Act of 1980 has provided us with various accounts of post deportation narratives of how the theoretical policy of protecting those with “well-founded fear of persecution of physical harm” has not been the empirical reality.

TPS

One last special status of importance in this study is that of the **Temporary Special Protection or TPS** for short. This designation may be given to a foreign country by the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security due to “conditions in the country that temporarily prevent the country’s nationals from returning safely, or in certain circumstances, where the country is unable to handle the return of its nationals adequately” (UNITED STATES Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013). This designation was provided to Honduras after Hurricane Mitch and has benefitted many Honduran migrants. However, in order to be a beneficiary of this protection, one has to meet certain criteria, one of which includes residing in the United States prior to the date

of the storm. The TPS designation has not been readjusted to reflect the other problems in the Honduran society after the Hurricane and thus has left many Honduran migrants outside of the special protection because of their date of immigration. Not even the recent political disaster in 2009 caused by the Honduran Congress and Supreme Court sanctioned ouster of President Manuel Zelaya or the designation of Honduras as murder capital of the world has been sufficient for the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security to reassign a TPS when it is clear that these circumstances are resulting in the further deterioration of Honduran society and thus contributing to the inability of the country “to handle the return of its nationals adequately”.

ECONOMIC THEORY ON LABOR MIGRATION

As noted earlier, the category of most salience to this paper is that of the labor migrant Honduran. The corresponding conceptualization of this type of migrant that is widely shared by law makers and the public at large is that of neoclassical economics, namely that of cost-benefit decision making (Massey, and Malone, 2002). A good summary of the theory is provided by Massey and his colleagues in their book titled, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, as they explain that, “international migration stems from geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor.” (Massey, and Malone, 2002, pg. 9) They further explain that countries with imbalances of labor to capital result in the level of wages that country can provide to their workers or stated otherwise, “large endowments of labor relative to capital have low wages, while those with limited endowments of labor relative to capital have high wages” (ibid). They conclude that the resulting international differential causes workers to move from low wage countries to

high wage countries. In accordance with this model is that of the rational actor who employs a cost-benefit analysis to allow him/her to expect positive net returns, (usually monetary) from international movement.

The authors, however, explain the limitations of such notions as these perceptions are idealistic and fall short of the realities of international migration. Another line of theoretical thinking they present to the reader is that of *the new economics of labor migration* popularized by Stark and Bloom in 1985 (Massey, and Malone, 2002). The main contrasting point between the neoclassical model and this line of theory is that the latter does not assume that “migration decisions are made by isolated actors, but that they are taken within larger units of interrelated people”, namely families and households but can even include communities (Massey, and Malone, 2002, pg. 11). Unlike in developed nations where individuals’ material well beings are protected by governments and private markets, developing nations like those in Latin America do not have such protection so a need for an alternative to diversify “their allocation of productive resources, one of which is labor” arises (Massey, and Malone, 2002, pg. 12). So in order to diversify the labor and reduce the risk that the lack of strong private markets and lack of government programs fail to protect against, international migration becomes a viable option for many Hondurans. Households may designate the head of household and the eldest child to migrate North and leave the other members to work locally. This family separation can however become more socially, politically, and economically costly than calculated.

The authors, not quite satisfied that this theory fully explains international migration, move the reader away from this line of microeconomics theory, into the

structural theories of international migration. One such theory is that of *world systems theory* popularized by Wallerstein (1974) which explains the origins of international migration not so much for the decisions of the individuals or the families, but rather of the changing scope and structure of global markets (Massey and Malone, 2002). This theory then follows a larger line of theorizing, *segmented labor market theory* which in essence holds that international migration originates from (arguably) permanent demand for unskilled labor that is built into the economic structure of developed nations as a response to the global capitalist system. It is not necessarily that there are push factors from the sending countries that cause the migration but rather the pull factors from the receiving societies that make the difference. It is important, however, to view international migration dialectically and not underestimate the push factors that may have been created by the failure of developing nations to compete in global capitalist economies. If we recall from the report by the Honduran researchers, we cannot ignore the adverse effects of Honduras' adoption of neoliberal policies in the 1990s. Understanding the reasons to why individuals migrate can help explain the mechanisms that allow for successful integration into the United States .

TRANSNATIONALISM

Historically the model of the integration of immigrants in the United States has been understood as being full-fledged or stated otherwise; the international migrants have made a commitment to become fully acculturated in the United States society and in the process left behind their host countries social ties and in many cases culture. In recent international migration waves, however, scholars have noted a new trend where

international migrants have been living their lives “across borders and maintain their ties to home” (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, *Towards* 1992, pg. ix). This process has been referred to as transnationalism. The above cited authors’ operationalization of the term: “as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” will be useful for our understanding of this process (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, *Transnationalism* 1992, pg. 1). Furthermore, immigrants can be considered transmigrants, “when they develop and maintain multiple relations- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political- that span borders.” (ibid). Transnationalism framework is very aligned with the segmented labor market theory which has resulted in the new global capitalism economy discussed earlier.

The development of transnationalism also complicates the deportation system. No longer are immigrants to be viewed simply as guests in a foreign land or can they be accepted as fully acculturated in the United States , they must be understood in the framework of the newly (theoretically) emerged phenomenon of transnationalism.

The deportation of such transnationals has a significant economic impact on their native countries when you consider remittances. In the top countries of the deportees remittances are an essential segment of the economy; especially in Honduras as it leads Central America and the Caribbean in the total percentage that remittances represents of the total GDP-approximately 20% (World Bank Group, 2010). The deportation of one deportee can represent a major economic deficit for a family and in turn the community,

but massive deportation of thousands of migrants can represent devastation to an already poor nation such as Honduras.

When the family of a transnational immigrant, who is the head of the household, has become accustomed to the quality of life provided by the remittances, there may be a host of familial issues that can arise post deportation. The deportee will not be able to find employment in their native Honduras that compensates remotely close to what that individual was receiving in the United States and that individual must either find multiple jobs to support his family or decide to embark on the journey North one more time.

The complexity of identity construction of the transmigrant is also a concept worth expounding on. Authors note that, “Within their complex web of social relations, transmigrants draw upon and create fluid and multiple identities grounded both in their society of origin and in the host societies.” (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, *Transnationalism* 1992, pg. 11) These “new Americans” are truly new in every sense of the word. It is important to make the distinction however, that much of this focus on transnationalism is mostly applicable to adult migrants but the children of these migrants experience liminality between sending and receiving country and often leaves them feeling as if they are in “between two worlds” (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). This is why a reconceptualization of their established identities is necessary, especially for the young ones who have experienced *root shock* from the immigration experience and further *root shock* from their deportation. Furthermore, the transnationalism scholars note that “While some migrants identify more with one society than the other, the majority seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation.”

(Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, *Transnationalism* 1992, pg. 11) This notion is reminiscent to the phrase coined by W.E.B. Dubois in 1887, *double consciousness*, which he used to describe an individual whose identity is divided into several facets.

This trend of transnationalism is extremely important because it sets the context for the reality of many deportees, especially children of undocumented parents who were brought to the United States at an early age. They can no longer be viewed as merely “immigrants”, but in reality their identity transcends the hyphenated model of “American + (their country of origin)” to an identity that does not include either of those two geopolitical ties regardless of immigration status. In familial contexts, many of these families are transnational as the parents have retained many of the multiple relations across borders, but are spatially located in the United States and have raised American children and themselves had to negotiate an “American identity”.

INTEGRATION AND IDENTITY

It is now important to understand the process of integration with a special focus on Latino immigrant youth. In this discussion, two institutions (educational system and the church) are important to understand because they are two main institutions that help these newcomers become integrated into the United States society and also help in their maintenance of their cultural ties. Integration in the United States as discussed earlier has not been any easy process because of xenophobic ideologies, but over time many of the earlier immigrant groups were accepted and embraced as Americans. For the immigrants of later waves, especially those of Third World nations, the process has not always been as pleasant, especially when accounting for race (the process for darker skinned

immigrants has historically been more difficult when compared to that of their lighter skinned peers see South, et. al. (2005). The youth in particular, have had significant struggles in the process.

For immigrant youth, Kristin McCarthy has provided a necessary review of the literature that will provide a better understanding of the situation. As she notes, the studies have “highlighted several educational and psychosocial issues and obstacles that emerge for immigrant youth”, (McCarthy, 1998, pg. 9). The author quotes Vernez’s (1996) listing of the specific issues these children face:

“high residential mobility; coping with emotional stresses due to adjustments to new social norms and a new institutional environment, and/or traumas due to war, family disruptions or separations; and inadequate social support to compensate for broken community ties in their native countries and loss of support necessary for psychological well-being (ibid).”

As she notes, for further research on these issues the reader can refer to: (McDonnell and Hill, 1993; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Rumbaut, 1995, 1994; Olsen, 1988). One key issue the author discusses is the process of acquiring the new language and the importance of this skill for the future success and incorporation of the youth into American society. As the author notes, little attention has been given to the mental and psychological issues associated with the adaptation of immigrant youth. Among the limited studies on the subject can be some evidence of identity issues associated with this group.

In Aronowitz's (1984) study titled *The Social and Emotional Adjustment of Immigrant Children: A Review of the Literature*, we are provided with the foundational analysis of social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children. Even though the access to minor children deportees was never actually obtained in the present study, this is still an important concept for the present study, as it will help explain that these children are at a social and emotional disadvantage as returned migrants and attention needs to be emphasized on the role that disadvantage can play in their reintegration to Honduran society and identity conceptualization. In conjunction with this analysis, is that of the earlier mentioned theory of *root shock*, adapted from gardening by psychiatrist, Dr. Mindy Fullilove, which she used to explain the traumatic stress that can occur for individuals that have been displaced from some or their entire emotional ecosystem and transplanted to another (Fullilove, 2009). While her study focused on root shock caused by gentrification, this framework can guide us in linking the importance of the traumatic stress that can occur from immigration and deportation.

As mentioned earlier, there is another institution that plays a significant role for this vulnerable population and that is the Church or faith based institutions. Portes and Rumbaut provide an overview of religion in social control and assimilation context of migrants in their third edition to their book titled, *Immigrant America: a Portrait* (2006). They draw from past studies and include their empirical findings to "explore systematically the interactions between religious affiliation and the other theoretical and practical aspects of immigration examined..."(Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, kindle location 3675). They indicate that according to a Pew Global Attitudes Project, religion is "far

more important to Americans than to people living in the other wealthy nations” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, kindle location 3755). As such, religion is an American cultural value that immigrants must accept (if they do not already have a religious background) for successful assimilation and integration into American society. What we gather from Portes and Rumbaut is that successful integration into American society for newcomers can be facilitated by the institution of religion. The question then becomes, thus this institution hold the same influence in the reintegration of returned international migrants?

In addition to their research, there is evidence from a 2009 Pew Hispanic study which found that among Latino youth immigrants there is a positive correlation between religion and crime deterrence, but disappears across generations (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). The key point of this is that for some reason religion plays a role in deterring crime. Whether this holds for individuals who are deported back to their home country is the question that needs exploration. This is of importance to immigrants as the United States has been historically characterized as being unwelcoming to newcomers despite its reputation as the “land of immigrants.” The xenophobic ideology has attempted to demonize immigrant populations throughout United States history, although the overall criminality of immigrants has been proven to be an empirical myth (Dingeman and Rumbaut, 2010). That is not to say however, that some immigrants do not commit crime, which they certainly do, but it is to say that as a whole they do not import crime into the United States as anti-immigrant groups may try to argue.

Criminologists and other social scientists have various theories on the behavioral patterns of individuals and groups, but as it relates to our group of focus, the line of

theorizing that best explains the criminality of Honduran immigrants are structural theories. More specifically, as observed earlier, labor migrants are usually poor, uneducated and undocumented which in the United States has a significant influence into what neighborhood you will reside in. When individuals reside in neighborhoods that do not have the resources to help integrate these newcomers, many problems arise. Issues of public health (specifically relating to mental illnesses), limited economic and educational opportunities lead to further issues of poverty and criminality. As accounted earlier, the Salvadorans in East Los Angeles moved into such conditions which resulted in their creation of what they perceive to be the only viable option for survival, street gangs. Many poor Honduran migrants followed the same path of the Salvadorans and joined these gangs.

DEPORTATION

Despite the many benefits of the transnational identities, for the undocumented international migrant who has obtained that status because they either entered unauthorized or overstayed their visa, the transnational identity is not a protection from deportation. While many have, as discussed, been very active across international boundaries and contributing to both societies, the United States' vehement demonization of the undocumented and failed attempts to undertake comprehensive immigration reform has resulted in mass deportations of these transnationals and their children. This can be problematic for many reasons which will now be discussed.

First, it is important to return to the notion of the deportation system as social control. To discuss the concept of *social control*, it is important to first “unpack” what is

meant by it; which Brotherton and Barrios point out as a theory that is “peculiarly American”. The first word, *social*, in the term *social control* refers to the sociological and philosophical concept that we (humans) are creatures of interaction and “are adaptive creatures and will find ways to coexist with their specific environments” (Brotherton and Barrios, 2011, pg.17). Some sociologists suggest that it is through these interactions that we create meaning and order. To maintain order in society, there must be a force (also referred to as a *control*) exerted on its members. Thus social control would refer to the force required for the coexistence of human creatures. Defined otherwise, social control can be understood as “the capacity of a social organization to regulate itself” (ibid). Unlike Brotherton and Barrios who use the term “force” to refer to a coercive action, the term here is simply used in the physics sense of acting upon something. Their usage of the term “force” as coercive is, however, the more appropriate usage in a discussion of deportation. In fact, they point out that the opposite of the social control paradigm is “coercive control, that is, the social organization of a society which rests predominantly and essentially on force – the threat and use of force” (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, pg. 17 citing Janowitz 1978:84).

There are generally two categories of how this social control is exerted: by formal means or by informal means. Formal social control refers to physical force or, as discussed above, threat of it (i.e., use of weapon to neutralize, detention, death penalty); economic sanctions (fines and fees, etc); and other sanctions deemed legitimate and appropriate by government actors. Informal social control refers to an internal process that occurs early in a person’s life known as socialization or how one is conditioned to

understand and interact with their environment and persons in it. The informal social control can be very much influenced by the segmented pathway the immigrant or immigrant group chooses (i.e. acculturation into dominant class; acculturation to lower class; or retention of immigrant and native cultural identity).

For the immigrant community, the mechanism by which this population is socially controlled is through the threat of deportation (Brotherton and Barrios citing Miller 2005:27). The authors also cite Young 2007:32 to explain that “state threats against immigrants are a particular form of othering in late modern capitalism.” (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, pg. 22) The authors further expand on Young’s conceptualization of a *bulimic society* that “absorbs and it rejects” concurrently. Thus the ideal of the nation of immigrants and the reality of an exclusionary society can coexist. The authors enumerate how this paradoxical process is carried out:

- (i) “the pushes and pulls of the political economy with its restructuring of work, redistribution of wealth, irrational reward system, and heightening of class divisions;
- (ii) the universalism of consumer culture and its promotion of need, individualism, and freedom;
- (iii) the technological revolution of information generation and dissemination;
- (iv) the evolution of the social control industry with its rapid expansion of gulags, laws, surveillance systems, and constraints on civil and democratic liberties; and
- (v) the porous and fluid nature of all physical, social, and cultural borders.”

(Brotherton and Barrios 2011, pg. 22)

This is problematic because as the authors explain, these “processes make it difficult for individuals to formulate a coherent sense of self” (ibid). This bulimic society cannot be understood ahistorically, but must be understood via the “radical shift of society during the 1980s toward...a “new penology” (Brotherton and Barrios citing Feeley and Simon 1992). Furthermore, the authors provide evidence from Welch (2001) and Christie (1993) that “the moral panics used to mediate, rationalize, and frame these strategies reflect the needs of an industry of crime control”. This is inherently dangerous and immoral in a capitalistic society where the bottom line prevails as the deportee is commoditized and “has become a source of revenue and an object of financial desire on the part of multinational corporations specializing in security” (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, pg. 22). The commoditization of the immigrants, however, should not be limited to the United States as the massive deportations to Honduras is causing the emergence of new economic markets (formal and informal) focused on making gains from the migrants.

A current shift in American history, most notably due to the terrorist events of 9/11, has “exacerbated public fears of the foreign born and conflated “illegal immigration” not only with crime but with potential terrorism” (Dingeman and Rumbaut, 2010, pg. 365). This perceived relationship between crime and immigration is not just unique to America, however, as nations like Spain and Italy have also made the leap and as will be discussed later, and so have the sending nations of the deportees. When you add economic issues to the picture, you get a public that has “had enough” and can no

longer tolerate such a crime that is ruining the fabric of the nation. These attitudes have resulted in a 239% increase in removals between 2001-2011, as indicated in the numbers reported by Department of Homeland Security. Whether or not you scrutinize these numbers as Congressman Lamar Smith (R-TX) has (Smith, 2011), the differential still leaves the numbers of the deported at approximately hundreds of thousands which raises serious concerns for the societies that are receiving these individuals and the individuals themselves. Perhaps the percentage increase is not enough to paint the picture of how many lives we are talking about, so consider that the number of times a non-citizen has been subject to removal has exceeded 25 million in the last twenty-five years ("Yearbook of immigration," 2011).

As Law Professor Daniel Kanstroom describes them, "Laws of exclusion and deportation are paradoxical in the United States " (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 26). He considers these laws to be the "darker sides" of what is considered the nation of immigrants. While the nation has portrayed itself as welcoming to all immigrants, even the less desirable as engraved on the Statue of Liberty, the empirical reality of the immigrant experience is quite different. Furthermore, the deportation system has been presented as "a neutral instrument of the state" (ibid), however there is a clear distinction between the ideal and the real practice of the system. More specifically, Kanstroom states that it is important to be observant of the fact that the roots of the system are "so racially problematic and the effects of which are so harsh" (ibid). While in theory the system may have had neutral goals, it has "historically worked as a powerful and efficient government tool of discretionary social control and a key component of the national security state"

(ibid). Historicizing the effects of deportation is important, but it is equally important to operationalize the terms.

In this proposal, the definition that best encapsulates the process of deportation is one constructed by Kanstroom:

“...a major, complex law enforcement system that governs the lives of the many millions of noncitizens who love, study, travel, and work in this country. It may lead to arrest, incarceration, physical removal and subsequent exclusion from the United States ” (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 28)

This definition moves away from a purely legal definition, to a definition that provides the social context of the system. For the transnational migrants, it accurately describes their active participation in the United States , which is often overlooked by Board of Immigration Appeals proceedings. Within public debate, there is yet another term associated with immigration that is highly charged and contentious, that of the “alien”. As Kanstroom notes, the statute defines the term negatively: “any person not a citizen or national of the United States ” (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 27). The statute further describes them as people who have been admitted and are currently in the United States , but as is evident, there are many aliens who have not been authorized for entrance (Kanstroom, 2012). Purely legal definitions as such undermine the involvement and even the identity of many of these transnationals who have in a very real sense adopted the American identity (as mentioned before, it is important to note that this is not their sole identity), and especially their children who were raised in the country. Furthermore, many of these transnational migrants have given birth to children which further

complicate the complexity of the deportation system. In many instances, we are no longer just removing unauthorized aliens, we are also removing United States born children, which conservatives have labeled “anchor babies”.

REPATRIATION: HOME SWEET HOME?

So where are these migrants returning to? What future awaits them in their “homeland(s)”? As noted the empirical evidence of the aftermath is scarce but there have been a few empirical cases of deportations in: El Salvador, Haiti, Jamaica, Belize, and the Dominican Republic. However, these studies have been widely overlooked in the media and public discourse. For the many that are returned to their native countries, the opportunities to become contributing members of society are scarce. As Kanstroom notes, for “Deportees-especially criminal deportees-can certainly be a very heavy burden for small Central American states, with rates of underemployment that have averaged approximately 65 percent and with severely strained law enforcement and judicial capacity.” (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 142) More troubling is that the United States deportation system does not have a systemic program or initiative to aid in the reintegration of these individuals. While at face value, a deportee should be that *country’s problem*, it is that attitude which, for example, has led into the creation of the biggest transnational gangs in the world...the Maras.

For the deported juveniles, the evidence in El Salvador is clear, “these young people experience stigmatization more intensely than those who had migrated as adults” (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 139). We already discussed how the stigmatization has adverse social impact on individuals but more troubling is what the evidence shows us for young

immigrants who have spent more time in the United States . Kanstroom cites the findings by Dingeman and Rumbaut (2010) that the age of the person correlated with “educational attainment, language proficiency, gang involvement, and reason for deportation: the younger, the better” (Kanstroom, 2012, pg. 139). However, the study also showed that there was the same correlation with problems with integration, meaning that the youth that spent more time in the United States had a harder time adapting to their new environment. This should come as no surprise as the narrative of the Mexican children in the introduction spoke of reintegration problems. Furthermore, Dr. Fullilove’s analysis and theoretical construction of the displacement syndrome referred to as root shock, already clued us in to what can occur to individuals that are unexpectedly and unwillingly removed from their native environments or environments that they have a strong affinity to.

The case study of Honduras presents a unique opportunity as it is currently the most murderous nation in the world. Are the deported immigrants falling through the institutional cracks that the Honduran society has set up to enforce social control or are they bringing back new found outlooks and experiences on life that allows them to navigate the hostile environment? Do they view their return temporary and await the day they will truly return “back home”? This study seeks to delve deeper into the reception of the deported immigrants and how they adapt.

Like in the United States , many of these individuals have already been demonized as the public perception is that they were “deported for a reason”. Their return is not always welcomed. Many of their compatriots may not welcome the addition of

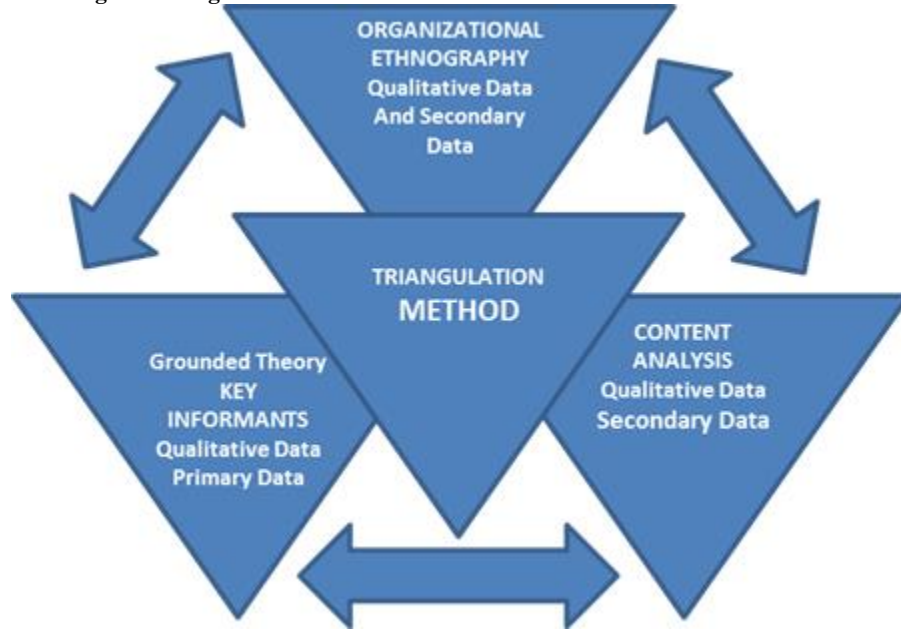
more “unemployment statistics” or more “government spending” for those that require special attention. While the sending countries are quick to acknowledge the importance of the remittances, they may not be so quick to invest in the returned migrants’ reintegration.

CHAPTER 3: THE METHODS

METHODOLOGICAL TRIANGULATION

The research design for this study consisted of a three prong approach to exploring post-deportation experiences: First, I conducted a case study of the Honduran institution (CAMR) responsible for repatriation which consisted of: an institutional critical ethnography of the CAMR practices, interviews with CAMR staff, CAMR volunteers, and family members of returned migrants. Second, a grounded theory ethnographical approach to uncovering the meanings in the deportee experience along with using two-staged semi-structured interviews with deported adults (immediately after their deportation and a few months later) which were recorded, transcribed, and coded for themes. Lastly, I conducted a content analysis of Honduran and United States newspapers. Due to the limited empirical and theoretical work on the subject, these different methodological approaches allowed me to have more confidence in the results. In the social sciences, this approach is referred to as triangulation and is employed in order to increase the credibility and validity of the results (see Cohen, L., & Manion, L. (2000 and Denzin, N. (2006). I will now discuss the various phases in detail along with acknowledgements of the limitations of the research design.

Figure 1: Methodological Triangulation



In order to convert this investigation from a theoretical research project to field work, access to the target population was the foundational step that required extensive research and constant communication with organizations and individuals across United States borders. Being a dual citizen of Honduras and the United States provided me the immediate access to this site and in turn the lifeworlds of deportees. Having family members in the country further facilitated the process of addressing logistical concerns like traveling and lodging within the country. These family members and social ties provided necessary referrals and ideas to me while in the field.

Phase I: CAMR Study⁵

The CAMR, its Spanish acronym for the CENTRO DE ATENCIÓN AL MIGRANTE RETORNADO (Attention Center for the Returned Migrant) provides attention strictly for the deported adults. To partner with the organization, I provided the

Director, Sister Valdete Wilemann, a summary of the research project and informed her about what the participation would entail. Sister Wilemann authorized me to intern with the organization and to: (1) conduct a case study of the CAMR to become more acquainted with its practices; (2) recruit adult migrants directly from the center and (3) obtain access to the center's database which houses statistical information which was later used to compute the descriptive statistics that help to better understand Honduran out migration patterns.

In my first meeting with Sister Wilemann, I was asked "how can we improve?" At the time, I had only been interning with the organization for one week and was merely becoming acquainted with the organization and such a convoluted question could not be adequately addressed. Furthermore, without thorough knowledge of the Center, I could not possibly know whether this was actually a matter worth investigating. This conversation, however, was the inception of a sociological inquiry. I became interested in the CAMR organizational structure and also interested if the ideal was in agreement with the real or stated otherwise if the mission of the CAMR was being met through the everyday operations of the CAMR. This line of inquiry was sufficient to begin formalizing the investigation. With the permission of the Sister Valdete, I was afforded the opportunity to focus my down time (or time not assisting with program operations) trying to answer the question, how can we (the CAMR) improve our services? While I was already over one of the toughest hurdles for a researcher, defining the research question, I now needed to decide which research method would best answer this research question.

The question was qualitative in nature so the research method would naturally be one which can adequately address such a question. Solely collecting statistics could not, for example, answer a “how” question, like “how does a bear hunt for food?” To answer that aforementioned question and the question posed by Sister Wilemann, an exhaustive method that would analyze various angles needed to be utilized to answer and understand how the CAMR operates and how it could operate better. The case study method was selected and designed as an exploratory investigation to examine how the CAMR could better serve its clients. The reader should note the limitations of the present findings and acknowledge that this is by no means a complete case study of the CAMR and of the Honduran repatriation process but rather a mere snapshot. A full blown case study may yield different results and or other theoretical construction(s). Despite its limitations, however, the present case study presents a first-hand illuminating account of organizational structure, government and public-private partnerships and international cooperation.

While this approach has been widely used in various disciplines (i.e. psychology, political science, sociology, education, economy, etc.) its definition and usage is often confused and contested (Yin, 2008; Gerring, 2004; Chetty, 1996; Yin, 1994, Yin, 1989). Chetty cites Yin’s claims that “Despite its increased use...the case study method as a research methodology is unappreciated and underutilised (Chetty, 1996, pg. 1)”. The most appropriate definition I was able to identify that described the method used in this inquiry was one derived from Gerring, “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units.” (Gerring, 2004, pg. 342) The key word

in that definition that demands further exploration is *unit*. Gerring defines *unit* as a, “spatially bounded phenomenon.” In the present case study, the phenomenon in question was the CAMR, but more specifically, it refers to the ability (or inability) of the CAMR to provide the service it was established to provide to its clients.

The service provided to the clients needed to be understood or measured from the perspective of the organization as well as from the perspective of the client. I could simply have understood the service from the clients’ lens, but this may have proved to be counterintuitive to the research question. For instance, think how biased the study would have been if I merely understood the services from an outsiders’ perspective? The outsider is not always privy to the same information as the insider and furthermore, the expectations that outsiders have of the services provided may be different from insiders’ expectations. The case study method allowed for a thorough understanding and appreciation of both expectations.

I interned with the organization full-time (approximately 40 hours per week) from January 3rd, 2013 until mid-March 2013 for an approximate aggregate of 300 hours. The case study’s focus was aimed at exploring Honduras’ reception of migrants deported from the United States of America. More specifically, the present case study utilized three distinct modes of data collection; critical organizational ethnography (see Elberle and Maeder definition of organizational ethnography in Silverman, D. (Ed.3), Chapter 4), structured and unstructured interviews, and content analyses. The ethnography consisted of participant observation with the daily work at Center: 1) opening/closing duties (approximately 100 hours of observation); 2) welcoming reception/belongings

distribution (approximately 100 hours of observation); 3) intake process (approximately 100 hours of observation). The interviews/conversations (formal and informal) were conducted with 1) Center staff (N=6); 2) clients (i.e. migrants-N=40 and their families N=10); 3) volunteers (N=8); 4) partnering organizations (N=2). Content analyses included reviews of newspaper articles from El Heraldo and La Prensa and other institutional documents (i.e. reports and brochures). The findings of the case study are discussed later on.

PHASE II: Recruiting migrants for two-staged semi-structured interviews

As will be explained shortly, I devised a recruitment method that I envisioned would be representative of the deportee population, however the actual recruitment of the adult migrants was not methodically complicated; in fact it can be simply summarized as a purposive or convenience sample. Like the case study of the institution (CAMR), the greater research project of examining Honduran repatriation is exploratory in nature so it was not necessary to obtain a large sample size of participants. It was also not necessary to design and implement a randomized research plan. This of course, forces me to acknowledge and for the reader to accept the research limitations on generalizability. As intriguing as the findings may prove to be, the reader is reminded that the findings are not necessarily representative of the Honduran deported migrant experience, but can be useful stepping stone in further exploration of the research problem.

The intended sample size $n=30$ (15 adult migrants + 15 children migrants) was not reached which was not a matter of access to the population, but merely a reflection of the difficulty of studying a highly mobile population. The final sample size was $n=8$ (all

adult migrants). At face value, obtaining the access to the population seemed to be the most difficult step in the process, but this was not the case. Compared to getting the participants to follow through on their agreement to participate, the access was the simplest part. While initially I was able to enlist 15 adult participants for the study, the number diminished weekly as many migrants informally dropped out from the study by moving out of the country to look for employment opportunities in neighboring Guatemala and El Salvador or decided to make the trip northbound once again.

None of the seven participants who dropped out formally notified me that they would no longer be participating. Each of the participants dropped out within the first or second week of being recruited. I became aware about their subsequent migration from each of the participants' respective family members or friends that they were no longer able to participate. Some of the family members provided additional contact information to reach the participants in their new locations, but a meeting time and place could not be arranged because of scheduling conflicts. Time constraints prevented me from recruiting additional participants after subjects dropped out.

I devised a plan to recruit individuals who would be racially heterogeneous in order to provide a diversified representation of the returned Honduran migrant experience. This task, however proved to be more difficult as these categories, while anthropologically present in the country, did not seem to be used or embraced by the population at hand. The final sample size of $n=8$ thus reflects individuals who can all be categorized as mestizo. It is still important to consider the potential of differences in lived experiences when controlling for race. The sample size was also intended to account for

gender differences by including 8 male migrants and 7 female migrants (the actual gender split, however was: female n=3 and male n=5.) Deported female Honduran migrants represent a small percentage (between 6-8% in the past few years)⁶ of the annual deported population, but it is still important to account for gender differences in this underexplored topic.

The data collected by CAMR has one important variable that assisted in the selection of the participants. The variable of interest is that of “final destination” in Honduras. This variable is important because the regional dispersion of returned migrants is important to consider when assessing their repatriation. It can be expected that the experiences will vary depending on which of the 18 *departamentos* or states the international migrant is returning to as there are obvious variations in the social conditions of these geographic locations. As such, the interviewer explored the data to discover which are the most frequented departamentos of the returned migrants in order to include a participant from each of the top five departamentos (According to data collected from 2012, the top five destinations are: Olancho (11.80%); Cortes (11.39%); Colon (10.93%); Francisco Morazán (10.62%), Yoro (8.98%). A pre-screening questionnaire is included in Appendix C which includes questions regarding the aforementioned variables of interest (i.e. race, gender, time spent in the US, etc.). Among the initial n=15 recruited migrants, there was a dispersion across all five departamentos mentioned, however the seven that drop out of the sample were from two different departamentos, so the final n=8 represents migrants from: Cortes (n=3); Colon (n=1); Copan (n=3); and Francisco Morazán (n=1).

Since the center must first interview and provide services (i.e. distribution of medications, distribution of travel fare, legal referrals, etc.) to the returned migrants, I waited in the lobby next to the exit of the center and recruited the subjects right before they exited the center. In some occasions, I actually waited outside with the family members of the migrants. A flyer and information about the research project was provided to the migrants and those that expressed interest were pre-screened. Once the potential candidate met the above mentioned prerequisites, a consent form was presented and explained to participants. Once the form was signed, I obtained contact information from the participant to contact them within a week from their arrival to schedule a meeting where a pre-integration interview could be conducted. An explanation of the two stage interview is explained in the next paragraph (The pre-integration interview was not immediately conducted upon migrant arrival because the returned migrants were eager to return to their respective homes after having been awake for hours from their departure point in the United States and then having to endure an additional average of 1.5 hours waiting to be interviewed by the authorities at the Center.). The pre-integration interview took place at an agreed upon time in the participants hometown to alleviate the burden of having to travel to other locations. Diminishing any burdens to the participants was important for ensuring their continued participation. Additionally, as noted above, the majority of the migrants were not from the departamento where the flight lands in Honduras (Cortes) and thus traveling an hour or more to participate in a volunteer-nonpaid study was highly unlikely for destitute individuals, many of whom were not that familiar with the country.

The semi-structured interviews with the participants were conducted in two stages: (1) pre-integration and (2) post-integration. The first stage or the “pre-integration” refers to the time right after their deportation. It is important to capture their thoughts, ideas, and expectations at this juncture and see how they compare to their thoughts, ideas, and experiences after having been in the country for some while. There were two overall topics covered in the pre-integration interviews, the immigration experience and the *homecoming*. Some examples of the pre-integration questions include: When did you first go to the United States ?; What were the reasons or circumstances for immigrating to the United States ?; Did you know anybody in the United States prior to your leave?, etc. Examples of post-integration questions include: Is Honduras how you remembered it? How so?; How well did you actually know the town where you are now living?; Did your newly acquired skills come to use in Honduras (Please explain)? For the complete list of questions, please refer to the pre-integration and post-integration interview guides in the Appendix.

There is no clear-cut time frame that could have been established to satisfy the concept of reintegration into society, but for the purpose of the study, the post-integration interview was conducted anywhere from 3-months to a couple of years^{xi} after their

^{xi} For individuals whose post-integration interview was conducted years after, this meant that the author did not have the opportunity to recruit them directly from the center, but rather that they were referred to by someone else, which was the case for three of the 8 migrants discussed in the report. The pre-integration interview for these migrants

deportation. This is admittedly a limitation to the research project as some of the migrants' living conditions could potentially improve as time passes. While initial months may be difficult for the migrants, there is a possibility that migrants will over time become contributing members of Honduran society. A more involved research design would be truly longitudinal in nature (as opposed to the short-term longitudinal approach of the 2 stage design for a few months span employed in the present study) and include yearly follow-ups with the Honduran migrants.

The grounded theory ethnographic approach was best suited for this inquiry as the lack of current data on the repatriation of the returned migrant makes it difficult, if not impossible to collect or analyze any quantitative data at this point other than the Center's statistical information which is limited in terms of capturing their post-deportation experience. For the adults, I intended to explore the participants' employment search, and their interactions with their families, their social networks, local authorities, church and every other facet of their life during their initial months back in Honduras. Actual time spent with these participants was, however, limited by the distance between their hometowns and my residence during the time on the field. In the findings, there will be some accounts of my observations during actual time spent with the migrants; however, this was limited to three cases. Furthermore, there were also the other impediments discussed above with studying this particular population.

was still conducted, but just required the migrants to reflect back on their initial thoughts upon deportation.

As a complement to the ethnography, I intended to ask the participants to recollect their experiences in a journal that would be provided to them by me. This was intended to be an aid to better understand their adaptation process. They would have been asked to write down as much as they could about their lives in the first three months back in the country. As ideal as this method was, it was evident that after the migrants began dropping out of the study that this was just an ideal method and could not have been feasibly implemented. Ethnography was, however, used to capture the daily work of the CAMR and to explore the Honduran society as a whole. Many recollections from the ethnographic accounts will be discussed in the findings section.

PHASE III: Content Analysis of Honduran and US Newspapers

By the author's own admission, this phase is the weakest of the other methods employed. The use of two newspaper sources does not provide a significant sample size or wealth of data to reach any reliable conclusions and thus cannot overcome basic threats to external validity. The author cannot conclude that the findings of the content analyses are representative of either countries' media. However, remaining true to the exploratory nature of the project, an exhaustive content analysis was not required at this point, which means that generalizability was not of great concern. The content analysis was merely an attempt to explore how media sources are presenting the issue of reintegration to their respective societies: United States and Honduras. For the representation of United States media, the *New York Times* was explored. The author conducted a basic search of articles, written within the last three years, through the online archives to see how (if at all) the issue of reintegration was being framed: were

journalists discussing the occurrence? If so, with what frequency? What were the perceptions of deported migrants?, etc. For the representation of Honduran media, *La Prensa* was explored. The same approach was used for *La Prensa* as was used for the *New York Times*. Both of these newspapers are arguably some of the most liberals in their respective countries so limiting a content analysis to newspapers with one ideology is surely a selection bias which is a real threat to internal validity. The author's time in Honduras researching the subject was from January 2nd, 2013-July 4th, 2013.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

PHASE I: CAMR CASE STUDY FINDINGS

This section concerning the findings of the case study will outline a condensed history, mission and vision of the CAMR. In addition, this section will note major milestones and recognitions of the CAMR; and then spend considerable time exploring how the CAMR operates and how it can operate better.

Every organization with intentions of withstanding the test of time must be cognizant of its strengths and weakness and at some time self-evaluate its performance. The CAMR has been around for over a decade and has had a host of challenges along the way. The most recent of its challenges has been the decision by the United States to send all flights of returned migrants to a single location whereas before the migrants were sent to two different locations in Honduras. In mid-September of 2012, the United States made the above referenced decision to send all flights of Honduran deportees only to Ramón Villeda Morales International Airport in La Lima, Cortés which is just outside of San Pedro Sula. Prior to this decision, flights of deported Hondurans were sent to both Toncontin International Airport located in the nation's capital and the aforementioned airport in La Lima located approximately 150 miles north of the capital. According to a Department of Homeland Security attaché stationed in Honduras, the decision was made for "security reasons". The airport has been declared by various sources as one of the most dangerous airports to land in the world. This decision was made with an indefinite

timeline, but now, a year later, the conditions in the capital city's airport have not changed, so it can be said that this has become a permanent decision. This has caused the CAMR to adapt to this operational decision. The consolidation of all flights to one location automatically changed the operational tasks and responsibilities of the CAMR. To continue to improve its services and remain intact as an organization, a self-evaluation was required. The exploratory case study was designed to answer the following question: how can the CAMR improve its services to its clientele(s)?

As mentioned earlier, the CAMR was initiated over a decade ago to serve the influx of returned migrants who came via the aerial mode of expulsion from the United States . It is important to keep in mind that there are a considerable amount of migrants returned via the terrestrial mode of expulsion from Mexico (approximately 20,000 out of the 50,000 total expulsions to Honduras for calendar year 2012), but the attention or services they received (if any) is outside the scope of this case study. Prior to the Center, the deportations of Honduran migrants was a miniscule amount that did not require the attention of a special office and was a task handled by the Migration Officers of the Ministry of Migration of Honduras at the airport. These returned migrants were interviewed by the Migration Officers and then allowed to return to their respective communities with no additional assistance for their immediate needs (i.e. travel fare to return home, nutrition, medical attention, etc.) or long-term reintegration support (i.e. employment leads, workshops, etc.).

Throughout the years, however, NGO workers and social scientists alike began noticing trends and patterns that called for action. The vast majority of the Honduran

migrants were individuals with limited to no education and limited resources who embarked on the journey to migrate North without documentation and now they began returning home with a host of issues. Many were returning without money to travel home, hungry from the prolonged deportation process, and in need of psychological and medical attention. Additionally, many of the migrants were returning with a host of complaints about the treatment they received from United States immigration officers and the Honduran Consulate services. So, in 2000, a covenant between the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Honduran Ministry of Migration, and the Association of the Scalibrine Sisters of the Catholic Church (or AHS-Asociación Hermanas Scalabrinianas de la iglesia Católica- in Spanish) headed by Sister Valdete Wilemann with the financial support of Catholic Relief Services was made to provide the immediate and long-term attention of the returned migrants (CAMR; Carranza Ramirez, 2013).

These institutions saw the need for a specific office or organization devoted to the reception of returned Honduran migrants and attention to the aforementioned problems. The first office was constructed in the capital city airport. In 2007, the Office of the Secretary of Exterior Relations of Honduras joined forces to provide support to the Center. In 2008, an office was created in the Ramón Villeda Morales International Airport to serve the returned migrants who were sent to that airport. Both offices were created to receive and serve the returned migrants.

As the table demonstrates in the following page, from the year 2000 to 2012, there has been a 90% increase of returned migrants. Evident because of its survival as an

organization over this time span, the CAMR has been able to successfully adapt to this increase in clientele. However, the question still needs to be asked, what impact has this increase had in the quality of the services provided? The question makes the assumption that an increase in clients automatically affects the quality of the service, but this notion will become more evident in our discussion of the services provided.

Table 2: CAMR Figures of deported migrants between 2000-2012

Year	Returned Migrants
2000	2610
2001	3903
2002	6304
2003	7105
2004	9350
2005	18941
2006	24643
2007	29348
2008	30018
2009	25101
2010	22878
2011	22448
2012	32342

IDENTITY, MISSION, AND THE VISION OF THE CAMR

The following statements of the CAMR identity, mission and vision have been translated by the author from a CAMR pamphlet created for the public.

Identity Statement:

“The CAMR is a not for profit project, which was conceived with the objective to provide support for the returned Honduran migrants who were removed via aerial means from the United States of America, helping them maintain the faith and hope of realizing a better future for themselves and their families.”

Mission Statement:

“The Attention Center for the Returned Migrant is a project executed by the Catholic Church, coordinated by the Government, the Civil Society and International Cooperation, whose mission is to provide the immediate assistance for returned Honduran migrants; along with facilitating the process for their reintegration oriented to improve their quality of life founded on the principles of respect and the promotion of Human Rights.”

Vision statement:

“To become an Institution recognized at the national and international level as a self-sustainable project oriented to strengthening processes of immediate attention and reintegration of the returned Honduran migrants, in conjunction with the communities focused on the objective.”

A noteworthy remark about the CAMR is the interaction between government agencies, international organizations and religious institutions. As summarized in the history and as stated in the identity, mission, and vision paragraphs, the CAMR has

historically been an interplay with a religious organization (namely the Catholic Church), the Honduran government, and international organizations or governments (i.e. IOM, UNITED STATES , etc). Never has the CAMR been completely autonomous as a project of the Catholic Church, an international entity or completely autonomous as a State function, but rather a cooperation of all of the above. This can however, also present problems in organization identity and organizational structure which will be discussed next.

CAMR THE STATE OR CAMR THE NGO; ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY ISSUES

One theoretical problem that presents a major challenge for the Center is its identity. On the one hand, the staff members are Migration Officers employed by the Ministry of Migration, but on the other hand, they are staff members of a not for profit organization aimed at promoting Catholic values of Human Rights and Respect. Even in a nation where the majority of the population identifies with the Roman Catholic religion, these identities are often in direct conflict with each other as it is very evident in the treatment and service of the clients. As federal employees, the staff is constrained to the rigidness that is common of the bureaucratic structure of (any) government. They are tasked with the responsibility of “processing” the returned migrants as opposed to the stated mission of “serving” them. In the case of the failed state of Honduras (i.e. widespread corruption, impunity, etc.), it is empirically evident that the state cannot meet its basic functions of maintaining cohesion and order in society and or executing the law of the land. When the Center is perceived as being a State actor, it often creates confusion for the clients and can detract from the work of the center.

In order to better understand how the identity of the Center as a State actor is problematic, it is important to have a better background of Honduras. While the unemployment rate, between 3.9% to 4.5% (depending on your source: CIA Worldfact book or INE), seems relatively low, a considerable amount of Hondurans (33%) are underemployed (CIA World Factbook). Additionally, the vast majority, 60%, of Hondurans live below the poverty line (INE, CIA World Factbook). Such conditions (and others mentioned earlier and in the endnotes) create the anxiety in individuals to flee Northbound to obtain employment to be able to provide for their families. The decision to migrate internationally cannot be taken out of the context of the failed State that is Honduras. These individuals decided that the State was not going to or could not provide for them so they sought out a better life elsewhere. These individuals may very well be considered dissatisfied clients, if we consider the State as a Firm or service provider. The dissatisfaction of these individuals is further exacerbated during the immigration journey and the immigration detention and proceedings.

While the migrants' experiences are vastly diversified, as I discussed in the literature review section concerning the various typologies of Hondurans, an amount worthy of attention of Hondurans in the 21st century have embarked on the journey Northbound without a visa. This makes this population vulnerable to discrimination, victimization, and detention by US immigration authorities. Prior to reaching their final destination (for the fortunate few that reach it), they experience a series of life threatening challenges along the way. Because of the commercialization of the undocumented journey, many migrants must hire coyotes that will transport them from Mexico to the

United States undetected. According to the various individuals that I had the opportunity to speak with on the subject (who evaded the border themselves or had a close family member undertake the journey), this is highly recommended because of the widespread kidnappings and violence along the border. However, these coyotes often take advantage: emotionally, economically, physically and sexually of these migrants which leaves them with many psychological issues. While they may think that it is all over once they cross the border, for many, the nightmare continues.

Historically, there has been widespread criminalization of immigrants in the United States and this is a social fact that is especially evident in our “Post 9-11” world. Many Honduran migrants are apprehended at the border while others are actually able to make it to their planned destinations, but often after having settled in, many are apprehended by immigration officers and detained for deportation proceedings. For the non-criminal detainees, the criminalization of their quest for a better life is very traumatic. They have not been accustomed to being detained at a federal prison (or any detention center at all) and that experience can have very damaging psychological effects. Before there has been an order of deportation placed by the judge or immigration officer, their expulsion could take anywhere from a few months to a few years in federal prison (or a private facility contracted out by the federal government) depending on their particular immigration situation (Chavarria Flores et. al, 2012). One particular problem that has been observed by the CAMR is that many of these migrants have spent additional time being detained because the Honduran government, more specifically the Honduran Consulate Services, is not able to process *the salvo conducto*, the document

certifying that migrants are in fact Honduran nationals, within a reasonable time frame. Here again we see how the State is failing to serve its clients and in turn augmenting the sentiments of political inefficacy this population has of its government. They were failed once by the State which caused their migration and now they are being failed again which is delaying their return.

As the team of sociologists from the National Autonomous University of Honduras or UNAH noted last year, returned migrants can spend anywhere from 3-12 hours shackled in chains prior to being transported to the Center (Chavarria Flores et. al, 2012). By the time they actually reach the airport in Honduras, these individuals are extremely irritated and ready to be done with the experience of deportation. Many are eager to return to their respective communities, but an ignorable number of the deportees, those who have spent longer period of times in the UNITED STATES , do not have a place in Honduras they can call “home”.

As can be observed as they come out of the plane, the vast majority are still dazed from the whole experience, but the joy of being released is very evident as many carry a wide grin on their faces as they walk towards the bus that will transport them to the CAMR. In the approximately 150 meter walk from the plane to the bus, one can see many manifestations of relief that they are “home”. Common expressions are the throwing of the arms in the air as an athlete may do when he wins a sporting event, or how congregants may do when they are worshipping. Some individuals go as far as crouching down on their knees and kissing the floor (I observed this in various occasions), expressing that they are either happy they have returned, happy that the

ordeal is all over or both. The irony is that while the landing and removal of the cuffs represents their formal release from the UNITED STATES migration authorities, they are now being transferred to Honduran migration authorities for further detention (albeit limited, detention none the less).

Figure 1: Returned migrants deboarding plane from UNITED STATES (Photo courtesy of author)



“what happen with United States government, what they did to me was like, “ok, you are out of the plane...bye”. I mean they didn’t even got out of the plane. You know they let you out, you’re Honduran representative goes up to the plane and says, you know, represent herself and who she is, and “welcome to your home country”.

-Teresa expressing her discontent with the UNITED STATES government

The bus ride from the airport terminal to the Center is approximately 1km long, but a rather eventful ride. As soon as the migrants are aboard the bus, they howl and cheer expressing that “they are back”. By no means are ALL migrants cheering, but the ones that are, cheer loud enough that it appears as if they are all in fact cheering. By the time that the migrants arrive at the Center on the bus, their belongings have already been transported and waiting for them. Additionally, some of the migrants family members await their return as pictured below.



Figure 2: To the left there is a deported migrant throwing out garbage outside the CAMR. To the right, behind the fence, are a group of family members seeing if they could spot their loved one as they come out of the bus. (Photo courtesy of author)

The first order of business while at the Center is executing the objective of providing the immediate attention for the returned migrants. As per the Center brochure, immediate attention consists of, “Temporary assistance with nutrition, clothing, phone calls to family members, psychological support and health assessment.” The immediate attention begins with a warm welcome at the door by Center volunteers (or bank officials⁷, when they are present). The migrants are handed a blue bag (courtesy of the Administration of President of Pepe Lobo, as the logo on the bag reminds them) consisting of basic toiletries such as: tooth brushes, tooth pastes, deodorants, razors, etc. These bags are gender specific. At the door, the objective of nutrition is also met as migrants are handed a cup of Maya Coffee and a baleada, a traditional food of Honduras consisting of a wheat flour tortilla folded in half and filled with mashed fried beans, crumbled cheese and cream. Once every migrant is off the bus and in the Center, the door is locked right behind them. While the door is locked because of airport protocol, it also signifies that they are still in State custody, this time Honduran custody.



Figure 3: Blue bags provided for returned migrants. (Photo courtesy of author)

In the reception room, the migrants have the opportunity to sit down and enjoy their meal, or snack. Because the welcoming remarks by a CAMR staff member are a standard component of the process and thus exercised so frequently, I did not notice any major differences from speech to speech in the approximately three months he spent at the Center, even when different staff members greeted the group. The staff member mentions that they understand that the migrants are tired and ready to go home, but that “we must give God thanks for their safe arrival” and “keep striving to lead a productive life”. Perhaps not always verbatim, this message was carried out in every greeting. After the remarks, the staff member proceeds to tell the migrants the reception procedure at the Center: 1) hand out medications; 2) hand out belongings; 3) intake interview with volunteers; 4) distribution of travel fare for eligible migrants (ineligible migrants proceed to the following step)⁸; 5) aboard the bus to be transported to the central bus terminal of San Pedro Sula or bus ride to Tegucigalpa. It is during the process of completing these 5 stages that the identity of the Center is often murky.



Figure 4: The photo is a representation of a typical day at the CAMR. Pictured in the center are two CAMR staff members. The woman holding the microphone is welcoming recently arrived returned migrants. (Photo taken by CAMR staff member Diana Diaz)

The CAMR is intended to facilitate the reintegration process as soon as the migrants return from the US, however the reintegration process as a State actor and as a NGO are theoretically different. As a State actor the reintegration should facilitate the socialization of the civic duty of the individual and their responsibility to abide by State laws and contribute to society. As an NGO actor, the reintegration should facilitate the understanding that they are individuals that deserve respect, will be advocated for, and will be supported, so that they may improve their quality of life and that of their families. The State actor role can be viewed as that of a parent, while the NGO is analogous to that

of a sibling's role. The specific task of receiving the migrants from the airport and "processing" them via the returned migrant intake interview is above all a function of the state. It serves state's interest to find out which border they crossed to travel out of the country, the motive for their deportation, time spent in the US, and a plethora of other variables collected during the intake. Arguably, the NGO also benefits from the intake as they can better investigate the returned migrant experience and initiate social programs that accurately reflect those needs. However, an NGO cannot on its own accord, force a client to do anything, but a state actor can and does.

The other duties of providing nutrition, medical support and travel assistance is that of the NGO as the State does not necessarily have an obligation to provide such assistance. Just consider how politically difficult it is to justify specific attention for a group of "deviants"^{xii} (i.e. deviated from the US norms of the legal migration process) when the majority of law-abiding Honduran nationals are not provided such attention. The contradictions here are plentiful when you consider that the Honduran government publicly commends the bravery and determination of the Honduran migrants. While the Honduran government may express their support for the migrant in words, at the end of the day, they are just mere words. Actual solidarity from the Honduran government with

^{xii} I use the term here two-fold. One way, as described in the parenthesis, the migrants deviated from the regulations of the legal entry process. On the other hand, migrants are viewed by the receiving countries (i.e. UNITED STATES) and their sending countries (i.e. Honduras) as being inherently deviant. In the UNITED STATES , there has been a long history of the stigmatization of immigrants. In the home countries of these migrants, however, they are also seen as deviants when they return deported. Many are further stigmatized by members of their community and government officials. Holding tight to the logic that "they got deported for a reason", the perception of the international migrants' deviancy is an often inescapable reality.

its migrant population would require more effort for the immediate attention of the migrants.

From the discussions and observations with the population under study, I have concluded that the migrants perceive the CAMR as a State actor. In the bus ride to the terminal, I had the opportunity to speak with the migrants where many remarked on how “el Gobierno nos ayuda” or “how the Government helps us” when referring to the treatment they received at the CAMR. Migrants also complained about how “el Gobierno no sirve” or how “the Government is useless” when they were dissatisfied with the lack of travel fare provided to them or the amount of time it took to “process” them.

This identity has its advantages because while their participation in the processing of the returned migrants is in theory “voluntary,” they believe that the CAMR is solely a State actor and must comply with the process. It is very probable that if the individuals were given the opportunity to bypass the above referenced steps and go directly to the bus that takes them to the terminal, many would choose that route. As an NGO, the CAMR cannot force individuals to participate in the intake, but as a State actor they can. The disadvantage relates back to the entirety of the migrant experience in Honduras. These individuals have been failed by the State numerous times and now that they return, they see no justifiable reason to comply with the intake procedure. They are upset that they are not being “let go.” This creates distrust and frustration towards the Center volunteers who conduct the intake and can in theory effect the data being provided by the migrants (although this was not explored further).

In addition to the perception the migrants have of the CAMR, it is equally important to consider the perception the migrants' families have of the CAMR. If the reader recalls, the identity of the CAMR as defined in the brochure is a, "not for profit project, which was conceived with the objective to provide support for the returned Honduran migrants...helping them maintain the faith and hope of realizing a better future for themselves and their families." By definition of the CAMR's identity, the family members must also be CAMR's clients. The "better future for themselves and their families" begins with the immediate attention provided upon their return at the CAMR. In the few instances where migrants are received by their family members at the CAMR, this means that immediate attention begins once the family seeks out the assistance of the CAMR.

The initial and most common form of assistance that family members seek from the CAMR is the confirmation that their returned loved one will be on the next flight. From speaking to these family members, it appears as if they also perceive CAMR as the State actor. They go to the CAMR because they were told by state officials or other members of the public that it is the place that receives the returned migrants. The family members rarely have additional information about the CAMR and services provided to the returned migrants. In fact, it is only the ones who have been through the process themselves or those who have experience picking up the same migrant from a previous time, the ones that possess a better understanding of the CAMR. Because the CAMR has to balance processing the migrants as quickly as possible once they land and to provide adequate immediate attention and in turn long term reintegration support, it is difficult for

the clients (migrants and their family members alike) to have a complete understanding of what the CAMR has to offer. This is where the author has detected issues in service. The CAMR as an NGO is an invaluable and instrumental organization for the State of Honduras; however the functions as an NGO are often clouded by the functions of the CAMR as a State actor.

VOLUNTEERS OR EXPLOITED STATED?

The discussion of the CAMR's identity issues is an excellent way to transition into the discussion of the volunteer corps of the CAMR. There must be great admiration and respect for any individual who devotes their time, skills, and or money for the service of others. At face value, the corps of CAMR volunteers is precisely that. These individuals come in to serve their fellow compatriots who are returning with the conditions that we discussed earlier. The problem of the CAMR volunteer is similar to the status of the CAMR as a State actor or an NGO. The issue arises in not only the nature of the tasks assigned to the volunteers, but in the remuneration for their services. Before we discuss both issues, however, we must first operationalize the term "volunteer".

There are various understandings of what is meant by the term in question and the work related to that position, but in order to have a coherent discussion, it is necessary to arrive at a common definition. Simple definitions as: 1) unpaid work 2) non-contractual work 3) non-reciprocated work and 4) non forced work; do not capture the essence of the volunteer work. It may be possible to have each or all the attributes of 1-4, but still somehow not be a volunteer or be doing volunteer work. One can argue that the role of

the “parent” has all of the above qualifications, but hardly anyone would self-identify as a “volunteer dad” or “volunteer mom” unless their labor is related to another activity such as coaching or overseeing a school activity. There is another key element that must be considered in the definition and that is the relationship between the volunteer and the population he or she is serving. One such definition I have utilized in a past study has been provided by Brown and Smart who define volunteer work as, “any unpaid work you’ve done to help people besides your family and friend or people you work with,” (Aguilar, et. al, 2012 citing Brown and Smart). Additionally, Duke University scholars, Wilson and Musick (1997) have utilized a similar definition (provided by Tilly and Tilly (1994) in their work toward establishing an integrated theory of volunteer work; “unpaid work provided to parties to whom the worker owes no contractual, familial, or friendship obligations” (p. 291). Both definitions encapsulate what I will refer to in this report when he speaks of volunteer work. In summary, the work should be unpaid and must be work done for another person that is not coworker, friend or family member.

If we accept the notion that it is the State’s responsibility to do a migration interview with the returned migrants, then the natural line of inquiry will be to consider whether it is appropriate for the State to utilize volunteers for this function. The State of Honduras, or any state or organization for that matter, reserves the right to utilize personnel and volunteers to meet its functions. However, as a fundamental principle, an organization should not utilize volunteers as replacement of paid workers unless that organization will eliminate that paid position all together and convert it into a non-paid position or volunteer position. Consider a hypothetical situation where a hospital has paid

nurses and then starts instituting a volunteer nurses program where both groups of nurses will have identical tasks. Such a situation will create unnecessary work friction between the paid nurses and volunteer nurses. The paid nurses may feel as if they will be replaced by the volunteer nurses and over time, the volunteer nurses may start to wonder why they are not being provided the same compensation for the same work. In the case of the migration interviews, these are standard interviews (with the addition of some questions specifically for returned migrants) that are done by the Ministry of Migration for any individual that enters the country. In non-returned migrant cases however, the interviews are not done by volunteers but actual paid Migration officers. At face value, using volunteers at the CAMR to do the intake interviews violates the basic principles we just discussed. So is it acceptable for the CAMR volunteers to do the intake interview?

The answer to the above question is Yes and No. Yes, it is appropriate for the CAMR volunteers to do the intake interviews if the State decides that none of the Migration Officers employed by the Ministry of Migration will do such a task and it will from here on out be completed by only volunteers. On the other hand, if the State decides that such a task (doing intake interviews) will be left to paid Migration Officers in every location but the CAMR, then this is inappropriate State action that deserves the scrutiny of a labor law violations investigation and must be considered a form of exploitation. The problem with this situation is that it is a classic catch 22. If the State decides that all intake interviews will be done by paid Migration Officers, then it must spend considerable time and resources⁹ that it surely does not have (Associated Press, 2013) identifying qualified individuals to complete the task. On the other hand, if the State

decides that only volunteers will do such a task, it must also spend considerable time and resources building a volunteer corps across the various locations where the Ministry of Migration works.

THE SERVICES AND ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

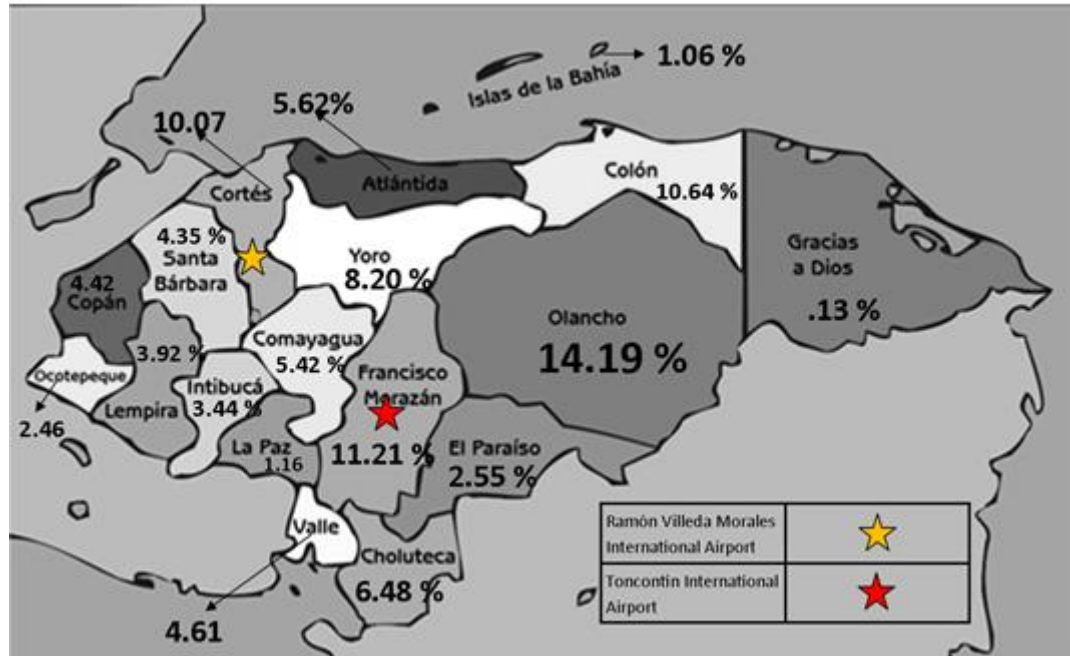
Now that we have addressed the theoretical issues that can create problems for the services provided, it is appropriate to move the discussion into the actual observations of the services provided. Above all, it should be noted that the work the CAMR does with the limited resources, is truly impressive. As Table 1 demonstrates the CAMR has served an average of: 50; 76; 122; 137; 179; 364; 474; 565; 578; 482; 440; 432; and 621 migrants per week between 2000-2012 respectively. What is more impressive is how the CAMR has managed such a feat with approximately 10 staff members and between 20-30 volunteers. Aside from the previously discussed issues in the identity of the Center, it is indisputable that the CAMR has been meeting its objective of providing immediate assistance to this grand total of 234, 991. The efficacy required for this endeavor should be modeled by other Honduran institutions, especially State agencies. The ultimate credit must be awarded to the project leader, Sister Valdete Wilemann who has been recognized four different times in the past decade for her humanitarian work. Most recently in January 2013, she was crowned as the Woman of the Year for her work with the international migrant community by the Honduran Women's Arabic Association. However, it is also important to recognize the areas where the CAMR can improve in advocacy for this population and in service provided to them.

The other three stated objectives of the CAMR, as per its brochure, are the social reintegration, sensitization and institutional strengthening. Let us now consider each one individually. Social reintegration, as CAMR's brochure describes, entails the "Support for the returned (migrants) who wish to enroll in workshops, learn occupational trades and assistance and counseling with the employment search." If there were to be a hierarchy in the objectives of the Center, this should be placed above all. One of the reasons these individuals keep migrating northbound is for the perceived opportunities they will have once in the US. Many of these individuals are not aware of the harsh realities of the undocumented life and they see any opportunity as being better than the reality they live in. The motivation and the initiative that these individuals have is a trait that many employers can benefit from in Hondurans and is something that could be cultivated with the social reintegration objective. As Sister Wilemann once told me, "migrants are brave people, because the journey northbound is not one that just anybody can embark on". Social reintegration requires funds. It is not that the CAMR is not providing these opportunities because it doesn't want to. (I had the opportunity to witness only one such workshop during my time with the Center and a staff member revealed that the majority of the attendants were not actual deportees but community members who were invited because of low deportee turnout.) The CAMR is not deviating from its mission voluntarily, but rather it is unable to meet its stated objective of social reintegration because of the harsh reality that it lacks sufficient funds.

The third objective is that of sensitization which the CAMR describes as the sensitization "About the migration phenomenon and the dangers in the trip without

documentation towards the country to the north of us.” This objective is also very important as the author mentioned above that many of these individuals are not aware of the harsh realities of the journey. Most of these individuals have a family member or a close friend who embarked on the journey and may have made it, but may have omitted the dangers or not stressed the realities. Furthermore, the testimony of a migrant who has successfully made it north and found employment may be the only motivation that these migrants need to make their decision. Just as likely, however, these migrants can be dissuaded to make that decision if they are exposed to the harsh realities and aftermath of the decision. The CAMR already has sufficient information to achieve this objective. More specifically, in the intake questionnaire, the CAMR collects information about the migrants’ place of birth and their destination after leaving the CAMR. This information about the regional dispersion of the migrants within Honduras is precisely the information that is required to make targeted campaigns of sensitization of the immigration experience. Of course, like the previously discussed objective, this also requires funds to be able to organize public information sessions in the communities where potential international migrants reside in.

Figure 5: Map constructed from CAMR data shows the regional dispersion of migrants returned between Sept-Dec 2012



The map in the previous page is useful for two different reasons. The first reason being that it shows us the departments the CAMR can target for its sensitization campaign. Secondly, this map shows us where in relation to the airports the migrants are being returned to. It should be noted, however, that this map is only for the migrants deported between September-December 2012. When considering annual deportation figures, the regional dispersion is slightly different as presented in the methods section. If the reader recalls, earlier in the paper I mentioned that the United States made the decision to send all flights of migrants to Ramon Villeda Morales International Airport which is depicted in the map by the yellow star. Examining this map tells us that the majority of migrants are actually returning to the departments around the Toncontin International Airport and not Ramon Villeda Morales International Airport. Why does

that matter? Well consider that one of the objectives of the CAMR is to provide support via travel fare. Now that the CAMR is faced with having all returned migrants at one location, which happens to be the location furthest from their final destination, the CAMR must now work double time to raise funds to be able to provide the travel assistance. While the decision was made for “safety reasons” as the attaché explained that Toncontin International Airport has been considered one of the world’s most difficult airports to land in, it has created a strain for the service provided to the migrants. Additionally, as we discussed, the CAMR is forced to operate more as a State actor than an NGO when the migrants return because of the sheer numbers. The service that you can provide to 50 migrants within an hour and a half time frame will definitely not be the same service you can provide to 100 migrants in the same time frame with the same number of staff and volunteers.

Lastly, there is the institutional strengthening objective. As mentioned in the brochure, this will be achieved through the, “Support of the public and private institutions/organizations and the Church”. The ambiguity of the objective makes it hard to analyze, but if we interpret this objective as being the endeavor to improve as an organization, this case study is a step towards meeting the objective. The CAMR can and should commission more case studies and internal audits to learn how it can continue to improve. Cooperation from other surrounding organizations is key to the success of the CAMR. One immediate way to strengthen the institution without making a monetary investment is to utilize the skills, abilities, and considerable spare time of the

organization's neighbors, Fundación Nacional del Migrante Retornado Discapacitado de Honduras^{xiii} (or FUNMIREDH for its Spanish abbreviation).

In the two months that I conducted the study, it was evident that the staff of FUNMIREDH, was more often than not without any work to do. This may be for various reasons which are outside the purview of the present study, but it serves to illustrate the capacity for the CAMR to grow in personnel without making an investment. These staff members can be utilized as CAMR support staff when they have considerable spare time as I witnessed while interning. They could for instance, tend to the phones and make the confirmations to the family members about their returned loved ones. If the CAMR is able to alleviate its core staff from this endeavor, than the CAMR staff can focus on other things like pre-preparing the *constancia* or certification required to obtain an ID card for every migrant before the plane lands.

This would be no small benefit, and in fact could have large impact on the immediate reintegration of the migrants. Many migrants return without documentation and not having a *cedula* (a national ID) or a *constancia* can result in imprisonment. Without these documents migrants are also unable to obtain employment as was the case for one of the participants of this study. The problem with not having this document pre-prepared is that as demonstrated in the map, many of the migrants do not live near the CAMR sites in San Pedro Sula or Tegucigalpa, so they are unlikely to return back after their arrival date to obtain the document. Some elect not to return back to obtain the document because they have no intentions of staying in Honduras, however, the ones that

^{xiii} The National Foundation for Incapacitated Returned Migrants of Honduras

remain in Honduras but cannot travel back to the CAMR sites after they leave because they lack sufficient funds to make the trip, effectively become part of floating population that receives no actual acknowledgment from their home country (Honduras) or host country (UNITED STATES) about their existence.

There is a plethora of ways the FUNMIREDH can be utilized as support staff, but this would cross into inter-organizational politics that may be more complicated than what I am suggesting. In any case, the potential for partnership is certainly there and should be strongly considered.

Returning to internal institutional strengthening, another key area for improvement for the CAMR was its volunteer program. The program is at best *weak* and by *weak*, the author here refers not to its size or capacity, but rather to the lack of time and effort devoted to its organization. The volunteer corps of the CAMR is probably one of its most important assets the organization has at its disposal. It is free labor that completes the objective of immediate attention that the CAMR provides. Surely, it would be very difficult, if not impossible to complete this task without the use of volunteers. This is why it is interesting that the CAMR has not devoted considerable time or resources to strengthening the program.

Although the total population size (20) of the volunteer corps was relatively small, it was more difficult than expected to interview all volunteers in the given time frame. I was only able to procure a total of N=8 volunteers. I will by no means argue that such “sample” is representative, but the reader should not be quick to dismiss its utility.

The findings from the interviews with the volunteers provide an insight to how the CAMR can improve its volunteer program and in turn its services to its clients.

One of the most obvious ways the program can improve is in providing adequate training for the intake duties. I recall a time early in my internship when a volunteer attempted to train me on how to do intake. It was the first week of my internship and the volunteer assigned himself as my “supervisor”. He went over the intake questionnaire and told me that, “there is nothing to it”. While I was appreciative of the volunteer’s attempt to alleviate me from the non-present stress, I actually did become distressed when the volunteer proceeded to tell me that “it is not a science”. This was worrisome to me at the time because the questionnaire was precisely that...science. It was troubling to me that a senior volunteer would make such a comment, was this volunteer an outlier? Or was this volunteer representative of the CAMR corps of volunteers?

Throughout my time at the CAMR, I became aware that there was no formal training prior to beginning for a better understanding of the duties and no formal recruitment for the volunteers. This is troublesome for many reasons. For one, the information collected by the volunteers is sensitive and should be handled by individuals who have been properly screened and trained. There are confidential medical questions asked that should be done by mature and professional individuals. The only way to know the maturity of an individual if the volunteer is not screened prior to beginning his duties is if the individual has been referred by a trust worthy and professional individual. The recruitment of the CAMR volunteer is mostly facilitated by the volunteers themselves,

but again, this does not assure the CAMR that the individuals being referred are good candidates to fulfill the duties.

Before I discuss some of the major findings of the interviews with the volunteers, I will give some background on the volunteers and common typologies: the college students, the unemployed/retired workers/stay at home parents, and the children. There was a distinguishable amount of college students who volunteered at the CAMR and they cycled in and out as their school schedule changed. It appears that there was a relationship that was initiated by the CAMR and the local colleges, but it was not clear who initiated the partnership (CAMR or the colleges). The second group was that of the unemployed/retired workers/stay at home parents. These individuals had significant time available and they wanted to contribute to what they believed was an important cause. Many of these adults brought with them their children to the CAMR and thus resulted in the formation of the third group of volunteers. The CAMR was very family friendly and seemed to encourage familial referrals. All of the volunteers were remunerated for their time which was referred to as a *travel stipend*. Although some of the volunteers complained about the amount of the stipend, it actually far exceed the travelling costs for most volunteers as they lived if not within walking distance, a short bus ride away.

Now I will discuss the main findings from the volunteer surveys. When asked to describe their function or responsibility as a volunteer, virtually all of the volunteers interviewed (N=8) stated that their role was to “provide attention to the returned migrants”. What is more interesting about these responses was that the question was open-ended so the verbiage of “provide attention to the returned migrants” was not a

multiple choice option, but rather a response that each volunteer willfully gave. After some probing, all of the volunteers started describing their specific roles in the organization and how they “provide attention”.

None of the volunteers interviewed, could articulate the mission or vision of the CAMR. Even though “I don’t know it” was presented as an option, some of the volunteers attempted to explain what the mission was, but it was evident that they were not well versed in that area. This should not be overlooked. As representatives of the CAMR, it is imperative that the volunteers be knowledgeable of all aspects of the CAMR so that they may communicate them accordingly.

All of the volunteers interviewed attended a volunteer workshop (in which the workshop leader stressed the scientific importance of the intake questionnaire). All, but one of the volunteers rated it as “Excellent” and the one that did not rate it as such, stated that it was “Satisfactory” because it appeared as if the fellow volunteers were not paying attention to the workshop. The volunteer stated that this may have been because a combination of the workshop leader not controlling the situation and because the volunteers were not collaborating or just not interested. I would like to stress that to my knowledge, this response was clearly an outlier.

I had the opportunity to attend the workshop and thought that it was well prepared, very interactive and informative. There may have been an instance or two where some volunteers started having side conversations, but overall, it appeared as if the volunteers were paying attention and learning more about the CAMR and immigration in general.

PHASE II: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In the introduction, I introduced the reader to four migrants who were part of the study (Teresa, Mr. Hernandez, Pito and Ana). Additionally, I also noted in the introduction and in the methods, that a total of 8 migrants were actually interviewed. Now, I will spend some time introducing the other participants and then continue to discuss the findings of the semi-structured interviews.

Don Rubio

Don Rubio is a *rapidito* or bus driver near San Perdo Sula. Driving the bus was his part-time job, but has recently become his full-time job after being laid off from the non-profit organization in Honduras devoted to assisting incapacitated deported migrants. I met Don Rubio while I interned with CAMR. Don Rubio is a very wise and knowledgeable man which is reflected by the esteem the CAMR volunteers have for him. He arrived at the organization a couple of years ago. While he admitted that he was hired mainly for nepotism, his experience as an international migrant was certainly relevant to the position. Although it has been over two decades since Don Rubio made his journey North and back, his experiences as an international migrant and a *self-deportee*¹⁰ provide some insight to the reintegration of Honduran migrants.

Don Rubio left with his sister in the late 80s. He had no real interest in going to the United States . but wanted to accompany his sister and assure her safe travels. Don Rubio has admitted, however, that the dangers faced during those times are negligible to the struggles at the border today. According to Don Rubio, there were no Mexican drug cartels controlling the border as they are today and ICE officials were not as numerous. Evading the border was not a problem, but integrating in the United States was. After

three years living in Los Angeles County in California, Don Rubio decided he had enough, said his goodbyes to his friends and family in the United States and came back home.

Laura

Laura spent a decade and a half in the United States . She left to the United States . while her children were still young. As a single mother, she was not able to provide for them how she wanted. Her mother, the children's grandmother, agreed to raise the children if Laura went through with her plans to go to the United States . When Laura returned, both of her children were grown adults and now they take care of Laura. Laura is currently in her mid-forties. Coming back after more than ten years was not easy for this middle aged woman. She had become accustomed to the weather, work, and money in the United States so going back to Honduras was not in her plans.

The event that resulted in her deportation occurred two years prior to her forced return to Honduras. Laura received a call that her mother was ill and that she may not make it. Naturally, Laura became concerned and immediately made plans to return to her mother. Even though Laura heard that there was a travel permit available for TPS holders that would allow her to leave the country and return back to the United States , she made the decision to leave without notifying or applying to leave to the Department of Homeland Security because she felt as she would not be approved in time and would potentially not be there for her mother's passing. She left the country by driving from the state of Maryland to Honduras. The trip took her several days, but she was successful. Not considering the consequences she would later face, Laura was relieved to be reunited

with her mother. Her mother made it and recovered well so Laura decided to return to her life in the United States . She left the vehicle in Honduras and attempted to evade the border, but this time, she was apprehended. She was processed by ICE authorities but later released when they discovered that she had a TPS, however, a court date was still scheduled for her to explain what she did to an immigration judge.

Laura hired an attorney who she felt confident about at first, but later would blame as the sole reason to why she is back in Honduras. This time around, however, she is ambivalent about returning up North without documentation. She is not as young as she once was and does not know if the risks are worth it, but she has already spent a few months in the country and she does not think she can endure it. Laura also does not like that her children, who have their own responsibilities, have to worry about her.

Enrique

Enrique is Ana's cousin. Ana urged me to speak to him since he had recently returned from the United States Enrique currently resides in the same town in Honduras as Ana does so it was feasible and convenient to include him in the study. While Enrique did not have the particular pre-requisites that I had in mind when recruiting, he had something that Ana and Don Rubio also shared, a self-deportation experience. This was not an initial research interest when designing the study, however, the frequency that these experiences seemed to have been occurring (I became aware of at least 10 separate cases of people who returned willingly), interested me more. There is no hard statistical evidence on this because undocumented people who leave the country and had no contact with state authorities are not tracked. Politically this notion of self-deportation, became

an important part of immigration reform dialogue (see endnote). Is this the reason why Enrique, Ana, Don Rubio, and the uncounted more are deciding to leave the UNITED STATES ? The previous question could certainly not be addressed in the current study, but interviewing those three migrants may be the breadcrumbs to follow the trail on such exploration.

Enrique is a young father of two and after living in the United States approximately a decade stated that he came back because he missed his girls. While in the United States , Enrique was able to find lucrative work with a buddy who owned a construction company. With this job, he was able to send sufficient remittances to purchase a home and two vehicles in Honduras. He was able to save for his children's education and save for a rainy day. These benefits, however, did not come without a price. In the United States , Enrique was very lonely and that loneliness led him to lean on drugs for comfort. He developed an addiction to alcohol and as I was later informed by a close family member, Enrique picked up some drug habits at home.

Mario

Mario should not be included in this study...Mario never made it to the United States . Mario had siblings up North and he was going to reunite with them. Mario was excited about the prospect of economic mobility in the United States . He went with a friend from his town. They did not hire a coyote. His lack of knowledge about the physical challenges of the journey proved to be detrimental. A little short of the halfway mark, Mario and his friend were fatigued and while he felt he was given several "signs" to turn back, Mario felt that it was too late to turn back. The signs, however, proved to be

prophecies of a horrible event, because like Pito, Mario also fell off la bestia in Mexico en route to the United States . His leg was consequently amputated and it took a while for Mario to get back on his feet, figuratively and literally. Unlike Pito, however, Mario is very active in his life and is currently a leader in his congregation. Mario explains that his faith and the church have been the best support for him since the accident.

PRE-INTEGRATION COMMON THEMES

One common theme between the responses of the subjects in this study was the lack of preparation for the trip. Virtually all of the migrants admitted that they did not prepare themselves mentally, educationally, financially or physically for the challenges that awaited them on the border and on the other side. For those that took the journey the hard way (via border evasion), there was no consideration about the physical challenges the trip would present. All migrants, however, knew of at least one person who was successful in the journey. This could be an interesting concept. Does the number of people a migrant knows that have successfully evaded the border alleviate stress about the potential dangers of the trip? Does knowing someone who was unsuccessful in evading the border serve as a deterrent to migrate North? More specifically, what effect does knowing someone who died or was injured in the journey have on a person's decision to migrate North? Learning about these relationships by designing a study to specifically address these potential correlations can provide better understanding of migrant decision-making, and perhaps lend guidance to developing successful sensitization campaigns.

Education, or lack thereof, seems to be statistically linked to the Honduran undocumented migrant. If we take the CAMR's 2012 deportation statistics to be representative of the Honduran migrant experience, we can see that the link is undeniable as 73% of the Honduran deportees only had an elementary school level education or less. This is also supported by Pew data that finds that Hondurans have lower levels of education than the Hispanic population overall and the UNITED STATES population overall. Some 8% of Hondurans ages 25 and older—compared with 13% of all United States . Hispanics and 29% of the overall United States population—have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. It should be noted, however, that the Pew data includes both the Honduran born and their United States born descendants while the Honduran deportee data only includes Honduran born migrants. For the study, however, the education variable was explored to see if it had any effect on the re-integration experience of the migrants. This was explored threefold: did Honduran education matter? Did United States education help? Will education after deportation matter?

All of the participants obtained at least some secondary education in Honduras. One migrant (Ana) was actually enrolled in a Honduran university before migrating. Only two of the participants (Teresa and Don Rubio), studied while in the United States and both were the only ones that went to the United States as minors. Although being enrolled in school is mandatory for minors in the United States , this is not necessarily a dead giveaway, because there are many cases where migrants do not get the opportunity to study in the United States while minors. Only two migrants indicated that they were interested in furthering their education upon deportation (Ana and Teresa). Education is

an important variable to consider because it can have a relationship with economic mobility and employment prospects.

Ability to speak English was a particular skill alongside the educational attainment, but in none of the cases did it prove to be a particular advantage in Honduras, although there were employment opportunities available in Honduras that required English proficiency which paid a considerably higher salary than the majority of non-English proficiency positions available in the country. The problem with these positions was that they were concentrated in San Pedro Sula and thus out of reach for many of the migrants. During my time interning, the call center industry was one of the job sectors that seemed to be most interested in the skills that migrants were bringing back. The positions that were heavily recruiting migrants were call center representative positions. These positions entailed talking over the phone to English speaking consumers in either market research departments or customer service departments. The call center companies were established as outsourcing solutions for English speaking companies in the United States . that wanted to maximize profits by offshoring low-skilled, customer service positions in developing countries. This practice has been present for some years now in Asia in the technology support departments. The longstanding joke that one may be speaking to somebody in India when they need tech support is founded on these realities of globalized economies. Now the joke may be that you will be speaking to a deported United States migrant in Honduras when you are speaking to a customer service representative with your cell phone company.

While interning at the Center, I actually had the opportunity to speak to a young man who had been deported and was successful in obtaining a position with a call center. This young man spent most of his young life in the United States so he spoke perfect English with an undetectable accent. His story intrigued me because of the proximity of my New Jersey hometown and his. At face value, there were no real differences between me and the young man, other than the fact that I was not undocumented. Listening to the young man talk about his experience growing up in New Jersey resonated with me. The interaction, however, was cut short because the young man only went to the Center to obtain a his *constancia* after being deported a few months back. As noted earlier, this document was requested by the country's National Register of People which provides national IDs which are required to do pretty much anything in the country, including obtaining a job. The call centers are aware that many of the migrants do not have a national ID upon their return so they usually have conditional hires providing a limited time frame for the migrants to obtain their IDs. The young man had worked at the call center for a few weeks, but spoke highly of his experience. In fact, he spoke highly of his experience in the country overall. Why did it appear that this young man effortlessly reintegrated into Honduras, a country he had not really had the opportunity to get to know? He was an ideal candidate for this study, however, when I mentioned the possibility of his participation, the young man was not enthused. His story, however, is noteworthy because while it would seem that an individual who was raised in the United States would have a difficult time readjusting to Honduras after deportation, it was not the case for him.

Family support seemed to be an important variable for the immediate reintegration. All but one (Teresa) had any close family members that could provide support to them upon their deportation. As shown in a photograph earlier, there are some family members who have the resources and opportunity to pick their family members up from the CAMR. For the majority of returned migrants, however, there is no family member waiting for them at the CAMR. This does not necessarily signify that they do not have any support in the country or that they do not have anywhere to go once being deported to Honduras, but having the immediate and visual support of the family for these individuals who have just endured a traumatic experience can be very comforting. It was difficult for me to observe these reunifications objectively or without emotion. Whether it was a spouse and their children waiting for their head of household to return after several years, or a son who had lost contact with his parents for months since attempting to go North, or siblings who could not wait to step out of the CAMR to fall into the arms and be embraced by a familiar face, the interactions did not fail to incite emotion every time. In some instances, the interaction was so moving that it could bring tears to any onlooker's eyes. As just stated, however, this emotional reception was not the reality for the majority of deportees and in fact, many came out not knowing what their next step would be as was the case for Teresa.

When her plane landed that afternoon, she was still in disbelief that this was happening to her. For all intents and purposes, Teresa was American..."This is fucking crazy" she exclaimed in our first interview. I didn't follow up after that statement with any questions, but I was almost certain I knew what she was referring to. She would have

never pictured herself back in Honduras. If anything, she would have returned to Mexico before Honduras. Her entire support system was back in the United States , and while her father was in Honduras that really meant nothing to her because that was a man she never met and had no intention on meeting. Prior to her deportation, a family secret had been revealed that she had two additional sisters who were still living in Honduras. This was kept from Teresa and her twin sister for their entire lives, until a picture was discovered in the family archives. There was reluctance to reveal the long kept secret, but Teresa's mother later confirmed the identity of the two other girls. To Teresa, however, this meant nothing either as she could not distinguish her long concealed sisters from any two strangers off the street. So the only family she had in Honduras was the family of a bunkmate she met while detained in Texas. Her bunkmate however was still in the United States as she successfully fought her deportation case. The bunkmate agreed to make arrangements for Teresa to stay with her family upon her deportation until Teresa could get situated. Although the bunkmate's family lived relatively close to the CAMR, they were not waiting at the CAMR for Teresa on deportation day so Teresa had her first challenge immediately upon arrival, finding how to get to her new home.

None of the migrants had employment prospects immediately upon deportation, except for Ana who knew that she would use some of the money she made in the United States to open up her own business. The one person that really could make ends meet without a job because of her family's financial stability was serendipitously the one person that had a concrete employment opportunity upon returning. The young mother knew that she had the sufficient intellectual ability and seed funding to open up the

pulperia or corner store so she had no hesitation in following through on her endeavor. She opened up the *pulperia* and employed her aunt who put in considerable hours to get the project off the ground. A year later, the *pulperia* has become one of the more successful ones in her hometown and provides Ana the financial freedom to do many things with her son who also spends time in the *pulperia* with mom.

POST-INTEGRATION COMMON THEMES

One common theme for all of the eligible migrants (n=4), was the lack of reintegration support provided by: the Honduran state via CAMR (or any other government agency) or support by any social organizations in the country including religious institutions. The four eligible migrants were those that actually made it to the UNITED STATES (which would eliminate Mario), were forcibly removed from the United States . (eliminates Ana, Don Rubio and Enrique) and were interviewed by the CAMR. The remaining four migrants satisfy all of the conditions. Mario, however did receive considerable support from his religious community which provides potential evidence of positive effects for reintegration of migrants. If the reader recalls, however, Mario did not actually make it to the United States , however he was included because of his attempt to make it to the United States and the difficulties he faced after his accident. These are realities of many migrants and should be included in the broader discussion of immigration experiences.

The individuals who spent considerable time (at least 5 years) outside of the country commented on how the country seemed to have become worse than what they remembered. For Teresa this was very evident as she was in constant disbelief about what

she observed on a daily basis. In one of our discussions, she elaborated on how disturbing it was for her to see children taking care of other children. She talked about how her neighbor in her new residence was a young girl who took care of her younger sister. Teresa stated that she rarely saw the parents around, but saw the older sister carrying her younger sister all over town. Teresa was really annoyed by the criminality and perception of it that enslaved many of the residents in the neighborhood where she was. Teresa's neighborhood gained a reputation for its widespread criminality a few years back and still has been unable to overcome the negative connotations associated with the neighborhood. I was told on several occasions that I should refrain from entering that neighborhood and if I still persisted on going, that I should roll all of my windows down in the car, not wear any *nice* clothes and to not travel alone. I was grateful for the advice, because researchers should be appreciative of firsthand knowledge provided by locals, however I did not adhere to any of it and spent time during different hours of the day in the community and was not a victim of crime. Arguably, I was just lucky, but from what I saw during my visits to this neighborhood, there was no present threat or danger in the community. The stigmatization of the neighborhood has prevailed even though the reality is quite different.

Many of the middle aged participants who spent some time outside of Honduras commented on the difficulties of adjusting to the weather. Other concerns were the hike in prices that they noticed since they left. A lot of the migrants stated how things seemed a lot cheaper before they left. The initial shock value of the exchange rate of 21 Lempiras (Honduras monetary coin) to \$1 made everything look expensive. A lot of basic items

were in triple figures because they were being sold in Lempiras, however if the conversion was made, many of the items were still under \$10. Some common items, however, are noticeably more expensive, especially American products that are becoming more widespread in the region. Migrants who spend considerable time outside of the country may consume American products and become accustomed to them. When they return to their countries of origin, they have been reconditioned to seek those products and are met with hiked prices. This lifestyle change is inevitable as not every product a migrant may be used to in their home country is available in the United States . Because of the cultural diversity of the United States migrants become introduced to a wealth of products that, if available, in their home countries are significantly more expensive.

This is not a trivial matter because if these migrants develop consumer habits for specific items, than they will have challenges back at home, especially when they are unemployed and being supported by family members who have limited incomes.

As mentioned above, only Ana had an employment prospect that yielded results. As mentioned, Ana has been running her business for over a year and able to support herself and her child with the money. In addition to that income, Ana also has the benefit of receiving financial support from her partner who is still in the United States . Don Rubio was able to get employed sometime after returning. He had a career in the private sector where he was able to climb the ladder until the company downsized. His last stable employment position with a company was with the non-profit organization where I met him. Enrique did not have any immediate job prospects, but has been able to obtain some contracts sporadically since he has been back. He currently does not have stable

employment. Teresa received an employment offer within two weeks of her return to the country. I referred her to a call center and she was subsequently hired. Initially, I had reservations about notifying Teresa about the call center as my role was to merely be “the fly on the wall”. Withholding the information from the participant, however, also seemed unfair. I decided to refer her to see first-hand what the process was like for a returned migrant. The process was very straightforward and smoother than what I had anticipated. Teresa was informed that it was normally a two-interview hiring process, but they were impressed with her command of English and her prior employment experience as an office manager that they were willing to provide the conditional hire right on the spot. Teresa needed to obtain the constancia from the CAMR like the aforementioned young man from New Jersey. Teresa was able to obtain the constancia without a problem, but was informed there was a backlog at the National Registry of Persons and she would not be able to get her ID for several months. Three months later, at the time of the last interview, Teresa had still not been able to obtain her ID and never began working with the call center.

Laura tried it all. When she was deported, she still had one foot in the UNITED STATES and wanted to return as soon as possible; however, Laura did not want to sit around and attempted to use some of the money she saved in the United States to open up a business. She also wanted to set up a pulperia. At first, business was booming. She was the new spot in the neighborhood and everybody liked the new pulperia. A few months later, however, the business became old news and sales dropped dramatically. Laura had so much merchandise left over that no one wanted to buy that she shut the store down and

slowly began consuming the unsold products until they were all gone. The pulperia was not something that she had in mind upon being deported, but was a sporadic idea that came to mind when she thought of ways to make money. The lack of preparation could be the reason why this business failed and Ana's did not or it could a whole myriad of factors.

Ana and Teresa stated that they were both interested in returning to school, but neither had returned to school at the time the last interview was conducted with each participant. Ana expressed interest in becoming an attorney. She was not particularly interested in the profession, but stated that it would be the easiest, schedule wise, for her. Between running her business and caring for her child, she did not want to undertake a profession that was too time consuming. When I inquired about what school she had in mind, she stated that she wanted to go to a private school again (as she had before going to the United States) because of the many problems associated with the public university¹¹.

Despite her initial reluctance to meet her long lost sisters, Teresa was later taken in by them. While showing Teresa around the city, her sisters took her to one of the private universities as it was down the street from their house. She stated that she was interested in studying tourism. Teresa was confident that her command of English would serve her well in this industry. She really liked it. I also had the opportunity to tour one of the university's (public one) with Teresa. Again, I felt I was violating the role as a researcher by completing caseworker type activities with Teresa. I justified taking Teresa to the university by choosing it as an interview site. Teresa was immediately amused

when she saw the infrastructural differences between Honduran and United States universities. The buildings are drastically inferior in maintenance and do not provide a particularly aesthetic pleasure. In the visit to the school, Teresa asked me if we could spend some time observing one of the classes and I agreed. While walking around, Teresa spotted an English class and wanted to sit through it. Teresa and I did not enter the classroom, but were observing through the window outside. It was evident this was a rudimentary class as it was being taught entirely in Spanish which Teresa found amusing. After the class, Teresa spoke with the professor and asked why it was being taught in Spanish and how were the students going to learn. The professor informed Teresa that the students had not even been introduced to the basics of the English language and even speaking rudimentary and simple sentences would lose the majority of the class.

Family support varied between the participants. Ana's family was very supportive of her upon her return which allowed her to transition back to Honduras without major problems. Don Rubio also had the support of his family when he returned. Pito was and is still being supported for by his mother-aunt. Mr. Hernandez was a primary breadwinner in his family and still receives money from his property in the United States He receives a lot of emotional support from his parents and other family members in Honduras. As mentioned above, Teresa's sisters reached out to her and urged Teresa to move in with them. Teresa's sisters live together. They are both married to a set of brothers. The sisters do not work because their spouses make sufficient earnings so they do not have to work. They live in an affluent part of San Pedro Sula. At first, the relationship seemed to be developing well between the three sisters, but within a few weeks, Teresa's drug

problems came back. Teresa was amidst drug treatment when she was deported so this was an unresolved issue she brought across nation borders. The drug habit became too much of a problem for Teresa's sister who had minor children in the household. Teresa was asked to leave the house and subsequently returned to the neighborhood she first lived in when she landed in Honduras. This time, however, Teresa moved in with another person she met while she was living in the neighborhood. Teresa has a rental agreement where she pays rent by doing housework for the owner. After being expelled from her sisters' house, Teresa lost contact with her sister. In fact, there was a point where I was serving as a messenger between the sisters. This did not last long as Teresa became less and less reachable. The last time I saw Teresa, it was evident Teresa was under the influence of drugs. I made an agreement to meet with Teresa the next day, but I had a hunch that meeting would be our last. I appeared the next day and several times thereafter to our usual meeting sites and asked around for *la gringa* as Teresa was ironically nicknamed, but she was not there.

PHASE III: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF COUNTRIES' MEDIA

As explained in the methods section, this phase consisted of analyzing United States media (*New York Times*) and Honduran media (*La Prensa*). Newspapers articles were accessed via their respective websites. During the last 3 years the articles regarding the topic of immigration are numerous for both countries. However, when looking specifically for articles regarding reintegration or readjustment in the sending countries, the number drastically dropped. I was able to find less than a handful that spoke of the process of reintegration. As noted earlier, this topic is vastly unexplored in literature and

in media. The vast majority of the articles focused on the separation of families when they spoke of deportation, but they did not delve into the problems associated with returning home. Some articles just skipped the problem of readjustment all together and went straight to a discussion about how many deported migrants return back to the United States or attempt to return.

The sole article (in the NYT) that spent considerable attention of readjustment was referred to in the introduction of the report. It focused on the issues that the United States born children of Mexican migrants who return back home are having. While focused on one particular country, the article does illuminate the public of issues of reintegration for returned migrants, in this case children. That article, however, falls short of the focus of the current study. The adult migrants that were returning had strong ties and familiarization with Honduras so reintegration was not much a concern. The children, on the other hand, had never been to the country and barely spoke the language. For Teresa, her experience was similar to the children in the article, but even for the adult migrants who had strong ties and familiarization with the community (Laura, Pito, Mr. Hernandez, and Enrique) there were other issues that were associated with their uprooting via their international migration that made it difficult for them to reintegrate.

As noted in the literature, there has been a strong, negative stigmatization of this population, but this did not seem to be media driven, at least from the sources utilized for the analysis. Because of the negative connotations associated with the status of the *deportee*, many in the community are wary of this population. “They must have done something to have gotten deported” is a common sentiment echoed by those in the

community who are not familiar with the immigration policies of the United States. It also appeared that from my ethnographic observations and interviews with CAMR staff and volunteers, the frequency of contact with the deported migrant community seemed to diminish ill sentiments. The CAMR volunteers and other members of society who are either related to or know a deported migrant did not have negative feelings towards deported migrants.

I was made aware of one negative campaign by a corporation towards this population. When interviewing a CAMR staff member, I was informed of the Director's importance in advocating for the rights of returned migrants. The staff member recollected an instance where a large billboard ad was placed by a corporation stating that they were hiring, but not hiring *deportees*. The offensive and discriminatory ad was later removed at the behest of the Director. To my knowledge, there were no public opinion polls on the public's perception of returned migrants, so it is still largely unexplored and most evidence on the matter is purely anecdotal.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

As was evident from the research timeline and acknowledged in the methods section, this project was by no means intended to be an exhaustive research in repatriation, but rather a snapshot of the first few months in the shoes of these returned migrants. In his first press conference as the reelected official of the United States of America, President Obama again vowed to take on this issue of comprehensive immigration reform and now that his first year of his second term is nearly complete, the task has yet to be completed. Whether this promise comes to fruition may or may not be as big of an issue as to what happens to the deported. Focusing the immigration policy debate on what happens to the individuals that are in the United States, but not paying attention to what structural contexts the deported individuals are being returned to can be more detrimental than we can imagine. The study explored what happens to the individuals who are returned so that we may better assess mass deportation policies on humanitarian grounds considering that the majority of migrants we are deporting are being removed for non-criminal or minor infractions and from an economic perspective (cost-benefit analysis) of removing or re-removing (i.e. repeat unlawful reentries) individuals that we have invested significant resources on and that continue to return to the United States because they have learned to call this place their home.

I anticipated that religious institutions would play a pivotal role in the reintegrating process for these migrants back in Honduras, considering their role in immigration assimilation. However, I found no particular evidence suggesting that these institutions played such role, except for the case of Mario, who already had strong ties to the religious community. His narrative, however, may suggest that for individuals who have strong ties to religious organizations, there may be support for their reintegration. For individuals who do not have strong ties, the support will not be present as there appeared to be no outreach from the religious communities to assist the migrants. There are obvious limitations to this finding, however, considering that I did not have the opportunity to interview religious leaders or speak with elected officials about ways deportees can be reintegrated back into society.

Stigmatization may be present, but not always overt, so its effect is largely unnoticed by the media, but certainly felt by the migrants. For the migrants in this study who struggled to reintegrate, it is not clear whether their problems are necessarily associated with issues of stigmatization. Certainly other issues, like lack of family support or limited education seemed to be more indicative of lack of employment opportunities or social mobility. As noted, however, there was no strong statistical evidence about Honduran's attitudes towards migrants.

While in theory there is an institution devoted to the reintegration of these migrants, this is not an empirical reality. Above all, the CAMR is achieving major accomplishments in the advocacy for the human rights of international migrants. The observations and comments in this study are by no means intended to criticize the

CAMR, but rather the opposite. It is very possible for any organization to do great things, but to also have areas for improvement. It is the organization's ability to respond to the need for improvement that will dictate its success and longevity. With the mere promise of immigration reform and no actual signed bill, it appears that the CAMR will continue to have clients in the immediate future. The theoretical, structural and operational issues discussed in this thesis should be considered to ensure the strengthening of the organization and in turn ensure that the future migrants to be returned will have a place that will advocate for them and serve them as envisioned by the CAMR.

SOCIAL COSTS

There are obvious systemic inefficiencies within the deportation system that result in the transnational blowback and my findings are consistent with Brotherton and Barrios (2011) and Kanstroom (2012) findings concerning the aftermath of deportations. Both of those studies emphasized the theoretical problems with the United States exclusion laws and help to come to an understanding why reintegration, if not impossible, is very difficult. What they lack, however, and what this present study contributes, is the real-time ethnographic analysis of repatriation and how the United States and Hondurans governments fail concurrently in helping returned migrants become contributing members of society.

There is a theoretical problem with our approach to deportation, and that is the lack of consideration of a transnational field and identities. The *desireable* and *undesireable* dichotomy used to determine who remains in the country and who gets expelled is obsolete. We need a reconceptualization of our deportation aims which

accounts for the realities of a globalized economy and a transnational identity. In order to move towards a more humane, more efficient, more economically responsible approach to deportation, we need to recategorize migrants as *reintegrateable* and *non-reintegrateable*. While certainly not part of any immigration discussion, this approach would help us to be true to our creed of being a great nation of immigrants not a nation of great immigrant deportation.

Obama's claim that he is deporting more criminal immigrants is a half true. What the statistics show is that, yes, he is deporting more criminals than previous years, however, that statement is meant to make the United States publics and lawmakers alike believe that most of the immigrants being deported during his tenure are being deported for criminal infractions. This statement, however, is not consistent with the empirical reality that he is still deporting more individuals for non-criminal infractions than for criminal infractions. This is very troubling as he was arguably elected by immigrants and their descendants on the promise that he would stop this practice and reform our immigration system.

How do you assess the social costs of ripping families apart? What about sending young men and women who were raised in the United States to a country that they are not familiar with? In order to come to an understanding about these costs, you have to consider the stories of the migrants of these study and the other 33,000 Hondurans that were deported. What does it say about our nation, when we deport migrants when we know that we may effectively be giving death sentences? What of the American diaspora

that is being dispersed throughout Latin American, what will become of them in 5, 10, 15 years from now?

ECONOMIC COSTS

The more obvious systemic inefficiency is deporting individuals who most definitely cannot be reintegrated and will attempt to return back (and many attempt several times until they succeed). The United States spends over \$10,000 per deportee (detention, legal process, and transportation out of the country). To spend \$10,000 on individuals who have a high probability of returning and were not a threat to public safety is not only a violation of international human rights, but deliberate fiscal irresponsibility. That money could be diverted to strengthening a deportation system that accounts for the psychological, social, and economic hardships of the deportees which will enable them to successfully reintegrate into their true *homeland* (for those who have not acquired the transnational identity) and become contributing members of their society which directly affects the United States and its interest.

Considering the floating populations I discussed earlier and it is obvious why removing individuals who are contributing to both societies is not economically beneficial to anybody. As mentioned earlier, remittances are a significant (20%) portion of the Honduran GDP. When an immigrant has gainful employment in the United States and pays taxes in the United States and contributes to the Honduran economy through remittances, you have a win-win situation. Remove that immigrant from his employment and return him to a country where he is unable to secure employment and you are hurting

both countries' economies. By no means should our deportation policies be viewed as only being economically adverse to Honduras.

Consider that Honduras is the second poorest country in Latin America, the murder capital of the world and also one of our few strategic political partners in the region. These distinctions are problematic considering that our deportation practices had a historical impact on transnational crime in the region (i.e. the expansion of MS 13 and 18th Street Gangs). As the Honduran economy was crippled by the deportation blowback of the early 90s (along with other natural disasters and political events) and continues until present day with our vehement compulsion to expel migrants, instability in the area has increased. We can pretend that these problems do not hit home, but the instability of Honduras has led it to become a main transit stop for a sizeable amount of the cocaine imported to the United States (Stevenson, 2011). By any accounts this is very serious as it will continue to cause our spending on the everlasting war on drugs to increase. This cannot be viewed as an isolated example of Honduras being unable to maintain law and order, but has to be understood sociologically and historically in order to have a more nuanced discussion of the conditions of the country.

Another economic consideration surrounds the increase use and spending on *coyotes* or human traffickers. Aside from the humanitarian concerns surrounding this process, many coyotes are if not working with drug cartels along the border, are directly contributing to their economic growth when they are required to pay a safe passage fee. Many migrants become the victims of retaliation by the cartels when they refuse to pay and are either executed or kidnapped until someone can pay their ransom. What if,

however, we could reform our immigration system to include for more seasonal workers or allow more migrants to obtain visas? The migrants who pay coyotes can pay upwards to \$6000, and subsequently become enslaved to their debtors. What if we found a way to work with the Honduran government to incentivize international migrants to reinvest money from the dangerous undocumented journey, to entrepreneurial projects in the Honduras? Alternatively, this money could be used for visa applications or to fund a seasonal worker permit program that would include the lawful entry for seasonal self-employed migrants.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING UNITED STATES DEPORTATION POLICY

The present thesis' utility is significant because of the massive deportation strategies of the United States Honduras is second to Guatemala in Central America in its reception of returned migrants and the thesis serves to guide other nations who must also receive massive amounts of returned nationals. How will the governments structure their organizations or agencies responsible for receiving the returned migrants? As the CAMR envisions, their organization can be an international model for the reception of returned migrants.

Immigration policies and immigration reform discussions can no longer ignore the fact that the deportation phase of our system is abysmal. Migrants are being uprooted from established communities and then expected to reintegrate after years of having been away from the country. This approach is simply not an efficient model. Deportation or the expulsion of migrants should not be the last phase of removal. In order for the removal to have the intended effects of keeping individuals out of the country, they must

be given the tools to succeed outside of it. This study, if successful in anything, proved that this is a grossly ignored component of our policies. Like institutional changes that need to be implemented with the CAMR, the United States can implement immediate changes and long term changes that will facilitate the process of reintegration.

The immediate

- Reform the immigration system to bring the undocumented with deep ties out of the shadows and establish a path to become legalized residents.
 - While it has been part of political rhetoric for the past decade, the country can no longer afford to deport individuals who have deep ties to the United States and thus will most likely come back to the United States. This has been the failed promise of President Obama after signing executive orders to halt deportations on migrants that are not a threat to the United States.
 - The reform should also include a legal recourse for individuals with deep ties that have been removed within the last five years.
- A special office for the reintegration efforts of deported migrants needs to be established or a special commission to USAID to undertake this effort should be ordered. This is not a task that could be tabled for a future date. The United States needs to prioritize this initiative or continue to spend unnecessary dollars every year to re-deporting individuals or deporting individuals who willingly admit that they will try to go back to the United States.

- This office can fall under the purview of ICE and should ideally have a specific country representative for the top sending countries. Thorough cooperation with each sending country will be necessary for the success and mission of the special office. One of the duties should be to ensure that each migrant has a place to go and means to get there.
- Providing social services while the migrants are detained in the United States should be an important task of this office. Migrants should be assisted by having resume workshops and other workshops that will allow them to find gainful employment in the country. Because one of the tasks of the office will be to ensure that the migrants have a place to go, organizing statewide or citywide job fairs in the final destinations for the migrants will help to facilitate the reintegration process.

The 'In the Near Future'

- Long term or longitudinal investigations need to be undertaken to better understand post-deportation realities. These studies should include the top sending countries or countries that use border crossing. The studies should aim to consider the contexts of the societies the migrants are returning to as well as accounting for the particular details surrounding the migrants. It may be possible that for some returned migrants, deportation does not present issues and they are feasibly reintegrated into society. Understanding why some are better able to readjust over others will make for better policies and social programs.

- Hold higher accountability to sending countries. Much aid is given to the countries that massively export their residents. These countries need to understand that in order to receive further international and development aid, serious and measurable changes need to be implemented. One such change will be to enforce statewide accountability for public officials and agencies.

ENDNOTES

¹ Although this was not explored fully and by no means am I a trained mental health professional, during my time conducting ethnographic research in the CAMR waiting room where migrants waited to be interviewed, I noticed a significant amount of individuals who returned home with signs of some sort of psychological complication. I had the opportunity to speak with the volunteer clinical psychologist, Licenciado (Lic.) Jacinto Hernández Villafranca, who was responsible for consulting returned migrants who came back with prescribed medications. His role was to review the diagnosis and explain it to the migrants and refer them to centers in Honduras where they could seek help. Unfortunately, the mental health system in Honduras is abysmal. One of the biggest problems is that it is highly centralized and not accessible to a significant amount of vulnerable populations in Honduras. Additionally, like every other agency in the country, it is not sufficiently funded (Associated Press, 2013). As the 2008 World Health Organization report found, “The mental health care system in Honduras does not adequately address its population's need and demand for services.” (PAHO/WHO, Executive Summary, pg. 6). Although I could not find any more recent studies about the status of the system in Honduras, from what I observed, nothing has changed.

With the permission of Pito's *mama-tía*, I had the opportunity to travel with Pito to one of his quarterly visits to the psychiatric mental health facility he goes to receive

checkups and medication refills. What initially concerned me about the trip was that it was four hours away. We had to wake up at dawn to make the first bus that goes towards the capital (the hospital is located 30 minutes outside the capital). His mama-tía has allowed Pito to go by himself once, but she does not like for him to be alone as “his mind wonders around”, so she was very grateful I could accompany him. Pito’s mama-tía is in a better economic position than most Hondurans as she is the owner of a *rapidito* or small shuttle bus line. However, not every returned migrant is as fortunate as Pito to have someone with economic resources to adequately take care of them. In fact, it should not be assumed that because I mentioned she had more resources than most, that she did not have financial troubles. She had to take care of her own needs and medical issues in addition to providing for Pito. The specific medication Pito requires is expensive and it often strained his mama-tia’s budget. Nevertheless, she felt it was her unequivocal duty to care for her brother’s son.

We slept for most of the trip but as we approached the site, Pito woke me up and told me to get ready. When we got out, I immediately thought something was wrong because we were in the middle of the highway and there were no signs of hospitals nearby. Pito walked towards a pickup truck and hopped in the back. I followed him. I asked him where we were going and he told me we were going to the hospital “up the road”. That “up the road” turned out to be a three mile ride up a steep, unpaved mountainside road. Many patients who visit the hospital obtain the services of self-commissioned drivers who take them from the bus drop off location up to the hospital. They are self-employed and do not work for the hospital. We paid the driver for the

service and continued into the hospital. We waited for approximately an hour for a three minute consultation with the psychiatrist. He provided Pito with a refill prescription. Pito then went to the social worker to see if Pito would qualify to receive (financial) assistance to cover the costs of the medication. With the permission of the staff members, I observed Pito's consultation with the psychiatrist and the social worker. I may have been a detriment to Pito because even though I explained to both staff members what my role was, the social worker assumed I was financially supporting him and denied Pito of assistance. It may have been the case that there really was no aid available as he stated, but I became suspicious as he spent a couple of minutes asking me about my relationship with Pito and why I could not pay for Pito's medicine. After the hour and a half we spent at the hospital, Pito and I got on the bus and took the four hour journey back home.

The lack of recognition and attention to the frequency of cases of migrants with psychological complications (especially schizophrenia) in the deportation system is very troubling because the link between schizophrenia and immigration has been long documented by scholars studying mental disorders and immigration in the United Kingdom (see Cooper, 2005 for a background on the relationship). Lic. Jacinto actually started documenting his observations in an exploratory, non-published study. In his study, he documented the most frequent diagnoses found in returned migrants with medical prescriptions (Villafranca, 2012). Lic. Villafranca kept a statistical tally of the most relevant demographical data for the CAMR, such as: name, age, marital status, place of birth, destination, diagnosis, name of drug used, phone number and the referral that was made to various hospitals and health centers in the country as well as the type of

treatment they need according to their disease (Villafranca, 2012). In the three month period of his study, he collected information on 163 migrants. The most revealing statistic was that of the approximately 16% of migrants in the sample who were diagnosed with some form of psychological complication (namely: chronic major depressive episode; mental and behavioral disorders due to psychoactive substance use and alcohol; anxiety disorder(s); and psychotic disorders). These sorts of numbers cannot be ignored and deportation policy needs to be more sensitive to these startling figures.

² Alamo, Jr., H. L. (2011, October 27). The great deporter. *Hispanically Speaking News*. Retrieved from <http://www.hispanicallyspeakingnews.com/hsn-network/details/the-great-deporter-hector-luis-alamojr/11224/>

The above citation provides access to the entire article that has been reprinted below with the written permission of the author which can be found in Appendix I. I employed this purposeful tactic of reprinting the article to provide the reader immediate access to a historical discussion concerning the political economics behind United States immigration policies that is noteworthy but beyond the scope of my research. It is, however an excellent supplementary piece to a broader understanding of the immigration conundrum.

The Great Deporter

by Hector Luis Alamo, Jr.

October 27, 2011 | by HS News Staff

“As a young progressive Latino studying ethnic relations at the University of Illinois-Chicago, no one was more ecstatic than I when in 2008, Barack Obama – Chicago’s hometown hero touted as Lincoln incarnate – became the first Black president of the United States . It seemed like the idyllic end to eight years of what many were criticizing as the most conservative period in American politics in decades. For an overwhelming majority of Latinos, who voted for the young Illinois politician by a margin of two-to-one, his promise to push for immigration reform legislation during his first year in office was the object of immense jubilation within the community.

Then the deepest recession since the 1930s hit the nation in 2008. By the time the newly-elected president took office in January 2009, the country had lost 2.6 million jobs and unemployment had climbed to 7.6 percent, up 2.7 points since the previous January. The financial crisis passed on by his predecessor forced the untested leader to dedicate much of his first year in office to steering the nation away from the precipice of a depression, and so the plans for immigration reform were shelved.

Due to figures showing that the economy has stabilized somewhat and even begun to expand since 2009, many economists and officials have declared the Great Recession officially over. It’s a commonly held belief among many Americans, however, that the recession is not yet over, and some are even alarmed by the threat of a double-dip recession in the coming months. And while the president has been able to accomplish some of his campaign goals during such tough economic times – health care reform, Wall

Street reform, credit card reform, the repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell, the killing of Osama bin Laden, the appointment of two women (one a Latina) to the Supreme Court – immigration reform still remains an elusive target for Obama and progressives.

Part of this is due to the ongoing recession – or whatever it is the country is experiencing now. The nation's immigration policy has always been greatly influenced by its economic stability going as far back as at least the 1870s. At the time, Americans were in the grips of a 65-month recession that began in 1873. In 1878, just a year before the recession ended, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, intended to suspend all Chinese immigration to the United States . (The Chinese were a significant part of the labor force in many of the Western states.) The bill was first vetoed by President Rutherford Hayes. When the nation was hit by another recession in 1882, this time President Chester A. Arthur signed the bill into law.

This pattern of targeting immigrants during economic hard times continued into the twentieth century, when Southern and Eastern Europeans, and then Mexicans, were targeted for exclusion or deportation. When an 18-month deflationary recession struck the post-war economy beginning in 1920, Congress passed the Immigration Restriction Act. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, nearly half a million individuals of Mexican descent – citizens and immigrants alike – were removed from the country through an immigration policy known today euphemistically as “the Mexican Repatriation.”

The flip side to this pattern is the periods of economic expansion wherein immigration policy has loosened in an attempt to further fuel growth. Three periods just

within the last century come to mind. The first was the booming economic growth of the Roaring Twenties. Although Congress did pass the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924, the law placed no restrictions on immigration from Latin America – something that is virtually unthinkable less than a century later. (At that time, the undesirable immigrant came, not from south of the border, but from across the pond.)

Beginning in World War II, the United States experienced a period of rapid economic expansion that lasted until the 1960s and was fueled by the arrival of what President Dwight Eisenhower termed the “military-industrial complex.” During this time, immigrants from Mexico and Puerto Rico, and refugees around the world fleeing post-war upheavals, flooded into America. It began with the Bracero Program, instituted during the UNITED STATES ’ first year in the Second World War, which allowed Mexican workers to enter the country and work on a temporary basis. Then Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act in 1953, including non-Europeans under refugee status. A mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland defined much of the country’s immigration trends in the 15 years following World War II, and today there are more Puerto Ricans living on the mainland than do on the island.

The most progressive immigration reform undertaken by an administration in recent decades was actually spearheaded by a Republican president: Ronald Reagan. Once he resurrected the economy after nearly a decade and a half of crisis and placed it back on the path to expansion, Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which, most notably, granted full amnesty to any undocumented resident of the United States who had entered before 1982. With one fell swoop of his pen, Reagan – the

godfather of Christian conservatism – legalized nearly three million illegal immigrants living in the country.

The first decade of the new millennium experienced modest economic growth, and so the nation witnessed some bipartisan efforts undertaken by Congress and President George W. Bush to reform immigration law. But since the recession, plans for any reform are off the table. Nevertheless, today's anti-immigrant sentiment is not entirely new; it's simply history repeating itself.

Besides the recession and America's tendency to villainize immigrants when jobs are scarce, there is something relatively new that is also keeping Obama from passing immigration reform: an unprecedented level of Republican obstructionism. While Republicans control the House of Representatives and therefore are able to, by their sheer numbers, block any Democratic legislation, the main tool of Senate Republicans – who currently have a 47-member minority – is the filibuster.

Traditionally, members are allowed to address the floor of the Senate on any topic of their choosing and for any amount of time. Until recently, this tactic was used from time to time as a way to delay or prevent voting on a given piece of legislation. Rules state that a filibuster can be ended with a three-fifths vote by members. The rules regarding Senate procedure – like those concerning the filibuster – require only a simple majority vote to be changed. Current Senate rules, however, allow even potential changes to the Senate rules to be filibustered. This means that, in order to change or eliminate the filibuster, 60 senators would need to vote for it. As I pointed out above, there are only 53 senators in the Democratic caucus, so the filibuster is not likely to change any time soon.

Since 2006, Senate Republicans have used the filibuster – or, more commonly, the threat of a filibuster – to block many Democratic initiatives from even reaching the floor for a vote.

As Senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) wrote for UNITED STATES News & World Report back in March 2010:

“[If] 41 senators [do] not like a bill, no matter how simple or noncontroversial, no matter that it may have been supported by a majority of the House, a majority of the Senate, a majority of the American people, and the president, that bill [is] blocked from even coming before the Senate for a final vote.

In other words, thanks to the filibuster, even when a party has been resoundingly repudiated at the polls, that party retains the power to prevent the majority from legislating and effectively governing.”

Republican intransigence and its obstructive use of the filibuster are the main obstacles facing progressive immigration reform today. Returning the House of Representatives to Democratic control and giving the Democrats at least a 60-member majority in the Senate could theoretically ensure the passage of fairer immigration laws, but the chances of any progressive wave sweeping the nation in the fall of 2012 seem near nil at the moment.

Still, nothing can account for the Obama administration’s record-breaking deportations during the past two and a half years. FRONTLINE recently-aired the first part of its new film *Lost in Detention*, in which Celia Muñoz, top adviser on immigration

in the Obama White House, defends the administration's 400,000 deportations in 2011 – a single-year record – by stating:

“As long as Congress gives us the money to deport 400,000 people a year, that's what the administration's going to do. That's our obligation under the law. ... Congress passed a law, and Congress appropriates funds to implement that law, and the executive branch's job is to enforce it. How we do it matters a lot, but the president can't say to the Congress, 'I'm not going to bother to enforce this particular law, because these are really compelling people.' That's not how democracy works.”

At first glance, this seems like a strong defense of the mass deportation agenda Obama has strangely adopted over the last couple years. The president – as the Constitution outlines – as the head of the executive branch, cannot make laws, only enforce them. And it's true: For a president to refuse to comply with the laws of Congress would normally seem like corruption of representative government.

But Obama has already refused to comply with acts of Congress on various other issues. In 2009, the Department of Justice announced it would end raids on marijuana dispensaries, a move which was in line with one of Obama's early promises to federally decriminalize marijuana. (The Obama administration recently stepped up enforcement of marijuana laws by reinstating the raids.) Earlier this year, the DOJ also said it would stop defending the constitutionality of the Defense of Marriage Act, a law prohibiting the federal government from legally recognizing gay marriages. Then in March, the administration put a hold on deportation cases involving gay couples, an act which worked against laws passed by Congress concerning both immigration and gay marriage.

Clearly, the Obama White House doesn't feel too beholden to its constitutional duty to carry out laws passed by Congress.

As the interviewees in the FRONTLINE special articulate, President Obama thought that by toughening his stance on immigration he could convince Republicans to work with him on immigration reform. That's yet to happen, and in the meantime, Obama keeps deporting more and more individuals and is left looking like a hardliner on immigration.

Some immigrant advocates are calling for an end to all deportations and complete amnesty to all of the 11 million illegal immigrants living in this country. I and many progressives I know – including some undocumented citizens – aren't asking as much from the president. We and members of Congress like Illinois Senator Dick Durbin and Illinois Congressman Luis Gutiérrez only ask that President Obama and the Department of Homeland Security stick to their August memo, which stated that the administration would only deport serious offenders and threats to security. We have yet to see this new policy implemented.

The Obama administration needs to stop carrying out such a conservative policy on immigration, especially if it doesn't agree with such a policy. Obama's approval rating among Latinos now hovers just under 50 percent, down from 60 percent as recently as January. If the president fails to respond to the plight of the Latino community and the vast majority of the Democratic base that also don't agree with Obama's deportation policy, his approval rating could sink even lower. In the worst case scenario, Obama could lose the White House over his immigration policy.

We Latinos may understand why Obama has yet to pass comprehensive immigration reform as he promised he would, but we refuse to forgive him for his continued assault on the immigrant community.

In 2007 Hector Luis Alamo, Jr co-founded an online blog, YoungObservers.blogspot.com, and has contributed regularly to the site since then. From December 2010 to May 2011, Hector was Opinions Editor for UIC's Chicago Flame. In April 2011, he became a regular contributor for Hispanically Speaking News. Hector has a B.A. in history from the University of Illinois at Chicago, where his departmental concentration was on ethnic relations in the United States ."

³ As described by the CIA World Factbook:

“Honduras is one of the poorest countries in Latin America and has the world's highest murder rate. More than half of the population lives in poverty and per capita income is one of the lowest in the region. Poverty rates are higher among rural and indigenous people and in the south, west, and along the eastern border than in the north and central areas where most of Honduras' industries and infrastructure are concentrated. The increased productivity needed to break Honduras' persistent high poverty rate depends, in part, on further improvements in educational attainment. Although primary-school enrollment is near 100%, educational quality is poor, the drop-out rate and grade repetition remain high, and teacher and school accountability is low.

Honduras' population growth rate has slowed since the 1990s, but it remains high at nearly 2% annually because the birth rate averages approximately three children per

woman and more among rural, indigenous, and poor women. Consequently, Honduras' young adult population - ages 15 to 29 - is projected to continue growing rapidly for the next three decades and then stabilize or slowly shrink. Population growth and limited job prospects outside of agriculture will continue to drive emigration. Remittances represent about a fifth of GDP.”

This is merely a demographic profile authored by the CIA, but at best it is a very generous assessment of Honduras as a nation and its shortcomings. While outside of the analysis of this study, Honduras and other nations like it can be termed as *illusory*. They are no different than the windmills that represented the imaginary enemies of Don Quixote in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*. Like Don Quixote, the United States and the world community, can pretend that Honduras is really a nation state, but a thorough examination of the society reveals something quite opposite. At face value, the nation has everything a modern state has: government(s), geopolitical boundaries, citizenry, etc. However, when one explores how these various institutions and agents operate, a different reality is revealed...the reality of an illusion. Corruption is so rampant that it has become a social fact in Honduran society. Educational institutions, hospitals, and law enforcement agencies are abysmal and are not held accountable. This is not to suggest that Hondurans are disillusioned or removed from reality, but rather that the country as an institution has reached a point where it merely gives the illusion of being in operation to its citizenry and the international community, where in reality, this could not be further from the truth. This discussion, however, is better supported by thorough empirical proof of the gross realities of the state's operation

and accompanied by a theoretical operationalization of the concept of *illusory states*. Unfortunately, gathering that proof and expanding on the theoretical concept is beyond the goal of the investigation. This academic exercise is crucial to the understanding of the realities of modern day developing nation-states.

⁴ As explained by the Legal Information Institute of Cornell University Law School at:

http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/commerce_clause

“The Commerce Clause refers to Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 of the UNITED STATES Constitution, which gives Congress the power “to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.”

The Constitution enumerates certain powers for the federal government; the Tenth Amendment provides that any powers that are not enumerated in the Constitution are reserved for the states. Congress has often used the Commerce Clause to justify exercising legislative power over the activities of states and their citizens, leading to significant and ongoing controversy regarding the balance of power between the federal government and the states.

The Commerce Clause has historically been viewed as both a grant of congressional authority and as a restriction on states’ powers to regulate. The “dormant” Commerce Clause refers to the prohibition, implied in the Commerce Clause, against states passing legislation that discriminates against or excessively burdens interstate commerce. The meaning of the word “commerce” is a source of much of the controversy. The Constitution does not explicitly define the word. Some argue that it refers simply to

trade or exchange, while others claim that the founders intended to describe more broadly commercial and social intercourse between citizens of different states. Thus, the interpretation of "commerce" affects the appropriate dividing line between federal and state power.

The Commerce Clause has been used to justify the use of federal laws in matters that do not on their face implicate interstate trade or exchange. Early on, the Supreme Court ruled that the power to regulate interstate commerce encompassed the power to regulate interstate navigation. *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 22 UNITED STATES 1 (1824). In 1905, the Court used the Commerce Clause to halt price fixing in the Chicago meat industry, when it ruled that Congress had authority to regulate the local meat market under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It found that business done even at a purely local level could become part of a continuous “current” of commerce that involved the interstate movement of goods and services. *Swift and Company v. United States*, 196 UNITED STATES 375 (1905). Despite these decisions, the Commerce Clause could still effectively be used to limit the federal government’s power, as the early years of the New Deal demonstrated.

With the advent of the New Deal, the powers of the federal government expanded into realms—such as regulation of in-state industrial production and worker hours and wages—that would not necessarily be considered “commerce” under the definitions set forth in *Gibbons* and *Swift*. As a result, prior to 1937, the Court exercised its power to strike down New Deal legislation as applied to certain plaintiffs. It found in *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. US* that the National Industrial Recovery Act was unconstitutional as

applied to a poultry seller who bought and sold chicken only within the state of New York. 295 UNITED STATES 495 (1935). The Court also found the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act unconstitutional. *Carter v. Carter Coal Corp.*, 298 UNITED STATES 238 (1936). Following his reelection, President Roosevelt responded to these attacks on his legislation by proposing what is known as the “Court-packing plan,” which would have expanded the size of the Supreme Court from nine to up to fifteen justices. Although the plan was defeated and the composition of the Court soon changed, the proposal was credited with changing the Court’s view on New Deal legislation. Beginning with the landmark case of *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, the Court recognized broader grounds upon which the Commerce Clause could be used to regulate state activity—most importantly, that activity was commerce if it had a “substantial economic effect” on interstate commerce or if the “cumulative effect” of one act could have an effect on such commerce. 301 UNITED STATES 1 (1937).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregation and prohibited discrimination against African-Americans, was passed under the Commerce Clause in order to allow the federal government to charge non-state actors with Equal Protection violations, which it had been unable to do up to that point because of the Fourteenth Amendment’s limited application to state actors. The Supreme Court found that Congress had the authority to regulate a business that served mostly interstate travelers in *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States*. 379 UNITED STATES 241 (1964). It also ruled that the federal civil rights legislation could be used to regulate a restaurant, *Ollie’s Barbeque*, a family-owned restaurant in Birmingham, Alabama because, although

most of Ollie's customers were local, the restaurant served food which had previously crossed state lines. *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 UNITED STATES 274 (1964).

In 1995, the Rehnquist Court again restricted the interpretation of the Commerce Clause in *Lopez v. United States* . 514 UNITED STATES 549 (1995). The defendant in this case was charged with carrying a handgun to school in violation of the federal Gun Free School Zones Act of 1990. The defendant argued that the federal government had no authority to regulate firearms in local schools, while the government claimed that this fell under the Commerce Clause since possession of a firearm in a school zone would lead to violent crime, thereby affecting general economic conditions. The Chief Justice rejected this argument, and held that Congress only has the power to regulate the channels of commerce, the instrumentalities of commerce, and action that substantially affects interstate commerce. He declined to further expand the Commerce Clause, writing that “[t]o do so would require us to conclude that the Constitution's enumeration of powers does not presuppose something not enumerated, and that there never will be a distinction between what is truly national and what is truly local. This we are unwilling to do.”

The federal government's power was further restricted in the landmark case of *Morrison v. United States* , which overturned the Violence Against Women Act for its reliance on the Commerce Clause in making domestic violence against women a federal crime. 529 UNITED STATES 598 (2000). Taken together, *Lopez* and *Morrison* have made clear that while the Court is still willing to recognize a broad interpretation of the

Commerce Clause, if it does not find activity substantial enough to constitute interstate commerce it will not accept Congress's stated reason for federal regulation.”

⁵ As mentioned in the Phase I section, CAMR only serves adult deportees. The second institution which serves migrants is IHNFA, its Spanish acronym for the Instituto Hondureño de la Niñez y la Familia (The Honduran Institution of Youth and Family). This is the country’s agency in charge of family and children services. Within the agency, there is a department focused strictly in providing services and reuniting returned or deported migrant children to their families. It is important to note that as an agency, IHNFA’s role in Honduras is much broader than providing the immediate attention to the returned migrants, but only this role is of importance to the researcher in the present study. After approximately a month’s delay, I was granted access by the Deputy General Secretary to recruit the children and families that would be part of the study. The letter seeking permission to conduct this research was approved and stamped by the Deputy General Secretary of IHNFA and is included in the Appendix.

While a major research hurdle was cleared by obtaining the permission from the appropriate personnel, I was faced with another barrier that I was unable to overcome in the allotted research time frame, the obstruction of the gatekeeper. The access was granted to recruit the migrants by officials in IHNFA headquarters in the country’s capital; however, it was not in the headquarters but rather in the regional office in San Pedro Sula where the migrant children and their families were served. It was in this same regional office that I was unable to come into agreement with the gatekeeper, the regional

office administrator. The minor children immigrants and the case study of IHNFA in turn had to be dropped from the research project. This, however, was not a straightforward decision by me and was done with great reluctance as it consisted of the primary driver for the research project...what is happening to the deported Honduran children? For a more detailed account about the struggle with the gatekeeper, please refer to the corresponding endnote.

Prior to leaving to conduct the field work in Honduras, I was under the misinformed impression that only one institution was responsible for returned migrants in Honduras. It was not until actually starting the internship and speaking with CAMR staff, that I was made aware that deported migrant children are serviced by IHNFA. This created a slight logistical problem me, but not one that could not be easily overcome, or so I thought. I was able to obtain a referral by one of the CAMR staff to speak with a corresponding IHNFA staff member. A meeting was set up and I was on my way to obtaining access to the minor children deportees.

The initial meeting with an IHNFA staff member was rather present. The staff member, although visibly overwhelmed by a heavy caseload was very patient and supportive of my endeavors. She spent approximately 40 minutes of her time for the impromptu meeting and provided excellent guidance for the author. The only problem was that the staff member was no longer in a position to directly assist me with the project. The staff member confessed to me that she had recently been demoted in the organization as what she believed, retaliation to her memo regarding program deficiencies and areas for improvement. The woman informed me that it was not her

attempt to make her supervisor look bad, but she really believed the institution could be better if certain problems were addressed. The report was applauded by the upper management, but interpreted as an attack by her direct supervisor whom demoted the woman and promoted a young lady whom the woman had mentored. The woman agreed to refer me to her mentee to try to arrange an agreement to conduct the research program.

When I met the young woman who held the position previously held by the first IHNFA representative I met, I was immediately surprised by her age. I had heard about the troubles the younger members of Honduran society have in obtaining positions, especially mid-level positions. Nevertheless, I overcame my shock and explained the research project to the young woman, but I immediately sensed reluctance. The young woman informed me that she would have to notify her supervisor, but also informed me that she did not believe my research request would be approved. Being denied was something that I anticipated prior to the research project, but I maintained a positive demeanor and hoped for the best. I did, however, take the opportunity to ask she believed it would get denied and she informed me that there had been a recent incident where an “American research company” conducted field work in which a negative evaluation was given to IHNFA. I informed the young woman that the study was less focused on IHNFA as an institution, but rather the reality of the post-deportation experience. This seemed to put the young woman a little more at ease and she agreed to forward the request up the chain of command and get back to me. We exchanged contact information and the meeting concluded.

A week and a half went by and I still had not heard from the young woman. I decided to send a follow-up email and did not receive a reply. Then, I proceeded to call the young woman who informed me she had still not heard back from her supervisor. Two additional weeks went by and still no update. I did not want to overwhelm the young woman, but I also had to be mindful of my research time frame. I proceeded to visit her in person, but was unsuccessful. When I finally reached the young woman, she still informed me that she had not been updated. I decided to go up the chain of command personally. I asked for her supervisor's contact information but the young woman refused saying that she was not allowed to give out such information. She did agree, however, to give me the location of the agency's headquarters (Tegucigalpa). She did not provide a phone number because she stated she did not have that office's phone number. By this time, I felt as if the young woman was personally stone walling the research project so I took the four hour drive from my location in Honduras and went to the headquarters.

At the headquarters, I was treated with high esteem and respect. The representatives were very supportive of the research project. One of the representatives was an attorney who was the superior of the young woman's supervisor. The attorney suggested I speak with the General Secretary or the Deputy Secretary. The General Secretary was not available but after waiting a few hours, the Deputy met with me. I explained the research project and my time limitations. The Deputy immediately signed the request and commended me for the research project. I thanked the Deputy and the attorney and returned to San Pedro Sula. Prior to returning, the attorney took the time to personally contact the young woman and tell her to assist me with whatever request I had.

When I returned to the regional office later that week, the young woman was still unreachable. After weeks of brief conversations and hearing excuses from the young woman about her lack of availability, I decided to return to the headquarters to speak with the Deputy. Like the first time, I was treated very well at the headquarters. This time, the Deputy personally contacted the young woman and asked her to expedite the author's request. The young woman agreed to comply. When I returned to the regional office, however, the same problems occurred. After consulting with my research advisor, it was decided that because of the limited time remaining for conducting research in the field, it was best that I devote my focus and effort to the adult deportees and in turn omit research regarding deported Honduran minors.

While this component of the research project had to be dropped because of the logistical reasons stated above, it remains an important part of the deportee story and a portion necessary for a better understanding of the transnational blowback. While I was not able to observe IHNFA from within and as I told the young woman, neither was it my research interest to do so, I did come across the institutional struggles that IHNFA faces while I was conducting the content analysis to obtain a better understanding of perceptions of deportees. La Prensa and various Honduran newspapers widely report about the high turnover of IHNFA directors, poor institutional infrastructure, lack of funding, and overall lack of capacity to do the work it was established to do. It appears that the negative report of the "American research company" may not have been unfounded. To anyone who has visited the country, however, this comes with no surprise as it is not uncommon to see homeless children begging for money or working in the

streets in Honduras' major urban centers. This institution was established precisely to protect these children, however it is not able to meet its basic mission and address the needs of these neglected children. This is not an isolated problem of a Honduran government agency, in fact many, if not most, Honduran government agencies are highly inefficient and ineffective. For a more elaborate discussion regarding this problem refer to the "Illusory nation" end note.

6 See CAMR data

7 A committee of Honduran banks created an initiative to donate kits to returned migrants. From what I observed, the kits were donated approximately every 3 weeks. When the kits were donated, a representative from each of the banks in the committee came to the CAMR to personally hand the kits to the deportees. After the handed the kits, they took time to welcome the migrants and market the various bank accounts that may appease migrants. My initial thought was that the bank representatives just came as a PR stunt; however, one of the staff members informed me that it was more because of a distrust between institutions in the country. The bank representatives wanted to ensure that the kits were actually being delivered to the deportees and not "lost".

8 This step is actually not announced to the migrants as there is fear that migrants will, as in the past, lie about their need for travel fare and cause the designated travel fare funds to deplete without being distributed equitably. This step is done through a clandestine step after the interview. The migrants are given a small "ticket" which signifies that they

have completed the interview. On this ticket, CAMR volunteers write down, during their interview, the migrants' claims about whether or not they have returned with money. There is a volunteer immediately outside the interview room awaiting to review this ticket and direct eligible migrants (those who stated during the interview that they returned with no funds or very limited funds which will not be enough to travel to their destination) to a backroom where they are provided with travel fare by CAMR officials. If there is an indication in the ticket that the migrant claimed he brought back money, they are directed to the exit out of the building where another volunteer is standing by to check, one last time, if the migrant completed the interview. According to CAMR officials and volunteers, some returned migrants who have been returned more than once actually know about this and state during the interview that they have no money. While I cannot say empirically how often this (the deception by migrants occurs) I witnessed migrants state that they came back from the UNITED STATES with no money but only to proceed to the waiting area outside of the CAMR and exchange their dollars with the cambiadores or foreign currency exchangers/money changers.

9 The following article by the Associated Press (retrieved from Foxnews.com) is an illustration of the many financial problems the country is dealing with and why this will not be a realistic solution.

Associated Press. (2013, January 24). Honduran government in chaos can't pay its bills, neglects basic services. Retrieved from

<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/01/24/honduran-government-in-chaos-cant-pay-its-bills-neglects-basic-services/>

Honduran government in chaos can't pay its bills, neglects basic services

Published January 24, 2013

Associated Press

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS – Street surveillance cameras in one of the world's most dangerous cities were turned off last week because Honduras' government hasn't paid millions of dollars it owes. The operator that operates them is now threatening to suspend the police radio service as well.

Teachers have been demonstrating almost every day because they haven't been paid in six months, while doctors complain about the shortage of essential medicines, gauze, needles and latex gloves.

This Central American country has been on the brink of bankruptcy for months, as lawmakers put off passing a government budget necessary to pay for basic government services. The country is also grappling with \$5 billion in foreign debt, a figure equivalent to last year's entire government budget.

The financial crisis adds to a general sense that Honduras is a country in meltdown, as homicides soar and drug trafficking overruns its cities and coasts.

"There are definitely patients who haven't been able to get better because of this problem," said Dr. Lilian Discua, a pediatrician. "An epileptic who doesn't take his medicine will have a crisis. This is happening."

Many streets are riddled with potholes, and cities aren't replacing stolen manhole covers. Soldiers aren't receiving their regular salaries, while the country's education secretary says 96 percent of schools close several days every week or month because of teacher strikes.

Some government offices must close because they don't have ink to take fingerprints. The country's national registration agency has been shuttered for 10 days because of unpaid salaries.

"In many ways, the state is no longer functioning," said Robert Naiman, policy director of Just Foreign Policy, a Washington D.C.-based organization aimed at reforming UNITED STATES foreign policy. "If they keep not paying their soldiers, those soldiers are probably going to stop being soldiers and maybe take some other action."

Experts say a mix of government corruption, election-year politics and a struggling economy has fueled the crisis.

The local chapter of the international watchdog group Transparency International issued a study in December that alleged some lawmakers had spent money on plane tickets to a tennis tournament in Spain, Mother's Day gifts and other personal expenses, the report found.

The study's author, Ludin Ayala, said the country's Congress is the most expensive in Central America, although Honduras is known as the second-poorest country in Latin America.

"The Congress doesn't have rules for making these expenses, which are at the discretion of the (legislative) president," Ayala said. "I don't know if it's shameful, sad or disgusting that in the National Congress, there doesn't exist any type of transparency."

Former presidential candidate and legislator Olban Valladares said much of the public money has indeed gone into campaigns ahead of November's elections, in which the president, mayors and 128 congressional representatives will be elected.

"Sadly, we have a great number of candidates who are state officials and their tendency is to abuse state resources that they control to fund their campaigns," Valladares said.

Congress President Juan Orlando Hernandez said that ousted former President Manuel Zelaya and his allies created much of the current mess.

"They are the ones who have left us today with an enormous debt ... leaving us a country that's unsafe, indebted and isolated in the world," Hernandez said in a news release.

Although Congress goes on recess Friday, lawmakers have only partially passed a budget so that the government can pay some of its employees and contractors. That leaves undecided the budgets of autonomous institutions such as utilities and the port authority.

Instead, lawmakers are discussing proposals already declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and don't deal with the immediate financial problems. On Tuesday, for example, Congress approved a law that would allow any elected official to be impeached.

Hugo Noe Pino, an economist at Honduras' Central American Institute for Fiscal Studies, noted that Congress approved the sale of an additional \$750 million in bonds last November without resolving any of the core budget issues.

"In this political year, the state resources can be used for political campaigns," Pino said. "If they haven't discussed the budget, why are they approving the financing (through bonds) of a budget that doesn't exist?"

Financial fraud isn't limited to the government. Tax evasion, for example, is widespread, with the government missing out on an estimated 43 percent of revenue due, said Mario Lopez Steiner, Honduras's tax director.

"The culture of tax evasion is incredible in Honduras," he said.

The institutional paralysis has also spread to the justice system. The Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court has not met for a month and a half because President Porfirio Lobo accused the magistrates of being part of a conspiracy to overthrow him.

Congress, whose majority belongs to Lobo's party, dismissed several judges without an impeachment trial. Meanwhile, the fired judges continue to enjoy the use of their offices and cars with drivers, even as other government employees go unpaid.

Because Congress hasn't replaced the dismissed judges, no one can rule on their appeal to be reinstated because the court's other justices have recused themselves from the case.

"Public power has been turned upside down in a brazen way," said Oscar Cruz, a former prosecutor in charge of defending the constitution.

The government and the ruling bloc have at least one idea to solve the fiscal crunch: They've introduced a bill that would create the country's first sales tax while eliminating tax breaks for companies that import goods. Such firms make up about 70 sectors of the economy, among them fast food franchises, airlines, power generation companies, agribusinesses and companies that sell spare parts for machinery and heavy vehicles.

The bill's supporters predict it will generate an additional \$1.2 billion in revenue, which would double the government's yearly tax intake.

Businesses such as fast food franchises have long been exempt from taxes because they supposedly promote tourism even though many of them "are neither in tourist zones nor do they attract tourism," said Lopez Steiner.

Such tax breaks have been "approved as payments for political favors and as a result of the financing of election campaigns, which are always linked to tax favors," he said.

Legislators have so far suspended all tax exemptions for 60 days while a commission reviews whether to reinstate them.

Some families have survived the government vacuum with remittances sent by some of the 1 million Hondurans living in the United States . Their money equals 19 percent of the country's gross domestic product, according to the World Bank.

Yet it isn't enough for government workers such as teacher Daniel Espunda, who have lost paychecks to the political crisis.

"Now they owe me five months of salary. January will be the sixth I haven't been paid," Espunda said. "No one says anything about when the payday will come."

¹⁰ As used in this paper, the term self-deportee is a misnomer. The more appropriate term would be “returned migrant”, however I use the latter interchangeably with “deportee” so to not confuse the reader I borrowed the term’s usage from the 2012 Presidential Republican Candidate, Mitt Romney. In various speeches, Romney talked about enacting an immigration policy that would make it difficult for undocumented migrants to remain in the country so they would have no option but to “self-deport”. This usage of the term could not be more further from the reality of the deportation process. As reviewed in the literature section, the deportation process is a very traumatic process that has very serious implications for individuals and state-actors. To use the term dismissively in this manner, demonstrates the lack of understanding surrounding the system and the process. No individual would elect to “self-deport” considering what the process entails.

11 Revisit endnote iii

APPENDIX A



Office of Research Subject Protections

4400 University Drive, MSN 4C6, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-4121; Fax: 703-993-9590

Human Subjects Review Board (HSRB)

New Submission Checklist

To avoid delay in the processing of HSRB applications, please ensure that the following are included in your application. Applications cannot be reviewed until all of the following checklist items are submitted. Applications can be reviewed without the following items, but if they are applicable to the study, they must be submitted before approval can be given.

Yes	No	NA	Item
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Application with ALL sections completed (including check boxes on first page)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Application signed by Principal Investigator
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CITI Training completed by all researchers including research assistants
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Proposed Consent Form (See Template Consent and Consent Guidelines)– All instructional language removed, written at the appropriate reading level for participants
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Proposed Assent Form (If minors are involved) – Written at the appropriate reading level for the age group (Contact ORSP for a sample of a 6 th grade Assent Form)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Instrumentation – All surveys, questionnaires, standardized assessment tools, interview questions, focus group questions/prompts or other instruments of data collection
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Recruitment Materials – Letters to potential participants, advertisements, flyers, listserve postings, emails, brochures, SONA postings, telephone scripts, presentation scripts, etc.
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grant Applications – If the research is funded, include the grant application as submitted to the funding agency (Please note that the HSRB application title must match the grant application title.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Debriefing Form – If the study proposes to use deception or incomplete information to participants
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural Contact Information – If the study is being conducted outside the US, the HSRB must inquire about the conduct of research in that country. Submit the name and contact information of an individual who can provide that information.
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research in Mason Classrooms – Submit permission from the instructors
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research in School Systems – Submit approval letter from the school district Human Subjects Review Board
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research in Universities – Submit approval letter from the University Human Subjects Review Board
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research in Hospitals – Submit approval letter and approved consent document from the hospital Human Subjects Review Board
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research in Institutions/Organizations without Human Subject Review Boards – Submit permission letter from the institution/organization
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	If George Mason is the primary recipient of funding, submit Human Subjects Review Board approval from subcontractors conducting human subjects research
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Psychology Department – Sign off by the Chair of the Department
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	School of Management (SOM) – Submit SOM routing form with all approval signatures

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other Mason Committee Oversight– If your study involves the use of blood or other human biological specimens, submit Institutional Biosafety Committee approval. If your study involves sources of ionizing radiation or Xray producing devices, submit Radiation Safety Committee approval.
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APPENDIX A.2

George Mason University Human Subjects Review Board

Application for Human Subjects Research Review

Federal Regulations and George Mason University policy require that all research involving humans as subjects be reviewed and approved by the University Human Subjects Review Board (HSRB). Any person, (GMU faculty member, staff member, student, or other person) wanting to engage in human subject research at or through George Mason University must receive written approval from the HSRB before conducting research. Approval of this project by the HSRB only signifies that the procedures adequately protect the rights and welfare of the subjects and should not be taken to indicate University approval to conduct the research.

Please complete this cover page AND provide the Protocol information requested on the back of this form. Forward this form and all supporting documents to the Office of Research Subject Protections, MS 4C6. **If you have any questions please feel free to contact ORSP at 703-993-4121.**

Required Data	Principal Investigator (Must be Faculty)	Co-Investigator/Student Researcher*
Name	John Dale	Hansel A. Aguilar Avila
Department	SOAN	
Mail Stop	B314, Robinson Hall	
Phone		(202) 657-4416
E-mail	jdale@gmu.edu	haguilar@gmu.edu

Project Title: Los Deportados: A Snapshot of Repatriation of Honduran Nationals in the 21st Century			
Type of Project	<input type="checkbox"/> Faculty/Staff Research	<input type="checkbox"/> Doctoral Dissertation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Masters Thesis
<input type="checkbox"/> Student Project (Specify Grad or Under Grad)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other {Specify}		

*Student researchers should provide a mailing address rather than campus address.
Additional researchers should be listed on a separate page.

I certify that the information provided for this project is correct and that no other procedures will be used in this protocol. I agree to conduct this research as described in the attached supporting documents. I will request and receive approval from the HSRB for changes prior to implementing these changes. I will comply with the HSRB policy for the conduct of ethical research. I will be responsible for ensuring that the work of my co-investigator(s)/student researcher(s) complies with this protocol.

<p>VULNERABLE POPULATION:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Fetuses/Abortuses/Embryos</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pregnant women</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Prisoners</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Minors</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Mentally disabled</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Emotionally disabled</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Physically disabled</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Undergrad student pool (Psyc/SOM)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other:</p>	<p>PERSON IDENTIFIABLE DATA:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Audio taping</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Video taping</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Data collected via email</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Data collected via internet</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Confidential electronic records</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Coded data linked to individuals</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Human biological materials – BioSafety Project #</p>	<p>RESEARCH DESIGN:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Questions on harm to self or others</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Questions on illegal behavior</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Deception</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Human/computer interaction</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Collection and/or analysis of secondary data</p> <p>FUNDING:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>Source</p> <p>OSP Proposal # _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>(If yes, please attach a copy of the grant application)</p>
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ABSTRACT

1. Describe the aims and specific purposes of the research project and the proposed involvement of human participants.

During the questions segment of his first post-reelection press conference, President Obama was asked by Lori Montenegro, a Telemundo reporter, if he will be successful in introducing an immigration bill to Congress in his second term and what he had in mind for that reform. His reply was reminiscent of the presidential candidate we were introduced to in 2008 as he stated that he believed the process could begin shortly after inauguration. Whether this time Congress and President Obama are successful in accomplishing this task or not, there is still another important story worth telling about the effects of our immigration policies that has been widely overlooked in public discourse, the aftermath of mass deportations. The narratives of the deportees' experience as they return "home" deserves more attention especially if the US government fails to achieve comprehensive immigration reform in 2013. What is happening to *los deportados* (especially the youth, which many would have been Dream Act eligible had the bill been enacted) we have been sending "home" to the countries in Latin America which are struggling to maintain their current societal structure with their current populations? This proposal aims to discover how the Honduran immigrant deportees (particularly the youth) are being reintegrated in their "homeland". Through ethnographic research, semi-structured interviews and content analysis, the researcher will explore how Honduran institutions are playing a role in the reintegration of their returned migrants and how the youth are forming or reforming their identities post deportation.

2. Describe the characteristics of the intended sample (number of participants, age, sex, ethnic background, health status, etc).

Repatriated Hondurans:

- 5 adults
 - (2 women; 5 men)
 - between ages 26-65
 - diverse backgrounds; indigenos, Garifuna, mestizos,
 - may be suffering from emotional stress from displacement
 - may be physically incapacitated due to complications in immigration journey
- 5 youth
 - (2 girls; 3 boys)
 - between ages 12-25
 - diverse backgrounds; indigenos, Garifuna, mestizos
 - may be suffering from emotional stress from displacement
 - may be physically incapacitated due to complications in immigration journey

Center Staff Members:

- Adults
- Volunteers (minors and adults)

- **No particular profile**

Public Officials:

- **Adults**

3. Identify the criteria for inclusion or exclusion. Explain the rationale for the involvement of special classes of participants (children, prisoners, pregnant women, or any other vulnerable population).

The criteria for inclusion or exclusion will be contingent upon the analysis of the data collected by the Center. That is, individuals chosen for this study will be recruited from the top five final destination departments of returned migrants (Olancho, Cortes, Francisco Morazan, Copan, or Ocotepeque). Once target sample is reached for each sub sample, any other willing participants will be excluded. Honduran youth represent a significant percentage of the population (50%). Crime among youth is widespread and a serious problem to the Honduras society. The project is focused on understanding how the youth that have been deported from the US are adapting to a society with those problems. Inclusion of this special class of participants and disabled individuals is necessary in a narrative of repatriation to a country in crisis.

4. Describe your relationship to the participants if any.

There are no foreseeable relationships to any of the participants.

PROTOCOL – Involving Human Participation

1. If there are direct benefits to the participants, describe the direct benefits and also describe the general knowledge that the study is likely to yield. If there are no direct benefits to the participants, state that there are no direct benefits to the participants and describe the general knowledge that the study is likely to yield.

There are no direct benefits to the participants. The general knowledge that the study is likely to yield is the experiences about how deportees are adapting to Honduran society and how Honduran institutions are playing a role in that reintegration process. In addition, this study will shed light on identity construction of deported youth.

2. Describe how participants will be identified and recruited. Note that all recruitment materials (including ads, flyers, letters to participants, emails, telephone/presentation scripts, SONA postings) for participants must be submitted for review for both exempt and non-exempt projects.

The adult participants are identified from the clients of the Center of Attention Returned Migrants in San Pedro Sula. Permission by the director has been provided to recruit individuals directly from this center. All clients of this center meet the basic requirement of being a returned migrant. Further screening will be done to see if they meet other prerequisites for inclusion in the project. Minors will be recruited from IHNFA (Honduran Institution of Youth and Family). Permission to recruit minor children for this project has been provided by the Secretary General. All participants' participation will be voluntarily. A recruitment flyer providing an overview of the project and project goals will be provided to deportees who fit the

prerequisites for inclusion in the sample. Deportees interested in participating will be provided more information about the interview process and a consent agreement will be obtained. Further inclusion of participants may arise from referrals by willing participants or center staff members. No interested participant who meets the prerequisites will be excluded until target sample (n=10) is reached. Additional flyers will be used to distribute to participants who are interested in referring the project to anyone they may know.

3. Describe your procedures for obtaining informed consent. Who will obtain consent and how will it be obtained. Describe how the researchers will ensure that subjects receive a copy of the consent document.

The subjects will be read the informed consent aloud and a hard copy will be provided to them. The researcher will obtain the informed consent after they have undergone project orientation and have expressed interest. The researcher will scan a copy and store it in a secured external hard drive for his records and provide original copy to participants. For underage participants, informed consent will be obtained from their parent/legal guardian and the children.

4. State whether subjects will be compensated for their participation, describe the form of compensation and the procedures for distribution, and explain why compensation is necessary. State whether the subjects will receive course credit for participating in the research. **If yes**, describe the nonresearch option for course credit for the students who decide not to participate in the research. The nonresearch option for course credit must not be more difficult than participation in the research. Information regarding compensation or course credit, should be outlined in the Participation section of the consent document.

No compensation

5. If minors are involved, their active assent to the research activity is required as well as active consent from their parents/guardians. This includes minors from the Psychology Department Undergraduate Subject Pool. Your procedures should be appropriate to the age of the child and his/her level of maturity and judgment. Describe your procedures for obtaining active assent from minors and active consent from parents/guardians. Refer to the Guidelines for Informed Consent for additional requirements if minors from the Psychology Subject Pool are involved.

After the initial orientation for interested potential participants, the parents/guardians of minors and the minors interested in the project will be given an additional intimate orientation about what the project entails and what their participation will be. Appropriate language will be used for both orientations. Minor participants will be no younger than 12 years old.

6. Describe the research design and methods. What will be done to participants during the study? Describe all tests and procedures that will be performed. Include an estimate of the time required to complete the tests and procedures.

Semi-structured Interviews:

- **Pre-Integration:** This interview will be conducted onsite at the deportation center upon obtaining informed consent or within a week of their arrival at the participant's hometown. This will be used to evaluate the experiences of the subject in the US and to obtain a sense of identity, the assimilation in the US, and expectations in the integration process in Honduras.
- **Post-Integration:** This interview will be conducted 2-3 months after the subject has been in the country. The goal of this interview is to capture the experiences in the few months that the individual has been there. Have expectations been met or exceeded or rather the opposite.

Ethnographic Component:

- This segment of the project aims to capture the lived experience of the subjects as it occurs. The researcher will travel along with the subjects and observe their interactions with others and institutions.
- In addition to participant-observation, participants will be asked during orientation to record their experiences in a journal that will be provided to participants that sign the informed consent form. They will be asked to write daily, but if that is not feasible, to at least record the most memorable experiences during their time back.
- Permission will be obtained from schools so the researcher can visit to conduct ethnographic research about the role of the schools in the transitioning process. If permission is granted, an amendment to this application will be included along with the signed statement from the granting institution. Additional research will be conducted at churches that subjects may participate in to see the role they are playing in the integration process.

7. Describe how confidentiality will be maintained. If data will be collected electronically (e.g. by email or an internet web site), describe your procedures for limiting identifiers. Note that confidentiality may have to be limited if participants are asked questions on violence toward self or others or illegal behavior. Contact the Office of Research Subject Protections for assistance.

Confidentiality will be maintained through the use of pseudonyms in any reports. The notebooks provided by the researcher will be protected and not shared with anyone when in the possession of the researcher. The researcher is not liable for any information that the participants willingly share with others about their experience. The researcher will only be liable for providing protection to the identity and information the participant directly shares with him. The software Nvivo will be used to organize the collected data. This software will be password protected and will be accessed only by researcher. None of the actual names of the participants will be used in the reporting of the findings.

8. Describe in detail any potential physical, psychological, social, or legal risks to participants, why they are reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits and what will be done to minimize the risks. Where appropriate, discuss provisions for ensuring medical or professional intervention in case participants experience adverse effects. Where appropriate, discuss provisions for monitoring data collection when participants' safety is at risk.

There are no foreseeable physical, psychological, social or legal risks to participants as their identity will be completely confidential.

9. If participants will be audio-or video-taped, discuss provisions for the security and final disposition of the tapes. Refer to Guidelines for Informed Consent.

Participants will have to consent to audio recordings for the pre-integration and post-integration interviews. Interviews with other public officials will be recorded for accuracy in coding practice. These interviews will only be accessed by researcher and will be stored in Nvivo software. If participants do not consent to audio recordings, the researcher will manually record their answers. Any and all audio recordings will be disposed of after the final analysis of the project.

10. If participants will be misinformed and/or uninformed about the true nature of the project, provide justification. Note that projects involving deception must not exceed minimal risk, cannot violate the rights and welfare of participants, must require the deception to accomplish the aims of the project, and must include a full debriefing. Refer to Guidelines for Informed Consent.

Deception or misinformation about this project will not be used.

11. Submit a copy of each data collection instrument/tool (including questionnaires, surveys, standardized assessment tools, etc.) you will use and provide a brief description of its characteristics and development. Submit scripts if information and/or questions are conveyed verbally.

12. **INFORMED CONSENT:** Attach appropriate Proposed Informed Consent document(s).

See Guidelines for Informed Consent and the Template Informed Consent Document for additional information.

13. **APPROVAL FROM COOPERATING INSTITUTION/ORGANIZATION:**

If a cooperating institution/organization provides access to its patients/students/clients/employees/etc. for participant recruitment or provides access to their records, Attach written evidence of the institution/organization human subjects approval of the project.

PROTOCOL – Involving Existing Records

(For the study of existing data sets, documents, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens.)

1. Describe your data set.

Newspaper and other documents available to the public from 2001-2012.

Demographic data collected about returned migrants between 2001-2012.

2. Provide written permission from the owner of the data giving you access for research purposes at George Mason University if the data set is not publicly available.

3. Describe how you will maintain confidentiality if the data set contains person identifiable data.

Person identifiable data will be removed from dataset.

4. Describe what variables you are extracting from the data set.

All variables with the exception of migrants' names, relatives' names, phone numbers, and street addresses.

APPENDIX B



What is your experience post deportation? What are your challenges in your homecoming?

Hansel Aguilar Avila, B.A. and M.A. candidate at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at George Mason University is looking for returned Honduran migrants to interview them and learn about their experience after their deportation. The researcher seeks Hondurans who have

been deported between 2000-2013, are at least 18 years of age and older, are returning to the departments of: Olancho, Cortes, Francisco Morazan, Copan, or Ocotepeque. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can decline this request for any reason.

APPENDIX C

Pre-screen Interview

- 1) How old are you? (
 - 2) How long have you been in the US?
 - 3) Where were you detained?
 - 4) When were you detained?
 - 5) Where are you heading to?
 - 6) What is your ethnic/racial background:
 - a. Mestizo
 - b. Black/Garifuna
 - c. White
 - d. AmeriIndian
 - 7) Do you have plans to return?
-

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM

INTERVIEWS WITH RETURNED HONDURAN MIGRANTS

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

You are being asked to participate in a short term longitudinal study to discuss and document your experience and expectations after your deportation. The study will consist of two interviews and journal entries. Both interviews will take place in a private location, with one research team members from George Mason University. The interview will take approximately an hour, but in order to shorten the length of the interview time, the you are asked to consent to allowing the researcher to review your responses to the CAMR interview. With participants' permission, the session will be audio-taped. In addition, you are being asked to keep a journal documenting your experiences back home. You will share this journal with the researcher biweekly and allow him to make copies of your journal entries for his analysis and inclusion in his report. Lastly, you will allow the researcher to spend time with you throughout the next four months to gain a better understanding of your lived experience.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research.

BENEFITS

There are no benefits to you as a participant other than to further research about the post deportation experience of Honduran deportees.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data in this study, including audio tapes and transcripts, will be kept confidential. The audio tapes and transcripts will not have any identifying information but will be given a specific code in order to keep track of the interviews. These codes will be kept in a password protected file in the researcher's external hard drive. Data will be transcribed by the researcher. Reports and presentations will not reveal the identities of interview participants unless you consent in writing to using real names.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

CONTACT

This research is being conducted by Hansel A. Aguilar Avila under supervision of Dr. John Dale at George Mason University. He may be reached at 703-993-1444 for

questions or to report a research-related problem. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Subject Protections at 703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research.

CONSENT

I have read this form and agree to participate in this study. I consent to be audio-taped.

Name

Date of Signature

APPENDIX E

Adult Pre-Integration Interview Guide
Honduran Reintegration Experience
Read the consent form and obtain signature

Interview Number: Dia (Date): Tiempo (Time):
Nombre (Name):
Lugar de la entrevista (Place of interview):
(Facesheet)

Information obtained from the CAMR interview with permission of returned migrant

Immigration

1. When did you first go to the United States ? [PROBE: What were the reasons or circumstances for immigrating to the United States ?] [*¿Cuándo se fue a los Estados Unidos? ¿Cuáles fueron las razones o circunstancias para emigrar a los Estados Unidos?*]
2. Did you know anybody in the United States prior to your leave? [PROBE: Were they family or friends?]
3. How well prepared would you say you were for your trip?
4. Did you have any problems getting to the US?
5. Did you have any complaints about the treatment received in the US?

Homecoming

6. How many months were you detained?
7. Do you have money to get to your home from the airport? Did you receive travel assistance from CAMR?
8. How well do you remember Honduras?
9. How well do you know the town where you are heading?
10. Do you have any newly acquired skills that can be of use in Honduras?
11. Do you have any employment prospects?
12. Do you have any family members where you are heading?
13. Will you be returning to school?
14. Do you expect to have a good experience now that you are back home? [PROBE: What are the major obstacles you believe you will face, if any?] [*¿?*]
15. Do you believe the government should help migrants like yourself settle back into Honduras and if so what kind of assistance do you think they should provide?

16. Do you have a church you will attend? Is the Church aware of your return? Will they provide any assistance?

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS

APPENDIX E.2

Adult Post-Integration Interview Guide Honduran Reintegration Experience

Read the consent form and obtain signature

Interview Number: Dia (Date): Tiempo (Time):
Nombre (Name):
Lugar de la entrevista (Place of interview):

(Facesheet)

Information obtained from the CAMR interview with permission of returned migrant

Homecoming

1. Did CAMR provide assistance to you other than the immediate assistance provided at the airport?
2. Is Honduras how you remembered it? How so?
3. How well did you actually know the town where you are now living?
4. Did your newly acquired skills come to use in Honduras?
5. Do your employment prospects yield any results?
6. Did your family members assist you in your homecoming? How so?
7. Did you return to school? If no: Why not? If yes: How was your experience?
8. Were your expectations of your homecoming met? How so? [PROBE: What were the major obstacles you have faced so far, if any?] [*i*?]
9. Do you (still) believe the government should help migrants like yourself settle back into Honduras and if so what kind of assistance do you think they should provide?
10. Has the Church provided any assistance or support to you in your return?

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS

APPENDIX F

Transcript of Email Conversation between Director of CAMR and Hansel Aguilar

8 de octubre de 2012

Hermana Valdete Willemann
Aeropuerto Internacional Toncontín
Apdo. A 30959,
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Querida Hermana Valdete Willemann,

Mi nombre es Hansel Alejandro Aguilar Avila y soy un estudiante de posgrado de sociología en la Universidad de George Mason en Fairfax, Virginia de los EEUU. Mientras me preparo para terminar mis cursos requeridos y avanzar hacia la etapa de tesis en este programa, estoy solicitando para posibles afiliaciones en mi proyecto de investigación que resumiré brevemente. Gracias de antemano por su buena disposición a considerar esta solicitud de colaboración en este proyecto de investigación.

En primer lugar, me gustaría darle información acerca de mi Universidad y el enfoque de nuestro programa de sociología. La Universidad de George Mason es una Universidad de artes liberales ubicada a 30 minutos fuera de Washington DC. El título de sociología de Mason está diseñado para ayudar a los estudiantes a entender las fuerzas sociales que conforman el mundo a través de la exploración de temas de justicia, la igualdad, la libertad y la identidad. Mason fue una opción ideal para mi interés en la intersección de los temas de inmigración, religión y delincuencia. Específicamente, estoy interesado en contribuir al debate sobre la religión en la disuasión de la delincuencia (específicamente lo que se refiere a jóvenes inmigrantes). Como el actual poseedor del título "la capital de asesinatos del mundo", Honduras es un lugar ideal para este proyecto de investigación. Además, volver a mi patria para realizar esta investigación será un gran honor para mí.

Como ha observado, Honduras ha sufrido cambios drásticos de la población en la última década. Específicamente, el flujo de hondureños entre Estados Unidos y

Honduras ha realizado un crecimiento inmenso: entre los años 2000 y 2010, hubo un aumento de 200% de hondureños americanos (censo 2010) mientras que durante este mismo tiempo ha habido un aumento de 400% en las deportaciones de hondureños desde Estados Unidos (data.gov). Más relevante a mi interés, la tasa de deportación de 400% es más alarmante si tenemos en cuenta si eran por motivos criminal (incremento del 600%!) o deportaciones por motivos no criminal (352%!). Mi hipótesis es que esto ha creado un serio desafío para el mantenimiento del orden y solidaridad colectiva en Honduras. Es mi interés explorar cómo se viven estos cambios de población en la experiencia cotidiana de los hondureños. Mi principal punto de enfoque serán los jóvenes inmigrantes deportados. A través de sus experiencias, nuestras sociedades pueden desarrollar una mejor comprensión de la etapa final de deportación, repatriación.

Metodología:

Para realizar correctamente este proyecto, es esencial reunir no sólo datos cuantitativos, sino también datos cualitativos. Para el componente cuantitativo del proyecto, estoy interesado en el uso de los datos recogidos de fuentes de Gobierno de Estados Unidos y Honduras y también los datos no gubernamentales. También estoy preparando un cuestionario para entrevistar a participantes voluntarios en Honduras que cumplan los criterios deseados (jóvenes hondureños entre las edades de 12-21, que han regresado de los Estados Unidos entre el 2000 y 2010 involuntariamente). Con su ayuda, puedo contactar a estas personas que han sido deportadas y seleccionar una muestra que representen individuos de diferentes ciudades de Honduras (Puerto Cortés, San Pedro Sula, Tegucigalpa, Choluteca, etc.). Con la asistencia de los estudiantes de sociólogo en UNAH (que contactare pronto), podré entrevistar a las personas que cumplan con los criterios deseados para este estudio.

Además de esta parte cuantitativa del estudio, tengo la intención de visitar las comunidades donde residen los jóvenes repatriados y realizar investigaciones etnográficas y entrevistas cualitativas. Un último componente de mi solicitud sería para asistencia con otro requisito de mi maestría, una pasantía. Como he mencionado anteriormente, cumpliré con mis cursos requeridos este semestre, sin embargo, todavía tengo un curso electivo para completar que se puede cumplir a través de una pasantía. No estoy seguro si su organización ofrece pasantías, pero estoy seguro que puedo ser gran ayuda para usted y su organización por mi disposición y mis habilidades. Tengo experiencia en ambientes profesionales con organizaciones sin fines de lucro y agencias gubernamentales. Para resumir esta solicitud, me gustaría ser directo sobre la ayuda que necesito. Estaría interesado en: (1) ayuda con la facilitación para hacer entrevistas con jóvenes repatriados; (2) orientación acerca de cómo mejorar la encuesta (3) una pasantía donde yo puedo obtener una mejor comprensión de su organización y el trabajo que hace. Aunque sé que estoy pidiendo mucho de una extraña, yo oro que usted reciba este correo electrónico con mi clara intención de dar a luz a un tema que no está discutido adecuadamente en nuestra sociedad con la esperanza de que podemos influenciar el discurso público.

En Unidad,

Hansel Aguilar

c:([\(202\) 657-4416](tel:202-657-4416))

h:([\(703\) 543-2589](tel:703-543-2589))

"To give anything less than your best is to sacrifice the gift"

---Steve Prefontaine

Hermana Valdete,

Espero que todo esta trabajando bien con la bendición de Dios. Discúlpeme por molestarla con esta solicitud, pero me gustaría saber si ha tenido tiempo de considerar esta oportunidad de una asociación para la encuesta de las experiencias de Hondureños deportados.

Si necesita más información por favor llámeme al [\(202\) 657-4416](tel:202-657-4416) o me puedo mandar un correo electrónico ha esta dirección.

Que Dios la siga bendiciendo.

---Hansel Aguilar

Sent from my iPod

<Ltr_Hrmna Willemann.docx>

Buenos días Hansel

Desculpe pero estaba fuera de Honduras y solo ahora pude responder su correo

Si puedes hacer las encuestas a los migrantes, solo que los vuelos todos de deportados estan aterrizando solamente en San Pedro Sula.

Cuando iniciaria ustedes haer las encuestas a los deportados?

Solo hablar con la Licenciada Geraldina Garay el telefono

██████████

Atentamente,

Hna Valdete Wilemann

APPENDIX G



College of Humanities and Social Science
4400 University Drive, B314, Robinson Hall
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

2 de Febrero 2013
Honorable Director Felipe Morales,

Pursuant to my initial verbal request to Lic. Zobeida in the San Pedro Sula office of INFHA, I am submitting this written request for assistance you're your agency with my thesis project. Before I make the official request, please allow me to summarize my project and the goals of this investigation.

As you are aware, migration of Hondurans to the US has increased immensely in the last decade. Various environmental, political, economic and social events have created this outbound migration. However, in this same period, there has also been an increase in returned migration to Honduras via deportations. As an aspiring professional sociologist, I have endeavored to uncover what is the experienced of the returned migrants. Through an internship with CAMR I have been able to get firsthand experience of the initial phase of reintegration...the homecoming. Out of ignorance, I assumed that the minor children (under the age of 18) were also returned at CAMR. I have been thus enlightened to the fact that the attention to the returned minors is provided by INFHA. Since that discovery, I have been interested in learning more about the reintegration efforts of INFHA (as compared to CAMR) and also in gaining access to speak to the families of the returned minor children and the children themselves.

As such, this letter is my formal written request to your office for permission to recruit minor children directly from the San Pedro Sula Office to participate in my investigation. The children and the families will be given an overview of the project and what their participation entails. Their participation will be completely confidential and pseudonyms will be used to ensure their privacy in any reports. No compensation will be provided to

the children and or their families. There are no foreseeable risks to participation in this project.

In addition to having access to recruit returned migrants, I am soliciting permission to speak with INFHA representatives in San Pedro Sula to obtain a better understanding of the reintegration efforts of INFHA.

I have attached my resume, along with the thesis abstract, and a copy of my ideas for your records. Also, as is required by my sponsoring institution, George Mason University in Fairfax, VA, this permission to recruit the children is required and must be included in my application to officially commence this investigation. I will be more than willing to provide a copy of the approved application to investigate once I have obtained it. Below I have provided the contact information to my advisor at George Mason University should you need to contact him.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this request.

Respectfully,

Lic. Hansel A. Aguilar Avila
MASON #: G00546143

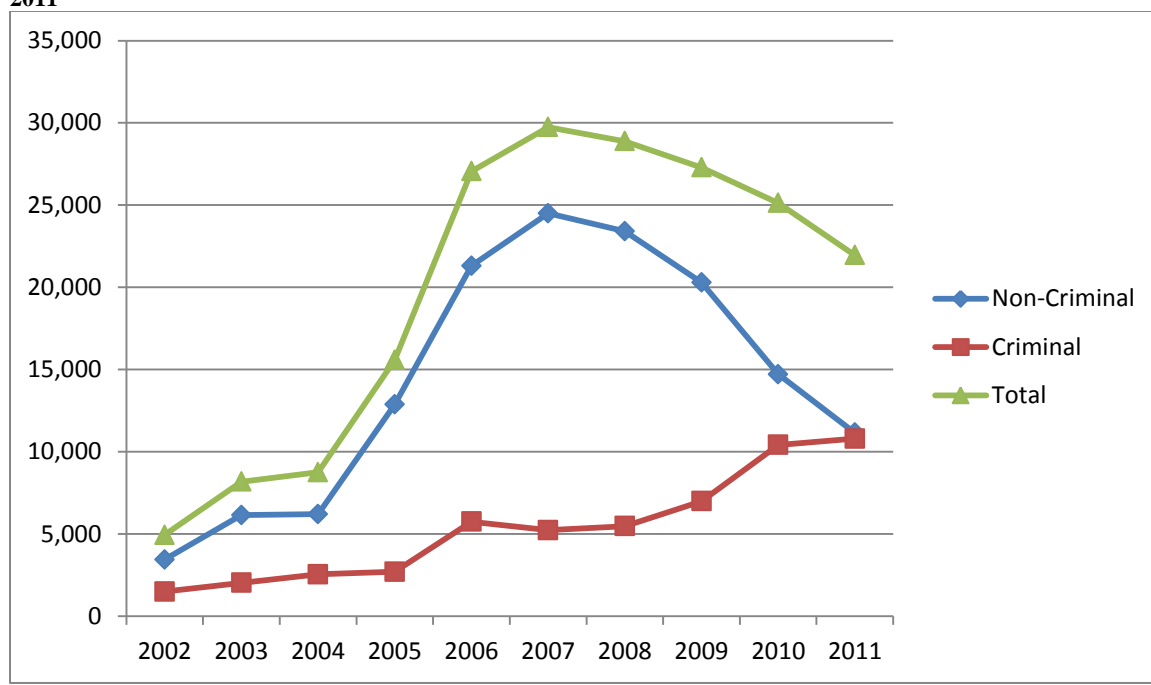
GMU THESIS ADVISOR: Dr. John Dale
College of Humanities and Social Science
4400 University Drive, B314, Robinson Hall
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

PHONE NUMBER: (703) 993-1444

EMAIL: jdale@gmu.edu

APPENDIX H

Figure 6: Graph of Honduran Migrants Deported From the United States Between 2002-2011 Recreated from DHS Table 41. "Aliens removed by criminal status and region and country of nationality: Fiscal years 2002-2011"



APPENDIX I

Figure 7: Signed letter granting permission to reprint article


below and return it to me via email: haguilar@gmu.edu or fax: 1- (703) 852-7947. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,



Hansel A. Aguilar

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE USE OF ARTICLE,
The Great Deporter, DESCRIBED IN FIRST PAGE OF LETTER:



Hector Luis Alamo, Jr.

Date: 11/22/2013

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<http://www.ine.gob.hn/drupal/>

BIOGRAPHY

Hansel Alejandro Aguilar is a native Honduran and naturalized citizen of the United States of America. After spending his formative years in Honduras his mother migrated, along with her five children (including Aguilar), to the town of Edison, NJ. After living in Edison for a couple of years, the family relocated to the city of New Brunswick, NJ where Aguilar was raised. He graduated from New Brunswick Health Science Technology High School, New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 2006. He received his Bachelor of Arts with a double major in Criminal Justice and Sociology from the New Brunswick Campus of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey in the spring of 2010. While he has a diverse work history, the bulk of his employment experience was focused in the legal office setting. He was recently offered an employment opportunity with the George Mason University Police Department where he will apply his knowledge and appreciation of the criminal justice system to ensure the safety of the George Mason community. He obtained his Master of Arts in Sociology from George Mason University in the fall of 2013. His research interests lie in the intersection between crime, immigration, and religion. He is also interested in advancing literature on post deportation experiences and exploring the deportation-crime nexus.