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The Impact of the United States Immigration Enforcement Regime on Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers in the United States and Deported Fathers in El Salvador

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

The Impact of the United States Immigration Enforcement Regime on Salvadoran
Immigrant Fathers in the United States and Deported Fathers in El Salvador

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Criminology, Law and Society

by

Jose Alfredo Torres Jr.

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Susan Coutin, Chair
Professor Leo Chavez
Assistant Professor Lee Cabatingan

2021

DEDICATION

To

my wife, Kathryn and my parents, Jose and Ana

for all of their love and support

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I would also like to thank my dissertation committee members, Professor Leo Chavez and Professor Lee Cabatingan, for investing their valuable time and energy to offer me direction and support as I conducted and completed my dissertation research.

In addition, I would like to thank Professor Vickie Jensen from California State University, Northridge, who believed in me and took me under her wing as I navigated undergraduate school as a first-generation college student. She was the first person at my university to believe that my dreams of becoming a college professor could one day become a reality.

I would also like to thank the faculty, staff, and graduate students from the Department of Criminology, Law and Society and the Department of Chicano/Latino Studies at the University of California, Irvine for joining me on this amazing journey through graduate school. I would also like to thank the staff from UC Irvine's Graduate Division for offering me their unconditional support and resources to earn my doctoral degree. Financial support was provided by the University of California, Irvine, the Department of Criminology, Law and Society, UC Irvine's Graduate Division, the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Program, the Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice, the California State University Office of the Chancellor, the Light of Faith Foundation, Drs. Paul and Frances Baker Dickman's Award for Dissertation Research, and the Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship. This degree would have not been possible without all of their financial support and resources.

Lastly, I would like to thank the study participants for sharing their life stories with me. Without your stories, this dissertation would not have been possible. I dedicate this dissertation and degree to all the immigrant and deported mothers and fathers in the United States and in El Salvador who struggle daily to remain together with their families. It is my hope that this dissertation will lead to positive changes in our laws and society.

VITA

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE, Irvine, CA

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Department of Criminology, Law and Society. School of Social Ecology.
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FELLOWSHIPS and GRANTS

External Fellowships and Awards

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2016, Honorable Mention. National Science Foundation: Graduate Research Fellowship Program.

2016, Hispanic Scholarship Fund Scholar. Hispanic Scholarship Fund.
2015, Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program: California State University.
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PUBLICATIONS

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Torres, Jose Alfredo. (2017). "Mobilization Strategies within The Immigrant Rights Movement in Los Angeles." Social Ecology Master's Thesis: University of California, Irvine. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/84z9f4c2>

Torres, Jose Alfredo. (2015). "Masculinity in Salvadoran Gangs: The Normalization of Violence." *La Ceiba Undergraduate Journal 2nd Edition*. Northridge, CA. <http://laceibajournal.com/2015/04/15/masculinity-in-salvadoran-gangs-the-normalization-of-violence/>

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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Torres, J. (2019). The Impact of the United States Immigration Enforcement Regime on Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers in the United States and in El Salvador. Migrant Illegality and Mixed-Status Families Roundtable. Advancing Research to Promote Immigrant and Student Equity. Paper presented at the UC Collaborative to Promote Immigrant and Study Equity Conference. University of California, Irvine.

Torres, J. (2019). The Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities of Salvadoran Transnational Fathers in the United States and in El Salvador. Latina/o/x Criminology Panel: Transnational Threats and the Victimization of Immigrants. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology in San Francisco, CA.

Torres, J. (2019). The Experiences of Transnational Salvadoran Fathers in the United States and Transnational Fathers in El Salvador. Race, Ethnicity, Crime, and (In)Justice Panel. Paper presented at the Western Society of Criminology in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Torres, J. (2018). Mobilization Strategies within The Immigrant Rights Movement. Paper presented during the Criminology, Law and Society Ph.D. Student Research Conference. University of California, Irvine.

Torres, J. (2017). Mobilization Strategies within The Immigrant Rights Movement. Latina/o Criminology Panel: Gangs, Communities, and Resistance. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Torres, J. (2017). Mobilization Strategies Among The Immigrant Rights Movement: An Ethnography of the Central American Undocumented Community. Identity, Status, and Carceral Control Panel. Paper presented at the Western Society of Criminology in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Torres, J. (2016). Strategies of Resistance Among The Immigrant Rights Movement: An Ethnography of the Central American Undocumented Community. Latin@ Criminology Panel: Strategies of Resistance Among Immigrants, Students, and Prisoners. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Torres, J. (2016). The Deportability of the Central American Undocumented Community: Immigrant Right Advocates' Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities. Fostering Ties: Toward New Approaches to the Study of the Children of Immigrants and Immigrant Children. Paper presented at the Graduate Student Workshop in Irvine, CA.

Torres, J. (2016). The Deportability of the Central American Undocumented Community: Immigrants' Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities. Salvadoran Postwar Memories and Current Immigration Policy Panel. Paper presented at the Migration, Culture and Memory Interdisciplinary Symposium. California State University, Northridge.

Torres, J. (2016). The Deportability of the Central American Undocumented Community: Immigrant Right Advocates' Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities. Graduate Student Workshop. Paper presented at the West Coast Law and Society Conference in Irvine, CA.

Torres, J. (2015). The Forced Migration of Salvadoran Youth to the United States. Marginalized Communities Roundtable. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Conference in Washington D.C.

Torres, J. (2015). Los Angeles Versus Orange County: Immigrants' Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities. 2015 Competitive EDGE Summer Research Program. Paper presented at the Summer Program Symposium in the University of California, Irvine.

Torres, J. (2015). *Los Heroes Tienen Sueno*: Violence, Subjectivity, and The Body. Paper presented at the Central American Studies Student Symposium at Cal State Northridge.

Torres, J. (2015). The Criminalization of Salvadoran Child Migrants on the Move. Race, Ethnicity and Criminal Justice Processes Panel. Paper presented at the Western Society of Criminology Conference in Phoenix, AZ.

Torres, J. (2015). The Normalization of Violence in the Salvadoran Gang Industry. Paper presented at the 19th Annual Student Research and Creative Works Symposium at California State University, Northridge.

Torres, J. (2014). Masculinity in Salvadoran Gangs: The Normalization of Violence. Youth Gangs: Understanding Masculinities and Effectiveness of Intervention's Roundtable. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Conference in San Francisco, CA.

SPECIAL INVITATION PRESENTATIONS

Panelist: Graduate Student Experience. Advancement to Graduate Education (AGE): California State University, Northridge, September 2020.

Panelist: Research Practices: Reflecting on Positionality. Advancing Research to Promote Immigrant and Student Equity. UC Collaborative to Promote Immigrant and Study Equity. University of California, Irvine, November 2019.

Panelist: Graduate School Informational Panel. Department of Criminology and Justice Studies. College of Social and Behavioral Sciences. California State University, Northridge, November 2019.

Panelist: Graduate Student Experience. Graduate School Forum and Workshop: California State University, Los Angeles, October 2019.

Panelist: Criminology, Law and Society Graduate Student Life Panel. Department of Criminology, Law and Society: University of California, Irvine, February 2019.

Panelist: Graduate School Informational Panel. Department of Criminology and Justice Studies. College of Social and Behavioral Sciences. California State University, Northridge, January 2019.

Moderator: Comprehensive Exam Student Experiences Panel. Department of Criminology, Law and Society: University of California, Irvine, November 2018.

Moderator: Law and Society Faculty Comprehensive Exam Panel. Department of Criminology, Law and Society: University of California, Irvine, October 2018.

Moderator: Criminology Faculty Comprehensive Exam Panel. Department of Criminology, Law and Society: University of California, Irvine, October 2018.

Panelist: Graduate Student Experience. Advancement to Graduate Education (AGE): California State University, Northridge, September 2018.

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Panelist: Mentoring Across Differences Panel. UC Irvine's Graduate Division. Graduate Resource Center (GRC): University of California, Irvine, July 2018.

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Panelist: Graduate Application 101. The Know How Sessions: UCI Graduate Division. University of California, Irvine, May 2017.

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Presenter: "Studying Crime in the 21st Century: The Latina/o Perspective." Ph.D. Presenter: The 5th Annual *Adelante Hombre* Youth Latino Summit, Panorama High School, CA, April 2015.

Presenter: "Studying Crime in the 21st Century: The Latina/o Perspective." 17th Annual *Raza* Youth Conference: California State University, Northridge, April 2015.

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Principal Research Investigator. University of California, Irvine. Dissertation Research. "The Impact of the United States Immigration Enforcement Regime on Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers in the United States and in El Salvador." Faculty Overseer: Dr. Susan Bibler Coutin, Criminology, Law and Society. IRB Approval: UCI IRB HS# 2019-4894. Department of Criminology, Law and Society. September 2019-June 2021.

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Law. Department of Criminology, Law and Society. June 2015-August 2015.

Editor-in-Chief. *La Ceiba* Undergraduate Journal. Central American Studies Program. CSU-
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Teaching Associate

Teaching Associate (Instructor of Record), Crm/Law C104 Sociology of Law, School of
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Guest Lecturer. Introduction to Gender Studies: “Hegemonic Masculinity & Parent’s Roles in Gender Construction.” Orange Coast College, Fall 2020.

Guest Lecturer. Introduction to Gender Studies: “Immigrant Fathers and Masculinity.” Orange Coast College, Fall 2020.

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Chicano/Latino Studies Graduate Emphasis Certificate. School of Social Sciences. University of California, Irvine, Spring 2019.

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Exam Reader, School of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine. C110 Community Context of Crime, Law and Society, Fall 2018.

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Exam Reader, School of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine. C106 Crime and Public Policy, Spring 2018

Exam Reader, School of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine. C110 Community Context of Crime, Law and Society, Fall 2017

Teaching Assistant, School of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine. Introduction to Criminology, Law and Society, Master of Advanced Study in Criminology, Law and Society, Summer 2017

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Mentoring Excellence Program Certificate. Graduate Division. University of California, Irvine, Spring 2015.

External Teaching

Literacy After-School Tutor. Learning, Enrichment and Achievement Partners (LEAP) After-School Reading Program. LEAP Learning Center: Tustin, CA, 2016-2017.

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2018-2019 Comprehensive Exams (Comps) Committee Chair.

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Graduate Student Recruiter. University of California, Irvine Graduate Division. The California Forum for Diversity in Graduate Education. (October 2018)

Graduate Student Leader. Graduate Division Summer Research Program. University of California, Irvine, (June-August 2018)

2017-2018 Peer Mentor, First-Year Doctoral Students: Department of Criminology, Law and Society

Graduate Student Mentor. Competitive Edge Summer Research Program: Graduate Division. University of California, Irvine, (June-August 2017)

Graduate Student Leader. Graduate Division Summer Research Program. University of California, Irvine, (June-August 2017)

2017-2018 Recruitment Team Member for Prospective Doctoral Students, Department of Criminology, Law and Society, University of California, Irvine

2016-2017 Peer Mentor, First-Year Doctoral Students: Criminology, Law and Society

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Volunteer, Friends of Orange County Detainees. Lake Forest, CA. (July 2018).

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Section Memberships: Division on Women and Crime and the Division on People of Color and Crime

Member, Western Society of Criminology

Member, Alpha Kappa Delta Honors Society

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Impact of the United States Immigration Enforcement Regime on Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers in the United States and Deported Fathers in El Salvador

by

Jose Alfredo Torres Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology, Law and Society

University of California, Irvine, 2021

Professor Susan Coutin, Chair

This dissertation examines how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have impacted the lives of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families. Based on the experiences of 40 Salvadoran immigrant men and 40 Salvadoran deported men, I found that they experienced the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in several distinct and interrelated ways. First, as Salvadoran immigrants arrived to the U.S. many faced inclusionary and exclusionary immigration laws. While some Salvadoran immigrants benefited from immigration laws, many Salvadoran immigrants have been disproportionately targeted due to their ethnic identity, gender, and working class background. Secondly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men faced immigration laws and enforcement actions that affected their ability to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities as they were criminalized and deported from the U.S. Thirdly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men shared that their children experienced the negative spill over effects of immigration laws and enforcement practices in their lives in the form of multigenerational punishments. These punishments manifested in the form of social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences. Similarly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men shared that their romantic partners experienced the harmful effects of immigration laws and policies in the form of intragenerational punishments. These punishments manifested in the form of physical, emotional, and immigration consequences. Fourth, as Salvadoran immigrant men migrated to the U.S. and deported men returned to El Salvador many struggled with their membership and sense of belonging. Salvadoran immigrant and deported men specifically shared how they navigated different exclusionary practices by U.S. and Salvadoran governments, institutions, laws and policies, employers, and everyday people. In response, many engaged in constructing alternative forms of membership and belonging. Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men shared their understandings of laws, how they positioned themselves to laws, and how they responded to these harmful laws and enforcement actions in the form of resistance and mobilization strategies. This study ultimately demonstrates how immigrant fathers and their families navigate their lives and relationships under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. Future studies may find that these experiences relate to other immigrant and deported fathers in the United States and abroad.

Introduction

While I was in El Salvador, I met a man named Mauricio Torres (*pseudonym*), then 54 years old, who shared with me his story of being suddenly deported and separated from his two teenage daughters and wife in the United States. He migrated to the U.S. when he was 28 years old and he lived in the U.S. with his family for nearly 16 years. Mauricio learned to navigate his life in the U.S. as an undocumented immigrant and a father to his two U.S. citizen daughters in Denver, Colorado. While he had been deported once before from the U.S., he was deported for a second time and now lived in San Salvador, El Salvador. He shared with me the story of his second deportation. One evening, his daughters wanted to go rent a movie at a local Blockbuster video store. As they drove to their destination, they were pulled over by local law enforcement officers for expired license plate tags on the vehicle. When they typed Mauricio's name in their police database, they were alerted that he had an active order of deportation. That's when the police officers decided to handcuff and arrest him. When his daughters realized that their father was being arrested, they began crying and even threw themselves on the ground. Out of desperation, they grabbed the police officer's legs and begged them not to take their father. His wife arrived to the scene soon after and began crying and pleading with the officers to let her husband go. While they discussed their limited options, the police officers went ahead and placed him in the back of their police vehicle. He then spent several months in jail and was then transferred to an immigration detention center. His family hired an immigration attorney to represent him in immigration court. But he soon after lost his immigration case and was placed on an airplane with over 200 deportees in route to El Salvador. When we met, it had been nearly eight years since he had been deported from the U.S. Due to his deportation,

his daughters no longer pursued a higher education as they were forced to begin working at a young age. According to Mauricio, his daughters coped with their father's removal by becoming involved with drugs, heavy alcohol drinking, and breaking the law. They no longer listened to their parents and blamed them for all of their problems in life. Mauricio's deportation led to his physical and emotional separation from his two daughters and wife. While he attempted to remain connected and provide for his family in the U.S., his wife and daughters were forced to provide for themselves without their father and husband physically present. These events impacted his fathering responsibilities, relationship with his daughters and wife, and future plans with his family. He continues to hope that one day he will be reunited with his family in the U.S.

When I returned from El Salvador, I met another man in Las Vegas, Nevada named Lorenzo Zamora (*pseudonym*), then 45 years old, who shared with me his story of being separated from his children and wife several times throughout his life due to restrictions created by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. As a young father of two children in El Salvador, he decided to migrate to the United States in search of a better life for his family. He migrated and left behind his wife and children in El Salvador. Soon after his wife joined him in the U.S. leaving behind their two children with their grandparents in El Salvador. After reuniting in the U.S., his wife became pregnant and gave birth to their daughter in the U.S. Right before his wife gave birth to their daughter, he was arrested by local police officers in Las Vegas, Nevada for driving a vehicle without a driver's license. He was transferred to an immigration detention center and offered the opportunity to leave voluntarily back to El Salvador or be forcibly deported. He was offered four months to leave the country voluntarily. At the same time, his U.S. citizen mother submitted a family

petition for him and his children in El Salvador. In order to not disrupt the family petition process, he decided to return voluntarily to El Salvador. His wife and one-month old baby daughter followed him as they returned to El Salvador. They were all reunited as a family back in El Salvador. After ten years, the family petition application submitted by his mother was approved which allowed him and his two children born in El Salvador to migrate and live permanently in the U.S. as legal permanent residents. However, his wife was not a part of the original family petition application. As a result, Lorenzo and his two young adult children traveled to live in the U.S. permanently as legal permanent residents leaving behind his wife and U.S. citizen daughter who refused to leave her mother's side. As a legal permanent resident, Lorenzo has recently petitioned for his wife who remains in El Salvador. He hopes that one day they will all be reunited again as a family in the United States.

These two stories highlight how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices could have beneficial but also harmful effects on the lives, relationships, and families of Salvadoran men in the United States and in El Salvador. Mauricio and Lorenzo's stories relate to those of Salvadoran immigrant men who migrated from El Salvador and live in the United States as non-U.S. citizens and the stories of Salvadoran immigrant men who have been physically removed from the U.S. and returned to El Salvador. The experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador and their families were the primary focus of my dissertation research. Future research may also find that other racial and ethnic minority groups of immigrant and deported men encounter similar experiences with their families when facing the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in the U.S. and abroad.

Context of El Salvador & United States Immigration: Since the 1900s, men and women from the country of El Salvador have regularly migrated within the country in search of temporary and seasonal job opportunities in coffee, sugar, and cotton fields (Baker-Cristales, 2004). During the 1960s, manufacturing production increased while sugar and cotton production declined leaving coffee as the most important export crop. As a result, many Salvadorans struggled to find jobs in the rural areas in agricultural fields as they began migrating to the cities throughout the country in search of better paying manufacturing jobs and new opportunities to escape their life of poverty (Baker-Cristales, 2004). Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans began migrating to Honduras to work in the banana plantations and in industrial production. But growing tensions between Honduras and El Salvador led to the removal of thousands of Salvadoran migrants from their neighboring country (Baker-Cristales, 2004). A short but violent war between the two countries forced Salvadorans immigrants to return to El Salvador during the 1970s. During this time, they faced high unemployment rates, limited access to land and wealth, and fraudulent elections. These economic and social conditions set the stage for the Salvadoran civil war between guerrilla armies and the Salvadoran military. This resulted in an armed conflict in El Salvador from 1980 to 1992, which led to the mass exodus of Salvadorans to the United States, Mexico, Canada, and other countries throughout the region. During the war nearly 75,000 Salvadorans died and more than one million migrated from El Salvador (Gonzalez, 2001).

As the war devastated the country of El Salvador many boys, young men, and adult men were recruited into the military and guerrilla armies voluntarily and involuntarily alongside young girls and women (Kampwirth. 2002). While young men were

predominantly targeted, abducted, and murdered during the war, young women were also targeted and murdered during the civil war. Similarly, young men and young women have also been more recently recruited and violently targeted by street gangs in El Salvador including the infamous Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Calle 18 (18th Street), which have gradually grown in El Salvador since the 1990s. While Salvadoran young men were predominantly targeted and violently attacked during the civil war and more recently by street gangs, Salvadoran young women have also faced similar trauma and violence in their lives. This has included sexual assaults, physical and psychological harm, torture, disappearance, and murder of young men and women in El Salvador.

Due to these events, both young men and women have decided to migrate to the U.S. and other countries in order to survive. As they embarked on this perilous journey, they faced life-threatening situations on their path to the U.S. In order to reach the U.S., many experienced the theft of their money and personal belongings, abductions, extortions, hunger, violence, and even death. Men and women especially girls and boys have faced additional violence in the form of sexual assaults, abuse, prostitution, and rape. Even though they faced these violent and life-threatening situations, Salvadoran immigrants were motivated to reach the U.S. and experience the “American Dream.” They were also determined to reunite with their family members, escape their life of violence and poverty, support their families in El Salvador, and start their new lives in the United States. Recent reports have found that there are currently an estimated two million Salvadorans in the U.S., which accounts for an estimated 20 to 35 percent of people born in El Salvador (Abrego, 2014). In 2008, Salvadoran immigrant men were found to outnumber immigrant women in the U.S. 52.8% were men and 47.2% were women in the U.S. (Terrazas, 2010). As

men and women migrated from El Salvador to the U.S., many left behind their children, romantic partners, and families. While many Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. were eventually able to legally reunite and petition their family members, most undocumented immigrants and those with temporary immigration statuses have not been as fortunate. As a result, the majority of Salvadoran immigrant fathers and mothers in the U.S. who remain as non-citizens continue to be restricted from reuniting with their children and family members in El Salvador. Existing immigration laws continue to make it nearly impossible for many Salvadoran immigrant parents to legally reunite with their children and family members in El Salvador.

At the same time, U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have disproportionately targeted and deported racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men including Salvadoran men who are also fathers (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Abrego, 2014). Since the 1980s, immigration laws have authorized additional border enforcement practices, made residents deportable for non-violent and minor crimes, restricted legal pathways to a legal permanent residency, and limited the legal opportunities for immigrants to dispute their deportations. In addition, the 9/11 attacks further criminalized immigrants by increasing the number of non-citizen immigrants arrested, detained, and deported. As a result, the number of Salvadoran immigrants deported to El Salvador has increased since the 1990s ranking El Salvador in the top five countries of U.S. removals. In 2019, 18,981 Salvadorans were deported to El Salvador from the United States (FY2018: 15,445). In 2013, over 90% of total deportations from the United States involved men and approximately 97% were to Latin America and the Caribbean. But deportation statistics in the U.S. have failed to report how many deported

men are fathers and mothers (Boodram, 2018). Ultimately, existing U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have participated in the criminalization and also the deportation of Salvadoran immigrant men, which have resulted in the separation of fathers from their children and the disruption of immigrant families in the United States and in El Salvador.

Research Questions: The experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador and their families were the primary focus of my dissertation research. Based on their ethnic identity, socioeconomic status, gender, and immigration status, they were disproportionately targeted and removed from the country. But in order for immigration laws and enforcement practices to successfully criminalize and deport Salvadoran immigrant men, immigrant men were dehumanized and their roles as fathers were overlooked. As a result, this study investigates how the U.S. immigration enforcement regime influenced the way Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in the U.S. and in El Salvador navigated their fathering roles and responsibilities, relationships with their children and romantic partners, their membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador, and the ways they mobilized and challenged harmful U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. In my dissertation, I investigated how the U.S. immigration enforcement regime's criminalization and deportation of Salvadoran immigrant men influenced changes in their family structures, their relationships with their children and romantic partners, their memberships and belonging in El Salvador and the U.S., and the ways Salvadoran men mobilized and resisted U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. The primary argument of this dissertation is that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have actively participated in criminalizing and exiling immigrant

men who are also fathers from the country and separating them from their families. The following questions guided this dissertation research: (1) How are Salvadoran immigrant and deported men who are also fathers treated by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime? (2) How do Salvadoran immigrant and deported men parent their children under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime? (3) How are Salvadoran father-child and romantic partner relationships impacted by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices? (4) How do Salvadoran men and their families navigate their membership and belonging under U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices? And (5) how do Salvadoran men and their families respond to barriers created by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime?

In order to investigate these questions, I focused on the experiences of (1) Salvadoran non-citizen immigrant men in the United States and (2) Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador. I conducted 40 semi-structured interviews with Salvadoran deported men in San Salvador, El Salvador from September 2019 to October 2019 and 40 interviews with Salvadoran immigrant men in the United States from January 2020 to April 2020. Interviews with both sets of men focused on their perceptions of fatherhood, migration experiences, immigration status histories, parenting relationships with their children in El Salvador, the U.S., and other countries, how they navigated changes in their family structures, changes in their child-father and romantic partner relationships, membership and belonging in their country of residence, participation in different mobilization and resistance strategies, and their future plans. Interview samples were diverse based on age, immigration status, socioeconomic status, educational level, country of residence, children's country of residence, and other factors that shaped Salvadoran men's'

experiences. Research findings from this study will be able to inform scholars from different academic fields, policymakers in the U.S. and El Salvador, and U.S. immigrant rights organizations and Salvadoran non-profit organizations on the challenges Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families face in the United States and in El Salvador.

Literature Review: This research study highlights five important theoretical areas of research. (1) *The United States Immigration Enforcement Regime:* This study uncovered that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices are gendered, classist, and racialized as they criminalize and physically remove working-class immigrant men from racial and ethnic minority immigrant communities. Previous studies have reported that immigrants in the U.S. have been targeted and criminalized by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in five distinct and interconnected ways resulting in their deportation from the country. First, immigrants in the U.S. have experienced the harmful consequences of the convergence of criminal and civil immigration laws in the form of legal violence, which causes individuals to fear retribution by employers, avoid educational institutions due to the risk of uncovering their immigration status, and live in fear of being separated from their families (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Coutin, 2016). Secondly, immigrants in the U.S. have also experienced the harmful effects of “deportability,” which is part of an everyday production of migrant “illegality” where it is not intended to achieve the goal of deportation but rather to continue maintaining an undocumented migrant labor force as a disposable commodity (De Genova, 2002). Consequently, deportability has had a detrimental impact on non-citizen immigrants’ education, position in the workforce, and emotional and psychological well-being (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). Thirdly, immigrants in the U.S. have also experienced the harmful effects of exclusionary local, state, and federal

immigration laws and policies, which have made immigrants' lives in the U.S. more challenging (Morse, 2011). Fourth, immigrants in the U.S. have also faced the emergence of a *crimmigration system* where the immigration enforcement system has become integrated with the daily operations of the criminal justice system, that prioritize criminalizing, detaining, and deporting racial and ethnic minority immigrants (Armenta, 2017; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). Lastly, immigrant men from racial and ethnic minority communities have also been found to be disproportionately targeted and deported from the U.S. Ngai (2014) originally discussed the state's "racial removal program" of non-citizen racial and ethnic minority groups, however Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013) examined the state's "gendered racial removal project" that targeted racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men. As a result, Salvadoran immigrant men have been targeted, racially profiled, and deported from the U.S. (Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). These immigration laws and enforcement practices have worked to criminalize immigrants in the United States and have them removed from the country.

In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador were found to experience the effects of these immigration laws and enforcement practices similarly and differently in their daily lives. Building on Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo's (2013) discussion on the mass deportations of racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men from the U.S., this study demonstrated that these laws and enforcement practices also impacted immigrant men who were fathers. Due to their ethnic identity, immigration status, gender, age, and socioeconomic status, immigrant and working-class adult men in the U.S. who were also fathers from El Salvador were disproportionately targeted and criminalized by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement

practices (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). While they were not targeted for their relationships to their children and fathering roles, it remains important to highlight the experiences of racial and ethnic minority immigrant working class men are also fathers and members of mixed status families and communities. While immigration laws and enforcement practices attempted to criminalize and dehumanize racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men, this study challenges these attempts by humanizing and examining their roles as fathers and members of families in the U.S. and in El Salvador. As Salvadoran immigrants continue to be disproportionately targeted and criminalized, their children and families also face the effects of these laws and practices in their own lives.

(2) Fatherhood and Families: This study also highlights how men learn to become fathers and how they modify their fathering roles and responsibilities based on their geographical location, gendered expectations, and other external factors including laws and enforcement practices. This demonstrates that fathering roles are not fixed but socially constructed. The practices and meanings of masculinity and fatherhood have been traditionally related to their gender identity and to men's experiences with their own family members (Kane, 2006). Studies have found fathers to participate in fathering roles based on hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). While many men have followed a U.S. and Salvadoran traditional view of fatherhood as providers, patriarchs, breadwinners, and role models, other fathers have followed a more gender-equal, gender-neutral, and egalitarian form of fatherhood (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Studies have highlighted the changing role of fathers in the U.S. during the twenty-first century from the distant breadwinner to the modern involved dad and to the father who believes in co-parenting (Cabrera et al., 2000). But literature on families has also

found that families are increasingly experiencing an absence of residential fathers due to family, immigration, and legal issues (Cabrera et al., 2000). Previous studies have demonstrated how men creatively practice fathering for their children living in the same and in a different country. Behnke and colleagues (2008) found that Latino immigrant fathers who lived in the U.S. with their children struggled to fulfill their role as fathers due to their immigration status. They were limited in their ability to use physical punishment to discipline, struggled to participate in all of their children's activities, and feared interactions with law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies but nonetheless they remained highly involved in their children's lives by providing for them financially, educating them, and supporting their goals and aspirations (Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014). Mexican immigrant fathers in the U.S. were also found to experience changes in their relationships with their children in Mexico. Mexican fathers became primarily focused on providing financially for their children from a distance (Dreby, 2006). Similarly, Filipino immigrant fathers who were physically apart from their children demonstrated their authority, masculinity, and identity through disciplining. These fathers followed their countries traditional script of fathering through disciplining and limiting their emotional expressions to their children (Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Likewise, Salvadoran immigrant fathers in the U.S. participated in sending large amounts of remittances to their children in El Salvador periodically, while mothers would send smaller remittances more often to their children. In addition, these fathers also struggled to stay in contact with their families especially when they could not fulfill their role as providers (Abrego, 2014; Dreby, 2006).

In this study, I examined how the criminalization and deportation of Salvadoran immigrant men impacted their fathering roles and responsibilities. As the U.S. immigration

enforcement regime targeted and criminalized Salvadoran men, they were forced to change how they parented their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. This study specifically found that the meanings and practices of fatherhood were also shaped by their immigration statuses and interactions with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime (Cabrera et al., 2000). Men who were able to live in the same country with their children experienced certain immigration restrictions, which resulted in changes in their fathering responsibilities, variations in their family structures, and an uncertain future. Similarly, Salvadoran men who lived in a different country from their children were forced to creatively practice fathering across borders (Abrego, 2014; Dreby, 2006; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). As a result, they used different forms of technology to regularly communicate with their children in another country. This study demonstrates the social, economic, legal, and familial changes Salvadoran men faced in their fathering roles and responsibilities. Through this study, scholars will be able to understand how the nation-state interferes in the lives and relationships of immigrant men and their children.

(3) Multigenerational & Intragenerational Punishments: This study demonstrates that when laws and enforcement practices target an individual it may lead to consequences on their children and romantic partners. Previous research has found that as immigration laws and enforcement practices restrict and criminalize immigrants, their children and families also experience the unintended consequences in their lives (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). Enriquez (2015) specifically found that the U.S. citizen children of undocumented parents experienced a multigenerational punishment when they shared the risks and limitations associated with their parent's immigration status. These citizen-children experienced a negative spill over effect even though they were not directly

targeted by these laws (Enriquez, 2015). This multigenerational punishment concept could also be used to examine how laws create various types of social, economic, physical, and emotional inequalities among the children of deported parents (Enriquez, 2015). Other scholars similarly found that children experience other forms of punishments due to their parents' immigration status. As children depend on their parents for physical, emotional, and financial needs, immigration laws work to disrupt the development of these different stages in their relationships (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018). As immigration laws separate fathers from their children, they are unable to become emotionally close to each other, learn from each other, experience family cohesion, and care for each other. As a result, it may generate conflict in their relationships resulting in an intergenerational estrangement (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018). As a result, these laws and enforcement practices may impact father-child relationships. Similarly, immigration laws and enforcement practices may generate relationship problems between immigrant men and their romantic partners living in the same country and in another country. Scholars found that immigration laws and enforcement practices have historically affected the romantic love, intimacy, and family formation plans between immigrants and their romantic partners (Enriquez, 2020; Gomberg- Muñoz 2016). As a result, many couples become physically and emotionally distant from each other over time.

This study found that when U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices criminalized and deported Salvadoran immigrant men, their children experienced this multigenerational punishment in their lives (Enriquez, 2015; Cabrera et al., 2000; Abrego, 2014; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). The children of Salvadoran immigrant men who lived in the U.S. learned at an early age that immigration laws controlled many aspects of their lives

and authorized the removal of immigrants in the country. Children were also emotionally affected by anti-immigrant rhetoric, discrimination, and racism directed towards their parents and families. Children living in another country from their fathers were forced to grow up without their fathers physically present as they faced restrictive family reunification opportunities. Previous studies found that nearly 12% of children in El Salvador grew up without one or both parents. In some regions of the country, as many as 16% and even up to 40% of children grew up without one or both parents due to migration (Abrego, 2014). As the U.S. immigration enforcement regime continues to criminalize and deport immigrant men, we may also find similar numbers of immigrant men separated from their children in the U.S. as seen in El Salvador (Boodram, 2018; Dreby, 2015; Das Gupta, 2014; Magana-Salgado, 2014). Similarly, the romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in the U.S. and in El Salvador faced the consequences of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement in their lives and romantic relationships in the form of intragenerational punishments. As U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices generate multigenerational punishments in the lives of the children of Salvadoran men, the romantic partners of Salvadoran men also experience the consequences of these laws in their relationships.

(4) Membership & Belonging: This study investigates how laws and its enforcement practices problematize notions of citizenship, membership, and belonging for individuals and their families. As international migration and deportations increase throughout the world, long-held notions of citizenship have been challenged (Bloemraad et al., 2008). This concept of citizenship has been traditionally defined as a “form of membership in a political and geographic community” (Bloemraad et al., 2008: 154). However, many countries have

historically excluded specific individuals from becoming formal members and citizens through the use of immigration laws and policies. Non-citizen immigrants have experienced exclusion as they are denied their legal rights, a sense of membership and belonging, and restricted political, social, and legal forms of participation. Immigrant and deported men have specifically experienced exclusion because of their non-citizen immigration status and removals from these countries. While their citizen children and family members experience greater inclusion in their education, employment opportunities, government assistance programs, voting rights, and opportunities to travel internationally, they also experience moments of exclusion since they are part of the same family (Yoshikawa, 2011). In response, they have been forced to create alternative forms of membership and belonging within these countries. For example, Flores (2003) discussed how immigrants in the U.S. who were not eligible for a U.S. citizenship created a community, claimed spaces, and rights, which were all essential elements of cultural citizenship. Likewise, Varsanyi (2005) reported that undocumented immigrants participated in various forms of political citizenship even though their status prohibited formal political participation. Ramakrishnan and Colbern (2015) similarly found that policies at the state level tended to provide an alternative form of membership based on state residence rather than at the federal level. Lastly, Varsanyi (2006) reported that undocumented immigrants could gain urban citizenship by inhabiting urban spaces even when the federal government deemed their very presence in the U.S. as unlawful. As a result, immigrants, deportees, and their allies have worked together to construct alternative forms of membership in order to experience a sense of belonging in countries that criminalize, discriminate, and deny them formal memberships.

This study similarly found that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices disrupted Salvadoran immigrant and deported men's formal membership and sense of belonging. As immigrant men in the U.S. and in El Salvador experienced exclusionary practices by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, their children and mixed-status families in both countries simultaneously experienced the consequences of their exclusion. Most Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. were unable to freely travel, petition their relatives in El Salvador, obtain high paying jobs and work permits, vote in government elections, secure a legal pathway to U.S. citizenships, or live permanently in the U.S. They also remained concerned that they could be deported from the U.S. While Salvadoran men with temporary immigration statuses and legal permanent residencies experienced greater inclusion in the U.S., undocumented immigrants faced more exclusionary practices, which affected their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. Similarly, Salvadoran men who once lived in the U.S. and were deported to El Salvador struggled to incorporate into El Salvador's society, workforce, economy, and culture even though they were Salvadoran citizens. The constant discrimination and stigmatization by Salvadoran law enforcement, employers, families, gangs, and Salvadoran natives affected their membership and sense of belonging in El Salvador. As a result, deportees identified more with their U.S.-American identity, culture, language, and traditions as they planned to return to the U.S. However, both Salvadoran immigrant and deported men learned to construct alternative forms of membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador in order to survive.

(5) Resistance & Mobilization: Lastly, this study demonstrated how individuals understood their relationship to laws and enforcement practices. Members of immigrant communities have understood the harm caused by these laws and enforcement practices

based on their *legal consciousness*, which is the everyday or commonsense understanding of the law (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Ewick and Silbey (1998) specifically studied people's perspectives and experiences of the law to understand how they use and understand the law. Individuals who were "before the law" viewed the law as something sacred that required respect. Many individuals who were "with the law" found it to be accessible, perceived it as a game, and utilized it as a resource for their advantage. These individuals were more likely to make claims for equality and inclusion. The remaining individuals were found to be "against the law" due to its arbitrary authority as they were unable to make claims for redress or inclusion (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). In response, members from disenfranchised and marginalized groups have been found to be situated historically against the law as they become increasingly suspicious of the law and its harmful implementation in their lives (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Several scholars have studied this specific relationship of individuals with the law. Abrego (2011) shared how undocumented immigrants who were continuously marginalized responded by engaging in protests to demand full and legal inclusion in the U.S., which were informed by their legal consciousness (Abrego, 2008). Similarly, Stuesse and Coleman (2014) reported that immigrants and their allies used social networks and social media to help immigrants drive on a daily basis in order to avoid getting pulled over which could have resulted in their deportation from the U.S. Lastly, Hidalgo (2015) argued that immigrants purposely avoided law enforcement officers, border patrol and ICE officers, and other immigration enforcement agencies in order to protect themselves from being arrested, detained, and deported. While some immigrants were able to view the law as accessible and utilize it to

experience inclusion in the U.S., the majority engaged in different strategies to survive the effects of these laws and enforcement practices in their families and communities.

This study found that Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families understood and positioned themselves to immigration laws based on their legal consciousness. While some Salvadoran men positioned themselves “before the law” and “with the law,” the majority positioned themselves “against the law.” In response, they engaged in resistance and mobilization strategies to withstand the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. described their participation in pro-immigrant protests and organizations, they also refused to share their personal information with government agencies, and avoided interactions with law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies. In addition, they reunited with family members from El Salvador by hiring human smugglers in response to restrictions by U.S. immigration laws that denied them the opportunity to petition and reunite with their family members in El Salvador. Similarly, Salvadoran men who were deported from the U.S. and lived in El Salvador defied these laws and enforcement practices by reuniting with their U.S. children and romantic partners in El Salvador, re-migrating to the U.S. without legal authorization, and re-creating their memories from the U.S. through U.S. traditions, meals, sports, and holidays. Salvadoran men engaged in different mobilization and resistance strategies in order to confront the same laws and enforcement practices that harmed and targeted them in the United States.

Research Methods: To understand the impact of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime on Salvadoran men and their families, I investigated the effects of these laws on their fathering practices and responsibilities, relationships with their children and

romantic partners, their membership and belonging, their understanding of laws, and engagement in mobilization and resistance strategies. In order to investigate these themes, this project utilized qualitative research methods including interviews with Salvadoran immigrant and deported men.

In El Salvador, I interviewed forty Salvadoran men who had been deported from the United States to El Salvador. I lived in San Salvador, El Salvador for one month from September 2019 to October 2019 in order to conduct semi-structured interviews in-person. I had conducted a preliminary visit to El Salvador in September 2018 to meet with non-profit organization directors, faith-based organization leaders, government officials, university professors and department chairs, and deportees. Through that visit, I was able to find an interest in this research study by organizations, churches, universities, and deportees themselves. In 2019, I was able to use these networks in order to recruit interviewees at Salvadoran non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government agencies, English educational centers, universities, and religious organizations that worked closely with deportees. I used a “snowball” approach, asking participants to suggest friends and relatives who were also Salvadoran deported men who were also fathers. As a result, I recruited a diverse sample of Salvadoran fathers who had been deported to El Salvador after living in the U.S. All interviewees were compensated with \$10 cash awards. Interviewees in El Salvador were interested in participating in this university study in order to demonstrate to the U.S. government and make people in the U.S. aware of the short-term and long-term impacts of deportations on Salvadoran men and their families.

Interviews with Salvadoran deported men examined their migration and immigration legal histories, family histories, children and romantic partner relationships,

experiences with formal and informal forms of membership and belonging, understanding of the law, and engagement with resistance and mobilization histories in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Interviews also focused on their life experiences before migrating, while living in the U.S., as they were being deported, and returning to El Salvador. Interview questions specifically focused on the impact of their deportation on their children and families physically, psychologically, emotionally, and financially as they planned their futures in El Salvador, the U.S., or in another country. Interviews were conducted in Spanish or English and audiotaped and transcribed.

Demographics (Salvadoran Deported Fathers): The table below (Table 1) highlights the demographics of Salvadoran deported fathers that participated in this study. All the Salvadoran deported men who were interviewed lived at one point in the U.S. but now resided in El Salvador. Among the Salvadoran men interviewed, twenty of them were once undocumented immigrants, seven were once temporary protected status beneficiaries, and thirteen were once legal permanent residents when they lived in the U.S. Salvadoran men who were once TPS beneficiaries and legal permanent residents shared that their temporary and permanent immigration statuses had expired, been terminated, or had been revoked as they were deported. Twenty-three deported fathers had children in the U.S., ten fathers had children in El Salvador, and seven fathers had children in both the U.S. and in El Salvador. The average age of the men in this study was 48.55 years old with the youngest man being twenty-seven years old and the oldest man being sixty-seven years old. The average age of Salvadoran men in this study when they first migrated from El Salvador to the U.S. was 21.12 years old. One man migrated to the U.S. as young as six months old while another man migrated at sixty-one years old. The average number of years of Salvadoran

men living in the U.S. was 21.06 years. One man lived in the U.S. only two months while another man lived in the country for forty-three years. Lastly, the average number of years of Salvadoran men living in El Salvador after being deported was 6.76 years. One man reported living in El Salvador for two weeks while another man had lived in the country for twenty-seven years after being deported. In this study, all Salvadoran deported men remained living in El Salvador but some planned to re-migrate to the United States or another country.

Table 1 Salvadoran Deported Fathers (n=40)

Immigration Status	20 Fathers Formerly Undocumented	7 Fathers Formerly Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries	13 Fathers Formerly Legal Permanent Residents
Children's Country of Residence	23 Fathers had Children Living in the United States	10 Fathers had Children Living in El Salvador	7 Fathers had Children Living in the U.S. & in El Salvador
Age of Fathers	Youngest Father: 27 Years Old	Average Age: 48.55 Years Old	Oldest Father: 67 Years Old
Age of Migration	Youngest Father: 6 Months Old	Average Age: 21.12 Years Old	Oldest Father: 61 Years Old
Number of Years in the United States	Least Amount of Years: 2 Months	Average Amount of Years: 21.06 Years	Greatest Amount of Years: 43 Years
Number of Years Living in El Salvador (Post-Deportation)	Least Amount of Years: 2 Weeks	Average Amount of Years: 6.76 Years	Greatest Amount of Years: 27 Years

In the United States, I interviewed forty Salvadoran immigrant men who were non-U.S. citizens in the country. Once I returned from El Salvador in 2019, I conducted semi-

structured interviews in-person and over the phone with Salvadoran immigrant men from January to April 2020. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, I was no longer able to conduct in-person interviews. In 2019, I conducted preliminary research as I spoke with different non-profit organization directors, faith-based organization leaders, university professors, attorneys, and immigrant fathers. Several organizations and immigrant fathers who were a part of these organizations expressed their interest in this research study. In 2020, I was able to use these networks in order to recruit interviewees through announcements at Central American community and immigrant rights organizations, religious organizations, and other areas with large immigrant populations. I used a “snowball” approach, asking initial contacts to suggest additional potential interviewees. As a result, I recruited a diverse sample of Salvadoran immigrant men who were non-U.S. citizens in the U.S. Interviewees were given \$10 cash awards as compensation for participating in the study. Interviewees in the U.S. were interested in participating in a university study that would lead to more awareness and potential changes to U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices at the local, state, and federal level that targeted the Salvadoran community in the United States.

Interviews with Salvadoran immigrant men examined their migration and immigration legal histories, family histories, children and romantic partner relationships, experiences with formal and informal forms of membership and belonging, understanding of the laws, and engagement with resistance and mobilization histories in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Interviews also focused on their experiences while living in El Salvador, experiences as they were migrating to the U.S., and transitioning to a life in the United States. Interview questions specifically focused on the impact of their migration and

immigration status on their children and families physically, psychologically, emotionally, and financially as they planned their future in the United States, El Salvador or in another country. Interviews were conducted in Spanish or English and audiotaped and transcribed.

Demographics (Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers): The table below (Table 2) highlights the demographics of Salvadoran immigrant fathers that participated in this study. All the Salvadoran immigrant men who were interviewed had migrated from El Salvador and lived in the United States. Among the Salvadoran men interviewed, fifteen men were undocumented immigrants, sixteen men were temporary protected status beneficiaries, and nine men were legal permanent residents. Thirty-one immigrant fathers reported having children in the U.S., three fathers had children in El Salvador, and six fathers had children in both the U.S. and in El Salvador. The average age of the Salvadoran immigrant men in this study was 44.48 years old. The youngest man was twenty-four years old and the oldest man was seventy-three years old. The average age of migration among the immigrant men was 25.33 years old. One man migrated as young as six years old and one man migrated at fifty-five years old to the U.S. Lastly, the average number of years immigrant men have lived in the U.S. was 19.33 years. One man reported living in the U.S. for four years while another man had lived in the country for forty-four years. All Salvadoran immigrant men in this study lived in the U.S. at the time of the interview.

Table 2 Salvadoran Immigrant Fathers (n=40)

Immigration Status	15 Fathers Undocumented	16 Fathers Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries	9 Fathers Legal Permanent Residents
Children's Country of Residence	31 Fathers had Children Living in the	3 Fathers had Children Living in El Salvador	6 Fathers had Children Living in the U.S. & in El

	United States		Salvador
Age of Fathers	Youngest Father: 24 Years Old	Average Age: 44.48 Years Old	Oldest Father: 73 Years Old
Age of Migration	Youngest Father: 6 Years Old	Average Age: 25.33 Years Old	Oldest Father: 55 Years Old
Number of Years Living in U.S.	Least Amount of Years: 4 Years	Average Amount of Years: 19.33 Years	Greatest Amount of Years: 44 Years

Data Analysis: Interviews helped generate detailed and reliable accounts of how the U.S. immigration enforcement regime has shaped the lives and relationships of Salvadoran men and their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador. I first prepared the data by transforming it from audio recordings and observations into readable text. I checked the text for errors and organized and managed it using Microsoft Word. I transcribed most of the interviews but I also hired three undergraduate research assistants to transcribe some of the interviews. Each interview transcription included the interviewees' pseudonym and identification number. I organized all qualitative data by typing them into Microsoft Word and managed the data by labeling characteristics including fieldwork settings and participants on the interview transcript. I also used a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) program known as *Dedoose* to manage, code, and display the data collected in order to analyze my interviews.

Through this process, I identified concepts, processes, patterns, and relationships in the data. I browsed through all the transcripts carefully and labeled relevant phrases, words, sentences, or sections. I coded with the selection of a unit of textual data. I then

decided which codes were the most important and created categories/themes by bringing several codes together. Once I labeled the categories, I decided which were the most relevant and how they were connected to each other. An example of themes (categories) from this study included migration, immigration, family, parenting, and mobilization histories. One example of a code (sub-category) was the several forms of resistance and mobilization efforts by Salvadoran men and their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Through this data analysis, I found several commonalities and differences among Salvadoran immigrant men and deported men and their families. I highlight these similarities and differences as the main findings from this study. I concluded my data analysis by writing up my results, which included the description of each category and how they were connected. I then interpreted and discussed the results from this study in my findings. I interpreted the results by comparing it to previous studies in immigration and family's studies, compared and contrasted it to existing theories and concepts, and presented my new findings. Findings were evaluated based on patterns, checking with scholars, and making sure to capture participants' voices and experiences.

Positionality: As an ethnographer, I recognized my positionality throughout this research process especially when collecting, analyzing, and writing the findings of this study. I recognize my privilege as a U.S. citizen who was born in the U.S. to Salvadoran immigrants parents. As a U.S. citizen, I was able to travel freely from the U.S. to El Salvador unlike many of the research participants. I am also fluent in both Spanish and English, which allowed me to communicate with participants. Similar to the participants, my family is also composed of mixed-status family members including immigrants and deportees. I also understand my greatest privilege as a doctoral student. I recognize that my

positionality allowed me to be accepted by participants in the field. Some participants commented that the only reason they participated in this research study was because I was the son of Salvadoran immigrants. They mentioned that if I were a white male who did not speak Spanish, they would hesitate to participate. As a researcher, I am fully aware that my positionality influenced my dissertation including my recruitment efforts, data collection, analysis, and findings.

Main Points & Key Findings: In this section, I would like to highlight the main points and key findings from each chapter in this dissertation. In the first chapter, titled *“The Legal Inclusion and Exclusion of Salvadoran Immigrant Men in the United States,”* I examine Salvadoran immigrant and deported men’s experiences with inclusionary and exclusionary immigration laws and enforcement practices in the U.S. First, Salvadoran immigrant men shared that they benefited from immigration laws and policies as they found legal pathways to adjust their own and their families’ immigration statuses in the U.S. As U.S. immigration laws and policies changed during the 1990s and 2000s, many Salvadorans became eligible to become Temporary Protected Status beneficiaries and legal permanent residents. However, most Salvadoran immigrant men in this study faced legal barriers alongside their families as they continued being criminalized and threatened with deportations. Regardless of their immigration status, they remained fearful of being deported back to El Salvador. Secondly, Salvadoran immigrant men were also found to experience the harmful consequences of immigration laws when seeking employment opportunities, a higher education, and housing in the U.S. These forms of social immobility affected their livelihood and their families. In addition, Salvadoran immigrant men faced laws and policies that controlled their physical movements locally, domestically, and

internationally. Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant men believed that immigration laws made their futures uncertain as undocumented immigrants and those who had in-between immigration statuses continued being vulnerable to deportations. As they navigated their lives in the U.S., most Salvadoran immigrants believed they faced discriminatory practices based on their ethnic identity, language skills, and immigration statuses by their employers, educational institutions, government agencies, social institutions, and in their everyday life. As their futures remained uncertain, Salvadoran immigrant men developed a fear of being deported from the U.S. While some Salvadoran immigrants and their families benefited from these laws and policies, the majority faced the harmful effects of these laws and enforcement practices in their lives.

In the second chapter, titled “*Navigating Fatherhood Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*,” I demonstrate how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices impact the parenting experiences of Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers. First, Salvadoran fathers shared their definitions of fathering roles and responsibilities, their understandings on the roles and responsibilities of mothers and fathers, and their perspectives on parenting children in El Salvador and in the U.S. Secondly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers shared how immigration laws and practices affected their ability to fulfill their roles and responsibilities. Salvadoran deported fathers mentioned that their deportations prevented them from fulfilling many of their roles and responsibilities as their fathers once they were physically separated from their children. Salvadoran immigrant fathers also shared that their migration to the U.S., their immigration statuses, immigration laws, and enforcement practices impacted their ability to fulfill many of these fathering roles and responsibilities. As Salvadoran fathers attempted to fulfill many of their

fathering responsibilities they faced several other factors. As Salvadoran fathers separated from the mothers of their children, many experienced changes in their relationships to their children. As Salvadoran fathers became physically separated from their children their fathering roles and responsibilities changed. Salvadoran fathers also experienced changes in their roles and responsibilities as they struggled to financially support their children and discipline them from a distance. While many fathers remained connected to their children, some fathers become emotionally and physically distant. As immigration laws targeted and deported immigrant men, it also affected their fathering roles and responsibilities.

In the third chapter, titled "*The Impact of the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime on the Children and Romantic Partners of Salvadoran Men*," I examine the perceived experiences of the children and romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men. The children of Salvadoran immigrant deported men were believed to have experienced the negative spill over effect of immigration laws and enforcement practices into their own lives in the form of multigenerational punishments. These forms of punishments manifested in the form of social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences. Children were believed to have faced social consequences as they were unable to take advantage of educational and career opportunities in the U.S., while children who experienced economic consequences faced income disparities and financial issues with their families. Children who faced emotional consequences were believed to have experienced emotional trauma and separations from their fathers and families, while children who were also physically separated from their fathers and families experienced physical consequences. Similarly, U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices affected the lives of the romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers through

intragenerational punishments. These punishments manifested in the form of physical, emotional, and immigration consequences. Romantic partners who faced physical consequences became physically separated from their husbands and romantic partners. Romantic partners who experienced emotional consequences also became emotionally distant from each other. Partners who faced immigration consequences were also unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses. As immigration laws and enforcement practices affected the lives of Salvadoran men, their children and romantic partners also experienced these different forms of consequences in their lives.

In the fourth chapter, titled "*No Soy de Aqui ni de Alla: Navigating Membership and Belonging Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*," I examine how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men understood their membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. U.S. immigration laws and enforcement actions were found to affect immigrant and deportees' sense of membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. First, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador experienced different processes of exclusion and (dis)memberment. Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. encountered immigration laws and policies that restricted formal memberships and authorized their removal from the country, while deported men faced Salvadoran laws that legally stigmatized, criminalized, and discriminated against deportees. Secondly, as Salvadoran immigrants and deportees settled in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they believed that social and legal institutions marginalized and discriminated against them because of their immigration statuses, deportations, criminal records, age, and prior military service. They believed that law enforcement agencies, employers, and everyday people discriminated and marginalized them from society. Thirdly, these

experiences of exclusion further affected their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. However, these exclusionary practices not only affected their lives but also their children's membership and sense of belonging, how they identified themselves, and the way they communicated with others. Lastly, these experiences motivated immigrants and deportees in both countries to recreate and find alternative forms of memberships and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Immigrants and deportees were able to find support and memberships through non-profit organizations, faith-based groups, and by connecting with other immigrants and deportees. As U.S. and Salvadoran governments used their laws to prevent immigrants and deportees from integrating and incorporating into their countries, many were denied formal memberships and a sense of belonging. In response, they resisted and challenged the same laws and policies that marginalized them in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

In the fifth chapter, titled "*Engaging in Resistance and Mobilization Strategies to Survive the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime's Effects on Salvadoran Men and their Families,*" I examine how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men understood and made certain claims about laws, positioned themselves in relation to laws, and engaged in resistance and mobilization strategies to challenge harmful immigration laws and enforcement practices. Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study responded to U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices based on their legal consciousness (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). While some Salvadoran immigrant and deported men viewed the law as something beneficial, most men viewed these laws as harmful to their lives and families. Some men positioned themselves "before the law" as they considered laws to be something sacred that required their respect. Other men positioned themselves "with the law" as they

believed it was accessible and a resource for their advantage. But most men positioned themselves “against the law” as they became suspicious and distrustful of laws and their effects in their lives. In response, many Salvadoran immigrant and deported men challenged these harmful laws and enforcement practices by engaging in several resistance and mobilization efforts. First, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees collaborated with non-profit and faith-based organizations in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Secondly, immigrants and deportees sought the legal assistance from attorneys to adjust their statuses, reunite with their family members, and return to the U.S. after being deported. Thirdly, immigrants and deportees engaged in evasion strategies to avoid being identified by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies within the U.S. and when migrating to the U.S. after being deported. Fourth, immigrants and deportees participated in family reunification efforts without the approval of U.S. and Salvadoran governments and immigration agencies. Lastly, as Salvadoran immigrants became uncertain about their futures they created emergency family plans with their children and romantic partners. Salvadoran deportees also debated whether to return to the U.S., stay in El Salvador, or find another country to migrate to with and without the support of the Salvadoran government. These different understandings of laws, positionalities to laws, and responses to laws and enforcement practices demonstrate the diverse approaches to laws.

Broader Impact: This dissertation focuses on the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime on Salvadoran immigrant men and their families, but it more broadly demonstrates how laws could have harmful consequences on individuals, their children and romantic partners, and future generations. As such, these consequences could affect members of mixed-status families within a country and transnational families in another

country. This study also demonstrates the fluidity of laws as they change over time and affect individuals and families differently. It also demonstrates how laws could extend beyond a country's borders. While U.S. immigration laws have helped immigrant families in several important ways, most of these laws and enforcement actions have also harmed immigrant communities of color. While this study illustrates the experiences of an ethnic immigrant community and gendered group in the U.S. and in El Salvador, further research may find similar patterns and findings between other immigrant and gendered groups in the U.S. and abroad. Through this study, we can better understand the experiences of immigrant fathers and families in the U.S. and in other countries.

Chapter 1: The Legal Inclusion & Exclusion of Salvadoran Immigrant Men in the United States and Salvadoran Deported Men in El Salvador

In this chapter, I examine how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men experienced the dual nature of laws in the U.S. as they faced both inclusionary and exclusionary immigration laws and policies (Bosniak, 1988; Wodak, 2008). Schrover and Schinkel discussed that the legal inclusion and exclusion of immigrants begins with the language and state-initiated categorizations, which then determines who becomes members of in-groups and out-groups and how they are treated (2013). Abrego also mentioned that these state-initiated categorizations take on the form of legal statuses which determine who is granted or marginalized from the country's resources, rights, and protections (2019). As such, immigrants in the U.S. are categorized as undocumented immigrants, temporary protected status beneficiaries, legal permanent residents, and U.S. citizens. While undocumented immigrants are more likely to face exclusionary practices, U.S. citizens are more likely to experience inclusionary practices. Abrego and Lakhani argued that immigrants in the middle who had liminal and humanitarian legal statuses experienced "incomplete inclusion" as a result of U.S. immigration policies (2015). Similarly, Menjivar argued that immigrants with these tenuous legal standings beyond undocumented statuses but short of residencies and citizenships experienced the effects of the "liminal legality" of their immigration statuses in their daily lives (2006). As a result, most scholars have found that U.S. immigration laws have been beneficial but also harmful towards immigrants and their families in the form of "legal violence" (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2015). As such, Salvadoran men in this study faced the legal inclusion and exclusion of U.S. immigration laws.

This study demonstrates that U.S. immigration laws, policies, and enforcement practices have the power and authority to disrupt immigrant's lives and families. This includes the disruption of relationships that immigrants consider to be sacred and valuable. As a result, immigration laws and enforcement practices have the potential to affect immigrants and deportee's everyday lives. But this form of suffering is contingent on their legal statuses. In this study, immigrants and deportees were found to face the harmful effects of exclusionary immigration laws and enforcement practices based on their legal statuses. However, immigrants and deportees believed that once their legal statuses changed over time they would be able to benefit from immigration laws and policies instead of being harmed by these laws and enforcement actions. Since most immigrants remained as non-citizens, they continued to be threatened with deportations unless they became U.S. citizens. Deportees were also believed to have become members of a new legal status. While previous studies have considered undocumented statuses, temporary and humanitarian legal statuses, legal permanent residencies, and U.S. citizenships as immigration statuses within the legal spectrum, this study argues that deportees also exist within this legal spectrum. Over time, deportees may be able to return to the U.S. with the help of their relatives and receive a new immigration status. In the same way, non-citizen immigrants in the U.S. could be deported and become deportees. As such, deportees exist within this legal spectrum of immigration statuses even though they live outside the U.S.

While some Salvadoran immigrants have benefited from U.S. immigration laws, most immigrants have been targeted and criminalized by these same laws and enforcement actions. Salvadoran immigrants who benefited from immigration laws and policies found legal pathways to adjust their own and their families' immigration statuses (Coutin, 2003;

Coffino, 2006). Using a life course framework, I identified how Salvadoran immigrants and their families were able to adjust their immigration statuses following important changes in immigration laws and policies during the 1990s and 2000s (Jacobs, 2019). As a result, some Salvadoran immigrant men were able to become Temporary Protected Status beneficiaries and legal permanent residents (Coutin, 2003; Menjivar, 2017; Mountz et al., 2002; Frelick & Kohnen, 1995). However, most Salvadoran immigrant men have been criminalized and marginalized by immigration laws and policies so they have faced legal barriers alongside their families (Morse, 2011; Abrego et al., 2017). Many Salvadoran immigrants who faced these legal barriers were also found to experience the harmful consequences of immigration laws (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). These forms of legal violence affected immigrants when seeking employment opportunities, a higher education, and housing (Fussell, 2011; Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014; Flores, 2016; Oliveri, 2009). As a result, they experienced social immobility in the U.S., which affected their livelihood and their families.

As Salvadoran immigrants adjusted to life in the U.S., many faced laws and policies that controlled their physical movements within and outside the U.S. (Wong, 2012). Scholars have investigated how immigration laws govern the space within a nation state and how it controls the movement of bodies inside and outside that space (Volpp, 2013; Romero, 2006). While immigrants desire to travel locally and domestically, many have been denied this opportunity (Lopez, 2004; Valdivia, 2019). Similarly, immigration laws have also controlled immigrants' movement outside the country (North, 2015; Morawetz, 2006). These forms of physical immobility not only affect Salvadoran immigrant men but also their families in the U.S. and abroad. As Salvadoran immigrant men developed

relationships with their families, employers, and communities in the U.S., many were uncertain of what would happen to them in the future (Menjivar, 2006). Salvadoran men who were undocumented immigrants and those who had in-between immigration statuses believed that their immigration statuses remained *in limbo* as they continued being vulnerable to deportations unless they became U.S. citizens (Menjivar, 2017; Mountz et al., 2002; Huezo, 2020). These forms of liminal legality placed them in precarious legal situations with their families as their futures remained uncertain (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015).

Many Salvadoran immigrant men also described their perceived experiences with discrimination (Becerra et al., 2013; Ayon, 2016). Most immigrants believed they experienced discrimination in the U.S. because of their ethnic identity, language skills, and immigration status, but also due to their gender, race, age, and social class (Perez, 2008; Cobb et al., 2017; Dietz, 2010). They believe they were discriminated by their employers, educational institutions, government agencies, social institutions, and in their everyday life (Almeida et al., 2016; Romero, 2016; Gleeson, 2016). As U.S. immigration laws authorized the removal of non-citizen immigrants from the country, Salvadoran immigrant men developed a general fear of being deported from the U.S. (De Genova, 2002; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). As the U.S. disproportionately targets racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men, many have become concerned that they will also be deported (Ngai, 2014; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). In this study, many Salvadoran immigrants alongside their families have benefited from U.S. immigration laws and policies. However, most immigrants have experienced the harmful effects of these laws and enforcement practices in their lives. Rather than focus

solely on the effects of inclusionary and exclusionary immigration laws and policies on immigrant's lives, this study also investigates how these legal pathways, legal barriers, social and physical immobilities, legal uncertainties, discrimination, and the fear of deportation have also affected the lives of their children and families in the U.S. and El Salvador.

Legal Pathways

As Salvadoran immigrant men migrated and incorporated into the U.S. with their families, many Salvadorans were able to find legal pathways through U.S. immigration laws and policies (Coffino, 2006; Hayes, 2018). Significant changes in these laws and policies during the 1990s and 2000s allowed Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. to adjust their immigration statuses (Coutin, 2003; Mountz et al., 2002). Using a life-course perspective, Salvadoran immigrants identified how their lives and their families' lives were transformed by these changes in immigration laws and policies (Jacobs, 2019). Their experiences highlighted the specific processes and legal pathways they took to be able to temporarily and permanently live in the U.S. Many Salvadoran immigrants in this study were able to become temporary protected status beneficiaries and legal permanent residents. In 2008, there were approximately 229,000 Salvadoran immigrants who were Temporary Protected Status beneficiaries and 340,000 Salvadoran immigrants who were legal permanent residents (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). While U.S. immigration laws granted some immigrants the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses, most Salvadoran immigrants were unable to change their immigration statuses or become U.S. citizens. This highlights the dual role of immigration laws and policies

Temporary Protected Status Program: Salvadoran immigrants in this study shared their experiences of becoming temporary protected status beneficiaries as a result of important changes in U.S. immigration laws and policies (Mountz et al., 2002; Menjivar, 2017). Salvadoran immigrants who received TPS have been allowed to temporarily live and work in the U.S. while protected from deportation (Allen, 2017). But recently the U.S. government has made an effort to end the TPS program for Salvadorans, which would make TPS beneficiaries undocumented immigrants again and also deportable (Rojas-Flores et al., 2019; Sooy, 2018). While the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans is being contested in the courts, TPS beneficiaries continue to have certain benefits and opportunities not offered to undocumented immigrants in the country (Rathod et al, 2017; Abrego & Lakhani, 2015). Xavier Cabal, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that when the majority of Salvadoran immigrants arrived to the U.S. many became undocumented immigrants. But soon after, the U.S. government began offering TPS to Salvadorans living in the U.S. during a specific time period. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans were able to obtain TPS and work permits. He said, "I was undocumented when I arrived to the U.S. in October 2000. But then President Bush decided to offer TPS to Salvadorans in January of 2001. It wasn't until October 2001 that I got my work permit and legal documentation." Immigrants with TPS strongly believed that the date of their arrival to the U.S. allowed them to be eligible for the TPS program. After living in the U.S., many became TPS beneficiaries and were allowed to work in the country. Similarly, Adan Leandro, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that most Salvadorans that migrated to the U.S. automatically became undocumented immigrants. However, changes in the U.S. and in El Salvador made

Salvadoran immigrants eligible to apply for the TPS program in 2001. He said, “I was undocumented for many years but then President George Bush allowed all Salvadorans to apply for TPS in 2001. I applied and took advantage of the opportunity to become a TPS recipient.” This experience demonstrates that at one point Salvadorans were not eligible for the TPS program. But eventually U.S. President George W. Bush extended this opportunity to Salvadoran immigrants living in the country. The year 2001 became significant for Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. as the country of El Salvador experienced a destructive earthquake that resulted in hundreds of fatalities and injuries. As a result, Salvadorans were unable to return to El Salvador and were offered the TPS program. Likewise, Nico Pligeo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that some immigrants were able to become TPS beneficiaries after receiving orders of deportation. Most immigrants that qualified for the TPS program even had their deportation orders suspended, which allowed them to continue living in the United States for several decades.

I had an order of deportation for having entered the country illegally. When I went to court, I heard that there was a Temporary Protected Status program so I applied. My order of deportation was then suspended so that’s the way I was able to become a TPS beneficiary. To this day, I have been renewing my TPS and work permit. It was 30 years ago. To this day, I have my TPS and it has allowed me to work and to start my own business in the U.S.

These experiences demonstrate the significance of the temporary protected status program for Salvadorans. While their immigration statuses remain temporary, many have been able to live in the U.S. for several decades. While immigrants with TPS face legal restrictions

with their temporary status, many have been allowed to temporarily live and work in the country with protections from deportations. After living in the U.S. for several decades, they continue fighting for their opportunities to become legal permanent residents and United States citizens.

Legal Permanent Residency Program: Salvadoran immigrant men in this study also shared their experiences of becoming legal permanent residents in the U.S. (Coffino, 2006). Salvadoran immigrants who arrived to the U.S. before January 1, 1982 were able to legalize their status through the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986 (Calavita, 1989). However, many Salvadorans did not qualify since they migrated to the U.S. during and after the Salvadoran civil war. But a class action lawsuit known as the American Baptist Churches [ABC] vs. Thornburgh allowed Salvadorans to resubmit their asylum applications to obtain their legal permanent residency (Blum, 1991). The 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) also allowed Salvadoran immigrants to legalize their status (Eig, 1998). Salvadoran immigrants who became legal permanent residents were allowed to permanently live and work in the country, offered a legal pathway to a U.S. citizenship, and were protected from deportations unless they committed certain crimes and offenses (Hayes, 2018). Franco Aguilar, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that some immigrants became legal permanent residents through family-based petitions. While they were aware of the risks involved, many successfully became legal permanent residents with the help of their romantic partners.

My immigration status has changed. I am now a legal permanent resident. I became a resident after I got married with my U.S. citizen wife. I had to go back to El Salvador last year to complete my residency process. I went back in April 2019 until June 2019. I was

there for a couple of months waiting for my residency application to be processed. I was scared they were going to make me wait a year or more to complete the process. It was a risk to go back but I was able to return. I haven't tried it yet but I plan to become a U.S. citizen.

This detailed experience of becoming a legal permanent resident highlights the bureaucratic process immigrants must undergo to become residents. Like many residents, they are required to return to their country of birth to complete their residency process without the certainty they will be allowed to return to the U.S. However, most immigrants who become residents are allowed to return to the U.S. with their families. Lorenzo Valdez, who was also a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that many Salvadoran immigrants became legal permanent residents after having been undocumented immigrants and temporary protected status beneficiaries. However, neither status provided them a legal pathway to a legal permanent residency and U.S. citizenship.

One year after migrating, I applied for the Temporary Protected Status program. I applied and I received my TPS. There had been a hurricane in Central America so I received TPS since I could not return safely. I had TPS for about 14-15 years until I legalized my status and received my legal permanent residency. In March 2020, I started the paperwork for my U.S. citizenship since I had to wait 5 years with my residency until I could apply for it.

Unlike most TPS beneficiaries, some immigrants with TPS were able to become legal permanent residents after more than a decade under the TPS program. Once they were residents, they began working on becoming U.S. citizens. Similarly, Efraim Berrocal, who was also a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants became

residents in various ways. Immigrants who were victim of violence in the U.S. were eligible for U Visas and residencies. Through these programs, they are able to adjust their status, petition family members, and become U.S. citizens.

My immigration status changed after I experienced three violent assaults in my neighborhood. When I was assaulted, I was left bruised. I worked with several organizations so they knew who could help me obtain a U visa. I applied for a U visa and after four years I received a work permit. I then became eligible to apply for a legal permanent residency. I have had my residency for 3 years and it has allowed me to petition my youngest daughter and my wife to the U.S. I plan to apply for my U.S. citizenship in two years.

Many immigrants in this study reported becoming U.S. residents with the help from organizations. As a result, they were able to petition their children and families in El Salvador. While most immigrants had different legal paths in the U.S., they were eventually able to become residents and U.S. citizens. In this study, Salvadoran immigrants shared how they became TPS beneficiaries and legal permanent residents through U.S. immigration laws and policies. However, most Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. were not offered the same legal pathways to these immigration statuses. Instead, most Salvadoran immigrants and their families faced legal barriers when attempting to permanently live and work in the United States.

Legal Barriers

Most Salvadoran immigrant men in this study reported facing legal barriers in the U.S. as a result of exclusionary U.S. immigration laws and policies, which affected their lives, families, and futures in the country (Morse, 2011; Abrego et al., 2017). Most Salvadoran

immigrants who were undocumented did not have many legal opportunities to adjust their immigration statuses (Dreby, 2015; Gonzeles & Raphael, 2017). Salvadoran immigrants who became temporary protected status beneficiaries believed that court battles between the U.S. government and TPS beneficiaries made the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans uncertain (Huezo, 2020; Mountz et al., 2002). Similarly, Salvadoran immigrants who became legal permanent residents believed that under current immigration laws and policies they could be denied the opportunity to become naturalized U.S. citizens and become deportable if they committed certain crimes and offenses (Barillas, 2014; Dent, 2001). Salvadoran immigrant men with diverse immigration statuses in this study faced legal barriers when seeking to live in the U.S., obtain deportation protections, and envisioning a future with their families in the U.S.

Undocumented Immigrants: Many Salvadoran immigrant men shared their experiences of living in the U.S. as undocumented immigrants. Their immigration statuses prevented them from living, working, and successfully transitioning to the U.S. (Dreby, 2015). They were aware that their undocumented immigration status served as a legal marker that identified them from the rest of the population (Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). Due to their immigration status, they were not granted any legal documentation to legitimize their existence and presence in the country (Ramos-Sanchez, 2009). As a result, they faced legal barriers in obtaining employment, an education, and adjusting their immigration status (Abrego, 2006; Gleeson, 2010). Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared the difficulties of living in the U.S. without legal documentations. Most undocumented immigrants were unable to adjust their

immigration statuses, however many were still determined to find a way to legalize their status.

Well I don't think anything has affected me. I am living here illegally. I'm trying to legalize my status but in this moment I am still undocumented. I have never had any problems with police and immigration. I have always been illegal in the U.S. I haven't had an immigration status. I am still undocumented but I'm in the process of legalizing my immigration status.

Most immigrants were able to live in the U.S. without any problems but in order to survive they had to live in the shadows and avoid drawing attention to themselves. Their ability to live in the country undetected allowed them to prolong their time in the U.S. Similarly, Javier Vega, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many undocumented immigrants were unable to adjust their immigration statuses because of restrictive immigration laws. Attorneys would often times tell them about their limited opportunities to adjust their statuses.

My immigration status hasn't changed from being undocumented. There are no opportunities for me to legalize my status. I asked an immigration attorney and he told me that there are no opportunities for me unless I were to marry with someone who was a legal permanent resident or a U.S. citizen. That's the only way since I don't have a bad record or anything.

Many undocumented immigrants in the United States were unable to obtain a temporary or permanent immigration status in the country. While they lived, worked, and were members of U.S. society, they remained unlawfully present in the country and unprotected from the threat of deportations. As undocumented immigrants in the U.S., many did not have many

options to adjust their immigration statuses or offered a legal pathway to U.S. citizenships. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study who were undocumented immigrants became aware that their immigration status resulted in legal barriers in their lives and their families' lives in the U.S.

Legal Barriers for Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries: Salvadoran immigrants who were temporary protected status beneficiaries were also unable to adjust their immigration statuses or offered a legal pathway to U.S. citizenships (Hayes, 2018). While they were able to live and work temporarily in the country with certain protections from deportations, they were not granted access to permanent immigration statuses (Menjivar, 2017). The future of the TPS program for Salvadorans remained uncertain as the courts debated the future of the program (Huezo, 2020; Allen, 2017; Sooy, 2018). As a result, Salvadoran immigrants with TPS remained in this liminal legality, as their presence in the country was legally authorized but temporary in nature (Menjivar, 2006). Umberto Alguacil, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., described that immigrants who had TPS were unable to become legal permanent residents or U.S. citizens. Even though many met the qualifications for a U.S. residency, they were unsuccessful in adjusting their statuses and remained as TPS beneficiaries in the U.S.

I received my Temporary Protected Status but never obtained my residency. I had proof that I had entered the country during the required time for U.S. residencies. An attorney said I could but he did not help me but stole my money. The majority of TPS recipients received their residency through NACARA but I never did it. So I still have my TPS to this day.

Many immigrants with TPS strongly believed they qualified to become legal residents because of the moment they entered the country. Instead, many applied and became TPS beneficiaries. Some believed that their opportunity to become legal permanent residents was taken from them. Similarly, Ivan Ordonez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants with TPS desired to adjust their immigration statuses but were unsuccessful because there had not been any changes in U.S. immigration laws for TPS beneficiaries. As a result, immigrants with TPS had to wait for family petitions and new laws.

In 2001, I received my Temporary Protected Status and I still have it to this day. All I know is that I haven't had an opportunity to legalize my immigration status. There are no immigration laws to help me change my immigration status. I have to wait to see what happens with TPS or I have to wait until my daughter is older so she can petition me.

Most TPS beneficiaries in the U.S. have been denied the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses for several decades due to the lack of new legalization opportunities. As long as immigration laws and policies remain the same, most TPS beneficiaries will be unable to adjust their statuses unless their children or family members petition them.

Likewise, Alan Ruiz, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., described that TPS beneficiaries remained ineligible to become legal permanent residents and U.S. citizens without the support from their children and family members. Even though they continued to renew their status, they did not have a legal pathway to a residency and citizenship. He said, "I haven't had the chance to change my immigration status since TPS does not provide a pathway to a residency or citizenship unless a relative petitions me. My

wife and I haven't had the chance to get a permanent immigration status since we have the same immigration status." While children and romantic partners planned to petition their relatives with TPS, many who had the same immigration status were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses. Salvadoran immigrant men who were TPS beneficiaries in this study were aware of the legal barriers they faced with their immigration statuses. While they were able to temporarily live and work in the country, they were ineligible to become legal permanent residents. They were not guaranteed a permanent future in the United States with their families (Menjivar, 2006).

Legal Barriers for Legal Permanent Residents: Legal permanent residents in the U.S. were offered the opportunity to permanently live in the country, obtain protections from deportations, and offered legal pathways to become U.S. citizens (Coffino, 2006; Hayes, 2018). However, changes in U.S. immigration laws and policies made residents ineligible to become U.S. citizens and deportable if they committed certain crimes and offenses (Barillas, 2014; Dent, 2001). As a result, they lived in this in-between status where they were legally authorized to live in the country but not guaranteed a permanent future in the United States (Menjivar, 2006). Enzo Bonilla, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that many U.S. residents had become concerned about recent efforts by U.S. Presidents to investigate legal permanent residents and naturalized U.S. citizens in order to revoke their immigration statuses. They fear that these investigations could affect legal permanent residents' immigration statuses and their futures in the country. He said, "In any situation, someone can just start a case against you and then have you deported including legal permanent residents. I have heard that President Trump has created and funded an office that will look into naturalized citizens in order to find any inconsistencies

to revoke their citizenship.” Most legal permanent residents in the United States feared that they were not truly safe from deportations. They believed that the U.S. government was attempting to find inconsistencies in their immigration backgrounds in order to remove them from the country. As a result, they were fearful of their future in the U.S. Similarly, Marcos Gonzalez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that previous problems with the law in the United States prevented many legal permanent residents from becoming U.S. citizens. Until these issues with the law were addressed, they would not be eligible to become U.S. citizens. In the mean time, they would remain as legal permanent residents.

I have tried to become a U.S. citizen but I haven't been able to because I was involved in two domestic violence cases and a grand theft case. These crimes are considered felonies. The attorneys say that I would have to spend a lot of money and seeking a pardon. I have to convince the U.S. government to give me another opportunity to become a U.S. citizen.

While most legal permanent residents in this study became U.S. citizens after several years with their residency, some legal permanent residents who had criminal records reported struggling to become U.S. citizens. Even though it was possible to seek a pardon, residents knew it would be an uphill battle to convince the U.S. government to give them a second opportunity to become U.S. citizens. Lucho Morillo, who was also a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that legal permanent residents also struggled to become U.S. citizen if they had participated in any form of rebellion, war, and revolt of a government. Regardless of the number of years they lived in the U.S., immigration officials investigated their previous records in their country of birth.

I have been a legal permanent resident for over 18 years. I attempted to become a U.S. citizen but I was denied because I was involved in the civil war. This should not affect me since I didn't break any laws in the U.S. But immigration agencies have the power in this country. So they denied me my U.S. citizenship application and I haven't applied since then.

Legal residents realized that their past affected their attempts to become U.S. citizens. Due to their past, many were denied the opportunity to become U.S. citizens. While most believed these decisions were unjust, U.S. immigration agencies made the final decisions. Instead of applying again, many remained as legal permanent residents. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study who were legal permanent residents faced legal barriers when attempting to become United States citizens. While they were offered permanent immigration statuses to live and work in the country, their future in the U.S. remained uncertain. Many believed the U.S. immigration enforcement regime's purpose was to create legal barriers to prevent Salvadoran immigrants and their families from permanently settling in the country and becoming United States citizens.

Social Immobility

In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men experienced the harmful effects of the convergence of criminal laws and immigration laws in their lives when seeking employment opportunities, a higher education, and housing in the U.S. (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). As a result, Salvadoran immigrants and their families experienced social immobility (Winther, 2014) Salvadoran immigrant men experienced discriminatory hiring practices that intentionally criminalized and prohibited the hiring of certain immigrants (Fussell, 2011). As Salvadoran immigrant men considered obtaining a higher education, many faced

financial, social, and legal problems as a result of restrictive laws and policies on local colleges and universities (Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014; Flores, 2016). And as Salvadoran immigrant men and their families looked for housing in the U.S., many faced discriminatory housing laws and practices (Oliveri, 2009). As a result, they were forced to remain in the same position as when they arrived to the U.S.

Employment: Many Salvadoran immigrant men in this study struggled to find new employment opportunities in the U.S. (Fussell, 2011). Most undocumented immigrant men reported not having social security cards, U.S. government issued identification cards, and other required documents to work in the U.S. (Feltman, 2008). As a result, many worked in companies that did not require legal documents (Bansak & Raphael, 2001). Due to their lower wages, many experienced social immobility in the U.S. (Wishnie, 2003). Javier Vega, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants without immigration statuses often times struggled to find jobs in the country. Due to their immigration status, they struggled to find new jobs with higher wages. He said, “My immigration status affects me when applying for jobs. I would need a work permit to get a better paying job.” Similar to other undocumented immigrants, he had been denied employment opportunities in the past because he was unable to provide legal documentation to demonstrate his eligibility to work in the U.S. As a result, he remained in the same job without the opportunity to find new jobs with higher wages. Similarly, Zacarias Cambiero, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that most immigrants without legal documents found it difficult to find employment opportunities without proof they are eligible to work in the U.S. He witnessed a company

fire all their undocumented employees because of the government's crackdown on the hiring of undocumented immigrants.

In my case, I found it hard to find work opportunities with my immigration status. I was working in a company and they told us that they only wanted people with legal documents and with real social security numbers. The boss didn't want to pay penalty fees for hiring undocumented immigrants. He no longer wanted to hire immigrants without documents.

While undocumented immigrants had the experience and desire to work, employers refused to risk their companies. Employers no longer wanted to be penalized for hiring undocumented immigrants so it was in their best interest to let go of all undocumented employees. As a result, many decided to work in jobs with offered lower wages, no benefits, and no job security. Salvadoran immigrant men who were temporary protected status beneficiaries experienced both inclusionary and exclusionary practices when seeking employment opportunities in the U.S. (Menjivar, 2017). Salvadoran men with TPS reported having temporary access to social security numbers, U.S. government issued identification cards, and other required documentation to work in the U.S. As a result, many were able to work in the country (Campos-Medina, 2019). However, due to their immigration status, certain employers decided to no longer hire immigrants with TPS because of the temporary nature of their statuses (Gleeson & Griffith, 2021). Noe Fernandez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that immigrants with TPS similarly struggled to obtain certain jobs like undocumented immigrants. When applying for government jobs, many immigrants with TPS were overlooked since government employers refused to hire immigrants with work permits and TPS. He said, "I have tried to

find a better job because many jobs don't accept my work permit especially those jobs from the government. The possibilities are there but since I don't have a legal permanent residency card, I don't get the job." Even if immigrants with TPS met the qualifications and had the experience necessary for these jobs, their immigration statuses prevented them from obtaining certain jobs. In this study, Salvadoran men's immigration statuses, discriminatory hiring practices, and restrictive immigration laws affected their opportunities to obtain new jobs, higher wages, job security, and work benefits. As a result, the majority of Salvadoran immigrant men and their families in this study experienced social immobility in the United States.

Education: Salvadoran immigrant men in this study also faced restrictions when pursuing a higher education in the U.S. (Menjivar, 2008). With a college education, Salvadoran immigrants would be able to earn higher wages, have access to work benefits, and job security (Mendoza, 2013; Erisman & Looney, 2008). But due to restrictive laws and policies in the U.S., many Salvadoran immigrants were unable to enroll and earn a higher education (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gamez et al., 2017). As a result, they experienced social immobility with their families. Salvadoran immigrant men who were undocumented immigrants became discouraged from completing their education (Diaz-Strong et al., 2011). While some immigrants were successful, the majority did not have the resources to complete their education (Rincon, 2010). Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared the struggles immigrants in the U.S. faced as they attempted to enroll in college. Due to their immigration status and restrictions in higher education, many were unable to afford to enroll in colleges and universities. While they desired to go back to school, they were unable to afford college tuition.

Well I wanted to go to school. If you are undocumented and an out of state resident, you have to pay high tuition to enroll in classes. That affected me because I couldn't pay for the high tuition. I wanted to go to school but I couldn't afford it. I had to pay \$250 per unit to enroll in college but in-state tuition for legal students was \$18-\$20 per unit. It was a large difference.

Recent changes in universities and colleges now allow undocumented immigrant students to pay in-state tuition and obtain financial aid, but Agustin attempted to enroll in college before these changes were made. Many undocumented immigrants were unable to afford college and earn a college degree further limiting them to certain job and wages.

Salvadoran immigrant men who were temporary protected status beneficiaries also faced certain struggles when attempting to earn a higher education (Menjivar, 2008). As TPS beneficiaries, they had legal documents to enroll and complete their education. But due to their temporary immigration statuses, many were deterred from earning an education due to their inability to obtain specific jobs (Hamilton et al., 2020). Eric Reyes, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that many immigrants with TPS had goals to return to school but they were unable to due to educational and employment restrictions. As a result, many immigrants with TPS were not able to find good paying jobs due to their limited educational background. He said, "I haven't been able to find a good paying job or go back to school because of my immigration status. I haven't been able to advance in my job and career because of my immigration status and educational level." While immigrants with TPS planned to find new job opportunities, their temporary immigration status and education prevented them from reaching their goals. Many Salvadoran immigrant men faced different struggles when attempting to complete

their education. Due to their immigration statuses, restrictive laws, and the cost of an education, many immigrants were unable to enroll in college. Instead, they experienced social immobility as they navigated the workforce with their limited education, immigration statuses, and work experience in the U.S.

Housing: Salvadoran immigrant men specifically faced discriminatory housing practices when attempting to rent and mortgage homes for their families (Guzman, 2010; Oliveri, 2009). As a result, they depended on family, friends, and employers to offer them a place to live (McConnell, 2013). These restrictions forced them to experience social immobility as they remained without a place to live with their families. Salvadoran men who were undocumented immigrants shared that they were unable to provide proof of employment, social security cards, credit histories, and other legal documents to rent and mortgage homes (Gruhn, 2008). Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants without legal documents in the U.S. struggled to find places to live. While many tried to find their own homes, most faced discriminatory housing practices. He said, “I tried applying for an apartment once but it affected me since I didn’t have a social security number to rent the apartment. The most basic thing to have is a home especially for a family with children. If we can’t find a place to live then there is nowhere to go.” Most immigrant men believed it was their responsibility to find their families a place to live but due to their immigration statuses they had been denied this opportunity. Without providing legal documentation, they were unable to rent an apartment. They believed that everyone should have access to housing regardless of their immigration statuses. Similarly, Zacarias Cambiero, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that it was tremendously difficult for undocumented

immigrants to find a place to live in the U.S. Since many were unable to provide legal documentation and other necessary paperwork, they were continuously denied the opportunity to find homes for their families. He said, "It's always been hard because the first thing they ask if you want to rent an apartment is a social security number and legal documents. It has affected me in finding a place to live. So I have to rent a room or stay with family and friends that we know." Due to their immigration statuses, many undocumented immigrants were unable to find places to live with their families because they could not provide the legal documents required by renters. As a result, many have relied on family and friends to figure out their next steps. Salvadoran immigrant men who were temporary protected status beneficiaries also shared that they had experienced discriminatory housing practices when attempting to find places to live (Mountz et al., 2002). While they had the legal documentation, social security numbers, credit records, and proof of employment readily available, their temporary immigration statuses affected them in finding homes for their families (Campos-Medina, 2019). Jairo Tamayo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S. shared that immigrants with TPS attempted to rent apartments but many were discriminated because of their temporary immigration statuses. He said, "One time they didn't want to let me rent an apartment because I wasn't a legal permanent resident. The rental company said I was an immigrant and that I didn't have legal documents. They discriminated against me. I showed them my TPS documents but they said it was only good for 18 months but it didn't convince them." Even though immigrants with TPS presented their legal documentation to renters, they were concerned that their immigration statuses were temporary. As a result, many immigrants with TPS struggled to find places to live. Both Salvadoran immigrant men who

were undocumented immigrants and TPS beneficiaries in this study were found to experience social immobility as they remained without permanent places to live. Many Salvadoran immigrant men specifically faced laws and policies that restricted their employment opportunities, educational goals, and housing opportunities in the U.S. These laws and policies forced them to experience social immobility as they remained in the same position as when they arrived to the United States.

Physical Immobility

Salvadoran immigrant men in this study also faced immigration laws and policies that restricted their physical movement within and outside the country (Wong, 2012). Immigration laws were believed to control the space of the nation-state and the movement of bodies inside and outside that space (Volpp, 2013; Romero, 2006). Salvadoran immigrants reported that restrictive immigration laws prevented many from obtaining driver's licenses to travel locally (Lopez, 2004). Most immigrant men also shared that immigration laws and policies prevented them from being able to travel domestically within the country (Valdivia, 2019). And many immigrants also expressed that they were unable to travel outside the U.S. due to their immigration statuses, restrictive immigration laws and policies, and their inability to return once they travelled outside the country (North, 2015; Morawetz, 2006). These different forms of physical immobility further restricted their movement inside the U.S. and internationally.

Driver's Licenses (Local Travel): In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men faced restrictions when seeking driver's licenses in the U.S. (Lopez, 2004). While some immigrants were granted driver's licenses, most were denied the opportunity to legally drive within the country (Mendoza & Polkey, 2016). Immigrants without driver's licenses

experienced physical immobility as their movement within the country was limited and controlled by the U.S. government (Mounts, 2003). Local law enforcement agencies partnered with U.S. immigration enforcement agencies to control the movement of immigrants in the U.S. (Vidales et al., 2009) Since most undocumented immigrants in the country continued to struggle to obtain licenses, their movement became restricted to specific geographical areas (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014). Leonardo Pena, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that most immigrants without driver's licenses continued to drive in the country. Due to their immigration statuses and discriminatory laws and policies, many were unable to obtain driver's licenses but it did not prevent them from driving when necessary. He said, "My immigration status has affected me when I drive. I prefer not to leave the county of Los Angeles. I don't drive far from home because I don't want to risk it. I don't want to risk my family or myself. I would rather stay close to home when driving." Without driver's licenses, most undocumented immigrants preferred to stay close to their homes and families than to risk being pulled over and arrested for driving without a license outside their comfort zone. Many felt safe driving without a license within the same region where they lived. Similarly, Salvadoran immigrant men who were TPS beneficiaries struggled to obtain and maintain their driver's licenses in the U.S. (Griffith et al., 2019). While immigrants with TPS were eligible to obtain driver's licenses in the U.S., specific states continued to deny them the opportunity to obtain and renew their licenses (Campos-Medina, 2019). Without driver's licenses, they were unable to travel within the country. Nico Pligeo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants with TPS were eligible to obtain driver's licenses in the United States. However, recent changes in U.S. immigration laws and

policies linked their temporary immigration statuses to their driver's licenses. As a result, they were fearful of losing both their driver's license and immigration statuses if the TPS program was terminated for Salvadorans. He said, "I have been affected since I can't get a driver's license if my TPS is not active or renewed. If I don't have a driver's license, I can't work in my company. The same day that my TPS expires, it's the same day that my driver's license expires." Several immigrants with TPS in this study shared their concern over the decision by U.S. lawmakers to link immigration statuses to driver's licenses. Due to the temporary nature of their immigration statuses, TPS beneficiaries were aware that their driver's licenses were also temporary. Without driver's licenses and immigration statuses, their movement within the country would remain geographically restricted. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men who were undocumented immigrants and TPS beneficiaries faced several restrictions and limitations when attempting to obtain and renew their driver's licenses. As a result, they experienced physical immobilities with their families in the U.S.

Domestic Travel: Salvadoran immigrant men in this study also faced immigration laws and policies that restricted their physical movements within the U.S. (Valdivia, 2019; Blumenburg, 2009). Salvadoran immigrants specifically faced restrictions when attempting to travel domestically on airplanes, highways, and throughout the country (Denning, 2009). These immigration laws and enforcement practices further restricted their movement within the country (Garcia, 2006). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that recent changes to immigration laws made it difficult for undocumented immigrants to travel in the U.S. Before these changes, immigrants would be able to fly to different parts of the country on airplanes. But immigrants are only able to

travel today if they drive to their destination. He said, "I have been on an airplane like three to four times. The first time I went on an airplane I was scared to be detained but now I got used to it. But once the REAL ID becomes a requirement I can't fly anymore. I now have to drive to places instead of flying since laws are more strict." Due to changes in U.S. immigration laws and policies, undocumented immigrants became aware that they were no longer eligible to fly on airplanes because of strict immigration laws and policies. They now feared travelling through U.S. airports, which has forced many to drive throughout the country to reach their destinations. Salvadoran immigrant men who were also temporary protected status beneficiaries faced similar restrictions when attempting to travel domestically (Waslin, 2005). Similar to undocumented immigrants, they were ineligible to obtain REAL IDs, which were mandatory to travel domestically in the country (Griffith et al., 2019). As a result, many decided to travel to other parts of the state and country by driving or staying locally. Lucian Ciceron, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that most immigrants with TPS became increasingly concerned about travelling in the U.S because of their immigration status and restrictions by immigration laws. They feared that they could be arrested and detained while travelling. As a result, many preferred to remain local.

My children have been affected by my immigration status since I haven't been able to travel with them to other countries or states. I am scared I could be detained in another state. I would have liked to go to Hawaii with my kids. I have wanted to take them to other places in the United States. I feel that I can't go anywhere. It feels like a prison with a death sentence.

While immigrants with TPS desired to take their families to other parts of the country, they became physically restricted to a certain region of the country. Some immigrants likened it to being in prison with a death sentence. Like death row inmates, they were uncertain when they would be able to leave their prison cell and experience freedom once again. In this study, Salvadoran undocumented immigrants and TPS beneficiaries faced restrictions when attempting to travel domestically. Due to their immigration statuses and restrictive U.S. immigration laws and policies, many preferred to stay locally with their families in order to avoid problems with law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies. As a result, their ability to move within country was restricted geographically. They were unable to freely travel within the United States.

International Travel: Many Salvadoran immigrants faced immigration restrictions when attempting to travel internationally. Undocumented immigrants faced the greatest restrictions as they were denied the opportunity to return to the U.S. after leaving the country (Enriquez, 2015). Immigrants with TPS were able to travel internationally but were required to apply for advance parole (North, 2015). Immigrants who were legal permanent residents were also allowed to travel internationally for a maximum of six months (Morawetz, 2006). Most Salvadoran immigrants experienced physical immobilities as they remained in the U.S. without the possibility of travelling internationally. Axel Gonzalez, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that undocumented immigrants did not plan to travel outside the U.S. because they would not be allowed to return. As a result, many undocumented immigrants lived in the U.S. without the possibility of travelling internationally. He said, "I can't travel outside the country. I haven't been able to travel outside the country as an undocumented immigrant. I would like to travel to El

Salvador, but I can't return. That's how it is." Since undocumented immigrants were not allowed to return to the U.S. if they travelled internationally, many had gone years without visiting their family in El Salvador. While Salvadoran undocumented immigrants desired to travel internationally, they were aware of the risks associated to travelling outside the country. Salvadoran immigrant men who were temporary protected status beneficiaries also faced similar restrictions when attempting to travel internationally. While immigrants with TPS were legally allowed to travel internationally, they were required to apply for advance parole to have their international trips approved by U.S. immigration agencies. Due to the bureaucratic process to obtain advance parole, they were only able to travel internationally a certain amount of times per year. Julio Larin, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants with TPS faced restrictions when deciding to travel internationally. They were that they had to apply for advance parole and seek the permission from the U.S. government. He said, "I haven't been able to travel internationally because we can't travel outside the U.S. without advance parole. If you don't have advance parole, you can't leave the country. It's like being a prisoner inside the U.S." While immigrants with TPS were legally allowed to travel internationally, they believed that the bureaucratic process to travel outside the country was similar to prisoners who were not allowed to leave the prison without the government's permission. As a result, immigrants with TPS were restricted geographically inside the U.S. unless they requested permission from the U.S. government to travel internationally. Salvadoran immigrant men who were legal permanent residents shared that they also faced restrictions when travelling internationally. While they were allowed to travel internationally, they were legally allowed a maximum of six months outside the

country due to restrictive U.S. immigration laws and policies. If they failed to return to the U.S. before six months outside the country, they would have their legal permanent residency rescinded. Lorenzo Zamora, who was a legal permanent resident, shared that immigrants who were residents were allowed to be out of the country for six months. However, if they stayed beyond six months they could potentially lose their legal residency. He said, "There are laws we need to follow. As a resident I need to be 6 months in the U.S., and I can be 6 months in El Salvador with my wife and daughter. However, I cannot call myself a legal permanent resident if I am living in El Salvador. There are laws I need to follow in this country." Immigration laws and policies restricted the amount of time residents could travel outside the country. If residents did not return after six months, they would potentially be refused entry back into the country. Residents became aware they were not allowed to travel freely without restrictions. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men experienced different forms of physical immobilities as they faced restrictions in obtaining driver's licenses to travel locally, limitations in traveling domestically within the U.S., and restrictions when travelling internationally. They experienced different forms of physical immobilities locally, domestically, and internationally. While Salvadoran immigrant men and their families in this study found alternative methods of travelling locally and domestically in the U.S., they were unable to find alternative ways to travel internationally outside the country.

Legal Uncertainties

As Salvadoran immigrant men navigated the effects of exclusionary immigration laws and policies in the United States with their families, they became increasingly concerned with the uncertainty of their immigration statuses (Menjivar, 2006). Salvadoran

men who were undocumented immigrants and those who had in-between immigration statuses such as temporary protected statuses and legal permanent residencies experienced the uncertainties of their statuses in their daily lives with their families (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015). Even though they received certain benefits through their immigration statuses in the U.S., their statuses remained *in limbo* (Mountz et al., 2002). The liminal legality of their in-between immigration statuses led to ambiguities in their lives and in their futures with their families (Menjivar, 2006; 2008). As such, they continued being vulnerable to deportations unless they became U.S. citizens (Leyro, 2017).

Salvadoran immigrants who were undocumented immigrants experienced these uncertainties since their immigration statuses did not provide them any form of protection from deportations or a legal pathway to a U.S. citizenship (Berger Cardoso et al., 2018).

Salvadoran immigrants who were temporary protected status beneficiaries were offered the opportunity to temporarily live and work in the country while protected from deportations. But, recent changes in immigration laws and policies threatened them with the termination of the TPS program (Griffith et al., 2019). As a result, they lived in this liminal legality where they were allowed to live, work, and remain protected from deportations (Campos-Medina, 2019). However, their immigration status remained temporary in nature. If terminated, they would become undocumented immigrants and deportable once again (Sooy, 2018).

Salvadoran immigrants who were legal permanent residents also lived in this liminal legality as their immigration status offered them certain protections from deportations and the ability to permanently live and work in the country (Menjivar, 2006). However, if legal residents committed certain crimes and offenses they would be denied the opportunity to become U.S. citizens and be eligible for deportation

(Griffith, 2003; Marley, 1998). As a result, most Salvadoran immigrants became uncertain of their immigration statuses because of growing restrictions by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices.

Salvadoran undocumented immigrants specifically lived with these uncertainties since their immigration statuses did not provide them an opportunity to adjust their statuses, obtain protections from deportations, and a pathway to U.S. citizenships (Berger Cardoso et al., 2018). As a result, their families were concerned about their future. Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many undocumented immigrants did not have secure future plans. However, many had become concerned about their futures as they became older. Many debated whether it would be more beneficial to live in El Salvador or in the U.S.

Because of my immigration status, I haven't been able to have a retirement plan. But my current plans for my family is to have a house in this country. There are moments when I see my future here in the U.S. At my age, I am considered too old in El Salvador but in the U.S. I can still work. I have also thought about buying a house and retiring in El Salvador.

Undocumented immigrants expressed that they were unsure if they would be able to retire in the U.S. or in El Salvador. If they returned to El Salvador, they would no longer be able to return to the U.S. As they approached the age of retirement, they were unsure of their future plans. As undocumented immigrants, they were uncertain if they would be able to have a future in the United States. Similarly, Axel Gonzalez, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many undocumented immigrants struggled to plan for their futures in the U.S. While many immigrants had ideal plans for their futures, their

immigration statuses and U.S. immigration laws and policies prevented them from reaching these future plans. He said, “My immigration status has affected me in planning for my future. I haven’t been able to prepare for my future the way I wanted. Since I don’t have legal documents, I haven’t been able to prepare me the way I wanted for my future.” Like many undocumented immigrants, Axel’s immigration status led to many barriers and restrictions for his future plans. Without legal documents, many undocumented immigrants were unable to achieve their ideal futures with their families. Many Salvadoran immigrants became concerned about their retirements, families, and futures in the U.S. and in El Salvador. They were concerned that their immigration status did not provide them assurance, protection, and opportunities to permanently settle and achieve their plans.

Salvadoran immigrant men who were temporary protected status beneficiaries also became concerned about recent changes in U.S. immigration laws and policies (Campos-Medina, 2019). They feared that if the TPS program for Salvadorans were to be terminated they would once again become undocumented immigrants and be deportable to El Salvador (Huezo, 2020). They lived with this uncertainty daily at the prospects that their TPS status could be terminated and they would have to return to El Salvador (Sooy, 2018). Eric Reyes, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that most immigrants with TPS were concerned that the U.S. government would terminate the TPS program for Salvadorans and that they would once again become undocumented immigrants and be deported to El Salvador. After living in the U.S. for several decades, many could not imagine living outside the United States. He said, “I am fearful they will eliminate the TPS program and I would be undocumented again. I am fearful they would deport me. I would be affected if they were to take away my TPS status. I could be deported

to El Salvador once they eliminate it.” If the TPS program were to be terminated, immigrants from other nationalities would still qualify for the program. However, Salvadoran immigrants would no longer qualify for the program and its protections. As such, they would no longer be protected from deportations and be required to return to El Salvador within a certain time. They would lose their TPS status and become undocumented immigrants once again. Similarly, Noe Fernandez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that many Salvadoran immigrants with TPS faced an uncertain future in the country. While immigrants with TPS were proposing permanent solutions for all TPS beneficiaries and making people aware of their immigration statuses, they remained uncertain of their futures in the U.S. He said, “I think that all people with TPS are in danger of being deported. The TPS program has an uncertain future. We are fearful that we can be deported. So we are fighting peacefully and asking Congress to approve a pathway to a legal permanent residency for TPS beneficiaries.” Salvadoran immigrants with TPS were aware that they were at risk of losing their TPS alongside immigrants from other nationalities. As a temporary immigration status, they were aware that it could be offered and rescinded at any time. In response, immigrants with TPS and advocates participated in mobilization efforts to convince lawmakers and bring awareness to their movement to receive permanent immigration statuses and protections from deportations. Most Salvadoran immigrants with TPS expressed their primary concern about the future of the temporary protected status program and their ability to remain living in the United States.

Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant men who were legal permanent residents also expressed their concerns about their futures in the U.S. (Barillas, 2014). As residents, they

lived with a greater assurance of being able to live and work in the country while also being protected from deportations. However, if they committed certain crimes and offenses, they would become deportable and no longer eligible to become U.S. citizens (Griffith, 2003; Marley, 1998). As a result, several residents expressed their concerns about their futures in the U.S. (Dent, 2001). Marcos Gonzalez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that legal permanent residents in the country continued to be fearful of being arrested, detained, and deported because of their immigration statuses. Even though they were legal permanent residents, they remained concerned that past criminal records could lead to their deportation. As such, their permanent immigration statuses did not guarantee them a future in the United States.

My family has been worried about my immigration status. In New Jersey, there have been immigration raids. I am concerned that my wife and I could be arrested during one of these immigration raids. My children are concerned something is going to happen to us. My son tells us that he is scared to lose us. He is afraid that our family could be separated.

While many Salvadoran immigrants were able to become legal permanent residents in the U.S., many remained concerned that their previous problems with the law or changes in the law could lead to their arrest and removal from the country. They did not live with the assurance that the U.S. was their permanent home. As a result, their future plans in the U.S. remained uncertain. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men who were undocumented immigrants, TPS beneficiaries, and legal permanent residents expressed the uncertainty of their immigration statuses in the U.S. Salvadoran undocumented immigrants lived with the greatest level of uncertainty since their immigration statuses did not provide them any

form of protection from deportations. The immigration statuses of TPS beneficiaries and legal permanent residents also remained *in limbo* as they continued being vulnerable to deportations unless they became U.S. citizens (Menjivar, 2006). As Salvadoran immigrant men planned their lives with their families in the United States and in El Salvador, many remained uncertain of what would happen in the future.

Reports of Discrimination

Once Salvadoran immigrant men in this study migrated and settled in the United States, they faced different forms of discrimination in their lives (Ayon, 2016; Becerra et al., 2013). Most Salvadoran immigrants believed they experienced these blatant forms of discrimination in the U.S. with their families based on their ethnic identity, language skills, and immigration status, but also due to their gender, race, age, and social class (Dietz, 2010; Cobb et al., 2017; Perez, 2008). They reported facing these discriminatory practices in their neighborhoods, public transportation, workplaces, educational institutions, social institutions, by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, and in their everyday lives (Almeida et al., 2016; Romero, 2016; Gleeson, 2016). Their children and romantic partners witnessed and sometimes were victims themselves of these discriminatory practices in the U.S. (Ayon, 2015; Brown, 2015). Salvadoran immigrants expressed that they had to navigate restrictive U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices followed by blatant forms of discrimination in their everyday lives.

The majority of Salvadoran immigrant men reported experiencing discriminatory practices because of their immigration statuses (Ayon, 2015; Almeida et al., 2016). This occurred in their jobs, when applying for driver's licenses, seeking assistance in social and government institutions, and in their everyday lives (Bloomekatz, 2006; Johnson, 2004).

Salvadoran immigrants who were undocumented immigrants, TPS beneficiaries, and legal permanent residents experienced this discrimination in their lives. Ignacio Guzman, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S. shared that many immigrants with TPS had experienced discrimination while visiting Department of Motor Vehicle offices in the state of Virginia. While immigrants with TPS were legally allowed to obtain driver's licenses, they were continuously denied the opportunity to obtain them. Many perceived the DMV's unwillingness to help them as discriminatory practices against immigrants. He said, "I was discriminated at a DMV in Virginia. I went to that DMV many times and they still didn't want to help me obtain an ID or driver's license. They mistreated so many immigrants in that DMV. It has changed since many community groups spoke up." As immigrants with TPS sought the help from their local DMV offices more than once, they were continuously denied the same services that were offered to non-immigrants. In response, immigrant rights groups became involved in addressing the DMV's accusations of discrimination and the mistreatment of immigrants with TPS. Similarly, Franco Aguilar, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants who were legal permanent residents had been discriminated in the past for not having legal documents. Employers had been accused of discriminatory hiring practices as they denied immigrants jobs because of their immigration statuses. He said, "I have been discriminated for not having legal documents. One time I lost a job because I didn't have legal documents. They discriminated against me." While legal permanent residents had proof of their eligibility to work in the U.S., several employers denied them the job opportunities in their companies because of assumptions that they did not have legal documents. Even though residents had the opportunity to work in the country, many were still denied job opportunities. Most

Salvadoran immigrant men in this study were aware that their immigration status made them vulnerable to discriminatory practices by employers, social institutions, and government offices. As a result, many focused on navigating these spaces that attempted to discriminate against them in the U.S.

Salvadoran immigrant men also faced discrimination in the U.S. because of their language skills (White et al., 2019). Most Salvadoran immigrants in this study were native Spanish speakers since they grew up in El Salvador and in Spanish-speaking homes. However, many learned to speak in English in their schools, worksites, and in their homes (Valdes, 2001). Regardless of their immigration status, many recalled experiencing discrimination because of their limited English skills in the U.S. (Sheppard et al., 2014; Lippi-Green, 2012). Leonardo Pena, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., described that many immigrants in the country had been discriminated in the past because they did not communicate in English. As a result, many became self-conscious on their inability to communicate with other people in English. He said, "I have been discriminated against because I don't speak English and I don't understand it. I feel bad when they have to repeat things more than once. They make me feel bad for not speaking English. It is what it is. I am working on learning English." While most Salvadoran immigrants planned to learn English, many were not comfortable yet to attempt to communicate in English. So they preferred to communicate with each other in Spanish. However, due to their limited English skills many experienced discrimination and became discouraged. But some also became even more determined to learn English through these experiences. Similarly, Umberto Alguacil, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that many immigrants in the country had experienced discriminatory practices by

employers because of their limited English skills. Many immigrants had been fired from their jobs for not speaking in English. He said, "I have been discriminated for not speaking English. I worked for a company for 8 years and they fired me because I didn't speak English. I got frustrated because I wanted this job. I would do the work even though I didn't speak English." Most immigrants had been at their jobs for several years but they were fired for not being able to communicate in English. Even though they had the qualifications for these jobs, their employers let them go. They felt discouraged after learning their English skills were the reason they lost their jobs. As Salvadoran immigrants made an effort to learn English, they continued to face discrimination. While many understood and communicated in English, they were regularly discriminated in the U.S. For some, this discrimination motivated them to learn English.

Most Salvadoran immigrants in this study were also discriminated because of their ethnic identity (Dovidio et al, 2010). As members of a racial and ethnic minority community, Salvadoran immigrants experienced different forms of discrimination in the U.S. (Golash-Boza & Darity, 2008). Many were considered criminals and delinquents based on their skin color. However, most Salvadoran immigrants were law-abiding, had diverse immigration statuses, educational backgrounds, and work experience (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). However, most Salvadoran immigrants continued to experience discrimination and xenophobia in the U.S. (Brettell, 2011). Abram Saez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., described that many Salvadoran immigrants had been discriminated in the U.S. by fellow members of the Latina/o community. Salvadoran immigrants had experienced discrimination not only by individuals outside of their racial and ethnic community but also by Latina/os themselves. He said, "In certain places, I have experienced

discrimination. My own Latino community has discriminated against me. But I don't pay attention to them. If you pay attention to them, it only makes things worst." Latina/os within the United States had also participated in discriminating against Latina/os who are immigrants including Salvadoran immigrants. While many Salvadoran immigrants chose to ignore these discriminatory actions by Latina/os, they were concerned that individuals from the same racial and ethnic community engaged in xenophobic and racist practices. Similarly, Marcos Gonzalez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., specifically described the physical violence, trauma, and discrimination Salvadoran immigrants and other racial and ethnic minority immigrants faced in the U.S. As these forms of discrimination and violence increasingly occur in the U.S., many have become concerned about future events against immigrants in the country. He said, "I was discriminated while I was riding in the train to Manhattan in New York. I was standing and a white man walked by me from behind and hit me in my rib. He told me some bad words and told me to go back to my country." Similar to Marcos, many immigrants from El Salvador and other racial and ethnic minority communities had become victims of hate crimes because of the color of their skin and their racial and ethnic identity. These different discriminatory practices demonstrated the xenophobia and racism that immigrant communities in the U.S. face everyday. Salvadoran immigrant men and their families in this study faced distinct forms of discrimination in the country based on their immigration status, language skills, and ethnic identity (Perez, 2008). They reported facing discriminatory practices in their workplaces, schools, social institutions, government offices, by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, and in their everyday lives. In response, many challenged these forms of discrimination by spreading awareness of their experiences.

Fear

Many Salvadoran immigrant men in this study expressed that they were fearful that they could be deported from the U.S. to El Salvador as a result of exclusionary immigration laws, policies, and targeted enforcement practices in the country (Brabeck et al., 2011). Even though U.S. immigration courts and immigration enforcement agencies were only able to remove a certain number of Salvadoran immigrants from the country annually, Salvadoran immigrant men and their families developed a general fear of deportations (De Genova, 2002; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). As the country continued to deport immigrants, many Salvadoran immigrants and their families in the U.S. became concerned about the threat of deportations in their lives (Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). Their fear also developed as they witnessed the expansion of the crimmigration system as local law enforcement and federal immigration enforcement agencies increased their collaborative efforts to arrest, detain, and deport non-citizen immigrants (Armenta, 2017). As a result, Salvadoran immigrant men became increasingly concerned that they could be racially profiled, arrested, detained, and removed as part of the state's "gendered racial removal project" (Ngai, 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). Through these efforts, Salvadoran immigrant men became fearful they could be deported and separated from their families in the United States (Roy & Yumiseva, 2021).

The majority of Salvadoran immigrant men in this study expressed their fear of being identified and deported from the U.S. as long as they remained non-U.S. citizens. Undocumented immigrant men were especially concerned about the lack of protections from deportations (Becerra, 2016). Zacarias Cambiero, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that most undocumented immigrants were concerned of

living in the country without protections from deportations. They were fearful of being deported since there were no laws that protected them. He said, "I am still fearful of being deported. I was not born in this country. There is nothing that stops me from being deported. Today they can tell me that my immigration case has been closed because I didn't qualify. I could be deported. I am always fearful of being deported." Undocumented immigrants in the U.S. did not have many protections from deportations, which only served to increase their fear of deportations and removal from the country. As long as they remained as undocumented immigrants, they could be deported from the U.S. to El Salvador. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study who were TPS beneficiaries were also fearful of being deported to El Salvador as the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans remained uncertain (Huezo, 2020). If the U.S. government terminated the TPS program for Salvadorans, they would become undocumented immigrants once again and deportable. Nico Pligeo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that most immigrants with TPS were concerned about the possibility of being deported if the TPS program was terminated. Many were also concerned about their futures as their immigration status remained in limbo.

I try not to think about being deported. I have been here many years and I have had TPS for many years. But at the same time, I am still concerned that I am in this limbo. I am fearful of not being protected from deportation after so many years. I have nine employees in my business including my siblings and uncles who work for me. They are all U.S. citizens but I am the only person with TPS. I am worried and concerned about my business and future.

While Salvadoran immigrants with TPS had lived in the country for several decades, they were fearful that the U.S. was considering terminating the TPS program for Salvadorans. As business owners, they were unsure if they would be able to continue having employees and their businesses. Due to the uncertainty of the TPS program, many feared that their businesses and futures in the U.S. were in limbo as their protections from deportation were contested in court.

Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant men who were legal permanent residents also expressed their fear of changes in immigration laws and policies that made them eligible for deportations if they committed certain crimes (Dent, 2001). Marcos Gonzalez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that residents were fearful of being deported as immigration enforcement agencies focused on deporting immigrants with criminal records. Even though they were legal permanent residents, they were still concerned that they could one day be deported from the U.S.

I am fearful that I could be deported especially with our current president who focuses on deporting immigrants with criminal records. I have a criminal record because I was in jail. I am fearful that one day I will be arrested and deported without the possibility of coming back home to my family. I am a legal permanent resident but I am still scared I could be deported.

U.S. residents with criminal records believed that their previous arrests affected their chances of becoming citizens. But more importantly, they feared that their previous offenses would make them eligible for deportations as the government focused on removing immigrants with criminal records. While they were U.S. residents, they lived with this uncertainty. Salvadoran immigrants in this study shared that they were fearful they

could be deported regardless of their immigration status. They feared that the U.S. immigration enforcement regime could deport them in the same way they have deported other Salvadoran immigrants in the past (De Genova, 2002).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the ways Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. navigated the effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices in their lives. In order to understand Salvadoran immigrant men's experiences, I focused on their legal pathways, legal barriers, social immobility, physical immobility, legal uncertainties, discrimination, and fear of deportations. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men reported finding legal pathways with the help of U.S. immigration laws and policies. As a result, many Salvadoran immigrant men benefited from important changes in U.S. immigration laws and policies. Through these changes, many Salvadorans became temporary protected status beneficiaries and legal permanent residents, which led to their opportunities to temporarily and permanently live and work in the United States. However, most Salvadoran immigrants reported facing legal barriers as a result of exclusionary immigration laws and enforcement practices. Most Salvadoran immigrants faced legal barriers as they were denied access to temporary and permanent immigration statuses. Undocumented immigrants and temporary protected status beneficiaries in this study specifically reported having no legal pathways to U.S. citizenships. Legal permanent residents also shared the legal barriers they encountered in becoming naturalized U.S. citizens. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study also mentioned that U.S. immigration laws and policies forced them to experience different forms of social immobility in their lives. These forms of social immobility specifically affected them when seeking

employment opportunities, a higher education, and housing in the U.S. Salvadoran immigrants were also found to experience physical immobilities as U.S. immigration laws and policies controlled their physical movement locally, domestically, and internationally. As a result, many were denied access to driver's licenses in the U.S. and the ability to travel within the country and internationally. Salvadoran immigrant men also shared that they experienced a certain level of uncertainty in their lives and futures based on U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. Their immigration statuses and future plans in the U.S. remained uncertain as they continued being vulnerable to deportations. As Salvadoran immigrant men adapted to life in the U.S., many faced several forms of discrimination in the country. Regardless of their immigration statuses, most Salvadoran immigrants experienced discriminatory practices in their daily lives based on their immigration status, language skills, and ethnic identity. They specifically experienced these discriminatory practices in their workplaces, educational institutions, when interacting with social and government institutions, law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, and in their neighborhoods and communities. As Salvadoran immigrant men navigated these exclusionary immigration laws and enforcement practices in the U.S., they developed a certain level of fear that they could be deported from the United States. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study reported being fearful of their removals from the U.S. as the country increased their immigration enforcement efforts. These seven themes demonstrate the diverse experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. As U.S. immigration enforcement agencies continue to deport Salvadoran immigrant men, many who were fathers became increasingly concerned that they could be separated from their children and families in the U.S. Salvadoran men who had been deported to El Salvador

shared how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices were responsible for their separation from their children. This study found that the U.S. immigration enforcement regime not only criminalized Salvadoran immigrant men but also played a central role in the separation of Salvadoran immigrant fathers from their children in the U.S., El Salvador, and in other countries.

Chapter 2: *Navigating Fatherhood Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*

In this chapter, I examine how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have impacted the parenting experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador. Salvadoran immigrant and deported men who experienced the harmful effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime reported facing temporary and permanent changes in their fathering roles and responsibilities (Abrego, 2014; Dreby, 2006; Behnke et al., 2008). First, Salvadoran men described how their definitions of fathering roles and responsibilities changed over time and place. Scholars have argued that the practices and meanings of fatherhood have been traditionally associated to their gender identity and to their experiences with their own family members (Kane, 2006). However, this study found that immigrant men's experiences of being criminalized and deported by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime redefined the meanings they attached to their fathering roles and responsibilities (Ojeda et al., 2020; Roy & Yumiseva, 2021). Salvadoran fathers also described that the cultural perspectives on the roles and responsibilities of mothers and fathers were different in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Scholars have argued that most men in the U.S. engaged in fathering roles based on hegemonic masculinity, which is "the most honored way of being a man, requires all men to position themselves to it, and legitimizes the subordination of women to men" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.832). However, this study found that most study participants in El Salvador practiced these hegemonic masculine and fathering roles, while study participants in the U.S. practiced more egalitarian forms of fathering (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Due to their experiences with the U.S. immigration

enforcement regime, many immigrant and deported men engaged in more caring forms of fathering. As such, fathering is believed to be socially constructed since it is constantly changing and adapting to the dominant culture, societal expectations, and different circumstances. Salvadoran men also shared their perspectives on parenting children in El Salvador and in the U.S. (Abrego, 2014; Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014). However, some fathers believed that there were little to no differences between raising children in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

In addition, I examined the impact of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices on Salvadoran immigrant and deported men's abilities to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities (Abrego, 2014; Dreby, 2006). As they interacted with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, many Salvadoran men experienced temporary and permanent changes in their fathering roles and responsibilities. As such, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men learned to creatively practice fathering for their children in the same country and in a different country. Previous studies have found that most Latino fathers are highly involved in their families, committed to their children, and emotionally connected to their families (Cabrera & Bradley, 2012; Behnke et al., 2008). However, many immigrant fathers in this study reported that their migration to the U.S., their immigration statuses, immigration laws, and enforcement practices significantly impacted their mixed status families and their ability to fulfill many of their fathering responsibilities (Behnke et al., 2008). Similarly, Salvadoran deported fathers in El Salvador mentioned that their deportations prevented them from fulfilling many of their responsibilities as fathers as they were physically separated from their children and families (Das Gupta, 2014; Abrego, 2014). As such, many of their physical separations from their children were directly

connected to harmful immigration laws and enforcement practices rather than familial and relationship problems. Lastly, Salvadoran fathers in this study shared that several other factors also affected their ability to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities.

Salvadoran fathers specifically reported that separations from their children's mothers also led to painful separations to their children (Kalmijn, 2018; Conway et al., 2020). Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers also faced changes in their fathering roles and responsibilities due to their physical distance to their children. Salvadoran fathers also reported that they had struggled to financially support their families (Dreby, 2006; Abrego, 2014) and discipline their children from a distance (Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014; Salazar Parreñas, 2008; Boodram, 2018). While many fathers in this study remained connected to their children, several fathers grew emotionally distant from their children and families (Boodram, 2018; Abrego, 2014). This study found that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices not only affected Salvadoran immigrant and deported men, but they also disrupted their fathering roles and relationships with their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Parenting in the Eyes of Salvadoran Fathers

In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men had diverse understandings of their fathering roles and responsibilities in their families. They shared what it meant to become fathers, the responsibilities they attached to fathering roles and responsibilities, and the changes they experienced in their lives as fathers under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime (Ojeda et al., 2020). In addition, Salvadoran fathers shared their perspectives on the gendered roles and expectations of mothers and fathers in their families (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson,

2016; Cabrera et al., 2000). Salvadoran fathers also shared their perspectives on the similarities and differences between raising children in El Salvador and in the U.S. (Abrego, 2014; Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014). As U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices targeted and criminalized Salvadoran immigrant men, they experienced changes in their fathering relationships with their children in the United States and in El Salvador.

Definitions of Fatherhood Roles & Responsibilities

Becoming Fathers: Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study shared the meanings they attached to becoming fathers (Kane, 2006). Most fathers focused on the deeper meanings they associated to fathering roles and responsibilities. For many, fatherhood was not only about bringing children to this world but about building a family they did not have growing up, having someone to fight for, giving their children everything they always wanted in life, and being a part of raising a new generation of families. Juan Chacon, who was deported to El Salvador, shared his experience of becoming a father. He said, "Becoming a father is one of the most precious things in the world. As fathers, we have to fight for our children. Our children obviously grow up and leave the home to create their own families and homes. It's the law of life. But becoming a father is one of the most precious gifts from God." Salvadoran fathers attached special meanings to having children. As fathers, they believed it was their responsibility to protect their children as they grew up and became adults. Eventually they would leave their home to start their own families and start the cycle all over. They considered this process as the law of life where children grew up and started new families with their own children. But they believed fathers played an essential role in the law of life. Similarly, Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many men desired to become fathers because they did

not have fathers in their lives. As a result, they desired to have children in order to be involved in their lives. They wanted to recreate what they did not have growing up. He said, "Becoming a father has been one of the most beautiful experiences in my life. I wanted to become a father because I didn't have a father. So I always wanted to be a father. It's been the best thing in my life." Most fathers in this study reported that they did not have fathers present in their lives because their fathers abandoned their families, migrated to another country, or passed away. These men viewed fatherhood as a valuable opportunity to build families, become the fathers they never had, and provide their children what they did not have growing up. Most men in this study were eager to become fathers and become involved in their children's lives.

Responsibilities as Fathers: Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study also discussed the gendered roles and expectations of fathers in U.S. and Salvadoran society (Kane, 2006). Most men in this study believed that fathers were responsible for raising, educating, and disciplining their children. Their responsibility as fathers went beyond financially providing and disciplining their children since they also focused on supporting and nurturing their children throughout their lives (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Josue Perdomo, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that fathers were responsible for the care of their children. Fathers were also believed to be responsible for educating and contributing to the growth and development of their children. He said, "You are responsible for your children. It's not just about providing for them but also educating them and supporting their development. Educating goes beyond just going to a school. Children's first school is in the home. We need to be examples to our children." Josue highlighted that fathers had several roles in their

children's life. One key role was educating and raising their children by being examples to their children. Fathers were believed to be responsible for raising and training their children in the home as their first "school" in life. Similarly, Edgardo Pacheco, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that fathers were financially responsible for their children and families. But more importantly, fathers were responsible for raising their children and caring for their children's well being. He said, "Well to be a father it means that you are providers for your family. As a father, I take care of my children financially and their well-being. It's not all about money. Fathers provide in every area of their children's lives." Fathers were not only responsible for providing financially for their families but they were also responsible for every aspect of their children's life. Salvadoran men in this study emphasized that fathers were also responsible for raising, educating, and caring for their children. These fathers believed that the meanings they attached to their fathering roles and responsibilities were based on traditional and egalitarian forms of fathering in society.

Roles of Mothers & Fathers in a Family

As Salvadoran immigrant and deported men had children, they focused on fulfilling their fathering roles and responsibilities in their families. Many of their perspectives and understandings of fatherhood were informed by their upbringing, personal experiences with their parents and parental figures, societal and cultural expectations, gendered expectations, and other factors (Kane, 2006; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Most fathers in this study believed in upholding traditional roles for mothers and fathers, while some fathers believed in more egalitarian roles for parents (Cabrera et al., 2000; Hunter et al. 2017). This study demonstrates Salvadoran men's' diverse understandings of their fathering roles and responsibilities.

Traditional Roles of Fathers: Many Salvadoran fathers in this study believed in practicing and upholding what they saw as traditional fatherhood roles and responsibilities. Many Salvadoran men believed that fathers were the patriarchs, breadwinners, and role models (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In other words, fathers were considered the leaders of their homes, the main decision makers, primary financial providers, and those who were responsible for their families' wellbeing and livelihood (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Neftali Monterrosa, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that fathers and their families should follow the Bible's definition of father's roles and responsibilities. While most fathers were influenced by cultural and societal gendered expectations, some fathers were specifically influenced by their faith and religion to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities. He said, "According to the Bible, fathers should be the head of the house and the one that makes the final decision. But should always consider the other members of the family. But it means a lot of responsibility." Many Salvadoran fathers in this study believed that fathers were the leaders of their homes. Fathers were believed to be responsible for making important life decisions and caring for every family member's well-being. However, many men believed that fathers should also consider the opinions by other members of the family. Similarly, Jesse Ronquillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that social, cultural, and gendered expectations of fathers influenced their roles and responsibilities in their families. Many fathers believed that society had dictated what fathers and mothers were expected to do as parents. He said, "Society says that fathers are the one that should be providing guidance and financially while mothers provide the love, kindness, and all of that things that you heard. Fathers are the leaders of the family and lead by example. But I think

that it has to do with how you were raised.” Based on societal and cultural expectations, fathers were believed to focus more on disciplining, leading, and financially providing for their children, while mothers focused more on providing emotional and physical care to their children. However, many Salvadoran fathers believed that the way they were raised influenced their fathering roles and responsibilities. As a result, most Salvadoran fathers in this study believed in practicing and upholding these traditional roles for fathers. In this perspective, fathers would continue to be the leaders in their homes, remain financially responsible for their children, and continue being the protectors of their families. However, many fathers also believed in upholding traditional roles for women and mothers in society.

Traditional Roles of Mothers: Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers also shared their understandings on the role of women and mothers in their families. Most fathers in this study believed that women should uphold traditional roles and responsibilities as mothers (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Mothers were expected to care for their children, care for their home, and provide physical and emotional care to their children (Abrego, 2014). These traditional perspectives were also influenced by faith-based and religious teachings, personal experiences, cultural and societal expectations, and gendered expectations. Marco Dominguez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained the cultural differences between fathers and mothers. He said, “A mother’s role cannot be done by a father. If for a certain reason there is no mother or father, you cannot do both roles. When my wife passed away, my mother took the role of a mother and they called her mother. They respected my mother as their own mother.” Many fathers believed that mother’s roles were specifically restricted to women and not men.

Even when their romantic partners passed away, some of these men's mothers assumed the role of mothers to their son's children because fathers did not want to assume these roles. Salvador Delgado, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that fathers and mothers had specific parenting roles when caring for their children. Many men believed that fathers focused more on working outside the home, while mothers worked from home caring for their children. He said, "I think that fathers focus more on working. The majority of jobs for men make us go in very early in the morning and late at night. While the mother is more concerned of taking the children to school." Many Salvadoran fathers believed that men who were fathers spent most of their time working outside their homes to financially provide for their families, while mothers spent most of their time caring for their children. Most fathers had these parenting arrangements with the mothers of their children in order to financially provide for their children but also provide adequate care for their children. While most Salvadoran fathers in this study believed in upholding traditional roles and responsibilities for mothers and fathers in society, several fathers believed in more gender neutral and egalitarian forms of parenting.

Egalitarian Parenting Roles: Some Salvadoran fathers believed that parents should assume equal parenting roles (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). Younger fathers in this study specifically believed that mothers and fathers had the same responsibilities, expectations, and abilities to care for their children (Cabrera et al., 2000). They were not concerned about fulfilling societal, cultural, or gendered expectations, but instead focused on fulfilling their parenting roles. Irwin Castillo, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that fathers and mothers had similar roles and responsibilities in

caring for their children. Fathers believed that parents needed to support one another in raising their children instead of assigning roles and responsibilities.

Fathers have similar roles to the mothers. Both the mother and father need to support and help each other. Fathers need to be responsible for their children just like the mother. Fathers also need to wash their children's clothes, bathe them, feed them, and help around the house. Even if the mother is there, the father also has to help and support their children.

While most men believed in traditional fathering roles and responsibilities, some men believed that fathers should also assume the roles and responsibilities traditionally associated to mothers. Fathers were capable of washing their clothes, bathing them, feeding them, and caring for their homes. These fathers believed mothers and fathers should both care for their children and home. Guillermo Romero, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that mothers and fathers had the same roles and responsibilities in raising their children. Some fathers believed there should be no parenting differences when caring for their children. He said, "Sometimes the father takes on the role of a mother and father. Mothers and fathers are the same in my eyes. I don't think that mothers are the only ones that could handle it all. I think fathers could also do both roles." Some fathers believed that men and women who were parents were capable of fulfilling all parenting roles and responsibilities. Instead of assigning particular parenting roles to mothers and fathers, society would promote equal parenting roles and responsibilities. In this study, most Salvadoran fathers believed in upholding traditional roles and responsibilities for mothers and fathers. However, some fathers believed in challenging these traditional expectations of mothers and fathers. They proposed that cultural, societal, and gendered expectations

should support gender-equal, gender-neutral, and egalitarian forms of fatherhood in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Raising Children in the United States and in El Salvador

Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study also shared their perspectives on the similarities and differences between raising children in El Salvador and in the U.S. (Abrego, 2014; Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014; Ojeda et al., 2020). These beliefs and understandings were informed by their upbringing in these countries, personal experiences in the U.S. and in El Salvador, observations of both cultures, and other factors. As a result, Salvadoran fathers believed it was healthier and more beneficial to raise children in El Salvador or in the U.S. However, several fathers believed there were little to no differences between both countries.

Raising Children in the United States: Most Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study believed it was more beneficial to raise their children in the U.S. because of their children's access to a quality education, employment opportunities, higher wages, government assistance, cultural differences, values, and laws. As a result, they were convinced that it was more beneficial to raise their children in the U.S. Luis Torres, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that there were fundamental differences between the U.S. and El Salvador. Similar to Luis, some fathers in this study preferred to raise their children in the U.S. because the Salvadoran culture enforced a toxic form of masculinity onto their children.

In El Salvador, there is a lot of machismo. They teach kids a lot of bad stuff. When I was a kid, if I cried I was considered a little girl but it was only an emotion. The Salvadoran culture can be hard on a kid because they teach you to be a man by being macho. But if

we talk about the U.S. culture, I think it's way better. I learned a lot in the U.S. to be a good father.

Some fathers had personally experienced the cultural repercussions of growing up in El Salvador. Many had experienced bullying and taunting because they were unable to reach the difficult expectations of toxic masculinity in the country. As a child, many were unable to share their emotions because it was considered a sign of weakness and associated to femininity. Some fathers preferred to raise their children in the U.S. since it more open-minded and accepting. Similarly, Herman Castillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that the United States offered more government assistance and financial opportunities to families than in El Salvador. As a result, there were fundamental differences between raising children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. He said, "In the U.S., we had everything. We had help from the government and from close family members. But in El Salvador, I am on my own. I have to look out for my kids since there is no government help. You value more being a father here." Like many fathers in this study, Herman believed there were more financial opportunities in the United States than in El Salvador in order to provide for their families and raise their children. But in El Salvador, many fathers were on their own without the help from the government and even family members in raising their children. Julio Larin, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that the U.S. and El Salvador offered different employment and financial opportunities to fathers in order to support their families and raise their children. In the U.S., fathers were not only able to financially provide for their families but also spend quality time with their children. He said, "Being a father in El Salvador and the U.S. are completely different financially especially with the amount of time fathers spend with their

children. In El Salvador, my parents worked and they didn't have time to spend it with us. In the U.S., I have the opportunity to financially support and spend time with my children." Most fathers who were once children in El Salvador believed they were unable to spend time with their parents since they worked most of the time. However, in the U.S. most fathers were able to financially provide for their families while also spending quality time with their children. They believed that these fundamental differences influenced their ability to raise their children. Salvadoran fathers in this study highlighted the differences between being a father and raising a family in El Salvador and in the U.S. These fathers preferred to raise their family in the U.S. because of their access to jobs, money, and opportunities to spend quality time with their children when compared to El Salvador. However, several fathers believed it was healthier to raise a family in El Salvador.

Raising Children in El Salvador: Some Salvadoran fathers believed that it was healthier to raise a family in El Salvador since the U.S. had a different culture and value system. Even though they were aware of the financial benefits and employment opportunities in the U.S., they preferred to raise their children and family in El Salvador. Nelson Zevala, who was deported to El Salvador, highlighted the fundamental differences between raising children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Some fathers preferred the value system and culture from El Salvador.

In El Salvador, the culture is very different and things are done differently. Love is different in both countries but also how they raise their children. The Salvadoran culture is about love and harmony. The Salvadoran culture is passed down from parents to their children. Children also don't leave their parents in retirement homes but rather take care of them.

Some Salvadoran fathers expressed their concerns about how children were raised in the U.S. They believed that children in El Salvador were taught to be emotionally connected to their parents. However, children in the U.S. were raised to be emotionally distant and detached from their parents. As a result, they preferred to raise their children in El Salvador. Similarly, Abram Saez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that fathers in El Salvador disciplined their children differently than they did in the U.S. Parents in El Salvador did not have as many restrictions when disciplining and punishing their children than in the U.S.

In El Salvador, we can discipline differently than we can in the United States. In the U.S., we can't punish and discipline our children the same way since it could become a problem. We can be threatened with calling the police. Many negative things could happen. So children in this country are without proper discipline since they know that laws protect them.

Some fathers believed that children were disciplined and punished differently in the U.S. and in El Salvador. The Salvadoran government and police were less involved in the way parents raised and disciplined their children than in the U.S. As a result, fathers believed children in the U.S. were not properly disciplined when compared to children in El Salvador. Lucas Preciado, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that there were cultural and family structure differences between the U.S. and El Salvador. Some fathers believed that the culture influenced the family structures in both countries, which affected the way they raised their children. He said, "The only difference is the economic aspect of what you can give your children. In the U.S. you also see a lot of separated families, while the tradition here in El Salvador is to maintain your family. I think it's more traditional here

in El Salvador.” Salvadoran fathers believed that there were more financial opportunities in the U.S. than in El Salvador. But they were concerned that it was normalized in the U.S. culture for families to be separated while the culture in El Salvador stressed that families should remain together. As a result, they believed it was more beneficial to raise a family in El Salvador. Many fathers were concerned about the way children were raised, parents were treated, and the culture’s influence on families. However, some fathers in this study believed that there were no differences between raising children in El Salvador and in the U.S.

Raising Children in Both Countries: Several Salvadoran fathers believed there were little to no differences between raising a family in the U.S. and in El Salvador. These fathers believed that whether they raised their children in one country or another they remained responsible for their children. Noe Fernandez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that some fathers did not find any fundamental differences between raising children in one country or another. Regardless of the country a father lived in, they were equally responsible for the care and protection of their children. He said, “There are no differences between being a father to my children in the U.S. and El Salvador. Being a father to children is the same responsibility in any country you live in.” Several fathers in this study believed that fathering transcended country’s borders. Fathers were similarly responsible for their children whether they lived in the U.S., El Salvador, or in another country. Fathering was not contained to a certain country but practiced universally. Similarly, Issac Carballo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that fathers were able to parent their children in the same way whether they lived in the U.S., El Salvador, or any other country. Regardless of where they lived, they

were able to remain responsible for the care and financial needs of their children. He said, “I think that you can be a father from anywhere in the world as long as you are responsible and provide for your children. I came to the United States to work and send them money to help out. So to be a father is to be responsible here or wherever.” Several fathers believed that whether they lived in the same country or in another country from their children they would still be responsible for their children. They believed that their ability to father and provide for their children transcended nation’s borders. Lastly, Ivan Ordonez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that raising children in the U.S. and El Salvador were relatively similar. Besides the way of life, fathering was similar in both countries. He said, “I think that being a father in El Salvador and the U.S. are the same. If I look at my life in El Salvador and the U.S., I would say it’s the same. El Salvador, life is slower and more calm but there is not a lot of work like in the U.S.” After having lived in both countries, several Salvadoran fathers believed that raising children in both countries were quite similar. Most Salvadoran fathers in this study described the major cultural, legal, and financial differences between raising children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. However, many Salvadoran men were unable to fulfill these ideal fathering roles and responsibilities due to the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices.

Immigration & Deportations Effects on Fathering Practices

In this study, U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices were found to have an effect on Salvadoran immigrant and deported men’s fathering roles and responsibilities. Their interactions with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime further disrupted their ability to parent their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Ojeda et al., 2020; Abrego,

2014). Many Salvadoran immigrant fathers in the U.S. described that migrating to the U.S., their immigration status, exclusionary immigration laws, and targeted enforcement practices affected their ability to fulfill their responsibilities as fathers (Behnke et al., 2008). Many Salvadoran deported fathers also mentioned that their previous immigration statuses and criminal records, discriminatory immigration laws, and deportations prevented them from fulfilling their roles as fathers (Das Gupta, 2014; Ojeda et al., 2020). Due to the restrictions by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, many Salvadoran fathers were unable to live in the same country as their children (Ojeda et al., 2020). However, fathers who were able to live with their children also experienced immigration restrictions that affected their fathering roles and responsibilities (Dreby, 2006).

Migrating to the United States: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study described that one of the factors that affected their fathering relationships with their children was their decision to migrate to the U.S. and leave their children behind in El Salvador (Abrego, 2014). Even though they were physically apart, they attempted to raise their children in El Salvador (Ojeda et al., 2020). These fathers and their children were not sure if they would be able to be together once again. Both the physical distance between El Salvador and the U.S and their inability to reunite due to restrictive immigration laws created certain challenges for fathers attempting to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities (Boodram, 2018). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that when Salvadoran fathers decided to migrate to the U.S., many left behind their children and romantic partners in El Salvador. This physical separation negatively impacted many of their relationships with their families. Many fathers described the moment they left their young children as one of their most difficult decisions since it could

have been their last time together. He said, "When I migrated to the U.S., I left my children behind. It was the hardest thing I had to do. They were so young when I left them. I hugged my children and wife as they cried. When I left the house, I didn't look back. I knew it was going to be a long and difficult journey." Most Salvadoran fathers described their experience of leaving their children at a young age in El Salvador as they migrated to the U.S. Many were uncertain if they would be able to see their children and romantic partners in again. Julian Agramonte, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that many fathers who decided to migrate to the United States unwillingly left their children behind. If it were possible, many fathers would have migrated with their children and romantic partners to the U.S. After migrating, many fathers did not see their children again until several years or decades later.

It affects all mothers and fathers when you migrate and leave your children behind.

When I arrived to the U.S. I started missing my children in El Salvador. After 18 years of living in the U.S., I was able to visit my children. I remember when they were young but now they are adults. Family separation affects us as fathers and our relationship with our children.

Many Salvadoran immigrant fathers who left their children behind in their home countries were unable to see their children in-person for a long period of time. Many returned several years later to El Salvador to meet their adult children. As U.S. immigration laws and policies restricted their ability to reunite with their children, many felt that the country stole many years of their lives with their children. They were unable to experience many years of memories, celebrations, and important life events with their children that stayed behind in El Salvador. Similarly, Lucho Morillo, who was a legal permanent resident in the

U.S., explained that some fathers became separated from their families when their children and romantic partners migrated to the U.S. without them. As their children migrated to the U.S., many fathers were left behind without a family in El Salvador. Eventually they reunited, but their separation affected their relationship.

My children were born in El Salvador and migrated to the U.S. in 1981. During that time I was fighting in the Salvadoran civil war. During the war, I was separated from them. I never thought I would migrate to the U.S. to be with them. The mother of my other children decided to leave to Mexico. So the civil war led to my separation from my children.

While many Salvadoran fathers migrated to the U.S. to be with their children, some were separated from their other children in El Salvador. Throughout their lives, fathers became separated from their children in the U.S., El Salvador, and in both countries. These fathers believed that U.S. immigration laws and policies prevented them from being able to live with their families in the U.S., El Salvador, and in other countries at different times in their lives. Umberto Alguacil, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that once Salvadoran fathers migrated from El Salvador to the U.S. many had to convince their romantic partners and the mothers of their children to allow them to migrate to the U.S. to reunite with their fathers. He said, "My son's mother didn't want him to migrate to be with me in the U.S. She wanted him to stay with her in El Salvador. Things don't go the way I wanted. But he eventually migrated to be with me." Similar to Umberto, many immigrant fathers in this study missed important life events in their children's early years of life. While some fathers were able to reunite with their children in the U.S. after they migrated, many remained separated from their children in El Salvador. The amount of

time they spent away from their children affected their ability to remain connected, build long lasting memories, and celebrate important life events with each other.

Immigration Status & Criminal Record: Many Salvadoran fathers in this study also mentioned that their immigration statuses and criminal records affected their ability to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities (Dreby, 2006; Behnke et al., 2008). As Salvadoran fathers migrated to the U.S., many became undocumented immigrants with limited opportunities to adjust their immigration statuses, petition their family members in El Salvador, and fully incorporate into the U.S. (Abrego, 2014). However, several immigrant fathers were able to become TPS beneficiaries and legal permanent residents. But they also faced restrictions when attempting to petition their children, travel internationally to visit their families, and permanently settle in the U.S. (Abrego, 2014). Salvadoran fathers who had criminal records faced additional restrictions when attempting to reunite with their children. These legal barriers, restrictions, and uncertainties further restricted their attempts to fulfill their fatherly responsibilities. Jesus Pomar, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that the families of immigrants with TPS were concerned about their father's temporary immigration status and uncertain future in the U.S. As the U.S. considered terminating the TPS program for Salvadorans, many immigrant fathers with TPS remained uncertain if they would be able to continue living with their families in the U.S. or be forced to return to El Salvador. He said, "Well I am concerned that my temporary protected status is in limbo at this moment. I keep thinking about how I would be able to provide for three U.S. born children in El Salvador. I can't imagine having to raise them in my country of birth." Many Salvadoran immigrant fathers with TPS were concerned that their temporary immigration status would be terminated

and they would have to return to El Salvador. They were concerned about how they would be able to provide for their families and raise their children in another country if their children returned with them to El Salvador. Their temporary immigration status did not provide an assurance of a permanent future in the U.S. with their families. Similarly, Issac Carballo, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that immigrants with TPS were also concerned that they would struggle to financially support their families if there were any changes to their immigration statuses. Due to the temporary nature of their immigration status, their families were concerned that their fathers would no longer be able to support them financially.

I am concerned that I am getting too old to fix my papers. Some of my earnings are here and I can't just ask for the money. My family fears that if I am deported, we would lose everything. Thanks to TPS I have a pension. If I stay here it will cover me as long as the law decides to because if I leave, I lose everything. With the little they give me I can help them.

As Salvadoran immigrants with TPS approached the age of retirement, many became concerned about their finances especially as they become older and were threatened with the termination of the TPS program. Many fathers with TPS feared that if they were deported because of the termination of the TPS program for Salvadorans, they would not have much money for their retirement and to support their families. Ricardo Valenzuela, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that when Salvadoran deportees lived in the U.S., their immigration statuses negatively affected them when attempting to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities for their children. Many struggled to obtain a permanent immigration status and were eventually deported from the U.S., leading to their

separation from their U.S. families. He said, “In the U.S., there were many limitations such as obtaining a permanent residency. My immigration status limited me a lot. Immigration laws affected our relationship since it led to my family separation.” Most immigrants who were deported experienced several immigration restrictions in the U.S. Many immigrant fathers were unable to become legal permanent residents and obtain protections from deportations. As a result, many were deported and experienced family separations from their children and romantic partners in the United States. Due to their physical separations from their children, many deportees were unable to fulfill many of their fathering roles and responsibilities. Gamaliel Santiago, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportee’s criminal records and deportations affected their roles and responsibilities as fathers. Many deportees were unable to support their U.S. families financially as they faced legal barriers and obstacles when seeking employment opportunities in El Salvador. He said, “I haven’t committed crimes for many years, but I still have a record in the criminal justice system. I would like to give my children the best things but the criminal justice system does not let me incorporate back into society as a human being and a father. I cannot get a job and get out of my situation.” Many Salvadoran fathers who were deported believed that their criminal records and deportations prevented them from re-incorporating into society. Deportees’ pasts continued to haunt them even as they tried to move on with their lives and fulfill their roles and responsibilities as fathers to their children. Salvadoran fathers in this study shared that they faced many barriers in the U.S. and in El Salvador when attempting to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities because of their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations. As a result, the

children of Salvadoran fathers were believed to have experienced the consequences of these laws and enforcement practices in their own lives.

Exclusionary Immigration Laws: Salvadoran fathers in this study also shared how exclusionary immigration laws and policies in the U.S. affected their opportunity to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities (Behnke et al., 2008; Dreby, 2006). Most Salvadoran immigrant and deported men expressed that immigration laws led to legal barriers and restrictions in fulfilling their fathering responsibilities (Ojeda et al., 2020; Das Gupta, 2014). They believed that these laws were discriminatory, exclusionary, and harmful towards Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. (Ngai, 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). Many Salvadoran fathers were convinced that U.S. immigration laws were responsible for their discrimination in the country, family separations, and deportations and removal from the U.S. Xavier Cabal, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that U.S. immigration laws negatively affected immigrant fathers and their families in the U.S. Many of these fathers believed that U.S. immigration laws and policies took away their freedom to live peacefully and without government interference in their personal lives and family relationships. He said, "I feel like these laws are affecting our children. We have the freedom to drive because I have a driver's license but other immigration laws are affecting us. The truth is that licenses are part of this political climate we are living in that has affected us. Not only me but other immigrants." Some immigrants were able to obtain benefits in the U.S., but most immigrants and their families remained under constant surveillance and threatened with the enforcement of immigration laws. While they gained some freedoms in the U.S., they remained shackled in the country like prisoners. Similarly, Enzo Bonilla, who was a legal

permanent resident in the U.S., shared that U.S. immigration laws and policies that targeted immigrants also affected their children and families. While U.S. immigration laws targeted adult immigrants, their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador also experienced fear and anxiety as a result of these laws.

As immigrants we hear that the government is discriminating against us. Kids are terrified their parents won't come back home. We try to raise our kids to not think of family separations even though they are being separated. I believe that the threat of separation and seeing a family member being treated like a criminal affects immigrant families.

Salvadoran immigrant fathers believed that these laws and policies affected them and their families emotionally, psychologically, and physically. But they also believed that their children experienced the effects of these laws and policies in their own lives. As Salvadoran fathers navigated these discriminatory and exclusionary laws and practices, it also affected the way they raised their children in a hostile immigrant environment. Herman Castillo, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that U.S. immigration laws and policies were responsible for Salvadoran deportee's physical separation from their families in the United States. As deportees returned to El Salvador, many were unable to continue supporting their family's financially and fulfilling their roles and responsibilities as fathers. He said, "Well immigration laws tore me away and separated me from my family. In El Salvador it's been kind of hard financially. We don't have a business that makes money for us. We have to be an employee and work for somebody else. So it affects our family's finances."

Salvadoran deportees believed that U.S. immigration laws and policies participated in "tearing" them apart from their immediate families in the U.S. Due to their physical distance

from their U.S. families, many deported fathers were unable to physically care for their children and support their families financially in the same way as in the past. Similarly, Neftali Monterrosa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that most Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. that had problems with the law were physically removed from the country and separated from their families. These same laws made deportees ineligible to return to live in the United States with their children for several years or even decades.

I had a little trouble with the law in the U.S. I broke some laws and I did my time. It affected my children. But I still have a relationship with my son. According to the immigration laws, I cannot return until after ten years. They should make a law to give deportees a chance. Like let us go a week over there and come back. But it's hard for people to allow that to happen.

Many Salvadoran deportees in El Salvador were aware that they had violated the law and had to face the consequences for their crimes. However, after serving time in prison many were physically removed from the country leading to a minimum ten-year punishment from the U.S. As a result, many of their children were unable to live with their fathers for at least ten years. These fathers believed that the U.S. government should allow deportees to travel to the U.S. and be with their families once again. But they knew that it would be an unrealistic expectation after being deported. Lastly, Fabian Dominguez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that immigration laws and deportation proceedings led to the physical separation of many Salvadoran fathers from their children in the U.S. While these laws targeted immigrants, many of their children also experienced the unintended consequences of these policies as they were separated from their fathers. He said, "Immigration laws led to my deportation. My children are young and still live in the U.S. I

am physically apart from my children because of immigration laws and my deportation.” Deported fathers expressed that immigration laws authorized their deportation and removal from the country leaving behind their young children in the U.S. without a father physically present. They believed that immigration laws and policies were responsible for their inability to live with their children and be physically involved in their lives everyday. These laws and policies restricted father’s attempts to reunite and petition their children and families living in other countries and the opportunity to travel internationally to visit their children. U.S. immigration laws and policies were also responsible for Salvadoran immigrant father’s deportations and removals from the U.S. As they returned to El Salvador, many were legally banned from returning to the U.S. and being able to reunite with their children. Salvadoran fathers in this study viewed U.S. immigration laws and policies as legal barriers in their attempt to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities in their children’s lives.

Targeted Immigration Enforcement Practices: Lastly, Salvadoran fathers in this study described that immigration enforcement practices affected their ability to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities (Abrego, 2014). Salvadoran immigrant fathers in the U.S. believed that the threat of being deported by U.S. immigration enforcement agencies affected their ability to fulfill their fathering responsibilities (Behnke et al., 2008; Dreby, 2006). Immigrant fathers believed that they could be removed from the country and separated from their U.S. families. Salvadoran fathers who had been deported experienced first-hand the effects of immigration enforcement practices as they were removed from the country and physically separated from their U.S. families (Das Gupta, 2014). As a result, many fathers were unable to live in the same country as their children as they struggled to

fulfill their fathering responsibilities (Ojeda et al., 2020; Boodram, 2018). Jairo Tamayo, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that immigration laws negatively impacted immigrant father's responsibilities. These fathers were fearful that immigration enforcement practices would lead to their separation from their families.

If my family was separated, our lives would be affected. I wouldn't be able to see my children anymore. We are fighting as a family so nothing will happen to us. I am involved in fighting for TPS holders to become residents. I am fighting to get a residency so I could live without the fear of deportation. I want to be able to see my children grow up in this country.

Salvadoran immigrant fathers with TPS were fearful of what could potentially happen to their families if they were to be deported and separated from their families. They envisioned obtaining a permanent immigration status and no longer living in fear so they could see their children grow up in the U.S. Similarly, Lucian Ciceron, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that changes with the TPS program could potentially affect immigrant fathers and their families. Many families feared that their fathers could be deported from the U.S.

It's an uncertain time since my TPS is going to expire. I have talked to my children that I could be deported. If I have an order of deportation, I would leave to El Salvador. My son is going to be 21 years old and he is going to be able to help me. If TPS expires, I would leave to obey the laws. Once in El Salvador, I would migrate legally once my son petitions me.

Immigrants with TPS were aware of their uncertain futures in the U.S. as the temporary protected status program for Salvadorans was contested in the courts. If the TPS program

were to be terminated for Salvadorans, they believed they would have to return to El Salvador. As a result, their children were fearful of being separated from their fathers. Cornelio Zamora, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many of the children of Salvadoran deportees experienced trauma and the repercussions of their father's deportation at a young age. Due to their physical distance, many fathers were unable to be present in their children's life in the U.S.

When I was deported, my son was nine years old. Deportation felt like my limbs were cut off. I couldn't fight anymore for him. I was absent and I was dead in his life. My son suffered since he didn't see me from one day to the next. My son was so accustomed to seeing me buy him clothes, go on trips, and eat with him. I was over there with him for over thirty years.

Salvadoran deported fathers likened their separation from their children as though their "limbs were cut off" from their bodies. They believed their family bonds and relationships with their children were negatively affected as they were deported to El Salvador and their children remained in the U.S. Many deported fathers were unable to be with their children in-person after being in their lives for most of their lives. As a result, fathers believed that their children experienced certain levels of trauma after losing their fathers. Similarly, Fermin Castro, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many Salvadoran deported fathers were unable to fulfill many of their roles and responsibilities as fathers because they lived in El Salvador and their children lived in the U.S. While these fathers cared and were concerned about their children, they knew there was little they could do for their children from a distance. He said, "At this moment I can't fulfill my role as a father. My children are in the U.S. and it's hard for me because I am constantly stressed and worried

about them. I hope nothing happens to my children. I live here in El Salvador but my mind is not here, it's in the U.S." Due to their physical distance, most Salvadoran deported fathers felt like their hands were tied, as they desired to be with their children but were banned from returning to the U.S. They constantly worried about their children but were unable to reunite with them since they lived in El Salvador. While their bodies were physically in El Salvador, their mind and thoughts were in the U.S. with their children. They separated their physical bodies from their mind and thoughts in order to be in two places at once.

Lastly, Juan Chacon, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that when Salvadoran immigrant fathers were deported from the U.S., many were simultaneously separated from their families. Their relationships with their children and fathering responsibilities abruptly changed as U.S. immigration enforcement agencies removed Salvadoran immigrant fathers from the U.S. He said, "Well we used to live together and then all of a sudden I was deported and separated from them. It left a huge hole in the life of my children, wife, and grandchildren. I felt like I lost everything. When I needed something, my son was right by my side. But from one day to another, we were separated." Salvadoran deported fathers suggested that U.S. immigration enforcement agencies rapidly removed them from the U.S. to El Salvador. Many remembered being with their families one day and soon after found themselves living in another country without their families. Once in El Salvador, these fathers struggled to remain active in their family's life and in fulfilling their fathering roles and responsibilities from a distance. While Salvadoran immigrant fathers navigated the potential threat of being deported, Salvadoran deported fathers lived with this reality daily as they were physically separated from their children in the U.S. The threat of deportations and actual deportation experiences further affected Salvadoran

fathers as they struggled to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities for their children and families in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Overall, Salvadoran men in this study described that their migration to the U.S., U.S. immigration statuses and criminal records, and their harmful interactions with U.S. immigration laws and immigration enforcement practices prevented them from fulfilling their responsibilities as fathers to their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. As they navigated their fathering roles and responsibilities under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, they also realized that there were additional factors that affected their fathering experiences and responsibilities for their children and families.

Related Factors Affecting Fathering Experiences

Salvadoran men in this study also shared that they faced several factors that affected their ability to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities. As Salvadoran immigrant men migrated to the U.S. and deported men returned to El Salvador, they experienced changes in their families (Abrego, 2014; Ojeda et al., 2020). These changes in their families led to new challenges in fulfilling their fathering responsibilities (Kalmijn, 2018; Conway et al., 2020). Salvadoran fathers also experienced changes due to their physical distance to their children (Ojeda et al., 2020; Boodram, 2018). Salvadoran fathers also reported that they struggled to financially support their children (Dreby, 2006; Abrego, 2014) and discipline their children (Behnke et al., 2008; Das Gupta, 2014; Salazar Parreñas, 2008; Boodram, 2018). While many Salvadoran fathers remained connected to their children, several fathers grew distant from their children. Salvadoran fathers in this study learned to navigate and adjust their fathering roles and responsibilities to changes in their families under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime.

Changes In Family Structures

Salvadoran fathers in this study learned to adjusted their fathering roles and responsibilities in response to changes in their families. Salvadoran immigrant fathers experienced changes in their families due to their decisions to migrate, physical separations from their children, and separations from their children's mothers (Abrego, 2014). Similarly, Salvadoran deported fathers experienced changes in their families as a result of their deportation, separations from their children, and separations from their children's mother (Ojeda et al., 2020). These changes in their families affected their attempts to fulfill their fathering responsibilities.

Family Changes in the Same Country: Many Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers experienced changes in their families while living in the same country as their children (Behnke et al., 2008). Even though they lived in the same country, they still faced separations from their children and their children's mothers. As a result, they had to adjust their fathering roles and responsibilities to changes in their families. Edgardo Pacheco, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that after immigrant men and their wives separated they experienced problems in their relationships with their children. As a result, some fathers became more emotionally distant from their families since many were physically separated from their children.

I was not allowed to be with my son during his first years of life because I divorced his mother and I worked a lot. My divorce led to a barrier in my relationship with my son. That took away my opportunity for my son and I to have a good relationship. I couldn't be a father to him. I became an authoritative father instead of being open to him as a father.

Several immigrant fathers expressed that their divorce and workload affected their ability to have a healthy relationship with their children. Fathers believed that these factors prevented them from being able to build a strong bond with their children and fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities. Similarly, Roberto Zelaya, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that even though some deported fathers lived in the same country as their children, several issues with the mothers of their children spilled over onto their relationships with their children. Since their children lived with their mothers, some children became emotionally distant from their fathers.

I am in El Salvador so I am separated from my wife and two children. We are not divorced but my wife has taken custody of the children. She doesn't let me get close to them. So the children have grown resentment and hate against me. Every time I try to communicate with her to get a hold of my children, she denies me. So our children don't see me as their father.

While deported fathers tried to reconnect with their children in El Salvador, they believed that the mothers of their children prevented them from having a relationship with their children. They believed that the mothers of their children influenced their children so they could become resentful, angry, and avoid their fathers. As a result, fathers became emotionally and physically distant from their children. While many Salvadoran fathers lived in the same country as their children, problems in their relationships with the mothers of their children led to physical separations and emotional estrangement. Many of these fathers no longer lived in the same home as their children and romantic partners, which changed their fathering roles and responsibilities.

Family Changes in Different Countries: Salvadoran fathers in this study who lived in different countries from their children also experienced significant changes in their families (Boodram, 2018). Many fathers who had migrated and fathers who were deported lived in different countries from their children (Abrego, 2014). However, most Salvadoran fathers experienced changes in their families due to their separations from their children and relationship problems with their children's mothers (Ojeda et al., 2020). Ernesto Castro, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that most immigrant fathers who were deported experienced changes in their relationships with their partners and children over time. After separating from their romantic partners and being deported, many struggled to reunite with their children in the U.S.

My wife and I separated when my children were young. I would spend months without seeing my children. After that, I got in trouble with the law so that prevented me from seeing my children. I would write letters and call but there was never any response. The separation led to their mother moving on. It caused a huge separation between me and my children.

The combination of Salvadoran father's separations from their romantic partners and their deportations from the U.S. further affected their relationship with their children. Over time, many fathers became distant from their children but once they were deported to El Salvador most fathers lost all communication with their children. Similarly, Felipe Martinez, who had been deported to El Salvador, explained that most Salvadoran fathers used to have healthy relationships with their partners in the U.S. However, once they were deported to El Salvador many fathers experienced changes in their relationships with their children and romantic partners.

My first wife and I separated but I kept the kids. After several years, she wanted the kids so I let them go with her. She never denied the kids from me. So I used to take them out anytime. I still had a really good relationship with them. After being deported, there was no way to see them. So I only talk to them once in a while. But I still have a good relationship with them.

While Salvadoran fathers tried to maintain a healthy relationship with their former romantic partners, some fathers believed that their partners were responsible for their deportations. As Salvadoran fathers tried to maintain a healthy relationship with their children in the U.S., they were unable to see them in-person or communicate with them often. Their physical distance affected their ability to remain actively involved in their lives. Salvadoran fathers in this study shared that changes in their families led to physical separations and emotional problems with their children. As a result, these changes in their families affected their opportunities to fulfill their fathering responsibilities for their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While several fathers attempted to maintain a relationship with their children and romantic partners, their physical distance and relationship problems prevented them from reuniting as a family again.

Father and Children's Country of Residence

Many Salvadoran fathers in this study had the opportunity to live in the same country or were forced to live in a different country from their children. Some fathers were able to raise their children in the same country, while other fathers were physically separated from their children after migrating to the U.S. or being deported to El Salvador (Behnke et al., 2008; Boodram, 2018). However, some fathers had new children in El Salvador and in the U.S. after migrating and being deported (Abrego, 2014). This study

found that the location of Salvadoran fathers and their children either supported or affected their relationships with their children (Ojeda et al., 2020). Most fathers believed that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices were responsible for their ability to live in the same or in a different country from their children.

Raising Children in the Same Country: In this study, many Salvadoran fathers had the opportunity to raise their children in the same country. However, they faced the effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices when raising and parenting their children (Behnke et al., 2008). Salvadoran fathers who had children in the U.S. shared how the U.S. immigration enforcement regime disrupted their efforts in raising, disciplining, and financially supporting their children (Dreby, 2006). Mateo Medina, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that the children of Salvadoran immigrant fathers in the U.S. were concerned that their parents could be deported because of their immigration statuses. They believed their children were fearful that their parents could be removed from their lives. He said, “My children have asked what would happen to them if we were to be deported to El Salvador. They asked what would happen to them. They hear about immigration issues in the news. I have also heard that they want to take our children’s citizenship away because we are undocumented.” From a young age, the children of Salvadoran fathers became aware of their parent’s immigration statuses. They also became more concerned about what would happen to them if their parents were deported. Salvadoran fathers’ immigration statuses affected their efforts in raising, financially providing, and fulfilling their fathering roles and responsibilities.

Many Salvadoran fathers who were deported to El Salvador were able to reunite with their children while some fathers had new children after being deported. However,

they also faced legal barriers by U.S. immigration laws and policies when raising and parenting their children. Salvadoran fathers shared that their deportations, criminal records, and their time away from their children impacted their efforts in being active in their children's lives. Gamaliel Santiago, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that when Salvadoran fathers were deported from the U.S. many were unable to reunite with their children in El Salvador. Due to restrictions by street gangs, many were forbidden from travelling to their children's neighborhoods. He said, "I returned to El Salvador three years ago and we still don't live together. My daughters live in Santa Ana and I live in San Salvador. Although they live near me, I can't go see them when I want because of the gangs. Although I was reunited with my children when I was deported, I was not able to reunite with them." While Salvadoran fathers lived in the same country, gang politics restricted their opportunity to reunite with their children. Salvadoran fathers with children in the same country faced different restrictions when attempting to live with their children, remaining active in their lives, and in fulfilling their fathering responsibilities.

Raising Children in a Different Country: In this study, Salvadoran fathers also reported living in different countries from their children. These fathers shared how the U.S. immigration enforcement regime impacted their efforts in raising, disciplining, and financially supporting their children in another country (Das Gupta, 2014; Boodram, 2018; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). As a result, fathers shared that their children expressed resentment for their migration, deportation, and family separations. Salvadoran immigrant fathers specifically mentioned that when they migrated to the U.S., many were not able to live with their children who remained in El Salvador because of legal restrictions by U.S. immigration laws and policies (Abrego, 2014). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented

immigrant in the U.S., shared that once Salvadoran fathers migrated to the U.S. they were able to support their families financially. However, they became physically separated from their children and were concerned they would not be able to live together again.

When I migrated to the U.S., I left my children behind. This affected our relationship. I wasn't there for the early stages of my children's lives. As my children grew up, they asked for me and did not understand why I left. I provided for them while I was in another country. It has always been my dream to have my children with me in the U.S. Many immigrant fathers sacrificed their opportunity to live with their children in El Salvador in order to be able to financially support their families. Even though they were physically distant, these fathers continued to support their children. Salvadoran fathers in the U.S. expressed that they experienced changes in their relationships with their children due to their physical distance.

Salvadoran fathers in El Salvador also reported leaving behind their children in the U.S. when they were deported. Many were not able to live with their children in the U.S. because of barriers by U.S. immigration laws and policies that prevented them from returning to the U.S. Ernesto Castro, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that once Salvadoran fathers returned to El Salvador many were separated from their children in the U.S. After being physically separated from their families, many deportees struggled to remain involved in their children's lives. He said, "If just being a father itself is difficult, being a father who is separated from his family makes it a lot more difficult. Especially when trying to rebuild the bond you had with your children. So being a deported father takes a lot more energy and effort. I wish I had that opportunity with them." Salvadoran fathers who had been separated from their children struggled to rebuild the relationship

they once had with them. Fathers living away from their children had to navigate not only being parents but also fathers who were separated from their children. In order to maintain a relationship with their children in another country, they had to invest most of their time, money, and energy to remain emotionally close to their children. Due to their physical distance, Salvadoran fathers expressed that their children became emotionally distant and resentful towards them. Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study shared their experiences of parenting their children in the same country and in different countries. As Salvadoran fathers attempted to fulfill their fathering responsibilities, U.S. immigration laws, enforcement practices, and their physical distance disrupted their relationships with their children.

Financial Support

In this study, many Salvadoran fathers continued to financially support their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Abrego, 2014). However, many fathers were concerned that if their immigration status changed they would no longer be able to financially support their families (Dreby, 2006). Salvadoran fathers who had been deported reported that they struggled to financially support their families (Abrego, 2014; Boodram, 2018). While many Salvadoran fathers desired to financially support their families, many were unable to help their families. Salvador Delgado, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many fathers struggled to support their children financially due to their limited employment opportunities. Due to their immigration statuses, many immigrants were not offered high paying job opportunities.

I worry about my employment opportunities because sometimes there is a lack of work.

Sometimes I have to figure it out because I don't make money. I am not a single person

anymore. I need to provide for my family. I think that my responsibility as a father focuses on contributing financially to provide for my home and care for the health of my children.

The majority of immigrant fathers desired to financially provide for their families but their immigration statuses restricted them to low-paying jobs. When these fathers were not able to find work, they were concerned about how they would be able to support their families. Most fathers financially provided for their children and families, but their immigration statuses and restrictions by U.S. immigration laws made it more difficult to provide for their families.

Similarly, Salvadoran fathers who had been deported shared that they struggled to financially support their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Many of these fathers had jobs, received livable wages, and purchased homes in the U.S., but once they were deported they lost their jobs, money, and other belongings. Due to their deportations and criminal records, many fathers were unable to immediately find employment opportunities, which affected their ability to financially support their families. Guillermo Romero, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many Salvadorans deported fathers struggled to financially provide for their children because of the limited job opportunities and low minimum wage in El Salvador. As Salvadoran deportees, they struggled to find high paying jobs in El Salvador and being able to financially provide for their families. He said, "Well it has been difficult in El Salvador because of the lack of good employment opportunities and salaries. It's rare to find a good job with good pay. I am always focused on trying to see what I need to do to provide for my son. That's my daily life. I want to make sure he has everything he needs." The majority of Salvadoran deported fathers tried to find job

opportunities in El Salvador with higher wages. But due to the struggling economy and limited job opportunities in the country, many fathers were restricted to low paying jobs and were unable to financially support their families. While Salvadoran fathers desired to financially support their families, they were restricted to certain jobs and wages because of their immigration statuses, restrictions by U.S. immigration laws and policies, and deportations and criminal records. As a result, many Salvadoran fathers struggled to financially support their children and families in the United States and in El Salvador. Salvadoran fathers who were unable to support their children like they planned believed they were incapable of fulfilling their fathering roles and responsibilities in their families.

Distant Disciplining

In this study, most Salvadoran fathers described that fathers were expected to discipline their children (Hunter et al. 2017; Andreasson & Johansson, 2016). While many Salvadoran fathers disciplined their children, several fathers reported struggling to discipline their children (Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Fathers living in the same country as their children mentioned that they also faced legal and cultural issues when disciplining their children (Behnke et al., 2008). Fathers that were separated from their children struggled to discipline their children that lived in another country (Salazar Parreñas, 2008; Boodram, 2018). Their physical distance to their children affected their opportunities to fulfill their fathering responsibilities to discipline their children.

Salvadoran fathers living in the same country as their children faced certain challenges when attempting to discipline their children (Behnke et al., 2008). As Salvadoran fathers in the U.S. attempted to discipline their children they encountered legal and cultural problems. Salvadoran deported fathers also struggled to discipline their

children in El Salvador since most of their children had grown up without their fathers (Salazar Parreñas, 2008). As a result, these fathers believed they no longer had the ability to discipline their children. Julio Larin, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that children in the United States were disciplined differently than how children were disciplined in El Salvador. As a result, many Salvadoran fathers changed their method of disciplining due to legal and cultural differences.

We come from a culture where we want to discipline children in our way. My friend wanted to discipline his daughter so he hit her and she called the police. He was arrested and they took away his TPS and he was deported. This all happened because he wanted to discipline his daughter. We didn't know we could break the law when we discipline our children.

Immigrant fathers in the U.S. became aware of the differences between disciplining children in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While parents in El Salvador had more opportunities to discipline their children without government and law enforcement's involvement, parents in the U.S. feared the repercussions for disciplining their children. While some Salvadoran fathers attempted to discipline their children in the same way, they soon realized it would lead to problems in the U.S. As a result, they adjusted their methods of raising and disciplining their children in the U.S.

Salvadoran fathers also shared that their distance to their children led to changes in the way they disciplined them (Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Due to their physical distance, they engaged in distant disciplining to correct their children's behavior. However, fathers found it to be more effective for younger children than for older children. Fathers would offer advice and guidance for older children. Fabian Dominguez, who was deported to El

Salvador, explained that many deported fathers would discipline and correct their younger children's behavior over the phone. However, their physical distance limited their opportunities to fully discipline their children.

Sometimes my children call me and tell me that one of their brothers doesn't want to shower. I tell them you have five minutes to shower. They say okay *papi* I will shower. So then they shower. But it's not the same as before. As a father, we are supposed to give them love, teach them, and support them. We have to be there for them when they need it.

While some deported fathers managed to discipline their young children while living in another country, most fathers were concerned about the effectiveness of these methods in the future as their children grew up without their father's physically present. At a young age, they continued to recognize their father's authority to discipline them. Salvadoran fathers realized that the physical distance to their children in another country led to certain challenges when attempting to discipline and correct their behavior. As a result, they engaged in distant disciplining to correct their children's behavior and offer advice and support to their older children.

While most fathers continued to raise and discipline their children, some fathers shared that they no longer disciplined their children (Boodram, 2018; Abrego, 2014). Most fathers believed that the parent that lived with their children would assume the primary responsibilities of raising and disciplining their children. As a result, many fathers no longer disciplined their children. Isaias Quintanilla, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many fathers had struggled to discipline their children because of their physical distance. Once they were deported, the mothers of their children were the only

ones disciplining their children. When they attempted to discipline their children, the mothers of their children denied them this opportunity.

One time I was talking to my daughter on the phone and she was doing something she wasn't supposed to do. I told her '*Mami*, don't do that' and her mother told me 'you cannot tell her anything.' I had to teach my daughter what was right and wrong as her father. I felt the responsibility to tell her not to do that. But her mother took that away from me.

While Salvadoran fathers attempted to discipline their children, the mothers of their children denied them the opportunity to correct their children. However, many of these mothers allowed their new romantic partners to discipline their children. Many Salvadoran fathers shared that whether they lived in the same country or in a different country from their children, they experienced major changes in the way they disciplined their children. While many fathers continued to raise and discipline their children, some fathers no longer disciplined their children. Salvadoran fathers believed that due to changes in their families, living situations, finances, and the way they disciplined their children many were unable to fulfill their fathering responsibilities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the parenting experiences of Salvadoran immigrant fathers in the U.S. and deported fathers in El Salvador under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. Salvadoran men in this study first discussed the diverse meanings and values they attached to their new fathering roles and responsibilities. As new fathers to their children, many assumed specific fathering roles and responsibilities based on cultural, societal, and gendered expectations. Many Salvadoran men associated specific roles and

responsibilities to mothers and fathers in their families based on their culture, upbringing, and values. Most fathers in this study believed in traditional roles and responsibilities for fathers and mothers. However, several fathers believed in more egalitarian roles for parents in their families. As these men navigated their fathering roles and responsibilities, they considered whether the U.S., El Salvador, or both countries would be more desirable for raising children. Based on their personal experiences in both countries, many fathers decided to raise their children in the U.S. while several fathers preferred to raise their children in El Salvador. However, some fathers believed that their fathering roles and responsibilities transcended nation's borders. As Salvadoran men adjusted to their primary roles and responsibilities as fathers, they realized that immigration laws and deportations further disrupted their ability to raise their children. As Salvadoran fathers migrated to the U.S., they experienced the harmful effects of exclusionary immigration laws and targeted enforcement practices in their lives and in their ability to raise their children. Salvadoran immigrant fathers who were deported to El Salvador also experienced legal barriers by U.S. immigration laws as they attempted to fulfill their fathering roles and responsibilities from another country. Salvadoran fathers also experienced changes in their families based on their decisions to migrate, forced deportations, physical separations from their children, and separations from their children's mothers. Due to their physical separations from their children, many fathers relied on several forms of communication to maintain a relationship with their children. Through these methods, fathers were able to contact, support, discipline, and offer advice to their children. However, some fathers lost communication with their children. As Salvadoran fathers attempted to raise their children, their physical distance affected their ability to discipline and financially support them. Fathers living in

the same country as their children faced legal, familial, and financial problems while fathers living a different country from their children encountered prolonged separations, financial problems, and restricted opportunities to raise their children. While many Salvadoran fathers became distant from their children, most fathers learned to navigate their relationships with their children under these circumstances and remained active in their children's lives. As U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices targeted Salvadoran immigrant men, their children and romantic partners in the U.S. and in El Salvador experienced the unintended consequences of these laws and policies in their lives and relationships.

Chapter 3: The Impact of the U.S. immigration Enforcement Regime on the Children and Romantic Partners of Salvadoran Men

In this chapter, I examine the perceived experiences of the children and romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant men and Salvadoran deported men. Many Salvadoran men in this study believed that their experiences with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime also impacted their children and romantic partner's lives, relationships, and life opportunities (Abrego, 2014; Das Gupta, 2014; Salazar Parreñas, 2008; Boodram, 2018). Scholars have found that immigration laws and enforcement practices intended for immigrant adults have also extended into the lives of their children in the form of multigenerational punishments (Enriquez, 2015; Ojeda et al., 2020; Dreby, 2012). As a result, the children of immigrant and deported parents have been found to experience the negative spill over effect of these laws and enforcement practices in their lives (Enriquez, 2015, Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). In this study, the children of Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in the U.S. and in El Salvador were found to experience the effects of these laws and enforcement practices in the form of social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018; Enriquez, 2015). Salvadoran fathers believed that their children experienced the social consequences as they encountered limited educational, housing, career, and other life opportunities (Abrego, 2014). Children were also believed to have experienced the economic consequences as they faced income inequalities, income gaps, poverty, food insecurity, and limited financial opportunities (Boodram, 2018; Dreby, 2006). They believed that their children also faced the emotional consequences as they experienced fear, suffering, emotional trauma, broken relationships, severed bonds, estrangement, and other emotional issues (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018; Dreby,

2012). Lastly, children were also believed to have experienced the physical consequences as they faced physical violence, family separations, parental absence, broken family bonds, and the lack of physical care (Ojeda et al., 2020). As children navigated these different punishments in their lives many attempted to have a close relationship with their fathers in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

The romantic partners of Salvadoran men in this study were also found to have experienced the harmful effects of immigration laws and enforcement actions. Scholars have reported that immigration laws and enforcement practices intended for racial and ethnic minority immigrant working-class men have also extended into the lives of their romantic partners (Enriquez, 2020; Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). As a result, their romantic partners were found to experience the negative spill over effect of these laws and enforcement actions in their lives in the form of intragenerational punishments. Salvadoran men's romantic partners were believed to have experienced these punishments in the form of physical, emotional, and immigration consequences (Enriquez, 2020). Salvadoran men believed that their romantic partners faced physical consequences as they experienced physical separations from their families, barriers in forming families, and involvement in "fictive" kin and new romantic relationships (Caldwell, 2016; Lopez, 2017). These men also believed that their romantic partners faced emotional consequences as they experienced emotional separations from their partners, marital and relationship problems, and other emotional issues (Falconier et al., 2013; Enriquez, 2020). Their romantic partners were also believed to have faced immigration consequences in their lives and families (Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017; Calvo, 2003). While some of the men were able to adjust their immigration statuses with the help from their romantic partners, most men and their

romantic partners were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses (Lopez, 2015). As a result, both the men and their partners experienced these immigration consequences, risks, and uncertainties (Cook, 2020). In this study, I focus on how the children and romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men navigated these different consequences in their lives and relationships. These punishments were found to not only affect their romantic partners and children in the U.S. but also their children and romantic partners who lived in El Salvador and in other parts of the world.

The Multigenerational Punishments on the Children of Salvadoran Fathers

Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study believed that their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador were impacted by the effects of immigration laws and enforcement practices in the form of multigenerational punishments (Enriquez, 2015; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). As a result, their children faced the effects of these laws and actions in the form of social consequences (Abrego, 2014), economic consequences (Boodram, 2018; Dreby, 2006), emotional consequences (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018; Dreby, 2012), and physical consequences in their lives and relationships (Ojeda et al., 2020; Enriquez, 2015). As their children suffered the consequences of these multigenerational punishments, many remained connected to their fathers.

Social Consequences: Salvadoran fathers who had children in the U.S. and in El Salvador reported that their children faced social consequences in their lives as a result of immigration laws and enforcement practices (Enriquez, 2014; Abrego, 2014). Children who lived in El Salvador and in the U.S. specifically faced financial, educational, and housing issues as their fathers navigated their immigration statuses and deportations from the country (Boodram, 2018; Dreby, 2006). Ignacio Guzman, who was a TPS beneficiary in the

U.S., shared that due to the high cost of U.S. colleges, some children preferred to return to El Salvador to obtain a higher education. While their fathers remained in the U.S., they continued to financially support them.

I had children in El Salvador and then they came with me to the U.S. After some time they returned to El Salvador. They started going to school in the U.S. but it was expensive. So they returned to get an education in El Salvador since it was more affordable. I still talk to my son who is going to college. I motivate him to finish his studies and begin his career. I support my children financially since they are still going to college. I want them to succeed.

While most children of immigrants were motivated to earn a higher education, many realized that it would be expensive in the U.S. As a result, some children decided to leave the U.S. to obtain a more affordable education in El Salvador. Like many immigrant fathers, Ignacio was unable to afford his children's college tuition in the U.S. so they returned to El Salvador. As Salvadoran fathers were deported from the U.S., several U.S. born and immigrant children returned with their fathers to El Salvador (Zayas & Bradley, 2014). However, many children struggled to adapt to life in El Salvador and were unable to take advantage of all the opportunities they had in the U.S. Lorenzo Zamora, who was deported to El Salvador but obtained a legal permanent residency in the U.S., described that when immigrant fathers are deported from the U.S. many of their romantic partners and children in the U.S. decide to join them in El Salvador. Although many of their children were born in the U.S. and U.S. citizens, they return with their parents and are unable to take advantage of the opportunities in the U.S.

I was deported from the U.S. and my wife and baby daughter joined me in El Salvador. But after eight years I became a legal permanent resident. So I returned with my two adult children but left behind my U.S. citizen daughter and wife in El Salvador. I hope that my U.S. citizen daughter will one day live in the U.S. so she can go to school in this country.

In order to keep families together, many immigrants and their families returned to El Salvador with their U.S. born children. While these children had the opportunity to live in the U.S., their parents decided it would be better to return with them. As a result, many children were unable to obtain a U.S. education. As they become older, many plan to return to the U.S. to get an education. Guillermo Romero, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that some immigrant fathers were deported alongside their immigrant children. However, due to their deportation many of their children were unable to take advantage of a U.S. education.

I was arrested while at work. I told them that I had a son and if they wanted to deport me they had to also take my son. ICE officers took me to the house to pick him up. We were detained at an immigration detention center for a month. We decided to just leave the case alone and be deported. As a single father, I have to work and focus on my life with him in El Salvador.

While several fathers decided it was in their children's best interest to return to El Salvador, they hope that their children will not become resentful towards them in the future for not leaving them in the U.S. These fathers feared that their children would disagree with their decision to leave the U.S., which offered them social, educational, and financial opportunities.

Economic Consequences: Most immigrant and deported fathers in this study believed that their children and families experienced economic consequences as a result of their parent's income disparities and limited financial and employment opportunities (Dreby, 2006; Abrego, 2014). They believed that their immigration statuses and deportations further affected their opportunities to financially support their families, obtain high paying jobs, and experience social and upward mobility (Boodram, 2018). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many immigrant fathers financially helped their romantic partners and children migrate to the U.S. Once they arrived to the U.S., many migrant families were detained but their fathers were unable to pay an attorney to represent them in U.S. immigration court.

When I migrated, my children were young. I left them behind in El Salvador. But they did not understand why I left them. I brought my children to the U.S. in 2016. I paid over \$24,000 to bring them to the U.S. But I couldn't pay for an immigration attorney for my children so they got orders of deportation. When they arrived to the U.S., they resented me.

Like many Salvadoran immigrant fathers in this study, Emilio covered the cost of his family's migration to the U.S. Many fathers spent over twenty thousand dollars but once immigration officers detained them they needed additional money to pay for an immigration attorney to represent them in immigration court. Many fathers were unable to cover these unexpected expenses so their families became deportable and took out their frustration on their fathers. These financial issues further affected their relationships that had already been damaged by their physical separations. Similarly, Leonardo Pena, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many immigrant fathers were

concerned that their U.S. born children would grow up without their parents in the U.S. Many fathers did not have the funds to cover the costs of an immigration attorney to represent them in court. If they were to be deported, they would also not have enough money to return to the United States to reunite with their families.

My wife has a work permit right now. She has to go to immigration courts and figure out her case. But my daughter is a U.S. citizen. If she is deported, we don't have the money for her to return to the U.S. It's very expensive to try to migrate again. The laws are strict but have been established. We come to the U.S. to work and not get into problems.

Due to their limited funds, many fathers have struggled to cover their immigration expenses and obtain an attorney to represent them and their romantic partners in immigration court. They fear that if they were to be deported, they would not be able to cover the costs of returning to the U.S. Immigrant fathers feared that their children would lose both parents and live alone in the U.S. Fermin Castro, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that when immigrant fathers were deported many families lost their income, financial support, and their ability to cover their expenses. Many fathers struggled to financially provide for their families in the same way so many of their partners had to financially provide for their families without their support.

My children are U.S. citizens and my *ex-companera* had TPS. But today she is now a U.S. citizen. Financially, there were changes when I was deported. Many things changed. She continues to live affected since all the expenses come from her pocket. She met another person and she let herself be influenced by that person so she committed to that person.

Once immigrant fathers were deported, many could no longer support their families financially in the same way. Instead, their children relied on their mother's income to survive. Without their primary financial providers, many families experienced financial changes. In this study, Salvadoran fathers' immigration statuses and deportations were found to affect their opportunities to financially provide for their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Emotional Consequences: Salvadoran fathers in this study also believed their children in the U.S. and in El Salvador experienced emotional consequences (Abrego, 2014; Enriquez, 2015; Dreby, 2012). These developed in the form of fear, suffering, emotional trauma, broken relationships, severed bonds, estrangement, and other emotional issues (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018; Das Gupta, 2014). However, these consequences manifested differently between children who lived in the same country and in a different country from their fathers (Allen et al., 2015). Children who lived in a different country from their fathers were believed to have little to no physical interactions due to their distance (Ojeda et al., 2020). Salvadoran fathers who lived in the U.S. were also unable to physically comfort and console their children that lived in El Salvador (Dreby, 2006; Abrego, 2014). Zacarias Cambiero, who was an undocumented father in the U.S., mentioned that many immigrant fathers that had children in El Salvador were unable to protect their children from the emotional trauma they experienced at a young age. Due to their separation, they were only able to comfort their children from the United States.

After I migrated, someone killed my brother and my nephew in El Salvador. My daughter's grades dropped and the teachers notified us. They wanted us to take my daughter to a psychologist. So she went for 6 months. All these things affected my

daughter. It was worst because I had migrated. I was far away so I couldn't see or help her.

While many children sought their father's comfort and support during difficult times, immigrant fathers were unable to be with their children in-person since their immigration status prevented them from travelling to El Salvador and being able to return to the U.S. Instead, many immigrant fathers decided to stay in the U.S. to continue financially supporting their families. Similarly, Lucian Ciceron, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that when immigrant fathers migrated to the U.S. many left behind their children in El Salvador. Their decision to migrate had an emotional impact on their children after many years apart.

It was traumatic when I left my daughter. My daughter was young and we would go out every morning to buy bread. She waited for me to come back that day. It was traumatic for her and to this day she hasn't been able to heal from that pain. It hurts me that I had to leave her and no longer have her in my life. She doesn't feel any affection towards me. Most immigrant fathers in this study decided to migrate to the U.S. and leave behind their children in search of better opportunities. However, many fathers did not consider the emotional trauma their children would experience in their lives. Their migration had a life-long impact on their children. After many years, their children continue to recover from those experiences. Julian Agramonte, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that some fathers had children in El Salvador and in the U.S. As fathers migrated and permanently settled in the U.S., their children in El Salvador learned that their fathers had new families in the U.S. Due to their separation from their fathers and news of new families, many became upset and distraught.

I left my children but I have been responsible for them. I was able to visit my children after 18 years away. But many fathers like me begin new families in the U.S. My children became jealous and didn't approve of me having a new family. They believed I would no longer love them. It affected our relationship but I plan to be with all my children one day.

Many immigrant fathers that had left behind their children and families in El Salvador started new families in El Salvador while remaining financially responsible for their families in their home countries. However, many of their children did not approve of their new relationships and became concerned that they had been replaced with a new family and new children.

The children of Salvadoran deported fathers in the U.S. who were separated from their fathers were also believed to have experienced emotional consequences (Boodram, 2018; Dreby, 2006; Das Gupta, 2014). Deported fathers believed that their physical separation from their children led to their emotional suffering, trauma, severed relationships and bonds, and estrangement (Dreby, 2012; Ojeda et al., 2020; Allen et al., 2015). Leonel Suarez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many children of deportees experienced emotional problems. Most children were believed to have experienced depression and other emotional issues. Some children were even referred to clinical psychologists for medical assistance.

My wife takes care of my daughter. When I got deported, she was depressed. She had to go to a psychologist because she was not eating. But now she is okay and she is graduating from high school. Once she is 21 years old, she plans to petition me. But I

don't think that I will go back since I don't think I would get a pardon. But we continue to communicate weekly.

Father's deportations were believed to have an emotional impact on their children, which required medical attention. However, many children learned to cope with their separation and were able to manage their emotional issues. These fathers believed that one day they would be able to reunite with their children again. Jaime Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many children of Salvadoran deportees in the United States became resentful of their fathers since they were forced to grow up without their fathers physically present.

When I was deported, my children were finishing high school. But they had to stop their schooling to help their mother. They tell me they could have finished college if I didn't get deported. I feel like I failed them. I believe that we cannot have the same relationship. My eldest son has resentment towards me because he blames me for not going to college.

While U.S. immigration laws authorized immigrants' deportations, their children blamed their fathers for their deportations. While immigrant fathers did not choose to be deported, their children did not know who else to blame than their fathers themselves. As a result, many of their children grew resentment towards their fathers while other children understood their situations. Similarly, Gabriel Figueroa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that while most fathers desired to be emotionally connected to their children, they believed that their children no longer loved them back but instead became angry and resentful because of their separation.

I still love my daughter but she does not love me anymore. My ex-wife seems to think that I just went to El Salvador to get away from them. So my daughter was poisoned and now she's not happy with me. My daughter grew up with that resentment. I'll call and get a stop calling me and stop harassing me response from her. She will cry and tell me it's my fault.

While deported fathers made attempts to communicate with their children after being deported, many were unable to rebuild their relationships with their children. While they loved their children, they were concerned that their children had built up anger, resentment, and un-forgiveness. They believed they became emotionally disconnected from their children.

Children that lived in the same country as their parents were also believed to have experienced different types of emotional consequences (Enriquez, 2015). Children of Salvadoran immigrant fathers who lived in the U.S. with their fathers also experienced diverse emotional problems due to the threat of deportation on their father's lives (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). Mateo Medina, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that the children of immigrant fathers were concerned about the threat of deportation. They were fearful of being separated from their fathers who remained as undocumented immigrants in the U.S.

My daughters are aware about our immigration status. They have asked what would happen to them if we were deported to El Salvador and have asked what would happen to them if we were taken away. They hear about immigration issues in the news. Immigration laws have changed so we think they want to take our children away from us. But it hasn't happened.

While Salvadoran immigrant fathers have tried to comfort and assure their children of their future in the U.S., their children remained worried and fearful that due to their parent's immigration status they could still be deported and separated from their lives. They also feared about what would happen to their family if their parents were deported to El Salvador. Xavier Cabal, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that the families of immigrants with TPS were fearful that their immigration status would be terminated and they would be removed to El Salvador. Children became concerned about their father's future.

We are always thinking of TPS and what is going to happen. Psychologically this is slowly draining us as we don't know our future. We can no longer get our IDs because our paperwork expired. Now it's affecting me because I don't know what's going to happen to TPS or my status. My kids are always thinking something is going to happen to us.

As immigrants with TPS became concerned about the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans and their ability to remain living in the U.S., their children were believed to also be experiencing the same concerns and emotional problems alongside their fathers. This uncertainty not only affected immigrants with TPS but also their children who were overcome with concerns about their future with their families. Julian Agramonte, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that the children and families of U.S. residents were also overcome with concerns and fear that their fathers could be deported to El Salvador. Even though they had legal documents to live and work in the U.S., their families remained fearful that they could be deported and separated from their children. He said, "My family is fearful that I could be deported. At any moment I could be deported and

leave to El Salvador because of the immigration laws in this country. Even if you have legal documents, you remain fearful of being deported.” Some immigrant fathers and their families assumed that once they became legal permanent residents they would no longer fear deportations and family separations. However, most residents expressed that even though they had protections from deportations, immigration laws made them deportable if they committed certain crimes and offenses. As a result, many legal residents were not completely protected from deportations and family separations.

The children of Salvadoran deported fathers who lived in El Salvador experienced different forms of emotional consequences. While they had the opportunity to live in the same country as their fathers, many became emotionally distant, estranged, and experienced severed relationships with their fathers. Roberto Zelaya, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that the children of deportees who were born after they were deported from the U.S. also experienced emotional problems. Their physical separation to their children in El Salvador led to their children’s emotional estrangement, resentment, anger, and hatred towards their fathers.

My daughter and ex-wife stayed in the U.S. when I was deported. I got re-married in El Salvador and had two children. But my wife doesn’t let me get close to them. So the children have grown resentment and hate against me. But our children are her children and they don’t have a father. I wish I could have a relationship with them and be together as a family again.

Deported fathers generally desired to have close relationships with their children, however they believed that the mothers of their children prevented them from being involved in their lives. As a result, their children became affected by their father’s absence so they

responded with resentment. Gerrardo Castro, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many fathers had children in El Salvador but they had not been able to reconnect with them since their mothers and gang members had refused to let them visit their families. However, these fathers continued to be optimistic that they would be able to restore their relationships and live together.

I migrated to the U.S. and my sons stayed with their mother. Since I returned, I am not allowed to reconnect with my children due to gang problems. Gang members have threatened me by saying I can't live near my children. The mother of my children also won't let me see my children even though we live in the same country. I would like to see my children again.

Even though these fathers lived in the same country as their children, many became distant from their children since they were unable to reunite with them. They had to navigate their tumultuous relationships with the mothers of their children and their problems with gang members. While they desired to be involved in their children's lives, they faced several obstacles in El Salvador. Lastly, Lucas Guerrero, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that the children of Salvadoran deportees became emotionally distant from their fathers even though they all lived in the same country. After living away from their children, several fathers became physically and emotionally separated but they remained hopeful of reuniting with their children once again.

I wasn't in El Salvador with my children so their mother raised them. When I was deported, I didn't talk to them. I told them if they didn't return my stuff that they sold, they were not welcomed home. They sold all my belongings. So I was upset and lost

communication with them. Until recently, I connected with them. I don't want to hold a grudge against them.

Many Salvadoran fathers became physically and emotionally distant from their children when they migrated to the U.S. Once these fathers returned to El Salvador, many were unable to resolve their family problems. This led to additional emotional issues in their relationships. Most Salvadoran fathers in this study believed that their children experienced emotional consequences in the form of fear, suffering, emotional trauma, broken relationships, severed bonds, estrangement, and other emotional issues. Children that lived in the same country and in a different country from their fathers experienced different forms of emotional consequences.

Physical Consequences: As the children of Salvadoran fathers became physically separated from their fathers within the same country and in different countries, many children were believed to have experienced physical consequences in their lives (Abrego, 2014; Enriquez, 2015). These physical consequences manifested in the form of physical violence, family separations, parental absence, broken family bonds, and the lack of parental physical care (Dreby, 2012; Boodram, 2018; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Children in this study were believed to have experienced physical consequences in their lives even if their fathers lived in the same country (Ojeda et al., 2020). But these physical consequences manifested differently for children who lived in the same country and in different countries from their fathers.

Most children who lived in a different country from their Salvadoran fathers in the U.S. and in El Salvador faced several forms of physical consequences in their lives (Ojeda et al., 2020; Dreby, 2012). Children who remained in El Salvador as their fathers migrated and

permanently settled in the U.S. became physically separated from their fathers (Abrego, 2012). Ignacio Guzman, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that many fathers became physically separated from their children in El Salvador once they migrated to the U.S. Due to their physical separation, many were unable to raise their children during their childhood and faced immigration problems if they decided to travel to El Salvador to visit them.

Well when I migrated my children were very young. I never abandoned them. My relationship with my children was affected because I couldn't go visit them. My children and I have a good relationship because I have been supporting them from the U.S. They would like me to be with them in the same way I would like for them to be here with me.

Many Salvadoran immigrant fathers were unable to raise their children in El Salvador because of their physical separation. Due to immigration restrictions, many were unable to visit their children in other countries. As a result, many were separated from their children for several years and decades. While many distant fathers remained emotionally connected and invested in their children's lives, they remained physically absent and apart from their families. Similarly, Eric Reyes, who was also a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that when most men migrated they become physically separated from their children in El Salvador. These men believe that their distance affected their relationship with their children as they grew up without their fathers.

I had children in El Salvador and they were young when I migrated. I didn't get to meet my son. I never had the chance to spend time with him in person. The distance affected my relationship with my children. I have been separated from my son since he was

young but now that he is older we talk once a week from El Salvador. My plans are to visit him.

While these fathers desired to have close relationships with their children, the physical distance between the U.S. to El Salvador only allowed them to communicate online and over the phone. So many were unable to form in-person relationships and bonds. Lorenzo Zamora, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that most Salvadoran immigrant families had been separated in El Salvador and in the United States because of U.S. immigration laws. While some fathers lived with their children in the U.S., some spouses and children remained in El Salvador. These physical separations affected their romantic and parenting relationships.

I want to bring my U.S. citizen daughter in El Salvador back to the U.S. in order for her to go to school here. My youngest daughter was born in the U.S. but then my wife and I were deported to El Salvador. While my daughter knows the U.S. is her country, she refuses to leave her mother. We talk every day but continue to be physically separated. Even though some fathers lived with their children, many fathers were unable to reunite with their children. As a result, many children were separated from their fathers and siblings. These children faced physical consequences as they were separated from their fathers.

Children of Salvadoran deported fathers who remained in the U.S. also experienced physical consequences in their lives as their fathers returned to El Salvador (Ojeda et al., 2020). While their children remained living in the U.S., many fathers were not legally allowed to return immediately to the U.S. so they decided to settle in El Salvador without their families. Neftali Monterrosa, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that when

fathers are deported to El Salvador many of their children stay behind in the United States. While most fathers had been able to be in their young children's life, many became separated as they returned to El Salvador.

I was with my son for seven years and then I was deported. He is grown up now but when I left he was just a kid. It's difficult to tell him to do this and do that since I am far away. I can't give him a hug and show him my love. He talks with me every night. But the distance and the fact that I cannot return to the U.S. have affected my relationship with him.

Many Salvadoran deported fathers recalled the last time they saw their children in-person. Most fathers were able to be in their lives but once they were deported, they were separated from each other. Their children were unable to have their fathers physically present as they became older. Their children could no longer receive the embrace and care from their fathers. Similarly, Fabian Dominguez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that when fathers were deported their children had no choice but to remain in the U.S. Even though they communicated regularly and attempted to maintain a close relationship with their children, they were physically separated from each other in different countries, which affected their overall relationship.

My children talk to me all day. But I can't give them a hug or a kiss. Since they are young, we talk more. But it's not the same. I can spend all day and night saying that I love them.

I can use up the entire dictionary telling them everything. But a hug can say much more.

My children would call me and tell me to come home. But we continue to be separated.

The physical distance between these fathers and their children have prevented them from having an in-person relationship. They were unable to hug, kiss, and embrace each other as

a family. Instead, they relied on constant communication as alternatives to these physical relationships. However, these fathers and their children both preferred to be physically close to each other than to be restricted to only talking over the phone and online. Pedro Zaragoza, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained how the physical separation between a deported father and their children in the U.S. affected their relationship. While they were able to communicate with each other, they were no longer able to physically embrace and care for one another.

It's not easy when you get deported and leave your kids behind. The love and communication fades away. It's not the same communicating with them by video or phone calls since it's not affectionate. I talk to them sometimes by video calls and they cry because they still feel that brokenness inside. So they still feel that and it's difficult, but life continues moving on.

As Salvadoran fathers were arrested and detained, many became aware that it might be the last time they would be able to physically embrace and see their children in-person. As these fathers were deported from the U.S., many were able to embrace their children and families one last time. While they had been able to communicate with each other from El Salvador, many fathers continued to hold on to the memories of their last in-person interactions in the U.S.

Children that lived in the same country as their fathers also experienced different forms of physical consequences in their lives (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). While they lived in the same countries as their fathers, many children did not live in the same households (Gilligan & Zuniga, 2018). Children of immigrant fathers who lived in the U.S. alongside their fathers experienced diverse forms of physical consequences in their lives (Enriquez,

2015). Lucho Morillo, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., explained that some immigrant fathers struggled to have close physical relationships with their children because of previous problems in their families. Even though they lived in the same country as their children, many became physically distant from their children. He said, "I migrated from El Salvador to the U.S. to be with my children. But when I got to the U.S. I tried to get close to them. I wanted to have a relationship with them once again. Since they were younger, there were some issues with their mother so I couldn't get close to them. But now that they are older, I have become closer to them." Even though these fathers lived in the same country as their children, they were unable to live in the same home with their children because of previous family problems, relationship issues, and family separations. Children of Salvadoran deported fathers who lived in El Salvador also faced physical consequences in their lives regardless if they were born before their fathers migrated or after their fathers were deported (Zayas & Bradley, 2014). Juan Munguia, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that most fathers that migrated to the U.S. left behind their children in El Salvador. Due to their physical separation, they became emotionally distant from each other. However, once they were deported to El Salvador, they remained distant from their children.

I was separated from my children when I migrated. I am separated from them at the moment but I still have relationship with them. I was with my wife for 23 years but I can't be with her. It hurt me that she separated me from my children. I told her that I will always care for my children. I told her it would be impossible for her to separate me from my children.

Many Salvadoran deported fathers in this study returned to El Salvador but were unable to live with their children and the mothers of their children. Their physical separation in the U.S. extended into their separation in El Salvador. While they attempted to have a relationship with their children, the mother of their children kept the children from their fathers. While many were unable to live with their children, they continued to care and be involved in their children's lives. Similarly, William Preciado, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that some fathers had children in El Salvador after they were deported. However, these fathers were unable to live with their children since they lived with their mothers. While they desired to live with their children, relationship problems with their mothers prevented them from living together in El Salvador.

I have two children in El Salvador. My children are young. They are 2 years old and 3 years old. We don't live together at this moment. But we are trying to be together once again. I have been active in their lives and I see them often. If I decided to migrate to another country I would take my children with me if it were possible. I want to be with my children.

Even though these fathers were physically apart from their romantic partners and children in El Salvador, they desired to restore their relationships in order to live together. Due to their proximity to each other, they had been able to be active in their lives and visit them regularly. While they were affected by these physical separations, they desired to live together once again.

As the children of Salvadoran fathers grew up in the U.S. and in El Salvador, many eventually had their own romantic partners and children. However, due to the physical distance many struggled to form relationships with their grandchildren. Juan Chacon, who

was deported to El Salvador, explained that many deportees who had grandchildren in the U.S. were separated from them since they were unable to return to the United States. Their physical separations affected them in having relationships with their children and grandchildren.

My granddaughter calls me and asks me if I am going to visit her in the U.S. I get to see her every time they visit me in El Salvador. Technology allows us to see each other. I communicate with them daily. I am lucky that I have Internet so I can see their messages, calls, and pictures. Being able to communicate with them helps me stay close to them.

Some deportees were able to see their grandchildren when they visited them in El Salvador, but most remained physically separated from them. Even though they were able to communicate online and over the phone, they believed that it did not replace their opportunity to be together as a family. Similarly, Felipe Martinez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that some deportees had been unable to reunite with their children and meet their grandchildren. They had only seen their grandchildren through pictures but remained physically separated from them.

I know my children are sad because they miss me and I miss them. I talked to my son and he broke down in tears. He says we miss you and then he says I want you to meet my son one day. He only knows you through pictures. We talked about my grandson. I also have a granddaughter since my daughter has children. But I only know her through pictures.

Many Salvadoran fathers had been separated not only from their children but also their grandchildren. While some fathers had the opportunity to meet their grandchildren, the

majority had never met them. Salvadoran grandfathers in this study hoped that one day they would be able to meet and live with their children and grandchildren in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Most Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers in this study strongly believed that their children experienced the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices in their lives and relationships with their families. While their children were not directly targeted by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, they still faced the multigenerational punishments and consequences from these laws and policies in their lives (Enriquez, 2015). Children who lived in the same country and in a different country from their fathers experienced social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences in their lives. Their grandchildren were also believed to have experienced many of these consequences. While many children were believed to have experienced these consequences in their lives and relationships, Salvadoran fathers were also convinced that these same immigration policies and enforcement practices affected their relationships and futures with their romantic partners in the United States and in El Salvador.

The Intragenerational Punishments on the Romantic Partners of Salvadoran Men

Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and deported men in El Salvador also believed that their romantic partners experienced the unintended consequences of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices in their lives, relationships, and life opportunities (Enriquez, 2020). Regardless of their immigration status, immigrant and deported men believed that their romantic partners experienced the negative spill over effect of these laws and enforcement practices in their own lives and relationships with their husbands and partners (Enriquez, 2020; Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). These intragenerational punishments were believed to have manifested in the form of physical, emotional, and

immigration consequences. Salvadoran immigrant and deported men expressed that their romantic partners experienced physical consequences as they faced physical separations from their families (Caldwell, 2016; Lopez, 2017), emotional consequences as they faced emotional problems in their relationships (Falconier et al., 2013; Enriquez, 2020), and immigration consequences as they navigated the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and policies in their lives and families (Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017; Calvo, 2003). While most romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men were believed to have experienced the effects of United States laws and enforcement practices, some learned to navigate their lives and relationships under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Physical Consequences: In this study, Salvadoran men expressed that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices disproportionately targeted and criminalized racial and ethnic minority working-class immigrant men. As a result, these laws and enforcement actions also impacted their romantic partners (Enriquez, 2020; Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016). Salvadoran immigrant and deported men believed that these laws and enforcement actions not only affected their romantic partners but also every member of their family (Enriquez, 2015; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Dreby, 2012). However, many men believed that their romantic partners faced physical consequences in their lives as they experienced physical separations from their families, barriers in forming families, and involvement in “fictive” kin and new romantic partner relationships (Caldwell, 2016; Lopez, 2017; Enriquez, 2020; Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). As Salvadoran immigrant men migrated to the U.S., many became physically separated from their romantic partners and families in El Salvador (Abrego, 2014). Zacarias Cambiero, who was an undocumented

immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that when Salvadoran immigrant men migrated to the U.S. they left behind their spouses and children in El Salvador. While some remained married and committed to each other, their physical distance had an effect on their marriages and relationships over time. Even though many men financially supported their partners and children in El Salvador, they were unable to reunite with their families after several years apart.

My relationship with my wife has been affected. My relationship with my children has also been affected since we have been separated. My family is no longer united since I left my wife, children, and siblings. I migrated because of the gangs since they tried to assassinate me. I honestly didn't want to leave. I wanted to live in El Salvador. I told my children that I would rather talk to them over the phone than to be dead. So I continue to fight for my family and provide for them. My plans are to one day have legal documents and petition my family so we can all live together in this country. Those are my plans for the future.

Several men believed that their physical distance and their inability to visit or petition their romantic partners and children had an effect on their marriages and relationships. While they planned to reunite with their romantic partners and children in the future, their immigration statuses prevented them from being able to be physically close to each other. Similarly, Issac Carballo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that when Salvadoran immigrants migrated to the United States they had no choice but to leave behind their spouses and children behind in El Salvador. While some men had the opportunity to travel to El Salvador to visit their romantic partners and children, many were men were either fearful of attempting it or they were not offered the same legal

opportunities to leave and return to the U.S. Over time their physical distance had an effect on their marriages and romantic relationships.

My wife needs me. I haven't travelled to El Salvador to see my wife because I need permission. I am waiting for my permission to go. But I fear losing my job and the opportunity to help my family. My wife is scared. She says if I am able to fix my papers one day, then I can go visit her. We found ways to communication through the phone or video chat to stay connected. My wife and children always received my love and attention. I know that with God's help that one day we will see each other. They fear that if I am deported, we lose everything. If I leave, I could lose everything. But I want to be my wife.

While most Salvadoran men in this study decided to start new families after several years, some men remained committed to their spouses and families with the hopes of reuniting with them in the future. While they had been physically apart for several decades, their spouses continued to wait for their opportunity to see their husbands and partners in El Salvador or the opportunity to visit them in the U.S. Lorenzo Zamora, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that after Salvadoran immigrants become U.S. residents they are able to petition their spouses. However, until they are offered these opportunities they will remain separated. Even though many men became physically separated from their spouses and romantic partners, they remained married and committed to each other while they navigated the immigration process.

My wife came with me to the U.S. but my older children stayed in El Salvador when they were young. My wife became pregnant in the U.S. and when my wife was six months pregnant I was arrested and deported. I returned to El Salvador with my wife and

newborn daughter. It then took 8 years to become a legal permanent resident. My daughter born in the U.S. decided to stay with my wife in El Salvador. But I have petitioned for my wife. As a resident, I can be 6 months in the U.S. and 6 months in El Salvador. I want to finish the process with my wife so she can be with me in the U.S. so all of us could be together again.

Many Salvadoran immigrant men had been physically separated from their romantic partners and children at different times throughout their lives. Some men reported being separated from their families more than once. As Salvadoran men navigated the immigration process they hoped that one day they could live together with their spouses again. Nelson Zevala, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many immigrants who were deported and separated from their families in the U.S. experienced changes in their relationships with their romantic partners. Over time, they both decided it was better to move on with their lives and start new romantic relationships.

My family was affected after my deportation. The mother of my son got re-married and she doesn't let me talk to my son. After she got married she won't let me talk to my children. My daughter is also mad at me for what happened. She says she will talk to me when she is ready. My vision is that they reach their goals. I hope to start a message therapy business with my new wife in El Salvador. I also want to visit the U.S. one day with my wife.

In most cases, Salvadoran men and their romantic partners believed it was in their best interest to move on from their relationships due to their physical distance. However, their separation also affected their children. As a result, many children also became distant from their fathers as they no longer communicated with each other, became resentful, and

emotionally disconnected. Their deportation and physical separation led to their estrangement from their partners and children.

As Salvadoran men became physically separated from their romantic partners they encountered barriers in forming families (Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). Many desired to have children with their partners but their separation prevented them from forming families and having children. Abram Saez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that some immigrant men had romantic partners in El Salvador but were unable to live together since they were physically apart. They had plans to be reunited with each other because they wanted to have a family including children. However, their physical separation prevented them from being able to form a family in the United States or in El Salvador.

I have a girlfriend in El Salvador. So I would like to be with my girlfriend. I want to have a family and I want to have another child. I would like to do things differently. I want to change my life. I want to have my wife and son. If possible, I would like to bring my girlfriend to the U.S. so we can be together. She has a son already. I am supporting him and my girlfriend financially. He is only 3 years old. I want to have my family together.

While several immigrant men desired to live with their romantic partners, they were unable to because they were separated in different countries. Many had considered helping their romantic partners migrate so they live together in the U.S. While these men desired to have more children with their romantic partners, their physical distance prevented them from forming families. Similarly, Herman Mancia, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that once immigrants were deported and physically separated from their romantic partners and children in the U.S. their future plans to become a family were

affected. Due to their physical distance, they decided it was in their best interest to end their relationship and start new relationships with other people.

In the past I was with this lady. We were trying to be together even though she had children. I cared for them and everything but they weren't my children. But our relationship was affected when I was deported. The distance between us in our relationship was really hard. Everyone was separated. I never thought I was her children's father but I felt like a role model to them. It just didn't work out. The kids and my ex-girlfriend just moved on. So if things work out here then I would want to start a family with someone else.

Many immigrant men and their romantic partners were considering becoming a family in the U.S. However, when these men were deported to El Salvador their plans changed so they decided to move on with their lives. These men believed that their deportation affected their plans to become a family with their romantic partners. As a result, many did not have romantic partners at the time of the interview but they had plans to start new families in the future. Josue Montoya, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that when deportees returned to El Salvador many were separated from their romantic partners and children who lived in the U.S. Their deportation and physical separation from their families prevented them from being able to reunite with their romantic partners and children in order to live together as a family.

My wife and I had a son and then she moved to Hawaii to join the Navy. When she got pregnant, she left. She said she was going to leave me. I asked her about our son but she left. So my family stayed in the U.S. when I was separated from them. It affected me

emotionally and mentally when I was deported in 2015. I have never been able to meet my son over there.

These men not only faced past relationship problems with their partners but also became physically separated from their families due to their deportations from the U.S. As a result, many were unable to be together with their families in the U.S. But more importantly, some were unable to meet their children. While these men desired to form families with their romantic partners, their deportations and physical separations prevented them from living together.

Many Salvadoran men in this study assumed the role of fathers for the children from their romantic partners that were not biologically related to them. As they established romantic relationships with new partners who had children from previous relationships, they became involved in constructing “fictive” kin through their new romantic relationships. “Fictive” kin includes family type relationships not based on blood or marriage but close ties (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000; Nelson, 2013). Many men who did not have a chance to raise their own children in the U.S. and in El Salvador found themselves raising the children of their new romantic partners. Felipe Martinez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that after some men were deported and separated from their children who lived in the U.S. they became involved in new romantic relationships with other partners in El Salvador. Some romantic partners had children from previous relationships so these men decided to raise and parent these children in El Salvador.

I have a really good relationship with my son and daughter. But I had no way to see them. I only talk to them once in a while. I now have a girlfriend who has a son. He’s like my son. I spend time with him and I feel like a father to him. He’s like my boy. He

recently called me dad and I won his respect. And he admires me too. He comes over to my job and he says he wants to go to school. He comes to my job and spends times with me.

As these men became involved in new romantic relationships they also assumed the role of fathers for their romantic partner's children. Some men considered them their own children. While they had been unable to raise their own children in the U.S., they had the chance to raise their new children. Similarly, Gabriel Figueroa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that once immigrant men separated from their partners in the U.S. they started new relationships. Many decided to start new families with their new romantic partners. Since some families in the U.S. no longer wanted to have a relationship with them they created new families in El Salvador.

I have my wife and daughters in El Salvador but I overprotect them. The fact that I couldn't protect my children in the U.S. is why I guess I'm overcompensating. I still love my children in the U.S. but they no longer love me. My children were poisoned by my ex-wife and grew up with that resentment towards me. But one day they'll figure out the truth.

Since they could not be involved in their children's lives in the U.S., they believed they were overcompensating by being overprotective and highly involved in their children's lives in El Salvador. Through these relationships, they were able to construct new families with their partners and children that were not biologically related to them. Neftali Monterrosa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that immigrant men who were separated from their children and partners in the U.S. started new romantic relationships with their partners in El Salvador. They decided to construct new families with their romantic

partners and children in El Salvador as they struggled to maintain active in their relationships with their children in the U.S.

Before I migrated to the U.S., my first partner gave birth to my daughter. I wasn't there for my daughter because my relationship with her mother didn't work out. In the U.S., I had a son with another partner. But then I was deported and I started a new relationship with my girlfriend who had a daughter. I don't talk much with my children but we're trying to restore that. I have a girlfriend who cared for me and took care of me when I was deported.

Salvadoran immigrant and deported men described their tumultuous relationships with their children and romantic partners in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While they had become emotionally and physically distant from their families, they decided to build new relationships with their new romantic partners and children. Even though they struggled to remain connected to their children, they believed it would be possible to have a relationship with their new children. As Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study became physically separated from their romantic partners in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they learned to navigate their distant relationships, adjust their family formation plans, and construct "fictive" kin in both countries.

Emotional Consequences: In this study, the romantic partners of Salvadoran men were also believed to have experienced emotional consequences as they experienced separations from their partners, marital and relationship problems, severed bonds, and other issues in their relationships (Enriquez, 2020; Falconier et al., 2013). Due to the physical distance between Salvadoran men to their romantic partners, many became emotionally distant, overwhelmed by relationship problems, and no longer in love with one

another (Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). Over time and distance, they decided it was in their best interest to end their relationship and potentially start new relationships with other people (Caldwell, 2016; Lopez, 2017). Fabian Dominguez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that when immigrants were deported many left their spouses and children in the U.S. While these fathers continued to communicate and have a relationship with their children, their relationships with their spouses weakened. Their relationships focused more on their children since they were no longer in a romantic relationship.

I have a good relationship with my children in the U.S. But there is no longer a relationship with my wife. Our relationship is now focused more on our children. My ex-wife has her own home and she is doing well. Our relationship is not the same because I can't hug my family. It has affected me a lot not being close to my children. If it was up to them, they would visit me but their mother won't let them. My children will reach an age where they can make their own decision. They will decide to stay with their mother or come visit me.

As these men attempted to remain connected to their children in the U.S., they became more emotionally distant from their previous romantic partners. They no longer had an emotional connection or continued being in a romantic relationship with their partners and the mothers of their children. Instead, they experienced relationship problems as they battled for their children. Several men believed that their romantic feelings and love for their romantic partners faded over time. Similarly, Jaime Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that when most immigrants are deported their spouses and children stay behind in the U.S. Over time, many men become emotionally distant from their spouses as they decided to no longer be in a romantic relationship with them. Their

spouses eventually become involved in other romantic relationships. As a result, they no longer feel connected to their spouses in the United States.

I don't have my wife or children near me anymore. All my family lives in the U.S. It affects families a lot. My wife already moved on. She has had a relationship with another individual. I only have children at this point and not a wife. If my children want to help me, I would like to go back to the U.S. I already lost my wife so there is no point there and my children take care of themselves and have a good life. So I don't feel rushed to migrate anymore.

As these men continued to have close relationships with their children in the U.S., their relationships with their spouses faded over time. They no longer had an emotional connection or romantic feelings for one another. The only bond they shared was in their relationship with their children. Once their spouses became involved in other romantic relationships, they no longer felt emotionally connected to them as in the past. So many decided to move on with their lives but remained involved in their children's lives. Santos Contreras, who was also deported El Salvador, explained that most deportees' romantic partners and children decided to stay in the U.S. when they were deported to El Salvador. While these men maintained close relationships with their children, their romantic relationships with their spouses and partners faded over time. They believed their physical and emotional separations led to problems in their relationships.

I have a good relationship with my daughter but separated from my ex-wife. My ex-wife's partner wants to adopt my daughter so that creates a little bit of conflict. So I try to find ways of staying in touch with my daughter in order not to lose my relationship with her. One of the things that keeps us together is the ability to communicate and to

talk about the things we like and have in common. We have a bond that we created since she was a little girl.

While these men continued to have close relationships with their children, they faced emotional problems with their former partners, which affected their parenting responsibilities. Deportees' did not want to lose their relationship with their children but more importantly lose their role as their fathers. In order to prevent this from happening, many fathers continued to maintain a close relationship with their children while becoming distant from their partners. Leonel Suarez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that deportee's relationships with their spouses and children were affected by their physical separations. While they remained legally married to their spouses after several years apart, they became emotionally distant from each other over time.

My wife is a hard worker and provides everything for my daughter that I can't provide for her. My wife hardly ever talks to me. She communicates with my family over there all the time but she basically doesn't want to talk to me anymore. She hasn't been re-married as far as I know. Once my daughter is 21 years old, she plans to petition me to go back to the U.S.

After several years separated from each other, many deportees no longer communicated or had a romantic relationship with their spouses and partners in the U.S. While their romantic partners continued to care for their children and their families in the U.S., they no longer communicated with each other. Deportee's believed that their physical distance from El Salvador to the U.S. had an impact on their close relationships and emotional connections to their romantic partners. Similar to these men, Carlos Alvarez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that when deportees' were removed from the U.S. many

were physically separated from their partners and children. Due to their separation, their marriages and relationships with their romantic partners were affected since they no longer had a close relationship with each other.

Living this far is not the same as being able to live close to my wife and children. That is something that hurts. I hope that my wife gives my daughter the best education possible. I try to communicate with them so that they know they have someone here that worries about them. It is not the same as seeing them through videos and pictures as it is being physically there with them. Deportees in El Salvador do their own thing and our families over there are doing their own thing. So I believe my wife may find a partner and re-make her life.

After living apart from their romantic partners for several years, their relationships and commitments began to weaken since they no longer saw each other in-person. While deportee's communicated with their spouses and partners through phone calls, videos, and online, their romantic relationships faded over time. As a result, deportee's believed that their inability to emotionally connect with them would lead to their spouses finding new romantic partners. As Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their romantic partners faced these emotional consequences in their lives, they became emotionally distant from each other and experienced changes in their marriages and relationships, which impacted their relationships with their children. While some immigrant and deported men remained committed to their romantic partners in the U.S. and in El Salvador, several couples decided to start new relationships.

Immigration Consequences: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their romantic partners in this study experienced immigration consequences in their lives since

their families had mixed immigration statuses, diverse migration histories, and different experiences with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime (Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017; Calvo, 2003; Enriquez, 2020). Many romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study had the same immigration status as their husbands and partners. As a result, they were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses without the help of a child, parent, or another family member (Lopez, 2015). However, some romantic partners helped or planned to help their husbands and partners adjust their immigration statuses to permanently live and work in the country (Calvo, 2003). These Salvadoran immigrant and deported men viewed their romantic partners as sources of security and opportunities due to their immigration statuses (Enriquez, 2020). Many men who had romantic partners who were legal permanent residents and U.S. citizens allowed Salvadoran men to become hopeful for their lives and futures in the U.S. (Lopez, 2015). However, Salvadoran men who had romantic partners who were deportees, undocumented immigrants, and temporary protected status beneficiaries believed that they were at a greater risk of experiencing changes in their families as a result of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices (Cook, 2020; Lopez, 2017; Gomberg- Muñoz, 2016). Several romantic partners in this study helped or planned to help their husbands and partners to adjust their immigration statuses through family-based petitions and offer them a greater assurance for their futures in the U.S. (Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017; Enriquez, 2020). Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that the spouses who were born in the U.S. or became naturalized U.S. citizens had the opportunity to petition their immigrant husbands. Several men believed that their spouses and

romantic partners could help them adjust their immigration statuses and permanently protect them from deportations to El Salvador.

If I had an immigration status, I think my life would be very different from how it is right now. My wife doesn't complain or anything. She hasn't treated me differently for being undocumented. My wife's citizenship has helped me because I feel comfortable being out with her. She is a U.S. citizen so I feel safe when I am with her. I feel her support. My wife drives us when we go out as a family. It's been a good for me that she is a U.S. citizen.

Immigrant men shared that having different immigration statuses from their spouses did not affect their relationships with their spouses but instead helped them feel more secure and safe in the country. When they were around their spouses, they felt more protected from being arrested, detained, and deported from the country. These men believed that their spouse's U.S. citizenship served as an advantage rather than a hindrance in their relationship. Similarly, Enzo Bonilla, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that most romantic partners who were U.S. citizens helped their husbands and partners adjust their immigration statuses to become legal permanent residents. By petitioning their husbands and partners they were able to live together in the U.S. without fear of deportations. He said, "I was able to get a residency through my wife who is a U.S. citizen. She obviously didn't want me to be deported or to live with me in El Salvador. As a father, I had to talk about my situation with our children because you shouldn't keep the world from your kids. They have to understand reality." In order to avoid being deported and separated from each other, U.S. citizen spouses' submitted family based petitions for their husbands and romantic partners so they could become legal permanent residents and U.S.

citizens. While these couples initially had different immigration statuses, their spouses' immigration statuses helped them over time to adjust their statuses to live and work in the U.S. without the fear of being detained and deported. While Salvadoran immigrant men continue to live in the U.S. with certain concerns, they are able to permanently live in the U.S. Edgardo Pacheco, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that many U.S. citizen spouses had helped their immigrant husbands and romantic partners become legal permanent residents through family-based petitions. Since their spouses and romantic partners were U.S. citizens, many immigrant men were not as concerned about their future in the U.S. He said, "My wife is a naturalized U.S. citizen and I am a legal permanent resident. It hasn't affected us. But there is always a concern that immigration laws could become more restrictive and could affect residents. If anything changes, I would try to become a U.S. citizen immediately." Many romantic partners who were U.S. citizens decided to help their immigrant husbands and partners become legal permanent residents but also to become U.S. citizens. Since their spouses and romantic partners were U.S. citizens, immigrant men felt more safe and protected from immigration laws and enforcement practices that targeted immigrants. Several immigrant men in this study had the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses with the support from their romantic partners who were citizens, however, not all immigrants had the same opportunities.

While several romantic partners helped their husbands and partners to adjust their immigration statuses, most Salvadoran immigrant men in this study were unable to adjust their immigration statuses with the help of their romantic partners. Due to these circumstances, many men and their romantic partners faced several immigration consequences in their lives. Darwin Tejada, who was an undocumented immigrant in the

U.S., explained that many of their families were non-citizens. In some cases, both men and their partners were undocumented immigrants. Due to their immigration statuses, they were unable to help each another adjust their statuses.

My wife has DACA so we are practically the same. She has a work permit through DACA. She has DACA since she migrated to the U.S. at 9 years old and she went to school here. We are practically the same. So my wife has DACA and I am undocumented. When my wife got her work permit she got a real social security number. Things got better after that. But my children get sad when we talk about our immigration statuses and possible deportations.

Due to their immigration statuses, they were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses since they both were undocumented immigrants in the U.S. Even though some couples qualified for DACA, they were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses. Similarly, Benjamin De Leon, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that some married couples were undocumented immigrants. As a result, they were unable to help each other change their immigration statuses to permanently live in the country. As undocumented immigrants, they remained fearful that they could be deported from the U.S.

My wife has the same immigration status as me. We are both undocumented immigrants. She doesn't work outside the home. She cares for my children in the home. I am the only one who works outside the home so her immigration status hasn't affected her in finding work. My wife and I have talked about what would happen if we were separated because of a deportation. But our relationship as a married couple hasn't been affected by this.

Since these couples have the same immigration status in the country, they have not had the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses to permanently live and work in the country. While their children are able to petition their immigrant parents in the future, these couples were unable to help each other obtain temporary and permanent immigration statuses in the U.S.

Similar to Salvadoran men and their romantic partners who were undocumented immigrants, Salvadoran men and their partners who were temporary protected status beneficiaries were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses to permanently live in the country. Alan Ruiz, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that some married couples were both TPS beneficiaries. As immigrants with TPS, they were unable to petition family members, adjust their immigration status, and permanently live and work in the country. As such, they were not able to change their immigration statuses.

I got my TPS in 2001. I have had TPS for over 20 years now. I haven't had the chance to change my immigration status since TPS does not provide a pathway to a residency or citizenship unless a relative petitions me. My wife and I are TPS recipients. My wife and I haven't had the chance to get a permanent immigration status since we have the same immigration status. But my children were born in the U.S. so they are U.S. citizens. Many immigrant men who were TPS beneficiaries were unable to adjust their immigration statuses since they had the same immigration statuses as their romantic partners. But, they believed that their U.S. citizen children would be able to petition them. Similarly, Jesus Pomar, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that some couples had temporary immigration statuses so they were unable to help each other adjust

their immigration statuses. Instead, they both faced the same restrictions and uncertain futures in the United States.

My wife has the same immigration status as me. We both have TPS. We are both in the same situation. We are both concerned over what's going to happen to us after TPS ends. We are hopeful and will wait to see what happens. Hopefully something positive happens. We hope there is a law that will allow us to stay permanently in the U.S. legally. The things that concern us is that one day we will have no immigration status and could be deported.

Most immigrant men with TPS had the same immigration statuses to their spouses and romantic partners. As a result, they had similar experiences and restrictions in their lives by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. They were both concerned about the future of the TPS program and hoped for new legislation in order to permanently live in the U.S. However, since they had the same immigration statuses, they were unable to help each other adjust their statuses.

Salvadoran immigrants and their romantic partners who were legal permanent residents had the opportunity to petition their family members. However, they reported experiencing problems when initiating the family based petition process (Calvo, 2003). Julian Agramonte, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that in some families both parents were legal permanent residents. While they had been able to live in the U.S. and were protected from deportations, they faced certain restrictions when petitioning some family members.

Since I migrated, I left my children in El Salvador and I have been responsible in helping them. But I started a new family with my wife who is a legal permanent

resident. My family is fearful that I could be deported with my wife. Even if you have legal documents, you remain fearful of being deported. As a resident, I have petitioned my family members. My plans are that all my children are in the U.S. with legal documents.

As legal permanent residents, they were able to petition immediate family members but were restricted from petitioning non-immediate family members. While their permanent immigration status provided them specific benefits in the United States, they also lived with restrictions and limitations in their lives as a result of their immigration status. Similarly, Marcos Gonzalez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that some Salvadoran immigrant men who were legal permanent residents were married to undocumented immigrants in the country. Due to their spouse's immigration status, their family experienced different restrictions in their lives.

My wife's immigration status is different to mine. She is undocumented. Her immigration status has affected her in trying to find work. In the state of New Jersey, immigrants also can't get a driver's licenses so she hasn't been able to drive a car. She is also afraid to share personal information with schools, hospitals, and government offices. We have wanted to visit other countries but we haven't been able to due to my wife's immigration status.

As legal permanent residents, many immigrant men had plans to petition their romantic partners and children who were undocumented immigrants and temporary protected status beneficiaries in the United States. However, due to the high cost and the lengthy bureaucratic process, many couples were not able to complete the family based petition processes instantly. As long as their spouses lived in the country as undocumented

immigrants and TPS beneficiaries, they would continue to face numerous restrictions, limitations, and legal problems in the country that may affect their entire families in the U.S. The immigration consequences these immigrant families faced not only affected their relationships with their romantic partners but also with their children. As Salvadoran immigrant men and their romantic partners navigated the effects of U.S. immigration laws, policies, and enforcement practices with their children and families, they remained concerned about their future plans in the United States and in El Salvador.

Conclusion

Most Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study expressed that their children and romantic partners experienced first-hand the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in their lives in the form of multigenerational punishments and intragenerational punishments. The children of Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers were believed to have experienced these multigenerational punishments in the form of social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences. Children who faced social consequences were unable to take advantage of educational and career opportunities in the U.S., while children who experienced economic consequences faced income disparities and financial issues in their families. Children who faced emotional consequences were believed to have experienced emotional trauma and separations from their fathers and families, while children who were also physically separated from their fathers and families experienced physical consequences. The romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study also experienced intragenerational punishments in the form of physical, emotional, and immigration consequences. Romantic partners who faced physical consequences became physically separated from their partners. These separations

prevented many couples from forming families so some decided to construct “fictive” kin with their new romantic partners. Romantic partners who experienced emotional consequences also became emotionally distant from each other. Immigrant men and their romantic partners also faced immigration consequences when they were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses. This chapter highlights that the children and romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men also faced different forms of punishments in their lives. In response, they challenged these harmful punishments by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement actions by preserving their relationships with their fathers and romantic partners.

Chapter 4: *No Soy de Aqui ni de Alla: Navigating Membership and Belonging Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*

In this chapter, I examine how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men understood their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Scholars have long associated immigrant's membership and sense of belonging to their immigration statuses (Bloemraad, 2013). In the U.S., immigrants have been historically categorized into a spectrum of legal statuses with U.S. naturalized citizens on one side and undocumented immigrants on the other end (McIlwaine, 2015). In the middle of this spectrum, we find liminal legal categories including legal permanent residents and immigrants with temporary immigration statuses (Menjivar, 2006). While immigrants are placed into different immigration statuses within this legal spectrum, scholars have discussed that immigrants normally "move between statuses" throughout their lives (Schuster, 2005; Bloch & Zetter, 2011). This demonstrates the "fluidity" of immigration statuses and the "precarious" positions of immigrants within this legal spectrum (McIlwaine, 2015; Massey et al., 2016). As immigrants move in and out of immigration statuses, they also experience changes in their membership and belonging in the country. However, in this study immigrants and deportees realized they were unable to move freely between legal statuses. Instead they were met with laws, policies, and enforcement practices that prevented them from becoming formal members and experience a sense of belonging in the U.S. (Bloemraad et al., 2008: 154; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Menjivar, 2006). As a result, most Salvadoran immigrants who were deported, undocumented, TPS beneficiaries, and legal permanent residents struggled to fully incorporate into the United States as formal members and experience a sense of belonging (De Graauw, 2014; Bloemraad, 2013). As

Salvadoran immigrants were deported from the United States they also struggled with their membership and sense belonging in El Salvador after living outside the country for several years and decades (Sarabia, 2018; Boodram, 2018).

Once Salvadoran immigrants migrated to the U.S. and deportees returned to El Salvador they faced different and similar struggles with their memberships and sense of belonging. First, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men discussed the different processes of exclusion and (dis)memberment they faced in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Coutin, 2016; Menjivar, 2006). As Salvadoran immigrant men attempted to integrate into the U.S., they faced immigration laws and policies that authorized their removal from the country (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). Similarly, Salvadoran deported men faced laws from the Salvadoran government that legally stigmatized and discriminated deportees (Schuster & Majidi, 2015; Theodore, 2020). Secondly, immigrants and deportees believed that social and legal institutions in both countries regularly marginalized them. They also believed that they were discriminated often by law enforcement, employers, and everyday people in both countries (Nunez, 2010; Menjivar et al., 2018). Thirdly, as immigrants and deportees navigated different forms of exclusion in their lives it influenced their understandings of their membership and belonging. As they experienced these exclusionary practices, it affected their lives in the U.S. and in El Salvador, their children's sense of belonging and membership, and their identities and languages spoken in both countries (Dovidio et al., 2010; Yoshikawa, 2011). Lastly, these exclusionary practices motivated immigrants and deportees to recreate their membership and belonging (Varsanyi, 2005; Flores, 2003). Both immigrants and deportees engaged in alternative forms of membership and belonging through non-profit organizations, faith-based

organizations, and relationships to fellow immigrants and deportees (Pombo & Duperou, 2018; Ehrkamp, 2017). As Salvadoran immigrants and deportees attempted to become formal members and experience a sense of belonging, U.S. and Salvadoran governments, laws and policies, law and immigration enforcement agencies, and everyday people prevented them from integrating and incorporating into the U.S. and El Salvador.

Processes of Exclusion and (Dis)memberment

In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men experienced similar and different processes of exclusion and (dis)memberment in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2016). While U.S. immigration laws allowed some Salvadoran immigrants to incorporate into the U.S., these same laws targeted and criminalized Salvadoran immigrants by authorizing their arrest, detention, and deportation (Jacobs, 2019; De Genova, 2002; Menjivar, 2006). As a result, many non-citizen Salvadoran immigrants in the U.S. faced blatant forms of discrimination and exclusion (Wong, 2012; Perez, 2008). Once Salvadoran immigrants were deported, the Salvadoran government also engaged in legally excluding them (Schuster & Majidi, 2015; Theodore, 2020). Many deportees experienced discrimination and stigma by the government for their deportations and criminal records (Menjivar et al., 2018). By marginalizing immigrants and deportees, both governments participated in denying Salvadoran men and their families the opportunity to become full members of the U.S. and El Salvador (Sarabia, 2018; Silver, 2018). Immigrants and deportees experienced these exclusions based on their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations (Schuster & Majidi, 2015).

Exclusion Based on Immigration Statuses: Many Salvadoran immigrant men in this study encountered limited legal pathways to formal memberships and permanent

immigration statuses in the country (Nunez, 2011). Undocumented immigrant men and temporary protected status beneficiaries were unable to adjust their immigration statuses unless a family member petitioned them (Calvo, 2003; Lopez, 2015). While legal permanent residents were offered a legal pathway to a U.S. citizenship, some men in this study with a residency were ineligible to adjust their immigration status and become U.S. citizens (Menjivar, 2006). Regardless of their immigration status, Salvadoran immigrant men in this study faced challenges in adjusting their immigration status and becoming formal members of the United States (Bloemraad, 2013). Instead many faced exclusionary and discriminatory practices by immigration laws and policies that affected their families and future plans (Perez et al., 2008). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained how undocumented immigrants were excluded from becoming formal members in the U.S. While they desired to become U.S. citizens and permanently settle in the country, immigration laws and policies in the country excluded and discriminated against certain immigrants in the U.S. He said, "To this day, I am still illegal. I haven't tried to legalize my immigration status. There haven't been any opportunities so I am still illegal and undocumented. My driver's license in California serves as my ID card." Many undocumented immigrants in this study shared how they lived in the U.S. but were not considered formal members of the country. However, many immigrants were offered driver's licenses in different states. These driver's licenses served as forms of identification and state level memberships. But they remained excluded at the federal level. Similarly, Ivan Ordonez, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., described immigrants' inability to adjust their immigration statuses in the U.S. While a temporary protected status is a temporary immigration status it does not provide a legal pathway to a

residency or U.S. citizenship. He said, "I was undocumented from 1995 to 2001. But in 2001, I received a work permit and my Temporary Protected Status. I still have it to this day. I haven't had an opportunity to legalize my immigration status. I have to wait to see what happens with the TPS program." Many Salvadoran immigrants reported having TPS statuses but they were unable to adjust their immigration statuses. While they renewed it regularly, it did not guarantee them the opportunity to permanently live in the U.S. After President Trump terminated the TPS program for Salvadorans, TPS beneficiaries became confident that the U.S. courts and a new presidential administration would prevent them from losing their TPS. Lucho Morillo, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., explained that some residents in the U.S. were excluded from becoming U.S. citizens. As a result, they were unable to adjust their immigration status and become formal members of the U.S. As residents, they were also deportable if they committed specific crimes.

I have been a legal permanent resident for over eighteen years. I have attempted more than once to become a U.S. citizen but it has been denied. I was finally told I was denied because I participated in the Salvadoran civil war. This should not affect me since I didn't break any laws in the U.S. But they have the power and control in the U.S. So I am still a resident.

While several residents in this study were denied the opportunity to become U.S. citizens because of past crimes and offenses, some men became ineligible after reporting that they had participated in a war. Based on their histories, some residents became ineligible to become U.S. citizens. Until the eligibility requirements and laws changed, many would remain as residents.

U.S. Immigration Enforcement Agencies: In order to ensure immigrant's exclusion and removal from the United States, the U.S. government established immigration enforcement agencies and collaborations with local law enforcement to patrol, arrest, detain, and deport specific immigrants from the country (Armenta, 2017; Wong, 2012). In addition to U.S. immigration laws and policies that excluded and alienated immigrants in the U.S., they also had to navigate their lives around these agencies intended to criminalize and remove them from the country (Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). As a result, they lived in fear that they would be apprehended, detained in an immigration detention center, and deported by ICE agents to El Salvador (De Genova, 2002; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). While many had been able to live in the country without interacting with immigration enforcement agencies, their fear of being removed led to feelings of exclusion, alienation, and marginalization (Armenta & Rosales, 2019; Leyro, 2017). Leonardo Pena, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that even though many immigrants in the country were not personally affected by immigration enforcement agencies, the fear was ever present. He said, "I heard in the news that immigration officers were doing immigration raids nearby. I also heard that Motel 6 worked with immigration officers to arrest people staying in their hotels. So they arrested and deported them to their countries." Most immigrants were fearful of being detained and deported from the country. They were concerned about the lack of protections from deportations. Mass media coverage of immigration raids and deportations intensified their fear, which further excluded them from the U.S. Similarly, Jesus Pomar, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that immigrants with TPS believed they were at risk of being removed from the country. They feared that the TPS program would eventually be

terminated for Salvadorans and they could become deportable again. As a result, they were fearful of their futures in the U.S. He said, "If they were to take away our TPS, we will be undocumented and could be deported. We are in danger of being deported. We would love to have a permanent immigration status but there are no laws in this country to help us. We need a sponsor to help us legalize our immigration status." This statement described the fear immigrants with TPS experienced as they remained uncertain of the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans. Without their TPS, they would become undocumented immigrants and be deportable. Julian Agramonte, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that even though residents in the U.S. were protected from deportations they were still fearful that they could be deported. He said, "My family is fearful that I could be deported. At any moment I could be deported and arrive to El Salvador because of the immigration laws in this country. Even if you have legal documents, you remain fearful of being deported." Many residents were fearful they could be deported even though they had permanent immigration statuses. Most Salvadoran immigrant men in this study continued to face exclusion and marginalization in the U.S. based on their treatment by immigration laws, policies, and immigration enforcement agencies. Until they are able to become U.S. citizens, most immigrants would remain excluded from the country and threatened with being arrested, detained in an immigration detention center, and deported by ICE agents to El Salvador.

Deportations and Criminal Records in El Salvador: Once Salvadoran immigrants were deported from the U.S., they experienced exclusion and marginalization in El Salvador (Silver, 2018; Golash-Boza, 2016). Many deportees faced discrimination and stigma for their deportations and criminal records (Sarabia, 2018; Boodram, 2018). Most deportees

mentioned that they had never received any assistance from the government. Instead, deportees were highly criminalized, excluded, and discriminated throughout the country (Theodore, 2020; Boodram, 2018; Schuster & Majidi, 2015). As a result, they became critical of the Salvadoran government and made plans to migrate from El Salvador.

Gamaliel Santiago, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportees did not receive the help that they needed and were promised. Instead, deportees were criminalized and marginalized by the Salvadoran government. He said, “When we got here, the Salvadoran government didn’t help us. They say there is a program that helps deportees when they arrive to El Salvador. But it’s just for publicity. I think that non-profit organizations have been more helpful than our own government.” Without the support of non-profit organizations, deportees would not have received any help. Since the Salvadoran government offered minimal help to deportees, many became homeless, victims of violence, and ostracized in society. They were treated like second-class citizens in their home country. Similarly, William Preciado, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that the Salvadoran government, laws, and legal institutions in the country did not provide support to deportees. After deportees had helped the country financially through remittances from the U.S., they were offered little to no help in El Salvador. He said, “Salvadorans who are deported receive very little help in El Salvador. It’s not enough. No one can come out ahead with a little bit of help. I think there should be laws to help deportees. It’s important that they give us jobs. As a deportee, I am going day by day.” As deportees returned to El Salvador, they were marginalized and disregarded by the Salvadoran government since they no longer provided financial benefits to the country. As deportees they were unemployed and experiencing financial problems. As a result, they

were viewed as failed migrants. Santos Contreras, who was also deported to El Salvador, described that Salvadoran deportees were physically present in the country but the Salvadoran government tended to disregard them. As a result, they did not offer them much support in El Salvador. He said, “Well one of the problems we have is that deportees are invisible in El Salvador. They are not as important. You can point out the deported population. I think they are invisible since we been outside the country. It’s the same way for illegals in the United States who are also invisible.” Both immigrants in the U.S. and deportees in El Salvador were marginalized based on their immigration and deportation histories. While they were living in different countries, they shared similar experiences. Both groups were highly criminalized and ostracized by the government and everyday people. As a result, deportees considered migrating after being mistreated in El Salvador. Even though they would also live in the shadows in the U.S., they believed they would receive more support in other countries.

Exclusion Based on Deportee’s Age: In El Salvador, deportees were also discriminated and marginalized based on their age (Munuera Gomez & Blanco Larrieux, 2018). As older deportees returned to El Salvador, many faced increasing problems with ageism (Dolberg et al., 2018). They had to learn to navigate their lives and job opportunities while also experiencing age discrimination (Malinen & Johnston, 2013; Roscigno et al., 2007). Once Salvadoran deportees became older than thirty-five years old, younger workers replaced them. Due to problems with ageism in El Salvador, many deportees struggled to find employment opportunities (Dingeman, 2018). As a result, deportees struggled to successfully transition to life in El Salvador because of their past criminal records, deportations, and age. Neftali Monterrosa, who was deported to El

Salvador, explained that once deportees returned to their home country they were paid low wages, faced limited job opportunities, and discriminatory hiring practices. The conditions in El Salvador prevented deportees from being able to re-integrate into society with their families.

I came to find a different country. Where did all these people come from? Also there are too many cars. The minimum wage that Salvadorans earn over here is low. Finding a job at my age was hard. I tried working at call centers but because of my criminal record it's always a red flag because we work with U.S. companies. So that's why I'm going back to the U.S.

As deportees returned to El Salvador, many faced discriminatory hiring practices. Most Salvadoran companies worked with U.S. companies that screened their employees. As a result, employers were made aware of employee's background information including their deportations and criminal records. As a result, they struggled to find jobs in El Salvador. Similarly, Irwin Castillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that older deportees were discriminated by employers based on their age, deportations, and criminal records. Many considered these hiring practices as discriminatory for older deportees. He said, "Due to my age, they don't want to give me a job. They act like we can't do anything. They ask for work experience but they won't give me a chance. They have all these requirements that are hard to complete. I feel devalued since they discriminate against me because of my age." Regardless of their experience and skills, deportees were overlooked because of their age. Employers assumed that because of their age, they would no longer be able to perform the job and complete certain tasks. As a result, deportees who were older were discriminated. Jesse Ronquillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, mentioned that

due to their backgrounds and age many were unable to secure high paying jobs to provide for their families. They struggled to find employment opportunities because they were considered elderly after turning thirty-five years old. While they had the skills and desire to work, they were denied many employment opportunities. He said, "When I landed it was like another world here. I had been in the U.S. for 21 years. Many things changed here. I realized the weather was horrible. Everything else was different. It was even difficult to find a job because of my age. Once you hit 35 years old, you are not good anymore." Due to the growing population of young Salvadorans, they were prioritized in the job market in place of older Salvadorans. Until the Salvadoran government intervenes, Salvadoran deportees who are older will continue to face discriminatory hiring practices in the country. Once Salvadoran immigrants were deported to El Salvador, they faced several forms of discrimination, marginalization, and exclusion by the Salvadoran government and employers based on their deportation, criminal records, and age. Regardless of their work experience, many were denied job opportunities, which affected their transition to their new lives in El Salvador.

Deportation of U.S. Veterans: Some Salvadoran men in this study reported that they served in the U.S. armed forces when they lived in the U.S. However, they were deported to El Salvador from the U.S. like many immigrants (Horyniak et al., 2018; Lonegan, 2007). These men had sacrificed their lives and their families in order to serve in the U.S. armed forces but were deported to El Salvador for immigration violations, crimes, and offenses (Hartsfield, 2011; Sohoni & Turcios, 2020). They struggled with their membership and belonging in El Salvador after serving in the U.S. military (Martinez, 2016; Pombo et al., 2017; Adame, 2017). William Preciado, who was deported to El Salvador, shared that the

U.S. government participated in the removal of United States veterans. Their veteran status did not prevent them from being removed by the U.S. government. Veterans reported being deported from the U.S. like most immigrants.

There are many Salvadorans who joined the U.S. military and were deported. They served the country and put their lives on the line. Once they had problems with the law, they were deported like everyone else. Many grow up in the U.S. and consider themselves Americans. They later find out they are not U.S. citizens and are arrested and deported to El Salvador.

Even though these individuals served in one of the most honorable positions in the country, they were removed from the same country they swore to protect. While many deported veterans identified as U.S.-Americans and were raised in the U.S., they were eventually deported by many of their fellow soldiers who became members of U.S. immigration enforcement agencies. Once in El Salvador, they were banned from returning until their punishment ended. Similarly, Gabriel Figueroa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that regardless if immigrants served in the U.S. military or not they were all vulnerable to deportations from the country. While deported veterans reminded people of their service, it did not prevent their removal from the U.S.

I didn't have documents but I was still able to join the service. I became an army mechanic. So I did my time and I got out. I started going to college. I was in this country for 35 years and I got all my education and started a family. But then I was arrested, detained, and then I was deported. I told the judge I did my military service here but I still got deported.

Even though these veterans served the country honorably, the U.S. still decided to deport them. Their veteran status did not prevent immigration judges and immigration enforcement agencies from removing them. As a result, deported veterans returned to El Salvador. Fernando Ramirez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that the U.S. military and government made an effort to provide care and services to their veterans in the U.S. However, deported veterans were disregarded and overlooked by the U.S. government. Even though they risked their lives for the U.S., they were abandoned and forgotten as they were removed from the U.S. to El Salvador.

The same country that I served turned their back on me. I think that for any person that has worn the uniform to have your country turn their back on you that way, I think it puts something in you. No different from a prisoner of war left behind and abandoned under direct command. I remember there was one time I saw another U.S. veteran in El Salvador.

Deportees likened the experiences of a deported veteran to that of a prisoner of war that was abandoned by their country. These veterans believed that the same country they served, turned their backs on them as they were deported from the U.S. As they connected with other deported veterans in El Salvador and in other countries, they shared similar experiences of being deported. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men experienced different processes of exclusion and (dis)memberment in the U.S. and in El Salvador. As Salvadoran immigrants and deportees adjusted to their new lives in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they were excluded and marginalized by the U.S. and Salvadoran governments. They were also denied the opportunity to become full members of their countries. As immigrants and deportees tried to incorporate into the U.S. and in El

Salvador, they were criminalized and marginalized because of their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations. They also faced discriminatory practices because of their age and previous military service in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Societal Enforcement of Exclusion and Marginalization

Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study believed that several social and legal institutions in the United States and in El Salvador also participated in excluding and marginalizing them from society (Golash-Boza, 2016; Nunez, 2010). Salvadoran immigrants and deportees reported experiencing exclusionary practices by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, employers, and ordinary people (Armenta & Rosales, 2019; Dovidio et al. 2010; Theodore, 2020). As immigrants attempted to integrate into the United States and in El Salvador, they faced exclusionary practices by social and legal institutions at the local, state, and national level (De Graauw, 2014; Schuster & Majidi, 2015). Most Salvadoran immigrants and deportees faced discrimination, exclusion, and stigma in the United States and in El Salvador based on their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations by law enforcement, employers, and ordinary people in their communities (Schuster & Majidi, 2015).

Exclusionary Practices by Law Enforcement: Salvadoran immigrant men in the United States and deported men in El Salvador specifically experienced discriminatory and exclusionary practices by local law enforcement in the United States and in El Salvador (Armenta & Rosales, 2019; Hagan et al., 2011). As they attempted to incorporate into the U.S. and in El Salvador, they were surveilled, interrogated, criminalized, and punished by law enforcement when compared to non-immigrant and non-deportees (Hernandez, 2016). Salvadoran immigrants and deportees were treated as second-class citizens with limited

rights, protections, and opportunities in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Dingeman & Rumbaut, 2009). These actions reminded them everyday of their position in society as second-class citizens. Alejandro Perez, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., described that most immigrants in the United States feared being apprehended, detained, and deported by local law enforcement officers since many law enforcement agencies became involved in enforcing U.S. immigration laws and policies.

When I came here, I was so scared of police officers because I thought they were immigration officers. The first 8 days I was here, I would see a security guard at a store and I would try to avoid him. I lived with that fear for years. I never knew when I might fall into the hands of the authority. Because I don't have documents, they have the right to deport me.

Most immigrants in the country believed that law enforcement officers did not protect them. While immigrants initially confused law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies for each other, they would soon learn about collaborations between both agencies. As a result, immigrants avoided interacting with law enforcement agencies. Similarly, Xavier Cabal, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., explained that immigrants in the country were frightened by the mere presence of a police car. As law enforcement agencies of the U.S. government, many immigrants did not trust local law enforcement and feared their presence. He said, "My wife is currently in the process of legalizing her immigration status. But if we see a car parked in front of the house we would have some fear because it could be someone looking for us." This statement demonstrates the fear immigrants face everyday as they remain fearful of being deported. Immigrants feared that law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies were looking to arrest,

detain, and deport them. They preferred to maintain their distance from law enforcement since they believed they had the authority to remove them from the country. As law enforcement agencies expanded their collaboration with immigration enforcement agencies, most immigrants continued to avoid interacting with the police.

Salvadoran deported men also avoided interacting with law enforcement in El Salvador. After being removed from the U.S. by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, they faced a new group of law enforcement and military personnel that enforced the laws in El Salvador. Fernando Ramirez, who was deported to El Salvador, mentioned that once deportees returned to El Salvador they were continuously questioned and interrogated by local police. These officers would often verify their personal and identifying information in their database. He said, "Salvadorans stigmatize us since we are deportees. People think deportees are up to no good. Even police check on us. It's in their database that we were deported. A lot of people here put a stigma on us as deportees." In the U.S., law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies regularly surveilled and controlled immigrant's movements. Once in El Salvador, deportees continued to be controlled, interrogated, and policed. As long as local law enforcement agencies had access to their personal information, they would continue to closely monitor their movements in El Salvador. Fermin Castro, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that once Salvadoran deportees arrived to El Salvador their personal information and identifying features were recorded by law enforcement agencies. This information was primarily used to control and monitor deportees who had criminal records and gang affiliations. He said, "When I arrived to the Salvadoran airport, I was processed and given an identification card known as a DUI. With that card, the laws in the country protects us as Salvadoran citizens.

The police investigated if I had any crimes but I had never been to prison so I was able to leave from the airport.” Once Salvadoran deportees were released into El Salvador, law enforcement agencies collected their personal and identifying information including their names, addresses, families’ information, migration histories, and criminal records. These police databases were then used to surveil, interrogate, and control the movement of the Salvadoran deportee population. In the U.S. and in El Salvador, law enforcement agencies collaborated with immigration enforcement agencies to control the movement of immigrants and deportees. Through shared databases, they were able to identify immigrant and deportees in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Salvadoran immigrants and deportees in this study experienced these surveillance efforts and discriminatory practices by law enforcement in collaboration with immigration enforcement agencies.

Discriminatory Practices by Employers: In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men in the United States and deported men in El Salvador also experienced discriminatory and exclusionary practices by employers in both countries (De Castro et al., 2006; Theodore, 2020). As immigrants in the U.S. attempted to incorporate into the United States, they were denied certain employment opportunities, promotions, and the ability to have the same work experiences as non-immigrants (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). Similarly, Salvadoran deportees in El Salvador were unable to obtain certain jobs because of their deportation status and criminal records (Dingeman, 2018; Schuster & Majidi, 2015). As immigrants and deportees applied for different jobs in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they were denied specific job opportunities because of their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations (Saucedo, 2009; Golash-Boza, 2016). These actions reminded them everyday of their position in society as immigrants and deportees. Salvador Delgado, who was an

undocumented immigrant, shared that many immigrants in the U.S. were denied job opportunities because of their immigration statuses and the lack of legal documents to work in the country. Without a temporary and permanent immigration status, most undocumented immigrants were restricted to jobs without security, rights, and lower wages.

Since I am undocumented, I can't get certain good paying jobs. Latinos who are undocumented are discriminated and do the dirtiest and most labor intensive jobs in this country. My immigration status has affected my work opportunities because sometimes I want to apply for a job but they ask for my social security number, which I don't have.

Most employers refused to hire undocumented immigrants because of financial penalties for hiring immigrants without immigration documents. As a result, many immigrants were unable to successfully incorporate and integrate into U.S. society because of employment restrictions in the country. Similarly, Alan Ruiz, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants with TPS faced similar discriminatory employment practices even though they were able to temporarily work in the country. Immigrants with TPS believed that employers discriminated against them because they were not legal permanent residents or U.S. citizens. He said, "I believe that the U.S. government and employers discriminate against immigrants. We are discriminated even though we come to work. But because we don't speak English we are discriminated against." Most employers refused to hire immigrants who were not legal permanent residents and U.S. citizens because of potential financial penalties and problems with the U.S. government. Even though many immigrants qualified for these positions, they were

denied several employment opportunities because of their immigration statuses. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men who were undocumented immigrants and TPS beneficiaries faced discriminatory and exclusionary hiring practices by employers in the United States. As a result, many immigrants were unable to find high-paying and long-term jobs in the U.S. workforce.

Similarly, Salvadoran deportees were unable to find high paying jobs in El Salvador because of their deportation status and criminal records. As they applied for different jobs in El Salvador, many were denied employment opportunities because of their lack of work experience and education in El Salvador, criminal records, and past deportations. As a result, many deportees struggled to transition to the workforce in El Salvador as employers restricted their employment opportunities and prioritized non-deported Salvadorans. Ricardo Valenzuela, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportees struggled to find jobs in El Salvador because of the limited employment opportunities, low minimum wage, deportation and criminal records, and the age of most deportees. While many deportees spoke in English and Spanish and gained valuable work experience in the U.S. they were denied most employment opportunities in El Salvador. He said, "It has been terrible. In the U.S. there are job opportunities. But in El Salvador I can't find work. I am old and there are no jobs for me. There are jobs but not for me. There might be jobs for younger people but jobs are very limited. It is very difficult to find work." Deportees reported that employers in El Salvador prioritized younger workers over older workers. Employers also preferred work references, work experience, and an education from El Salvador. As a result, most deportees struggled to find jobs in El Salvador and remained unemployed. Felipe Martinez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained the

difficulties deportees faced when attempting to obtain a job in El Salvador. Even if candidates had all the qualifications, experience, and references required for the job, they were denied these opportunities because of their deportations and criminal records.

I started looking for different jobs and I felt a lot of rejection from my own people. They believe that all the Salvadorans who have been deported have criminal records so we cannot keep a job especially in the call centers. You can be an excellent candidate but once they review your records they find out you've been deported so they eventually let you go.

Salvadoran employers based their assumptions of job candidates on personal experiences with deportees. So many deportees became aware how difficult it was to obtain a job in El Salvador. As deportees applied for jobs, many were hopeful that an employer would give them another chance in life. Both Salvadoran immigrants and deportees in this study faced discriminatory hiring practices in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations prevented them from obtaining jobs, higher wages, job security, and the opportunity to experience social mobility. Instead, they faced stereotypes, stigma, and exclusionary practices as they attempted to find employment opportunities in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Discriminatory Practices by Ordinary People: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in El Salvador also faced discriminatory practices by ordinary people in both countries (Findling, 2019; Schuster & Majidi, 2015). Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. experienced stereotypes, racism, and discrimination because of their race/ethnicity, language, and immigration status (Dovidio et al., 2010). Similarly, Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador faced stereotypes, discrimination, and stigma because of their language,

deportation, and criminal records (Dingeman, 2018; Golash-Boza, 2016). While most immigrants and deportees experienced racism and discrimination from other nationalities, some individuals experienced anti-immigrant and anti-deportee sentiment from Latina/os and Salvadorans themselves (Sarabia, 2018; Theodore, 2020). These forms of discrimination and racism excluded and marginalized immigrants and deportees as they attempted to integrate into U.S. and Salvadoran society (Silver, 2018; Boodram, 2018).

Mateo Medina, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., described how anti-immigrant sentiment continued to affect racial and ethnic minority immigrant communities in the U.S. Immigrants reported experiencing discrimination from ordinary people because of the color of their skin, their ethnic identity, and their immigration statuses. He said, "I have been discriminated before for being Latino. Many white Americans have discriminated against me. I have also lost work because of my immigration status. Many immigration laws are racist and discriminate against immigrants who are Latinos."

Immigrants who were Latina/os reported being vulnerable to racism and discrimination. Regardless of their immigration status, Salvadorans in the U.S. not only had to learn to navigate discriminatory immigration laws but also discrimination from everyday people. Similarly, Lucian Ciceron, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary, described that immigrants in the U.S. were not only discriminated based on their race and ethnicity but also their language and accents. He said, "I have been discriminated because I talk with an accent. I have also been discriminated by police when they pull me over. African American and Caucasian people have discriminated against me." Many immigrants mentioned that different racial and ethnic groups had discriminated against them in the U.S. Based on their race/ethnicity, skin color, and language skills, many immigrants became

vulnerable to discrimination from individuals and groups from the same and from different racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. While Salvadoran immigrants desired to integrate into the U.S., many were discriminated and marginalized in the country. These blatant forms of discrimination prevented them from integrating successfully into the U.S. Even if they became U.S. citizens, they would continue to be treated as outsiders and foreigners because of their outward features.

Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also experienced discrimination and stigma by ordinary people in their daily lives. Even though they lived in El Salvador, they were still discriminated and stigmatized because of their language skills, deportations, and criminal records. Leonel Suarez, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportees in El Salvador were discriminated and stigmatized based on their previous deportations, language skills, and mannerisms. While they shared the same skin color and features of most Salvadorans in the country, the only difference was their previous deportations, language skills, and their mannerisms. He said, "We are discriminated against. They look at us and say he is a deportee. Some people say that we speak good English but the rest of the people discriminate against us. They look at us in a bad way. They don't look at us right. They have envy too." Salvadorans in El Salvador were able to identify and differentiate between those who were Salvadoran deportees from the general population. Based on their mannerisms, dress, language skills, and deportations, they were vulnerable to discrimination from fellow Salvadorans. Even though they were all born in El Salvador, shared many identifying features, and were citizens of El Salvador, they still managed to identify differences to discriminate against them based on these differences. Joel Zelaya, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadorans in the

country developed specific stereotypes about deportees that were not accurate. While some Salvadoran deportees had engaged in violent crimes and had been members of gangs, the majority were deported for immigration violations and other crimes. However, these differences did not change the perception by Salvadorans towards deportees. He said, “When deportees arrive to El Salvador, people view us as gang members and discriminated against us. We come without any hope and empty-handed. When companies find out you are deported, they think you are the worst human possible. They have a bad image of deportees.” Deportees described their treatment as unfair since these assumptions were based on inaccurate perceptions of Salvadoran deportees. While there were some Salvadoran deportees who had been deported for violent crimes and offenses, the majority had committed non-violent crimes. Most Salvadoran deportees had families, jobs, and an education in the U.S. However, they were continuously discriminated and marginalized in El Salvador. Most Salvadoran men in this study reported experiencing similar forms of racism, discrimination, and stigma because of their ethnic identity, language, immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations. As they attempted to become members of the U.S. and El Salvador, many were excluded. Salvadoran immigrant and deported men also experienced the effects of discrimination, racism, and exclusion by everyday people, employers, and law enforcement agencies because of their immigration statuses, criminal records, and deportations. While they attempted to become full members of the U.S. and El Salvador, most immigrants and deportees were excluded from integrating into their home countries.

Understanding Salvadoran Men’s Exclusion and Marginalization

Once Salvadoran immigrants and deportees experienced exclusionary practices in the U.S. and in El Salvador, it impacted their understanding of their membership and belonging in both countries (Nunez, 2010; Silver, 2018). Some immigrant and deportees felt like they belonged in the U.S. and in El Salvador, but the majority felt that the harmful conditions in these countries further excluded and marginalized them from becoming formal members and experiencing a sense of belonging (Findling et al., 2019; Sarabia, 2018). Most Salvadoran immigrants and deportees experienced physical, emotional, and psychological forms of exclusion and marginalization (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; De Genova, 2002). As they were targeted and criminalized in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they struggled to become emotionally invested in these countries (Golash-Boza, 2016; Dovidio et al., 2010). In response, they engaged in avoidance strategies by withholding information, concealing their identity, and living in the shadows in order to avoid drawing attention to themselves (Yoshikawa, 2011; Theodore, 2020). Their exclusion in both countries affected their emotional and psychological well-being.

Immigrants Living in the Shadows: As Salvadoran non-citizen immigrants in the U.S. attempted to permanently live in the country, they were aware of the constant threat of deportation they lived under everyday (Leyro, 2017; Armenta & Rosales, 2019). Regardless of their immigration status, they were forced to live in the shadows in order to avoid drawing attention to themselves in order to increase their chances of living in the country for a longer period of time (Chavez, 2012; Yoshikawa, 2011; Jefferies, 2014). Due to the constant threat of deportation, they were unable to incorporate fully and integrate into their country of residence with their families (Becerra, 2016). These exclusionary and discriminatory practices in the United States influenced their understanding of their

membership and belonging in the country (Maginot, 2021; Lai, 2021). Zacarias Cambiero, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants who were threatened with deportations were unable to experience a sense of membership and belonging in the same country that threatened to remove them. He said, "I am still fearful of being deported. I was not born in this country. There is nothing that stops me from being deported. Today they can tell me that my immigration case has been closed and I could be deported. I am always fearful of being deported." Without legal protections from deportations, undocumented immigrants remained deportable and restricted from obtaining formal memberships in the U.S. While they lived in the U.S., they were not offered U.S. formal memberships as undocumented immigrants and threatened regularly with their removal. Similarly, Nico Pligeo, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., shared that immigrants with TPS were not permanently protected from deportations or guaranteed a legal pathway to a U.S. citizenship. As a result, they were unable to fully experience a sense of membership and belonging in the country. He said, "I try not to think about being deported. I have had TPS for many years. But at the same time, I am still concerned that I am in this limbo. I am fearful of not being protected from deportation. They will deport me if I become completely undocumented." Even though immigrants with TPS had access to more opportunities in the U.S., most of them were not able to adjust their immigration statuses. As a result, they were unable to experience full membership and belonging in the U.S. After living in the country for over two decades, immigrants with TPS remained in this liminal legality of having a temporary immigration status that could be terminated at any moment. Lorenzo Valdez, who was a legal permanent resident, described that immigrants who were residents also struggled with their membership and belonging

in the country as they remained deportable. Even though they were eligible to adjust their immigration statuses, they also faced barriers in becoming U.S. citizens. He said, "I have heard in the news that if I commit a crime then I could be deported to El Salvador. This includes legal permanent residents. I believe I could be deported if I commit a crime in this country." While most residents avoided breaking the law and became U.S. citizens, some residents that were in the process of becoming citizens were denied the opportunity to become U.S. citizens. As legal permanent residents, they are also not allowed to vote in U.S. elections, petition all their family members, and receive complete protections from deportations. While many Salvadoran immigrants identified as U.S.-Americans after living in the country for several years, most of them were unable to become formal members of the U.S. As Salvadoran immigrants struggled to obtain permanent immigration statuses, they remained optimistic that they would eventually become full members and experience a sense of belonging in the U.S.

Children's Membership and Belonging: Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. believed that as they navigated their membership and sense of belonging, their children also faced similar struggles in their own lives (Yoshikawa, 2011). As children of Salvadoran immigrants, they were believed to have experienced the consequences of their father's immigration status in their own lives (Brabeck & Xu, 2010). They were believed to have experienced the negative spill over effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices targeting their fathers (Enriquez, 2015; Philbin & Ayon, 2016). As a result, their children also faced similar struggles with their membership and sense of belonging (Rodriguez, 2019; Ayon, 2016). As their fathers were criminalized, stigmatized, and discriminated by the U.S. government, employers, and everyday people they became

increasingly concerned that their children also faced the effects of their exclusion and marginalization (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayon, 2016; Ayon & Garcias, 2019). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many immigrant fathers believed that their children who were also immigrants struggled with their identity and belonging in the U.S. While they identified with the U.S. culture, they were unable to become completely U.S.-Americans because of their immigration statuses and threats of deportation. He said, “My children know they are undocumented immigrants and have orders of deportation. It doesn’t affect their daily lives but they know about their immigration status. We don’t have a family plan if one of us gets deported. But I do want to buy a house in El Salvador so we have a place to go.” Salvadoran men who had immigrant children were concerned about the threats of deportations their children faced in the U.S. Even though their children identified as U.S.-Americans, they remained as undocumented immigrants without the possibility of adjusting their immigration statuses. Cristian Carranza, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that the children of Salvadoran immigrants had mixed-immigration statuses including children who were immigrants and U.S. citizens. Even though they were born in different countries and had diverse immigration statuses, they were still a part of the same family. He said, “She knows she is a U.S. citizen. One of my children is an immigrant like me and the other is a U.S. citizen. It has affected my son more. It has affected him in many ways but we are prepared to fight for him. But at the end of the day, he still has DACA.” Salvadoran immigrant men believed that their immigrant children struggled with their identity in the U.S. since many of them were undocumented immigrants, DACA recipients, TPS beneficiaries, and legal permanent residents. While their children lived in the U.S., they struggled with their identity since many of them were not

formal members of the U.S. and were regularly threatened with deportations. Similarly, Alan Ruiz, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that the children of Salvadoran immigrants who were born in El Salvador and migrated to the U.S. also struggled with their identity. Most of their children had different immigration statuses to their siblings and parents so they were believed to struggle with their membership and belonging in the U.S. He said, "My son was born in El Salvador and has DACA. He is afraid they can take DACA away. He says he feels American like everyone else. As immigrants, we still pledge allegiance and sing the national anthem as if it was our own. But my family remains fearful of being separated." The children of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. were believed to have struggled with their identities just like their fathers. Most of their children grew up in the U.S. alongside their U.S. citizen and immigrant siblings. As they entered adolescence and adulthood, many became aware of their immigration statuses. While they pledged allegiance to the U.S. flag, sang the U.S. National Anthem, and identified as U.S. Americans, many remained as non-citizen immigrants in the U.S. As a result, they struggled with their membership and sense of belonging in the country. Many of their children were believed to have struggled with their identities since they were unable to adjust their immigration statuses, faced threats of deportation, and some even had orders of deportation like their immigrant fathers. Even though they lived in the U.S., Salvadoran fathers and their children struggled with their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S.

Deportees' Dual Identity: Once Salvadoran immigrants were deported to El Salvador after living in the U.S. for many years and decades, most deportees struggled to fully identify as Salvadorans or as U.S.-Americans (Dingeman, 2018; Theodore, 2020). While

deportees were citizens of El Salvador, they struggled to identify with the Salvadoran culture, food, language, and societal expectations (Hagan et al., 2009; Dingeman, 2018). As Salvadoran deportees adjusted to their new lives in El Salvador, some men re-created their memories of the U.S. by engaging in U.S.-American traditions, culture, and lifestyles or they adapted to their “new” culture over time (Coutin, 2013). Josue Montoya, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportees who lived most of their lives in the U.S. struggled to adjust to their new lives and identities in El Salvador. While they lived in El Salvador, they continued to identify as U.S.-Americans. He said, “Being back in El Salvador is horrible especially after you lived in another country for so long. While you learn the Salvadoran culture, you literally feel like an American. I am completely an American in another country. I wish I could go back since I was in the U.S. for almost forty years.” Several deportees discussed some of the challenges they faced when returning to El Salvador after living in the U.S. As they re-learned the Salvadoran culture and traditions, they felt like outsiders and foreigners after living outside El Salvador for over forty years. But they continued to identify as U.S.-Americans even though they now lived in El Salvador. Similarly, Jesse Ronquillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, mentioned that many deportees did not consider El Salvador as their home country but only as their country of birth. However, once the U.S. government deported them without the possibility of returning they questioned whether the U.S. continued being their home country.

I am Salvadoran because I was born here. But after 21 years in the U.S., I can't recognize my identity anymore. You are either considered from here or not from there. If you don't like things here, they tell you to go back to the U.S. But there's no way I can go

back. When they hear your accent when speaking Spanish, they start treating you differently.

Salvadoran deportees discussed that many deportees experienced an identity crisis when they were removed from the United States. Many still believed they were U.S.-Americans even though they were living in El Salvador. They did not feel like they belonged or were members of El Salvador. While they desired to return to the U.S., they were banned from returning “home.” Ernesto Castro, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that most Salvadoran deportees who returned to El Salvador struggled to become full members and experience a sense of belonging. Due to their treatment by non-deported Salvadorans, they struggled to identify as Salvadorans. They faced an identity crisis as they were deported from their “home” country to their country of birth. He said, “When I came back, I felt like I wasn’t wanted here and I wasn’t wanted over there. So I am neither from here or from there. So I am stuck in the middle with an American culture, living in a Salvadoran country that doesn’t understand me and I don’t understand the country.” Most Salvadoran deportees reported struggling with their U.S.-American and Salvadoran identities.

Deportees believed they were somewhere in the middle as they claimed an American identity in a Salvadoran country. While deportees were formal members of El Salvador, they also felt like foreigners and outsiders. Salvadoran deportees became detached from El Salvador and the U.S. after being deported. While they physically lived in El Salvador, many continued to identify as U.S. Americans in another country.

Deportees’ Language Barriers: Once Salvadoran immigrants returned to El Salvador, many faced language barriers after having lived in the U.S. for many years and decades (Dingeman, 2018). Most Salvadoran deportees spoke Spanish but some also communicated

in English (Cardoso et al., 2016; Rodkey, 2016). Once they returned to El Salvador, they struggled to communicate with other Salvadorans in English since most people in El Salvador spoke Spanish. Salvadorans who spoke English in El Salvador were often times labeled as deportees and criminals from the United States (Dingeman, 2018; Brotherton & Barrios, 2009). As a result, they struggled to adapt to life in El Salvador and become full members of the country. They specifically struggled to communicate in Spanish with non-deported Salvadorans and preferred to communicate in English with other deportees in order to continue practicing their English skills in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country (Dingeman, 2018). Neftali Monterrosa, who was deported to El Salvador, discussed the struggles that most English-speaking deportees faced in El Salvador after living in the U.S. As they returned to El Salvador, many deportees no longer communicated in English with their friends and family. They had no choice but to communicate with others in Spanish since it was the primary language spoken in the country.

Speaking English is a part of me. I spent more than half of my life in the U.S. I also don't like Spanish music that much. I listen to mostly English music and speak English. It is difficult though because there are only 5 people that are always able to communicate in English with me. And some people say don't speak English. So it's not the same since we don't have many chances to practice many American things over here including English. Many Salvadoran deportees shared that not only was the English language discouraged in El Salvador but it was also considered the "language" of deportees. When Salvadorans heard individuals communicating in English, they assumed that they were deportees from the U.S. Similarly, Gabriel Figueroa, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that even though English was still frowned upon in El Salvador, many deportees continued to

communicate with each other in English. Instead of viewing English as a limitation, deportees attempted to use their English writing and communication skills to teach others English and obtain jobs in El Salvador.

When I got deported, I didn't know what was going to happen. But I knew how to speak English, I knew how to use computers, and I knew the print shop industry pretty well. When I showed up here, I found out that these guys wanted to pay me 10 dollars a day to be a press person. I thought what if I set my own shop up. But then you find out that people here will not pay you for the job. I can barely make \$150. There's so much competition.

Instead of viewing their English writing and communication skills as a disadvantage, Salvadoran deportees believed these skills were an asset to help others and obtain higher paying jobs. While communicating in English was discouraged in El Salvador, deportees refused to let go this important part of their identity. Roberto Zelaya, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran deportees used their English skills to obtain higher-paying jobs in El Salvador that required Spanish and English. However, employers in El Salvador normally prioritized younger candidates who learned English in El Salvador over deportees who had learned English in the U.S. As a result, many deportees were denied these employment opportunities. He said, "Deportees who speak English can work in a call center right away. But they might be discriminated in other jobs. If you are older, they discriminate against you. They won't hire older deportees since they are older. If you know the English language and over 35 years old, you might get discriminated." Many Salvadoran deportees experienced these discriminatory hiring practices. While they qualified for these jobs based on their English skills, work experience, and training from the

U.S., they were overlooked for younger candidates who were more educated and had more work experience in El Salvador. As a result, some Salvadoran deportees struggled to find jobs where they could use their English skills and work experience from the U.S. Instead of encouraging deportees to speak English, Salvadoran deportees were stigmatized for having learned two languages. When they lived in the U.S., they also faced discrimination for speaking two languages. In this study, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees experienced several forms of exclusion and discrimination in their lives. As they attempted to integrate into the U.S. and El Salvador, they were met with discriminatory and exclusionary practices in these countries. Salvadoran immigrant men and their children were specifically forced to live in the shadows in order to avoid being deported which affected their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. Salvadoran deported men also struggled with their identities and language which affected their membership and sense of belonging in El Salvador. Both Salvadoran immigrants and deportees were believed to have struggled to become full members and experience a sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime.

Recreating Memberships and Belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador

In response to exclusionary practices in the U.S. and in El Salvador, many Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families decided to recreate their membership and sense of belonging (Varsanyi, 2005; Flores, 2003). Through these efforts, they were able to find sources of support for themselves and their families. By recreating their membership and sense of belonging, they were able to build a community of individuals who shared common experiences and were supportive of one another (Portes et al., 2008; Barreto et al., 2009). With the support from community organizations, faith-based groups and

organizations, and fellow immigrants and deportees, they created alternative forms of membership in order to experience a sense of belonging in the same countries that excluded and marginalized them (Pombo & Duperou, 2018; Ehrkamp & Nagel, 2017; Cardoso et al. 2016).

Immigrant Rights and Deportee Support Organizations: Salvadoran immigrants and deportees described that they connected with immigrant rights organizations and deportee organizations for their support, membership, and belonging (Cardoso et al. 2016; Jimenez, 2011). As Salvadoran immigrants were forced to live in the shadows to avoid being targeted and removed from the U.S., they sought the help of immigrant rights organizations (Das Gupta, 2014; Kocher & Stuesse, 2020). These organizations advocated for immigrant's rights, human rights, and workplace rights (Abrams, 2016; Voss & Bloemraad, 2011). But they also provided educational programs, awareness campaigns, legal services, and financial assistance (Cordero-Guzman et al., 2008; Chand et al., 2020; Katzmann, 2008). Through these organizations, they were able to experience a membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. Julio Larin, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants in the U.S. connected with immigrant rights organizations to find support for their themselves and their families. These organizations also offered immigrants and their families' memberships into their organizations and a sense of belonging. He said, "I try to keep myself connected with immigration rights organizations who share information about changes in the TPS program. I have also looked for the help from immigration attorneys at these organizations. Immigrant rights organizations have been very supportive. They have been my greatest support." Through these organizations, they were able to receive assistance from advocates, lawyers, and other immigrants in the

organization. As members of immigrant rights organizations, they were able to support one another and their families. Similarly, Enzo Bonilla, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that immigrant rights organizations also provided immigrants and their families access to legal and social services, financial assistance, shelters, and food. Their overall mission has been to support immigrants and their families in the U.S. He said, “There are many community organizations and religious groups that help immigrants. Many immigrants and their families sometimes don’t have anything to eat or do not have places to live because of state or federal laws. There are many organization that help immigrants.” While the U.S. attempted to create social conditions that were harmful to immigrants, immigrant rights organizations worked to support immigrants as they navigated these difficult situations. By offering immigrants help, they gave immigrants a better life in the U.S. Immigrant rights organizations also provided immigrants and their families the opportunity to become members of their organizations and experience a sense of belonging in a country that criminalized and dehumanized immigrants.

Similar to Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S., Salvadoran deported men who returned to El Salvador from the United States lived in a country that stigmatized and excluded deportees from society. As a result, many Salvadoran deportees did not feel that they were full members of the country or experienced a sense of belonging in El Salvador. However, community organizations in El Salvador offered Salvadoran deportees’ membership and a sense of belonging in a country that criminalized and denied their presence (Theodore, 2020). These organizations not only offered Salvadoran deportees’ employment opportunities, job training, temporary shelter, food, and financial assistance, but also a place to connect with other deportees, a membership, and a sense of belonging in

El Salvador (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014). Juan Munguia, who was deported to El Salvador, mentioned that the Salvadoran government made minimal efforts to support Salvadoran deportees in the country. So many had to rely on organizations that provided financial and social services to deportees and were funded by other countries.

I recently found out about non-profits that help deportees. But they are not sponsored by our government but from Europe. It's not right that other governments support us. I am grateful to non-profits for investing in my family. This organization gave me money to buy my son glasses, provided me access to their doctors, and helped my daughter start her art business.

Through these non-profit organizations, Salvadoran deportees were able to obtain social, legal, medical, and financial assistance in El Salvador. In addition to these services, they also experienced a sense of belonging in these organizations. Similarly, Luis Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that community organizations did not want to make deportees dependent on their services but rather help them become situated in El Salvador. Through these services, they would be able to establish themselves in El Salvador and find employment opportunities. He said, "I have diplomas and certificates but employers in El Salvador don't care. It's hard for me to get a job. So I have been going to an organization that provided me funds to start my own business. They gave me everything to start. They also gave me workshops so I could start my business." Non-profit organizations in El Salvador made an effort to help deportees become independent and self-sustaining. While these organizations provided deportees the opportunity to become members of their organizations and a sense of belonging, they also attempted to help deportees adjust and transition to life in El Salvador. Carlos Alvarez, who was also deported to El Salvador,

shared that non-profit organizations gave deportees a second chance in life. These organizations believed that they would be able to make a difference in their families and communities. Instead of criminalizing and excluding deportees, these organizations offered them the resources and tools to be successful in El Salvador with their families.

I found out that there was an organization that helps deported Salvadorans. I went to check it out and thanks to this institution I am able to get an education. They have also given me shoes and clothes. They recently gave me money to fix my laptop. They have been very helpful. With the money they gave me, I was also able to pay for my English courses.

As the Salvadoran government continued to disregard deportees, non-profit organizations attempted to invest in them and their families. By offering deportees funding for their education, basic necessities, technology, job training, and much more, they were providing them another opportunity in life. They offered them hope and a better future for themselves and their families. Non-profit organizations not only provided deportee's membership into their organizations and a sense of belonging, but also a second chance in life to achieve their educational and career goals. In this study, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees joined organizations because they offered memberships and a sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Most immigrants and deportees did not believe they were full members or that they belonged in these countries. However, these organizations invited them to be a part of a movement to create a more fair and equitable society. They empowered individuals who had been marginalized and excluded from society. While the government criminalized them, organizations embraced these individuals.

Faith-Based Groups and Organizations: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men also shared that they relied on faith-based and religious organizations for support, membership, and a sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Lopez-Sanders, 2012; Hagan, et al., 2011). Many Salvadoran immigrant men relied on their faith and religious organizations for overall support for their families (Ramirez, 1999; Sanchez, et al., 2019). These faith-based organizations provided immigrants' access to large networks of people and social services (Garcia, 2005). As Salvadoran immigrants navigated their lives with their families under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime, they were able to experience a specific membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. through these organizations (Menjivar, 1999). Emilio Soto, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many immigrants in the country relied on their churches and their networks in order to survive in the U.S. With the help of church members, some immigrants were able to find places to live and work. He said, "My greatest support has come from my church friends. I was able to grow as a person with the help of members from my church. I lived with one church family for over three and a half years. They loved me unconditionally." Many immigrants were able to find support networks through their churches. They were also able to find new homes and "spiritual" families. But more importantly, they were also able to become members of their local churches and experience a sense of belonging. Similarly, Mateo Medina, who was also an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that many immigrants planned to seek the help from their churches and church "families" if they were ever apprehended and deported from the country without their children and families. He said, "My greatest support has been my faith in God. We are Christians and we have church members that we trust including our pastoral family. They are people we would leave our

daughters with in case immigration officers deported us. I would then attempt to return to the U.S. to be with my daughters.” Many immigrants who did not have family members in the U.S. turned to their churches and church families during difficult times for support. If anything ever happened to them, they knew their church would respond immediately. Their churches offered them more than a membership and a sense of belonging, but a family. Efraim Berrocal, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that faith-based organizations and churches became increasingly supportive of immigrants, immigrant rights, and in advocating for changes in immigration laws and policies. He said, “In a nearby city about 500 people were detained during an immigration raid. It created fear in the community. So in response we organized with organizations and churches to respond to threats by immigration officers. We wanted to protect immigrants in our community.” These organizations and churches offered immigrants a form of membership and sense of belonging as they became involved in defending immigrant rights and advocating for changes in the treatment of immigrants. By providing immigrant’s important resources, assistance, and support, faith-based organizations and churches offered immigrants a safe place for their families from the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. As U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices targeted immigrants and their families, they sought the support and assistance from faith-based organizations, churches, and church members in the U.S.

Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also experienced the harmful treatment from the Salvadoran government. In response, faith-based organizations and churches in El Salvador offered Salvadoran deportees’ a membership and a sense of belonging in the country (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014). These faith-based organizations offered deportees’

employment opportunities, homes, food, and financial assistance. They were also able to connect with other deportees. Through these churches and organizations they developed a membership and a sense of belonging in El Salvador. Gamaliel Santiago, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many deportees struggled to adjust and transition to life in El Salvador. As a result, many deportees looked for churches and faith-based organizations for assistance and belonging. He said, "In my case, I have been supported by the church. I am not religious but I do like to attend my church. I found a space there where I feel good. I haven't received the same support from family or friends here in El Salvador." Many Salvadoran deportees were able to connect with churches and faith-based organizations that offered family-like atmospheres. These churches and organizations also offered deportees a membership and sense of belonging. Similarly, Gerrardo Castro, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that churches and faith-based organizations made an effort to help deportees who did not have a place to live, something to eat, and families to support them. These organizations attempted to help deportees by offering them resources so they could successfully transition to life in El Salvador. He said, "Some churches have helped me. I have even stayed at shelters for deportees. I believe that if deportees are looking for support they won't struggle too much. There are a lot of people who are deported that have found help in getting an education and a job." Salvadoran deportees were able to connect with churches and faith-based organizations that provided them temporary places to live, meals, and resources to find jobs. As a result, many became members of these churches and organizations that offered them a sense of belonging. Nicolas Contreras, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many Salvadoran deportees sought the support from local churches and faith-based organizations in El

Salvador. These same deportees eventually decided to create more churches and organizations to help other deportees throughout the country.

My job as a person is to help people, regardless of their background. I provide them a place to live, find jobs, and give them food, shelter, clothes. I have helped maybe close to 20 to 50 people. Our church is a nontraditional church. We eat before every service, we sing, and we have people that are fresh off the streets. I've been in their situation, we relate to each other.

Through these faith-based groups, deportees were able to experience a sense of belonging in the same country that stigmatized and criminalized deportees. Instead of pushing away deportees, they attempted to bring them closer so they could help them. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant deported men found support from local churches and faith-based organizations. Through these organizations, they were able to become members and experience a sense of belonging in the same countries that highly criminalized, stigmatized, and discriminated against them.

Relationships with Other Salvadoran Deportees: Once Salvadoran deportees returned to El Salvador, they met other deportees in their churches, organizations, and at work (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014; Brabeck et al., 2011). They shared similar experiences of being deported to El Salvador after living in the U.S. (Dingeman, 2018). They shared many memories from their time in the U.S. (Coutin, 2013). By connecting with fellow deportees, they were able to create a community of deportees who spoke the same language, shared the same identity, and memories from the U.S. (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014). Ricardo Valenzuela, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many deportees became friends since they shared similar experiences. While many of their experiences were quite

similar, there were also important differences among deportees. As they connected with each other over time, they were able to share their memories, encourage one another, and develop friendships. He said, "I met several deportees at a community organization. We have been able to tell each other our experiences. Some stories are very tragic while others are less tragic. But the majority has difficult experiences. My friends have been supportive of me and they are also deportees from El Salvador." As Salvadoran deportees met other deportees, they connected with each other and became supportive of one another. Salvadoran deportees established an informal network of deportees designed to help new and older deportees obtain jobs, resources, and support in El Salvador. Similarly, Jaime Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, mentioned that through non-profit organizations in El Salvador deportees established informal networks where they exchanged ideas, information, and resources to help each other. He said, "I have met many deportees through non-profit organizations. I came to meet many over time. Many of the employees of some of these organizations were also deported. We exchange information and phone numbers. We have a group network of deportees in El Salvador." As the number of Salvadoran deportees increases, they have been able to develop their own identity, culture, and community in El Salvador. Through these connections, they have supported and helped one another in adjusting to life in El Salvador. Fernando Ramirez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that some Salvadoran deportees became involved in a transnational network of deportees. Deportees from around the world were able to find and connect with each other through different social media platforms. He said, "I think their experiences are very similar. I see them struggling. I have contacted deportees in other countries and we support each other and talk. I think it's helpful to contact each

other. I don't think many plan to return but I think a couple of them have been able to return to the U.S." Through this transnational informal network, they were able to construct a deportee identity and support one another. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and deported men in El Salvador discussed how they recreated their membership and sense of belonging in both countries. Salvadoran immigrants and deportees relied on non-profit organizations, faith-based organizations, churches, and relationships with other immigrants and deportees in order to experience a sense of belonging in the same country that regularly criminalized and stigmatized immigrants and deportees.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and deported men in El Salvador navigated their membership and sense of belonging. As Salvadoran immigrant and deported men attempted to integrate into the U.S. and in El Salvador they faced processes of exclusion and (dis)memberment. Salvadoran immigrant men specifically faced U.S. immigration laws that restricted their legal pathways to formal memberships and laws that authorized their deportation from the country. Similarly, Salvadoran deported men faced laws and policies from the Salvadoran government that legally excluded, stigmatized, and discriminated against deportees. These laws and policies in El Salvador specifically targeted deportees with criminal records, older deportees, and those who had served in the U.S. military. Once Salvadoran immigrant and deported men settled in their countries of residence, they experienced discriminatory practices by law enforcement agencies, employers, and by ordinary people. These experiences affected their membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador, their children's membership and

sense of belonging, how they identified themselves in the U.S. and in El Salvador, and the way they communicated with others in the U.S. and in El Salvador. In response, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men reacted to these laws, policies, and enforcement practices by recreating their own memberships and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador. They specifically sought the support from immigrant rights organizations in the U.S. and non-profit organizations in El Salvador. Similarly, faith-based groups offered immigrants and deportees a religious community, church membership, and a sense of belonging. Through these organizations, Salvadorans were able to find a community of people who shared the same experiences. As immigrants and deportees struggled to become members and experience a sense of belonging, they also resisted and challenged their treatment in the U.S. and in El Salvador.

Chapter 5: *Engaging in Mobilization Strategies to Survive the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime's Effects on Salvadoran Families*

In this chapter, I examine how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men understood and made certain claims about laws in the U.S. and in El Salvador, positioned themselves in relation to these laws, and engaged in specific mobilization efforts in order to challenge U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices (Menjivar, 2006; Brabeck et al., 2011; Hallett & Baker-Cristales, 2010). In the past, socio-legal scholars have investigated individual's understandings, positionality, and response to laws. For example, scholars have found that individuals understand laws based on their *legal consciousness*, which is the everyday or common understanding of laws (Ewick & Silbey, 1998; Abrego, 2011). Socio-legal scholars have also presented laws not as something abstract and fixed but as something active and changing in their everyday lives (Pound, 1910). In this case, laws are not only words in official government documents, but also alive and deeply involved in their lives (Sarat & Kearns, 2009). Similar to these studies, I found that Salvadoran men's understandings of laws and legal institutions are based on their legal consciousness (Menjivar, 2006). As they interacted with these laws and legal institutions, they also realized the impact of these laws in their everyday lives.. While some individuals developed positive claims about laws, the majority developed negative claims about laws and their legal institutions in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012).

Similar to Ewick and Silbey's (1998) study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men were also found to position themselves differently to laws and legal institutions regardless of their immigration statuses and experiences. First, Salvadoran men positioned themselves "before the law" as they considered laws as something sacred, which required

their respect. Secondly, Salvadoran men positioned themselves “with the law” as they found it to be accessible and utilized it as a resource for their advantage. They specifically became aware of their rights and were more likely to make claims for equality and inclusion in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Lastly, Salvadoran men positioned themselves “against the law” due to its arbitrary authority as they were unable to make claims for redress or inclusion. These men became distrustful and suspicious of the law and its effects in their lives (Ewick and Silbey, 1998).

In response, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men engaged in several resistance and mobilization strategies alongside their families in response to these laws and enforcement practices. First, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees collaborated with immigrant rights, faith-based, non-profit, and other community organizations in the U.S. and in El Salvador to engage in legal mobilization and advocacy efforts (Gleeson, 2010; Abrego, 2008; Longazel & van der Woude, 2014). Secondly, Salvadoran men in the U.S. and in El Salvador sought legal assistance from U.S. immigration attorneys to demand full and legal inclusion in the U.S., adjust their immigration statuses, file family-based petitions, and return to the U.S. with legal authorization (Heeren, 2011; Ryo, 2018; Levin, 2009). Thirdly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men engaged in specific strategies to avoid being identified, apprehended, and deported by local law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies when migrating to the U.S. through Central America and Mexico and within the United States (Desai et al., 2020; Lee & Kim, 2021; Armenta & Rosales, 2019). Fourth, Salvadoran men in the U.S. and in El Salvador participated in family reunification efforts without the authorization of U.S. and Salvadoran government and immigration agencies (Lu et al., 2020; Boehm, 2017; Zayas, 2015). Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant and

deported men established their future plans with their children and romantic partners in the United States, El Salvador, and in other countries (Mountz et al., 2002; Boehm, 2016; Cardoso & Hamilton, 2016). In this study, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees shared their diverse understandings of the law, positionalities to the law, and involvement in mobilization strategies in response to U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices.

Understanding & Claims of Laws

In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men made certain claims about laws and legal institutions in the U.S. and in El Salvador (Menjivar, 2006). Based on their *legal consciousness*, they presented their everyday or common understanding of the law, its functions, and its effects on their lives (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). While some developed positive relationships with laws and their legal institutions, most had negative interactions with laws (Bosniak, 2013; Abrego et al., 2017). Before they positioned themselves in relation to laws, they made certain claims and shared their understandings of laws (Menjivar, 2011). While some men believed that immigration laws offered them freedoms and many opportunities, the majority believed that these laws were restrictive, exclusionary, and discriminatory (Ayon et al., 2017).

Laws in the United States: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study highlighted how laws in the U.S. were beneficial at times and harmful at other times (Bosniak, 2013; Coutin, 2003). At times they were inclusive and supportive of immigrants and at other times they were discriminatory, exclusionary, and restrictive in the lives of immigrants (Abrego et al., 2017; Menjivar, 2006). Immigrants in this study understood laws differently based on their experiences and interactions with the law (Menjivar, 2011; Brabeck et al., 2011). Javier Vega, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S.,

demonstrated that laws were not just laws in the books but also laws in action as they restricted and controlled immigrant's daily lives. In order to avoid problems with these laws, they decided to obey U.S. laws. He said, "I always try to follow the laws when driving. I also don't go out at night. I only go from home to work and then back home. I always follow the laws." Many immigrants adjusted their lives to conform to these laws. Even if law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies were not physically present, the law had an invisible authority and control over the lives of immigrants. They believed that the law was constantly policing their daily actions. Similarly, Eric Reyes, who was a temporary protected beneficiary in the U.S., claimed that most immigrants were law-abiding individuals in the country. They would distance themselves from immigrants who had committed crimes but associated themselves with immigrants who obeyed and followed the laws.

I have followed all the laws and tried to be a good citizen in this country. I have made sure that if they investigate my record, they will find that I am a good immigrant. For immigrants without any criminal records, they deserve to stay in this country. But immigrants who are criminals should be turned over to their countries so they can pay for their crimes.

Most immigrants believed it was in their best interest to obey the laws in the U.S. As a result, immigrants distinguished themselves between those who had followed the laws and those who had disobeyed the laws. They believed that the former group would be able to live permanently in the U.S., while the latter group would face punishments and even be removed from the country. Similarly, Umberto Alguacil, who was a temporary protected status beneficiary in the U.S., discussed that laws and legal institutions in the country were

influential in the lives of immigrant parents and their children. As a result, immigrant parents would teach their children to obey and follow all the laws and respect the legal institutions in the United States.

As fathers, we need to educate our children to follow the laws. We need to make sure they become law-abiding adults. I teach my son to behave and follow the laws. If we are in this country, we must follow the laws. It could affect us in the long run. I don't break the laws but I follow them. I haven't given this country a reason to deport me. I have followed the laws.

While some immigrant fathers taught their children to obey laws for moral and religious reasons, many immigrant parents emphasized following the laws in order to avoid problems with the law and its legal institutions. By behaving and obeying the law, they would be able to continue living together without the fear of punishments. Their emphasis on obeying laws demonstrates the pervasiveness of laws in the lives and relationships of immigrant families in the U.S.

Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also shared their experiences and perspectives of the laws in the U.S. As immigrants who had been physically removed from the U.S., they had faced the ultimate punishment by U.S. immigration laws and policies (Brabeck et al, 2011). Herman Castillo, who was also deported to El Salvador, believed that U.S. immigration laws and policies were responsible for Salvadoran immigrant's physical separations from their families. In this perspective, immigration laws and policies not only had a harmful effect on their lives but also on their family's lives and futures in the United States and in El Salvador.

Immigration laws tore me away from my family. They separated me from my family. I was also separated from my mom and family growing up. It was like a bullet that went through me. I have to live with it everyday. My future plans are to get back home to the U.S. to my family. I want to submit a pardon and see if they accept it. If they don't, I will live here.

Many deportees did not believe that their own decisions and actions were responsible for their family separation. Instead, they believed that U.S. immigration laws and policies that authorized their removal from the country were also responsible for their separation from their families. Ricardo Valenzuela, who was deported to El Salvador, claimed that U.S. immigration laws and policies were responsible for their physical removal from the country, their family separation, and the effects that their absence has had on their families in the United States.

Immigration laws have affected my relationships since it led to my family separation.

It's been four years since I was deported and separated from my family. My wife told me that when I got deported their lives were over. The leader of the family was gone and they didn't know what was going to happen. I left everything including family, cars, and my house.

Deportees believed that immigration laws were not only responsible for their separations from their families but also responsible for the changes they experienced in their relationships with their romantic partners and children. These experiences demonstrated that U.S. immigration laws were found to have an impact in the lives, actions, and decisions of Salvadoran men and their families.. These laws were also found to have a transnational

authority as they affected the lives, behaviors, and movements of deportees and their families in El Salvador.

Laws in El Salvador: Salvadoran men who were deported to El Salvador from the U.S. also shared their perspectives and experiences with laws in El Salvador (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014; Brabeck et al., 2011). They understood these experiences and perspectives based on their *legal consciousness* (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Similar to Salvadoran immigrant men, they believed that these laws were not just legal words in official government documents but had a life of their own in changing Salvadoran deportees' lives, behaviors, and families. Irwin Castillo, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that Salvadoran laws were not supportive of deportees. Instead of helping deportees, many of these laws treated them as though they were criminals and foreigners. After being deported, they continued to be discriminated in El Salvador.

We need new laws for deportees where they have all their rights respected. They deserve the right to reinsert themselves back into society. That's what we have been fighting for. Deportees need to be treated as human beings. Not as a foreigner but treated as an everyday citizen of El Salvador. They should not be treated as criminals or delinquents.

Salvadoran deportees believed that the laws in El Salvador did not support deportees' attempts to reintegrate into society. Instead, they were treated as foreigners and strangers by these laws and legal institutions even though they were born in El Salvador. Deportees believed that new laws were needed to allow deportees to feel they were full members and citizens of El Salvador. Similarly, Josue Perdomo, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that instead of using laws to further exclude and criminalize deportees, they

suggested using these same laws to help deportees adjust to their new lives in El Salvador. He said, "I also want the Salvadoran government to create programs to help young people and the elderly who were deported to reinsert into society. There needs to be more opportunities for work and feed those who are hungry. We should all be given an opportunity." Current Salvadoran laws were believed to marginalize and excluded deportees from the country. In response, deportees advocated for using laws to help them obtain jobs, homes, and second chances in life. Instead of using laws to harm deportees, they believed in using these laws to help those in need and marginalized in society. Lastly, Lucas Preciado, who was also deported to El Salvador, described Salvadoran deportees' concerns about laws in El Salvador that excluded and harmed deportees. Deportees advocated for new laws to help deportees obtain high paying jobs, start businesses, and became self-sufficient.

I think deportees could start their own businesses. Deportees want to start their own business without anyone asking them for money. There needs to be more investment opportunities. I think maybe we need to have somebody help deportees when they step off the airplane like a social worker to give them options where they can find a job, find housing, and find meals.

Salvadoran deportees advocated for new laws and programs to help deportees adjust to their new lives and have a better future in El Salvador. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men presented their understanding of laws, their functions, and their effects on their lives based on their *legal consciousness*. Laws, in their perspective, were not just words in official legal documents but words that had an effect on their everyday lives, families, and communities. As a result, they experienced both positive and negative

experiences with laws in the U.S. and in El Salvador. However, their understandings of laws further influenced their positionality to laws.

Legal Consciousness

Salvadoran immigrant and deported men positioned themselves in relation to these laws based on their *legal consciousness* (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Using this *legal consciousness* framework, immigrants and deportees were found to have different perspectives on laws. Similar to Ewick and Silbey's (1998) study, Salvadoran men positioned themselves before the law, with the law, and against the law. First, Salvadoran men who considered laws as sacred and requiring their respect positioned themselves "before the law" (Ewick & Silbey, 1998; 2000; Eule et al., 2019). Secondly, Salvadoran men who considered laws to be accessible and utilized it as a resource for their advantage positioned themselves "with the law" (Ewick & Silbey, 1998; 2000; Marshall & Barclay, 2003). Lastly, Salvadoran men who became distrustful and suspicious of the law and its harmful effects in their lives positioned themselves "against the law" (Ewick & Silbey, 1998; 2003; De Hart et al., 2013). This legal consciousness framework illuminates their relationship to laws, experiences with laws, and how they used and understood these laws.

Before the Law Consciousness: Many Salvadoran immigrants and deportees viewed the law as something sacred that required their respect (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Many immigrant men in this study positioned themselves "before the law" even though they had violated laws by entering the country without legal authorization, overstaying their visas, or committing other crimes (Eule et al., 2019). Similarly, deported men also positioned themselves "before the law" even though they had broken the laws in the U.S., which resulted in their deportation. Those who had been deported to El Salvador believed that

their punishments were a consequence of violating these sacred laws. Regardless of their situation, these men continued to view the law in the U.S. as something that should be followed and respected (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). They made an effort to teach their children to follow and respect the laws (Tyler & Trinkner, 2017). Salvador Delgado, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., mentioned that many immigrants viewed the law as sacred. In order to continue living in the U.S., immigrants believed they would have to follow all the laws, stay out of trouble, and respect the laws of the U.S.

I am a person who stays away from problems with the law and law enforcement. If you behave in this country and follow the laws, you can live in this country for many years. Immigrants have to behave and not break any laws. I try to follow the laws in this country. I live a calm life and I don't get into problems. I go from home to work and back home. I don't get in trouble and I respect this country. We need to all respect the laws of this country.

Immigrants believed in respecting laws in order to be able to permanently live in the U.S. But immigrants who violated the laws would not be able to live in the U.S. So they differentiated between immigrants who deserved and did not deserve the opportunity to live in the country. Similarly, Jesus Pomar, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., explained that many immigrants followed and respected the laws in the U.S. by paying their taxes, debt, and supporting law enforcement. However, immigrants that did not follow the laws faced different consequences.

Well in my case, I have followed the laws. I have paid my taxes, my debt, and I even support the police. I believe some people have been deported because they have broken the laws like driving while intoxicated. The law says that we shouldn't be driving under

the influence. If they don't follow the law, the law is the law. We need to obey and follow it. This nation is a strong and fair nation. This country was founded by Christian principles and laws.

Some immigrants believed that those who broke the laws should be punished as a consequence of disobeying the laws. Some immigrants believed in upholding these laws since many of them aligned with their religion and faith. Lorenzo Valdez, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., described that immigrants in the country who purposely violated the laws by committing violent crimes deserved to be punished. However, they differentiated between immigrants who committed violent and harmful crimes to those who committed immigration violations.

If immigrants are arrested for crimes, then the law needs to be applied to them. They need to be tough on crime and those breaking the law. If an immigrant is coming to the U.S., we don't know who they are. But if they are detained for a crime, I think the country has to exercise their laws and do what they have to do. But if it is someone who just doesn't have a legal status, they should give them a chance to legalize their immigration status.

Most immigrants believed that laws should be respected and applied to those who commit crimes in the U.S. However, some immigrants believed that there should be a difference in punishments for those who broke criminal laws and those who violated immigration laws. As such, they did not believe that those who committed immigration law violations should be deported and treated like criminals. Instead, they should be offered the opportunity to adjust their status. But they believed that those who violated criminal laws should be punished accordingly in the U.S.

Many Salvadoran deported men also positioned themselves “before the law.” Even though they had been deported, they still believed that laws were sacred and required their respect. They believed that their deportations were a consequence of violating these sacred laws. Luis Torres, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that governments had the right to punish individuals for committing crimes even if that meant deporting immigrants. Deportees strongly believed that individuals should obey the laws or risk being punished by the same laws.

If you do commit a crime or break the law, then the country should be allowed to deport you. As an adult, I did break the law so I was deported. I am not going to my neighbors house and act like its mine. If they are deporting people who commit crimes, then it’s okay. Most of the people deported did time in prison. I am not afraid because I am not going to hide my past.

Deportees were aware that they had broken the law, which led to their deportations. However, they believed that if other immigrants committed similar crimes they should also be punished. They believed these punishments should be in response to violating the laws in the U.S. Similarly, Nicolas Contreras, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that laws were created to be followed and respected rather than violated. Instead of blaming U.S. immigration and criminal laws, several deportees blamed themselves for their past mistakes and decisions.

Well I knew the consequences. I lived a certain lifestyle. I knew that I was facing life in prison, death, or deportation. It was expected that something bad was going to happen. You choose to keep going so then you have to live with the consequences. The laws in the U.S. are there to be followed. I can’t blame any laws for my actions. If you don’t

break the laws then they don't apply to you. I'm tired of people saying that I'm a victim of society.

Some deportees blamed their own decisions to break the law. After being deported, they believed that these laws were established so they could be followed, obeyed, and respected by everyone in order to avoid the consequences. Joel Zelaya, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that most immigrants obeyed the laws in order to be a good example to their children. However, they strongly believed that people in the U.S. were more likely to obey laws than in El Salvador.

Fathers make sure their children don't get in to trouble so they become law-abiding citizens. After spending a short amount of time in the U.S. I learned that immigration laws are good. The laws are right. Compared to El Salvador, laws in the U.S. are actually followed as written. In El Salvador there are laws, but they are not followed and constantly violated.

Some deportees believed in not only obeying laws themselves but also on passing these same values to their children so they could become law-abiding citizens. However, when deportees compared the U.S. and El Salvador they believed that people in the U.S. were more likely to follow the laws while people in El Salvador were more like to violate these laws. Several Salvadoran immigrant and deported men positioned themselves "before the law" since they viewed the law in the U.S. as something that should be followed and respected. While these men focused on respecting laws, other men viewed these laws as a resource for their advantage.

With the Law Consciousness: Salvadoran immigrants and deportees also positioned themselves "with the law" when they considered the law to be accessible and utilized it as a

resource for their advantage in adjusting their immigration status or filing a family-based petition (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). These men became aware of their legal rights, immigrant rights, human rights, and other rights as immigrants in the U.S. and deportees in El Salvador (Abrego, 2011; Voss et al., 2020). They were more likely to make claims for equality and inclusion (Motomura, 2010). Many Salvadoran men believed that they deserved an opportunity to obtain a permanent immigration status because of the number of years they lived in the U.S., their contributions to the U.S., and their commitment to follow the laws (Yukich, 2013). They also made an effort to teach their children to view the law as a resource to help their families stay together (Tyler & Trinkner, 2017). Mateo Medina, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., believed that immigration laws could be used to help immigrants and their families instead of harming them.

I think that those without criminal records should be provided an opportunity to legalize their immigration statuses. I also think it would also be good to let deportees reunite with their families and children in the U.S. I think they deserve to be together once again as a family. We should reunite families that were separated because of a deportation.

Salvadoran immigrants believed that laws could be used to maintain their families together. Immigrants believed that immigration laws could be more inclusive so that all immigrants have the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses and reunite with their families. Similarly, Umberto Alguacil, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., discussed the importance of using laws to allow TPS beneficiaries to live in the U.S. Immigrants with TPS made claims that they had the right to a residency after living in the U.S. for several decades and following all the laws.

I think the U.S. government should give us a legal permanent residency. Immigrants with TPS have passed all the requirements that they have asked from us. Immigrants with TPS have clean records and have followed the laws. So we deserve the right to a legal permanent residency. We have spent nearly 20 years in this country. Immigrants with TPS have been approved in the past to be in this country so we have right to our legal permanent residency.

Most immigrants with TPS in this study believed they had the right to a residency after fulfilling all of the requirements, maintaining clean criminal records, and following all the laws in the U.S. After two to three decades with their TPS, they believed it was their turn to be able to adjust their statuses and become residents with a pathway to a U.S. citizenship. Efraim Berrocal, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that U.S. immigration laws should become more inclusive and fair for immigrants. They believed immigration laws should allow immigrants to adjust their immigration statuses to permanently live in the U.S. He said, "I would support an immigration law that would help all immigrants in this country. We all have the right to live in this country. Immigrants live here and we should let them stay. Immigrants founded this country so we are all immigrants. We need to unite to defend our rights to live in this country." Several residents claimed that all immigrants should be allowed to permanently live and work in the U.S. with the support of new immigration laws and policies. U.S. residents believed that new immigrants deserved the same opportunities they received in the U.S. They also believed that immigrants had the right to live in the U.S. since they already resided in the country. As a country founded by immigrants, they believed it should remain open to all immigrants.

Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also positioned themselves “with the law.” They similarly considered laws to be accessible and utilized it as a resource for their advantage (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Many Salvadoran deported men believed that they deserved an opportunity to return to the U.S., contest their deportation, and obtain a permanent immigration status (Cardoso et al., 2016). They believed that immigration laws would allow them to seek a pardon for their deportation to return to the U.S. Herman Mancía, who was deported to El Salvador, believed that the U.S. government should allow immigrants who had been deported to return to the U.S. so they could reunite with their families. Deportees believed that immigration laws should consider the children and families of immigrants when deciding which individuals would be deported.

I think deportees who have been separated from their families should be re-admitted into the U.S. I think that’s real unfair to separate someone from their families. Especially if they have children. I would say to give deportees a chance. Don’t just deport them. I think that immigrants that have been in the U.S. for a long time, should be allowed to stay. Everybody should get a chance to stay. At least some kind of visa in the U.S. to see how they are doing.

Salvadoran deportees believed that immigrants with children in the U.S. should be protected from deportations or be allowed to return. They also suggested that immigrants who had lived in the U.S. for many years had the right to remain in the U.S. Deportees emphasized the need for new U.S. immigration laws. Similarly, William Preciado, who was also deported to El Salvador, discussed the need for new immigration laws to allow more Salvadoran deportees to return to the U.S. Most Salvadoran deportees were banned from

returning including those with children and families in the U.S. However, new legislation would allow deportees to return to their families.

The U.S. is providing a limited number of visas to Salvadorans to work in the U.S. But there are a lot of Salvadoran immigrants who were deported that lived in the U.S. that cannot go back. Salvadorans who are deported have a very difficult time in El Salvador without their families. There are people who have U.S. citizen children. I think there should be a law that would allow them to permanently stay with their families after living there 10 to 15 years.

Deportees discussed the need for new laws that are more fair and inclusive of all deportees. They believed that current laws prioritized some deportees over others. Instead, new immigration laws would create a more fair and inclusive process for deportees hoping to return to the U.S. Josue Perdomo, who was also deported to El Salvador, believed that U.S. immigration laws could become more inclusive and fair if they allowed deportees to travel to the U.S. freely. Instead of restricting deportees in their home country, deportees believed that these new laws would allow them to travel and work in the U.S. without restrictions. He said, "They should make a law to give a legal status to all those who would like to travel to the U.S. without the fear of deportation. They should give us an opportunity to freely live and work in the U.S. We should all be given an opportunity." Salvadoran deportees believed that important changes to U.S. immigration laws would allow them to return to the U.S. without any restrictions. They believed that these new laws would provide deportees life-changing opportunities in the U.S. Many Salvadoran immigrants and deportees positioned themselves "with the law" since they considered laws to be accessible and they utilized it as a resource for their advantage in adjusting their immigration statuses and returning to the

U.S. Salvadoran men who were “with the law” made claims for equality and inclusion in order to travel and work freely without limitations. While many Salvadoran men believed in upholding laws and using laws as a resource for their advantage, most Salvadoran men became increasingly distrustful and suspicious of the law.

Against the Law Consciousness: In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men were also found to position themselves “against the law” as they were unable to make legal claims for inclusion and equality (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Salvadoran men in the U.S. and in El Salvador became increasingly distrustful and suspicious of the law and its harmful implementation in their lives (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). Most Salvadoran immigrants and deportees shared that they believed they were legally prohibited from living in the U.S., becoming U.S. formal members, and from returning to the U.S. after being deported (Cardoso et al., 2016; Brabeck et al., 2011). Their interactions with the law and enforcement agencies intensified their vulnerability, fear, anxiety, and threats of enforcement actions (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Thronson, 2008). As a result, they engaged in mobilization strategies in response to the harmful effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime (Prieto, 2018). Benjamin De Leon, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that many immigrants had been unable to experience inclusion and equality because immigration laws denied them the opportunity to adjust their immigration statuses. Instead, they lived with the knowledge that they could be deported if they violated any criminal, civil, or immigration laws.

I have talked to immigration attorneys and they say there are no opportunities for me in the U.S. There haven't been any opportunities since I entered this country. There is nothing I can do. Since the first day I entered this country, I knew I could be deported

back. Many are deported for breaking the law or a car accident. Immigrants could be deported at any time.

Salvadoran immigrants became increasingly concerned about immigration laws and enforcement practices. Most immigrants became fearful that they could be deported to El Salvador. As a result, they avoided interacting with most government agencies. Similarly, Ignacio Guzman, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that even though most immigrants with TPS fulfilled all the requirements for the TPS program, most were fearful that they would lose their TPS status. As a result, they became increasingly distrustful and suspicious of U.S. laws.

There are 13 countries that have TPS. As Salvadorans, we could lose our TPS and be deported. We are fearful that TPS will end and will be revoked from us. If we stay in this country without TPS, we will continue to live in this country as immigrants.

Immigration laws are unjust because I have followed the laws but they want to take away my TPS.

Recent changes in immigration laws have threatened the future of the TPS program for Salvadorans. While they have attempted to make claims for inclusion and equality, they have been marginalized over time further making them suspicious and distrustful of the laws. Franco Aguilar, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that recent changes in immigration laws and policies have threatened U.S. residents with deportations for committing certain crimes and offenses. As a result, many have become increasingly suspicious and distrustful of immigration laws. He said, "An immigration attorney told me that I had to continue being careful. Even as a legal permanent resident, I needed to be careful. They can take it all away and they can deport me. I have to be careful in everything

I do. This is not my country because I wasn't born in this country." Salvadoran immigrants who were residents believed that they were not entirely protected from deportations. As long as they remained as non-citizens, they could be criminalized and deported from the U.S. They were not offered legal protections from deportations if they committed certain crimes and offenses. Even though they were legal permanent residents, they feared that they could be arrested and removed from the country.

Salvadoran deported men in this study also positioned themselves "against the law" as they were unable to make legal claims for inclusion and equality (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Like Salvadoran immigrant men, they became increasingly distrustful and suspicious of the law and its harmful effects in their lives. Most deported men shared that they were legally prohibited from returning to the U.S. after being deported (Brabeck et al., 2011). Due to their deportations, they lived in fear, anxiety, and uncertainty about their futures (Cardoso et al., 2016). Nelson Zevala, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that over time immigration laws and policies became more discriminatory as they criminalized and removed immigrants. As such, immigration laws shifted over time as people became more fearful and intolerant of immigrants.

Immigration laws used to treat everyone fair and give us opportunities. I believe these laws were established to protect immigrants. But many discriminatory attitudes became laws. Immigrants can no longer defend themselves. When I got deported it affected my family emotionally and financially. It destroyed their lives because they didn't have their father.

Deportees described that immigration laws and policies have helped some immigrants adjust their statuses, reunite with their relatives, and offered immigrants new

opportunities in the U.S. But they also discussed how immigration laws and policies have targeted, criminalized, and deported immigrants from the U.S. Immigrants believed that U.S. laws and policies have been supportive of immigrants and their families but also harmful. Similarly, Josue Perdomo, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that U.S. immigration laws were discriminatory as they primarily targeted Latina/o immigrants. Even though the majority of Latina/o immigrants were not involved in crimes, most were treated like violent criminals by enforcement agencies. As immigrants were mistreated, many became more distrustful and suspicious of U.S. laws.

I believe U.S. immigration laws are discriminatory. They discriminate against us because we are Latinos. When people arrive to the U.S. without papers, they treat us like we are criminals. 85% of immigrants migrate because they want to have a better future. But when immigration agencies come after us they treat us the same. I want to try to return to the U.S.

Throughout their time in the U.S., immigrants faced immigration laws and enforcement agencies that overwhelmingly targeted Latina/o immigrants. Even though they were discriminated in the U.S., Salvadoran deportees still desired to return to the U.S. to be with their families. Cornelio Zamora, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that residents who were removed from the U.S. had also faced discriminatory laws in the U.S. Even though they were residents, they were unable to experience full inclusion and equality in the U.S. as they were deported.

The laws in the United States are very harsh and racist. They have been designed in a way that they overlook the good things we have done. I had my legal permanent residency but they just took it away. I lived there legally for many years but they took it

away anyways. I want to hire a lawyer and have my son petition me so I could return to the United States.

Immigrants who were deported to El Salvador believed that immigration laws in the U.S. discriminated against immigrants regardless of their immigration status. As Salvadoran deportees desired to return to the U.S. to be with their families, they realized that they would encounter the same immigration laws and policies in the U.S. that authorized their deportation. The majority of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study positioned themselves “against the law” since they were unable to make legal claims for inclusion and equality. As a result, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees shared how they became increasingly distrustful and suspicious of the laws in their lives. Due to their positionality to immigration laws, many increasingly struggled with fear, anxiety, and uncertainty of their futures in the U.S. and in El Salvador. This study demonstrated how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men positioned themselves before the law, with the law, and against the law. But more importantly, this framework highlighted their understanding of laws, experiences with these laws, relationships to laws, and how they used these laws in their lives. In response to discriminatory and exclusionary immigration laws and enforcement practices, most Salvadoran immigrant and deported men decided to engage in resistance and mobilization strategies in the United States and in El Salvador.

Legal Mobilization

In response to U.S. immigration laws and targeted enforcement practices, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families engaged in several resistance and mobilization strategies. Through these different strategies, they opposed and challenged the same laws and enforcement practices that attempted to harm them and

their families (Chua, 2019). First, many Salvadoran immigrant men reported that they participated in legal mobilization efforts by collaborating with immigrant rights, faith-based, and other community organizations (Mora et al., 2018). Salvadoran deported men also collaborated and relied on faith-based and non-profit organizations in El Salvador (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014). Secondly, Salvadoran immigrants men shared that they sought the legal assistance from immigration attorneys to receive full and legal inclusion in the U.S. (Ashar, 2017). Similarly, Salvadoran deported men worked with U.S. immigration attorneys to return to the U.S. with legal authorization (Boehm, 2017). Thirdly, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. engaged in certain strategies to avoid drawing attention to themselves from law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2014; Wong, 2012). Similarly, Salvadoran deported men shared that in order to return to the U.S. they had to avoid being identified, apprehended, and deported by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies (Castillo, 2003; DeLuca et al., 2010). Fourth, Salvadoran immigrant men shared how they were able to reunite with their family members without legal authorization by hiring human smugglers (Lu et al., 2020; Greenfield et al., 2020). Salvadoran deported men also shared that they had been able to reunite with their families after being deported (Zayas, 2015; Boehm, 2017). Lastly, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men discussed how they envisioned their future plans. Immigrant men mentioned that they developed plans for their families in case they were allowed to live in the U.S. or were deported (Green, 2019; Mountz et al., 2002). Salvadoran deported men also envisioned their future plans as many decided to remain in El Salvador, return to the U.S., or find alternative countries (Boehm, 2016; Cardoso & Hamilton, 2016). Salvadoran

immigrant and deported men engaged in these strategies to challenge the harmful effects of United States immigration laws and enforcement practices.

Legal Mobilization Through Community Organizations: In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men received support from immigrant rights, deportee support, faith-based, and other organizations. Salvadoran immigrant men reported that these organizations offered them legal assistance, social services, employment opportunities, financial resources, and other services (Mora et al., 2018). They also became involved in legal mobilization efforts by engaging in protests, collective actions, and obtaining vital information about immigration laws and enforcement practices (Voss & Bloemraad, 2011). By affiliating with these organizations, they fought for human rights, legal rights, workplace rights, and immigrant rights (Fujiwara, 2005). Through these organizations they were able to challenge the same laws that affected their families. Ivan Ordonez, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that by collaborating with immigrant rights organizations they were able to help spread awareness of changes in U.S. immigration laws. They were also able to make immigrants more aware of their rights in the U.S.

I am a part of an immigration rights organizations and we meet regularly to discuss recent events and changes in immigration. The most important thing for me is that there are places where they can provide information to immigrants. Immigrants should be more aware of the laws and benefits they could obtain. Immigrants should also know their rights.

Many relied on immigrant rights organizations to provide them accurate information on changes in immigration laws. By becoming aware of their rights, many immigrants were able to defend themselves against laws and agencies that sought to take advantage of their

vulnerable positions. Jairo Tamayo, who was also a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that many immigrants with TPS collaborated with immigrant rights organizations to advocate for a permanent immigration status. With the help of organizations they would be able to become more vocal and effective in witnessing changes. He said, "The only thing that is concerning my family are issues with immigration. We are fighting as a family so nothing will happen to us. I am very involved with community organizations fighting for TPS holders. We are fighting to become legal permanent residents." Immigrants with TPS specifically joined organizations that were advocating for their opportunity to become legal permanent residents. Through these collaborative efforts, they believed they would be able to permanently live and work in the U.S. Edgardo Pacheco, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that many immigrants and their families became involved in immigrant rights organizations to advocate for the equal treatment and full inclusion of immigrants in the country. He said, "This is an activist family. My children know about immigrant rights and our immigration statuses. They have been to protests and marches with us before. I have helped organize several protest in solidarity for immigrant rights." With the support from their families, Salvadoran immigrants collaborated with organizations to advocate for changes in immigration laws and enforcement practices. Many Salvadoran immigrants participated in these legal mobilization efforts with organizations to witness changes in their own lives and in the lives of fellow immigrants in the U.S. Salvadoran immigrant men collaborated with immigrant rights, community, and faith-based organizations to spread awareness of the harmful effects of immigration laws and to advocate for necessary changes.

Salvadoran deported men also collaborated with community and faith-based organizations to access their social services, legal services, employment networks, financial resources, and other services (Dingeman-Cerda, 2014). Through these organizations, deportees were also offered places to live, jobs, food, and access to the Internet to contact their relatives (Cardoso & Hamilton, 2016). Some non-profit organizations also offered deportees emergency funds, healthcare, business investment funds, and job training. Through these programs and services, many deportees were able to become self-dependent. As such, deportees were able to provide for their families, find new homes, and provide opportunities to fellow deportees. Juan Chacon, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that most Salvadoran deportees were at a disadvantage when they returned to El Salvador since they did not have family or friends in El Salvador. As a result, many relied on organizations for their basic necessities in El Salvador.

Well the younger ones who were deported have their parents here to help them. But there are many older deportees that arrive and don't have a place to go. I found out that there is a church that helps by giving deportees a place to live for several days while they find a place to live. It's a small amount of time but it's better than what the government is doing for us.

Most Salvadoran deportees sought the assistance of community organizations in El Salvador. Deportees became concerned that the Salvadoran government did not offer the same support to deportees. With limited funds and resources, these organizations continued to help deportees throughout the country. Similarly, Carlos Alvarez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that many deportees relied on community

organizations for their basic necessities. These organizations provided classes, job training, and offered them clothes and nutrition.

I found out that there was an organization that helped deportees. I went to check it out and thanks to this organization I am able to be here. With their financial help, I was able to pay for my basic necessities such as shoes and clothes. With that money, I also managed to pay for my English classes I am taking. I think they need to create more organizations like this.

With the support from these organizations, many deportees were able to adjust to life in El Salvador. While the government had access to more funds and resources, deportees relied on community organizations that had limited funds and resources to help deportees. Deportees believed that there should be more organizations to help deportees. Jaime Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that without the financial support of organizations many deportees would have not been able to open their own businesses or become self-sufficient. Organizations in El Salvador not only helped deportees but also invested in their futures.

More organizations are helping deportees in El Salvador. These organizations are equipping us with computer skills, English skills, and other important skills and training needed for work. I recently got \$3,500 to start a business through an organization. So I opened my bakery with that money. I am happy these organizations continue to support deportees.

Deportees believed that organizations were a lifeline for individuals who had been criminalized and marginalized from society. While the government offered limited support, many depended on community organizations for job training, business funds, and overall

support in El Salvador. While organizations were limited in their resources and funds, they made a greater impact in the life and families of deportees. Many found support from organizations that helped them adjust to their new lives in El Salvador. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men relied on organizations for legal assistance, social services, resources and training, employment, and many more services to support their families. Without their resources, Salvadoran immigrant and deportees would continue to be marginalized and excluded in society. Community and non-profit organizations offered them hope and an opportunity to have a better future with their families.

Legal Assistance: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men shared that they also relied on the legal assistance from immigration attorneys to adjust their immigration statuses, file family-based petitions, and return to the U.S. after being deported (Ashar, 2017; Lakhani, 2013). Many Salvadoran men who were undocumented immigrants, TPS beneficiaries, and legal permanent residents worked with immigration attorneys to adjust their immigration statuses (Kawar, 2011; Abrego & Lakhani, 2015). While some adjusted their immigration statuses, many remained with the same immigration statuses. Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that many immigrants were able to adjust their immigration statuses with the help of their romantic partners and spouses. But in order to successfully adjust their statuses, they had to hire immigration attorneys to guide them through the entire immigration process.

I am trying to legalize my immigration status. My wife is a U.S. citizen and she has petitioned me. The immigration attorney told me it takes a while even though she is a U.S. citizen. We have to follow the process. Hopefully in one year, I could legalize my immigration status. I would have to return to El Salvador to finish my legalization

process. I could still be deported but less likely to be deported because I am not a criminal.

Many immigrants qualified for family based petitions so they hired immigration attorneys to help file and submit their legal documents and applications. However, due to the long and costly bureaucratic process it became difficult to adjust their immigration statuses immediately. Similarly, Issac Carballo, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that most immigrants with TPS had to wait for new immigration laws to qualify for a permanent immigration status. In order to remain informed on these legal changes, they worked with immigration attorneys that were aware of their individual legal cases. He said, "Some lawyers told us that we are just waiting on a law that will allow us to fix our papers. We just have to wait for the advice given by lawyers because we have educated people who know the laws and they have told us to wait. My plan is to get my residency." Many immigrants with TPS relied on the legal advice of immigration attorneys on how to proceed with their immigration statuses. After consulting with several attorneys, they were certain that there were limited opportunities to adjust their immigration statuses. As a result, many decided to wait for new immigration laws and policies. Lorenzo Zamora, who was a legal permanent resident, described that many immigrants relied on immigration attorneys to be able to petition their relatives in El Salvador. As residents, many petitioned their romantic partners, children, and other eligible family members. He said, "My mother is a U.S. citizen and she petitioned me and my children. After becoming a resident, I petitioned my wife as my partner. Immigration lawyers said it was possible because she was my wife and it was an actual marriage. This is part of the immigration process we need to follow." In order to file family- based petitions to reunite with their spouses and children, residents

relied on the legal assistance of immigration attorneys. These attorneys would inform them of every legal step so that their relative could migrate to the U.S., become a resident, and live permanently in the U.S. Many immigrants believed that they would struggle to adjust their immigration statuses and file family based petitions without the help of attorneys. While many immigrants reported having positive experiences with attorneys, some immigrants were not as fortunate as they experienced fraud and other problems while working with attorneys. Many Salvadorans in this study adjusted their immigration statuses and petitioned their families with the help of attorneys, but most immigrants did not qualify to adjust their statuses even with the help of attorneys.

Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also worked with U.S. immigration attorneys to submit pardons after being deported and file family-based petitions (Boehm, 2017). While many deportees considered the idea of returning to the U.S. without legal authorization, the majority believed it was more beneficial to return to the U.S. with legal authorization (Cardoso et al., 2016). As a result, many Salvadoran deported men decided it would be better to wait in El Salvador for their children and family members to successfully petition them so they could return to the U.S. and obtain permanent immigration statuses (Boehm, 2017). Cornelio Zamora, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that some deportees hired immigration attorneys so they could submit deportation pardons and family-based petitions. However, due to their children's age, many had to wait until their children were older to begin the family reunification process.

When my son is older and starts working he can get me a lawyer and fight for my pardon in the U.S. after ten years. I'm saving money so I can give it to him so he can help me. I plan to bring my son here so he can see El Salvador and I can explain to him my

plans. Then we can talk about how we can be together after that. I plan to hire a lawyer to help start the process.

Many Salvadoran deported men mentioned that their future plans were return to the U.S. But in order to successfully receive a pardon or file a family based petition, they were aware they had to work with experienced immigration attorneys that specialized in deportations. With their legal assistance, they had a greater chance to return to the U.S. Similarly, Fabian Dominguez, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that some deportees began working with attorneys to develop a plan to be able to return to the U.S. with the help of their children. In order to improve their chances of returning to the U.S., deportees believed they had to follow their legal advice.

I talked to an attorney in Las Vegas and she told me that if I go to the U.S. and they arrest me, my entire immigration process is done. She told me to wait for my daughter to turn 18 years old so then she can petition me. Before I think you could be petitioned at 21 years old and now they moved it to 18 years old. But I don't know if I can wait three more years.

Many deportees and their families worked closely with U.S. immigration attorneys to improve their chances of returning to the U.S. after being deported. They were concerned that they would not be able to successfully return to the U.S. without the legal assistance from attorneys. So they decided it was in their best interest to listen and follow the legal advice from their attorneys. Mauricio Torres, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that deportees were hopeful that they would be able to return to the U.S. after their spouses and children filed family based petitions with the help of U.S. immigration attorneys. He said, "Hopefully my wife will become a legal permanent resident soon. My

eldest daughter recently petitioned her. I hope they can then petition me. Once my wife is a legal permanent resident she can go to the attorney and petition me. So I plan to return legally.” Salvadoran deportees were hopeful that with the help of U.S. immigration attorneys and their families they would be able to return to the U.S. and obtain an immigration status to live in the country. However, they were aware of the long, costly, and bureaucratic process to be able to obtain a pardon and return to the U.S. lawfully. Both Salvadoran immigrant men and deported men in this study shared their plans to work with U.S. attorneys to be able to adjust their immigration statuses, file family-based petitions, and live in the U.S. with permanent immigration statuses. However, they were aware of the amount of time they would have to wait in order to adjust their statuses and live in the U.S. with their families.

Evasion Strategies: Salvadoran immigrant and deported men also claimed that they had engaged in certain strategies to avoid drawing attention to themselves from law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies (Desai et al., 2020; Lee & Kim, 2021; Armenta & Rosales, 2019). Salvadoran deported men shared that in order to return to the U.S. they had to avoid being apprehended by police and immigration officers in Central America, Mexico, and in the U.S. (Castillo, 2003; DeLuca et al., 2010). Similarly, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. engaged in certain behaviors to avoid being arrested, detained, and deported from the country (Desai et al., 2020; Armenta & Rosales, 2019). For example, many immigrants avoided drawing any attention to themselves, followed the laws, withheld personal information, avoided driving, and requested rides when they were intoxicated (Lee & Kim, 2021; Wong, 2012). Agustin Vargas, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., shared that in order to avoid drawing attention to themselves, many

immigrants without licenses preferred to have their romantic partners drive their vehicles. This way they could avoid being pulled over, arrested, and deported. He said, "My wife's citizenship status has helped me because I feel comfortable being out with her. When we go out together, I never drive. She drives and I sit in the back with our daughter. My wife drives when we go out as a family. It's been very helpful for me that she is a U.S. citizen." In order to feel more secure and comfortable, many immigrants preferred to have other people with driver's license drive for them. In order to avoid problems with law enforcement, many immigrants preferred not to drive regularly. Similarly, Lucian Ciceron, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that many immigrants engaged in certain behaviors to avoid being arrested, detained, and deported from the country. They believed that if they committed crimes and offenses they would be removed from the country. He said, "I can't break any laws like domestic violence, driving while intoxicated, robbery, etc. I drink but I don't drink and drive. I take an Uber instead. I leave the car because if I get caught drinking and driving I will be deported after three days. I need to be responsible and careful everyday." Their fear and concern of being deported prevented them from engaging in certain behaviors. Most immigrants preferred to follow the laws in the U.S. in order to avoid interacting with law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies. Franco Aguilar, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., mentioned that most immigrants preferred to withhold their personal information from government agencies. Many immigrants preferred to not disclose their names, addresses, and other private information. He said, "I have been fearful of sharing my personal information in certain places. I am fearful of giving names and home addresses since they can use that information to come find me if they would like." Immigrants remained fearful that if they

shared their personal information it could be used to find them and expose other family members that had vulnerable immigration statuses. By sharing their personal information, immigrants were exposing themselves and their families to the government and their enforcement agencies. While most Salvadoran immigrants engaged in avoidance strategies, they feared that enforcement agencies would continue to surveil, target, and criminalize their communities in the U.S.

Salvadoran immigrant men who had been deported shared that they had plans to return to the U.S. or had already attempted to return without authorization (Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2015; Rosales & Dingeman, 2021). But in order to successfully re-migrate to the U.S. they had to avoid being identified, apprehended, and deported by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies in Central America, Mexico, and in the U.S. (Cardoso et al., 2016). They had to engage in these avoidance strategies from El Salvador to the U.S. (Castillo, 2003; DeLuca et al., 2010). However, they also had to avoid being caught by organized crime groups controlling many parts of the U.S.-Mexico border (Slack & Campbell, 2016). Lucas Guerrero, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that most deportees considered returning to the U.S. but if they returned before their ten-year punishment they ran the risk of increasing the number of years outside the U.S. As a result, they had to avoid being apprehended by U.S. immigration agencies. He said, "I want to start my own company in El Salvador. But I might want to go back to the U.S. if things don't change in El Salvador. I would like to migrate to the U.S. even though I am banned for 10 years. I have been here 4 years but we will see what happens." Those who decided to return to the U.S. without legal authorization risked adding more years to their punishment and potential time behind bars. For some, the risk was worth the rewards as they were able

to reunite with their families in the U.S. Similarly, Gamaliel Santiago, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that most deportees had strongly considered re-migrating to the U.S. after being deported to El Salvador. However, they considered the risks and benefits of re-migrating to the U.S. Not only would they have to avoid being identified and apprehended by law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies but also highly networked criminal organizations.

I think I'm going to try to re-migrate to the U.S. I wouldn't take my children to the U.S. so I would have to migrate alone. I cannot migrate with my daughters because I know what could happen to them in Mexico. They could be kidnapped with me. In Mexico, Central Americans are kidnapped and sexually abused. I have lived in Mexico and have seen these things.

Many Salvadoran deportees debated between staying in El Salvador and returning to the U.S. The journey to the U.S. alone was difficult since they had to avoid being kidnapped, robbed, assaulted, and murdered by criminal groups. Some believed that they would be able to successfully avoid government agencies or being harmed by criminal groups. Juan Munguia, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that deportees not only had to avoid being apprehended by U.S. immigration agencies but also law enforcement and immigration agencies in Central America and in Mexico that were highly connected with criminal organizations.

I plan to re-migrate. I have friends that can give me the money since it costs \$8,500. Every year the price goes up. My daughter recently asked me if she could come with me because of the difficult situation in El Salvador. If I pay enough money nobody would harm my daughter. They would charge between \$12,000 to \$15,000 for her to migrate

safely. If not, she could get raped and abused on the trip like other women who have migrated to the U.S.

In order to protect their children from physical, psychological, and sexual violence, many immigrants and deportees had to pay more money to local and state law enforcement, immigration enforcement agencies, and criminal organizations to guarantee their children's protection. But migrants and their children who did not have access to these resources were more vulnerable to these different forms of violence. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. avoided being arrested, detained, and deported from the country, while Salvadoran deported men avoided being identified and harmed on their journey back to the U.S. However, deportees also avoided being identified and harmed by drug cartels and gangs on their journey to the U.S.

Unauthorized Family Reunification Efforts: In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men participated in family reunification efforts in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Salvadoran deported men shared that they were able to reunite with their U.S. children and romantic partners in El Salvador (Boehm, 2017). Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. shared how they were also able to reunite with their children and romantic partners from El Salvador without legal authorization by hiring human smugglers known as *coyotes* (Lu et al., 2020; Greenfield et al., 2020). This was in response to restrictions by U.S. immigration laws that denied most non-citizen immigrants from traveling abroad or petitioning their family members. Axel Gonzalez, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that most immigrants participated in unauthorized family reunification efforts. In order to afford their migration, they paid for some relatives to come first followed by the rest of their family. After several years, they were all reunited together. He said, "My wife

and youngest daughter migrated one year after I had migrated. After my wife migrated, my other two children migrated as well. We were able to be together once again. We didn't come with legal documents so we had to cross very difficult terrain. We are aware that we are illegal in this country." As undocumented immigrants, they were unable to petition their family members or reunite with them by travelling to El Salvador. As a result, they decided to reunite with their families without legal authorization. Similarly, Alan Ruiz, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., shared that most immigrants with TPS were unable to petition their children in El Salvador. So in order to reunite with their children, they paid human smugglers to bring their children to the U.S. without legal authorization. He said, "The journey to the U.S. was difficult. When I migrated we had to leave behind my son six-month-old son. But then he migrated to the U.S. at 3 years old. To this day, he remains undocumented and has DACA." As undocumented immigrants and temporary protected status beneficiaries, they were not able to petition family members in other countries. As a result, they participated in unauthorized family reunification efforts to reunite with their families in the U.S. However, due to their method of entry many children became undocumented immigrants in the U.S. alongside their immigrant parents. Benjamin Lopez, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., described that previous deportations separated many immigrant men from their families in the U.S. As a result, deportees decided to reunite with their spouses and children in the U.S. without legal authorization. He said, "I was deported and lived in El Salvador for over one month. And then I spent one month coming back to the U.S. We rode on buses and trucks. They also hid us in cars like contraband. But eventually I arrived to my destination in Alabama where my wife and daughters lived." As U.S. immigration enforcement agencies removed Salvadoran

immigrants from the country, they were legally banned from immediately returning to the U.S. However, their separation from their families motivated them to return to the U.S. without legal authorization. Once in the U.S., they had had to live in the country without drawing attention to themselves. Many immigrant men in this study decided to become involved in unauthorized family reunification efforts in order to reunite with their children and romantic partners living outside the United States. However, the U.S. government has continued to arrest, detain, and deport individuals who have decided to return to the U.S. after being deported or participate in reuniting with their family members without legal authorization from the U.S.

Salvadoran immigrant men who were deported to El Salvador also participated in family reunification efforts to reunite with their U.S. children and romantic partners (Boehm, 2017). In order to remain together as a family, most deported men had their children and romantic partners visit them in El Salvador. However, some deported men had their U.S. children and romantic partners permanently move to El Salvador in order be together as a family (Zayas, 2015). Mauricio Torres, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that in order to remain close to their children many deportees had their children visit them during their vacations. Due to their deportation, they were unable to visit their families in the U.S. so their families decided to visit them in El Salvador. While their visits were brief, they were able to remain close to each other.

After one year in El Salvador, my wife sent my daughters to visit me. When they came out of school for vacation they came to see me. My wife bought them plane tickets to spend their entire vacation with me. They were like 15 and 16 years old. They were minors so I had to send a letter of permission to come visit me. They were here for two

months. It was hard when I had to take them to the airport and say goodbye. Then my wife came to visit me.

As Salvadoran deported men navigated the effects of their deportations and separations from their family, they looked for ways to reunite with their families. While some men decided to return to the U.S., most deported men in this study decided to remain in El Salvador and see their family members when they travelled to El Salvador. Similarly, Cornelio Alberola, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that fathers were able to reunite with their families when their children would visit them in El Salvador. As U.S. citizen children, they were able to visit their fathers as many times possible. He said, "My son lives in the U.S. He gets happy when he sees me. When he comes here, we spend time together. I have a good relationship with him. He already came here three times. I wish I could live with him again." While the U.S. government prevented deportees from returning to the U.S., their children were allowed to travel to El Salvador to be with their fathers. While it became expensive and difficult to travel regularly, their children would make an effort to visit their fathers. Lastly, Guillermo Romero, who was also deported to El Salvador, believed that U.S. immigration agencies attempted to separate immigrant fathers from their children in the U.S. But after negotiations with immigration officers some immigrant men were reunited and even deported with their children. Regardless if they lived in the U.S. or in El Salvador, these fathers wanted to continue living with their children.

I decided to bring my son back to El Salvador with me. My relationship with my son was too strong for me to leave him in the U.S. I wouldn't have been comfortable leaving him over there. My son loves El Salvador more because he does not have to worry about immigration. In the U.S., he was always indoors and not as free. I am always focused on

trying to see what I need to do to provide for my son. I plan to stay here in El Salvador with my son.

Most Salvadoran immigrant men who had been deported became separated from their children in the U.S., but some immigrant men made the important decision to return to El Salvador with their children. As a result, both fathers and their children were deported and unable to return to the U.S. In this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men found several ways to reunite with their children and romantic partners in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While Salvadoran immigrant men hired *coyotes* to reunite them with their families in the U.S., Salvadoran deported men had their children and romantic partners visit them in El Salvador without any restrictions. Regardless of their situation, they participated in family reunification efforts in the U.S. and in El Salvador without the authorization of U.S. immigration laws and immigration agencies.

Future Plans: As Salvadoran men navigated their lives with their families under the U.S. immigration regime, many discussed how they envisioned their future plans (Cardoso & Hamilton, 2016). Salvadoran deported men specifically believed their futures were in El Salvador, in the U.S., or in another country (Flores, 2020; Boehm, 2016; Hagan et al., 2008). Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. also discussed their future plans with their children and spouses in case they were allowed to permanently live in the U.S. or were deported to El Salvador (Mountz et al., 2002; Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2013). However, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees remained uncertain of their futures in the U.S., El Salvador, or in another country. Darwin Tejada, who was an undocumented immigrant in the U.S., explained that some immigrant families had future plans in case both parents were apprehended and deported from the country. These families narrowed it down to two

choices, which were to have their children remain in the U.S. with other family members or return with them to El Salvador. He said, “We have a plan. My older children say they would like to stay with my brother and his family. He is a U.S. citizen so they would be okay. He would have to support them financially. They would stay here in the U.S. or I would take them with me to El Salvador if there were no other options.” Some Salvadoran immigrant men in this study created emergency family plans in case they were removed from the country and separated from their children. While many struggled to have this conversation with their families, they were aware it was necessary as immigration enforcement agencies continued to enforce immigration laws and removals from the country. Similarly, Alan Ruiz, who was a TPS beneficiary in the U.S., mentioned that immigrants with TPS were uncertain of their futures so they developed emergency plans with their families in case both parents were deported from the U.S. They feared they would be separated in different countries. He said, “We are uncertain with what’s going to happen to our TPS. We don’t know if we are going to be protected. I don’t know if I can still live in this country. My children don’t want to live in El Salvador. My children wouldn’t go with us to El Salvador. They would stay and live in the U.S.” Immigrants with TPS struggled with the uncertainties of their immigration statuses. While they had future plans for their families, they feared that immigration laws and enforcement practices would change these plans. Franco Aguilar, who was a legal permanent resident in the U.S., shared that most immigrant men had plans to remain together as a family. However, they were concerned that their plans would change once they were in a difficult situation. Immigrant men feared that their children and romantic partners would decide to stay in the U.S. if they were deported to El Salvador. He said, “I have talked to my family about what would happen to me if I were to be deported. They say

they would come with me to El Salvador so we can stay together. My wife and children would come to live with me in El Salvador. But you never know what could happen to us in the future in this country.” Many Salvadoran immigrant men discussed that they feared that their family plans would change once they found themselves in that predicament. While they desired to stay together as a family, many feared that their families would be separated in different countries. Salvadoran immigrant men in this study faced the uncertainties of their immigration statuses. While many had plans for their family’s future in the United States and in El Salvador, their futures remained uncertain.

Salvadoran deported men were also concerned about their future plans in El Salvador (Cardoso et al., 2016). After being deported, most deportees were banned from returning to the U.S. As a result, many deportees were unable to re-migrate with legal authorization to the U.S. (Hagan et al., 2008; Rosales & Dingeman, 2021). However, many deportees still desired to leave El Salvador due to their separations from their children, poor socioeconomic conditions, and increased crime and violence in the region (Cardoso et al., 2016; Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2015). Most deported men in this study considered migrating to different countries. Many had applied or were considering applying for asylum and refugee status in other countries that would guarantee their safety and security. Some even sought the help of international organizations that provided Salvadorans the opportunity to move to safer neighborhoods and towns within the country and outside the country due to increased gang violence and crime. Cornelio Alberola, who was deported to El Salvador, explained that many deportees had considered migrating to other countries besides El Salvador and the United States. After having lived in both the U.S. and El Salvador, deportees believed it would be more ideal and realistic to migrate to another

country with their children and romantic partners. He said, "I'm planning to move to Canada since there are more opportunities there. I would like to take my son to Canada. But it's a problem because his mom lives in the U.S. and I would live in Canada. But maybe he could spend a year with me in Canada. My son does not know my plans yet." After being deported, many deportees were unable to return to the U.S. with legal authorization. As a result, deportees considered migrating to other countries where they did not have previous immigration and criminal records. While they did not discuss how they would migrate to other countries, they believed that it was the best interest for themselves and their children. However, they faced family problems, as the mothers of their children would live in another country. As a result, their children would have to spend time visiting both parents in different countries throughout their lives. Similarly, Lucas Preciado, who was also deported to El Salvador, shared that some deportees were motivated to migrate to other countries in order to reunite with their romantic partners. Some deportees were willing to migrate and relocate to other countries in order to reunite with their children. However, some deportees planned to wait for their romantic partners and children to petition them so they could live together as a family. He said, "My wife is in Spain right now and she is going on her third year there. She's trying to get her legal documents so we can all go. She has family over there. So we might go to Spain and stay there. I'll probably go to Spain and then I'll come back here to visit every year." While many Salvadoran deported men were unsure of how they would be able to migrate to another country, some deportees were certain that their romantic partners would be able to petition them and their children to reunite as a family. Even though they were going to have to wait for the family based petition to be approved, they were certain that in the near future they would be able to

reunite with their romantic partners and children in another country. Lastly, Ronaldo Bustamante, who was also deported to El Salvador, explained that some deportees sought the help from the Salvadoran government to migrate to another country. While they were uncertain of the particular country, they knew they had an opportunity to live outside El Salvador where they would be safe from the violence and crime in El Salvador. He said, “The Salvadoran government told me when I returned that I was on the list to be sent to another country. They referred me to an organization that helps Salvadorans affected by conflict and violence. Once the government finds me a new country, I am leaving El Salvador.” The Salvadoran government and international organizations collaborated to help Salvadoran deportees migrate to other countries that were safer and had greater security. As they obtained the opportunity to migrate to another country, they had to wait in El Salvador. However, the idea and possibility of leaving El Salvador brought them comfort. In this study, both Salvadoran immigrant men in the United States and deported men in El Salvador shared their future plans for their families. As immigrant men in the U.S. became uncertain of their futures, they developed emergency family plans. Deported men also faced uncertain futures so they considered whether they would live the rest of their lives in the U.S., El Salvador, or in another country. Regardless of their situation, they planned to be prepared and have certain plans in place for their futures with their families whether in the United States, El Salvador, and in another country.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated how Salvadoran immigrant men and deported men’s *legal consciousness* influenced their understanding and claims about immigration laws, their positionality to these laws, and their response to these harmful laws and

enforcement practices. As a result, they engaged in resistance and mobilization efforts (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Using a legal consciousness framework, I found that Salvadoran immigrant men and deported men made specific claims about laws and legal institutions in the U.S. and in El Salvador. Some men in this study believed these laws were inclusive and supportive while most Salvadoran men found these laws to be exclusionary, discriminatory, and restrictive to immigrants and their families. As Salvadoran immigrant men navigated discriminatory laws in the U.S. that targeted racial and ethnic minority communities, Salvadoran deportees also faced laws in El Salvador that were discriminatory towards the deported population. I also demonstrated how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men positioned themselves in relation to laws and legal institutions in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While some Salvadoran immigrant and deported men positioned themselves “before the law” and “with the law,” the majority positioned themselves “against the law” due to its harmful effects in their own lives and their families’ lives. In response to the harmful effects of these laws on their families, most immigrants and deportees engaged in resistance and mobilization strategies by collaborating with organizations in the U.S. and in El Salvador, seeking legal assistance from immigration attorneys, evading law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, participating in unauthorized family reunification efforts without the legal authorization from U.S. and Salvadoran immigration agencies, and developing their own future plans with their children and romantic partners in the U.S., El Salvador, and in another country. Through this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men presented their diverse understandings of the laws, positionalities to laws, and involvement in challenging these laws.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this dissertation, I investigated the life experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the United States and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador and their families as they navigated the United States' immigration enforcement regime. This research study discovered that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices not only affected Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador but also affected their fathering roles and responsibilities, disrupted their relationships with their children, grandchildren, and romantic partners, problematized their membership and sense of belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador, and encouraged these fathers and their families to mobilize and resist the harmful effects of U.S. exclusionary immigration laws and targeted enforcement practices. The primary argument of this dissertation is that U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices have actively participated in criminalizing and exiling immigrant men who are also fathers from the country and separating them from their families. This research study was guided by the following research questions: (1) How are Salvadoran immigrant and deported men who are also fathers treated by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime? (2) How do Salvadoran immigrant and deported men parent their children under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime? (3) How are Salvadoran father-child and romantic partner relationships impacted by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices? (4) How do Salvadoran men and their families navigate their membership and belonging under U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices? And (5) how do Salvadoran men and their families respond to barriers created by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime? Through interviews and observations with forty Salvadoran non-citizen immigrant men in the United States and forty Salvadoran deported

men in El Salvador, I found that the U.S. immigration enforcement regime had disrupted Salvadoran father's family structures, impacted their fathering roles and responsibilities, disrupted their relationships with their children and romantic partners, impacted their membership and sense of belonging in their country of residence, and motivated Salvadoran men and their families to engage in different mobilization and resistance strategies in the United States and in El Salvador.

In the first chapter, titled "*The Legal Inclusion and Exclusion of Salvadoran Immigrant Men in the United States*," I examined how Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador navigated inclusionary and exclusionary immigration laws and policies in their lives. First, I discussed how Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. were able to adjust their immigration statuses, petition their relatives, and help their relatives adjust their immigration statuses through legal pathways. While most Salvadoran men remained as undocumented immigrants, many qualified to become temporary protected status beneficiaries and legal permanent residents. Immigrants who were denied access to these temporary and permanent immigration statuses encountered legal barriers due to restrictive immigration laws and policies. Secondly, I discussed that U.S. immigration laws and policies forced many immigrants to experience social immobility when seeking employment opportunities, higher education, and housing in the U.S. While navigating these social immobilities, Salvadoran immigrants also faced physical immobilities as immigration laws and policies controlled their movements at the local, domestic, and international level. As they desired to obtain driver's licenses, travel within the country, and travel internationally, they encountered different legal restrictions. Lastly, Salvadoran men also experienced legal uncertainties in their lives and futures as U.S.

immigration laws and policies made most immigrants who were undocumented, TPS beneficiaries, and residents vulnerable to deportations. Many immigrants also faced several forms of discrimination in the U.S. due to their ethnic identity, language, and immigration status. They experienced many of these forms of discrimination in their jobs, schools, when interacting with social and government institutions, law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, and in their neighborhoods and communities. As they adjusted their new lives in the U.S., many Salvadoran men developed a general fear of being deported from the United States. While some Salvadoran immigrants experienced the benefits of immigration laws and policies, most immigrants in this study experienced the harmful effects of these laws in their lives.

This chapter highlights how one racial and ethnic group of immigrant men interacted with the nation-state. While the U.S. government has participated in welcoming and supporting other immigrants in their transition to the country, many racial and ethnic minority immigrant men have experienced discriminatory and inhumane treatment in the United States. From the moment they arrived to the country, many immigrants are categorized into a particular immigration status that would determine their opportunities and future in the country. While some immigrants are provided opportunities to adjust their immigration statuses, many are denied the opportunity to temporarily and permanently establish themselves in the country. In addition, they face restrictions and discriminatory practices at the local, state, and federal level that affect their opportunities and futures for themselves and their families. While many immigrant men remain in the United States they are continuously targeted and criminalized alongside their families. Some are even physically removed as the government decides to deport them from the

country. This study highlights the reality of what is currently happening to racial and ethnic minority immigrant communities and what could continue to happen in the U.S.

In the second chapter, titled "*Navigating Fatherhood Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*," I examined how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices influenced the parenting experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador. I discussed how Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers' defined their fatherhood roles and responsibilities, followed by their expectations of mothers and fathers in families, and their perspectives on fathering in El Salvador and in the U.S. Salvadoran fathers also described how they were unable to fulfill many of these idealized notions of fatherhood due to the effects of immigration laws and enforcement practices. Salvadoran deported fathers in El Salvador who had children in the U.S., El Salvador, and in both countries specifically mentioned that their deportation led to changes in their relationships with their children. Salvadoran immigrant fathers who had children in the U.S. and in El Salvador shared that their immigration statuses impacted their efforts in fulfilling many of their fathering roles and responsibilities for their children. Many of their children became fearful of threat of deportation of their fathers. As Salvadoran immigrant fathers migrated to the U.S. and others were deported to El Salvador, they became physically separated from their children and their romantic partners. They relied on several forms of communication to maintain a relationship with their distant families. However, over time Salvadoran immigrant and deported fathers struggled to raise, communicate, financially support, and discipline their children. While many Salvadoran fathers remained connected to their children and families, several fathers grew distant from their families over time. As a result, Salvadoran men and their children

experienced the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in their lives and relationships.

This chapter highlights how nation-states demonstrate their dominance and authority as they intervene in immigrant parent's lives and their relationships with their children in the same country and transnationally. In response, immigrant mothers and fathers learn to creatively practice parenting for their children. This study also demonstrates how the meanings and practices of fathers are not only shaped by their gender expectations, upbringing, and social context, but also their immigration statuses and interactions with the laws and enforcement practices in a country. Parents who are able to live in the same country with their children experience certain legal restrictions, which result in changes in their parenting responsibilities, variations in their family structures, and an uncertain future. Similarly, parents who live in different countries from their children creatively practice parenting transnationally as their futures with their children remain uncertain. This study highlights the social, economic, legal, and familial changes immigrant and deported parents experience in their parenting roles and responsibilities. While many immigrant families are able to remain connected to each other, some families may grow apart from each other because of immigration laws and policies.

In the third chapter, titled "*The Impact of the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime on the Children and Romantic Partners of Salvadoran Men*," I examined the perceived experiences of both the children and the romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men who were affected by U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. As the U.S. immigration enforcement regime criminalized and deported Salvadoran men, their

children also experienced the consequences of these laws and enforcement practices in their own lives in the form of multigenerational punishments. These punishments were believed to have manifested in the form of social, economic, emotional, and physical consequences. Children who experienced social consequences were unable to take advantage of vital opportunities in the U.S., while children who experienced economic consequences faced financial issues with their families. Children who experienced emotional consequences were believed to have faced emotional issues and separations from their parents, while children who experienced physical consequences were physically separated from their fathers and families. Children in the same country and in different countries from their fathers experienced this multigenerational punishment differently in their lives. The romantic partners of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men were also found to experience the consequences of these immigration laws and enforcement practices in their lives and relationships in the form of intragenerational punishments. These types of punishments were believed to have manifested in the form of physical, emotional, and immigration consequences. Romantic partners who experienced physical consequences were physically separated from their partners, while romantic partners who experienced emotional consequences also became emotionally distant from their husbands and partners. Romantic partners also faced immigration consequences with their husbands and partners when they were unable to help each other adjust their immigration statuses. This chapter demonstrates the intrusive role of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime in the lives and relationships of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men's children and romantic partners in the United States and in El Salvador.

This chapter highlights how nation-states' use of laws and enforcement practices to criminalize and punish racial and ethnic minority immigrant men have a negative spill over effect on to their children and romantic partners living in the same country and transnationally. Children who are not directly targeted by these laws and enforcement practices experience the consequences of these policies and actions in their own lives in the form of multigenerational punishments. Children living in the same country and in another country from their parents similarly experience the trauma, discrimination, restrictions, and punishments targeting their immigrant parents. In addition, the romantic partners of racial and ethnic minority immigrant men and women also experience the consequences of these laws and enforcement practices in their lives and relationships. They similarly experience the discrimination, restrictions, and punishments targeting their romantic partners. Consequently, this study found that laws and enforcement practices could lead to multigenerational punishments in the lives of the children of immigrant and deported parents and intragenerational punishments in the lives of their romantic partners living in the same country and transnationally. Multigenerational and intragenerational punishments were also found to manifest across borders. This study also highlights how nation-states disrupt the lives and relationships of immigrant parent's children and romantic partners.

In the fourth chapter, titled "*No Soy de Aqui ni de Alla: Navigating Membership and Belonging Under the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime*," I examined the experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and deported men in El Salvador as they learned to navigate their membership and sense of belonging. Most Salvadoran immigrant men reported struggling to incorporate into U.S. society as full members due to their non-U.S.

citizen immigration status and their harmful interactions with the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. Similarly, Salvadoran immigrant men who were deported also struggled with their sense of membership and belonging in El Salvador. Both Salvadoran immigrant and deported men detailed the processes of exclusion and (dis)membership they experienced in the U.S. and in El Salvador. While Salvadoran immigrant men faced immigration laws that restricted their pathways to formal memberships and laws that authorized their deportation, Salvadoran deported men faced laws in El Salvador that excluded and discriminated against deportees. As a result, Salvadoran men who were immigrants, deportees, had criminal records, were elderly, and U.S. veterans faced discrimination and marginalization in the U.S. and in El Salvador by law enforcement, employers, and everyday people. As Salvadoran immigrants and deportees faced these exclusionary practices, their children also struggled with their membership and belonging. In response, Salvadoran immigrants and deportees engaged in recreating alternative forms of memberships and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador by seeking support from non-profit organizations, faith-based groups, and fellow immigrants and deportees. While Salvadoran immigrant and deported men struggled with their membership and belonging in the U.S. and in El Salvador, they were eventually able to find support from different groups and communities.

This chapter demonstrates that nation-states interfere in immigrants and deported individuals' pursuit of formal memberships and sense of belonging in their new countries through the use of laws and enforcement actions. As immigrants and deported individuals experience exclusionary laws and enforcement practices, their children and romantic partners also face the consequences in their memberships and sense of belonging. The

nation-state participates in continuously excluding immigrants by refusing them formal memberships, opportunities to travel freely, family reunification efforts, employment and fair wages, participation in the legal process, threaten them with deportations and removals, and denying them opportunities to permanently settle in their country of residence. However, some immigrants faced greater exclusionary practices in their lives than other immigrants, further creating a hierarchy of immigrants. The receiving nation also participates in excluding those who are deported from sending nations by enforcing discriminatory practices and stigma for having been deported. While immigrant and deportees constructed alternative forms of membership and belonging in their country of residence, they continue to struggle with their formal memberships and sense of belonging as their futures in the U.S. and in El Salvador remain uncertain.

In the last chapter, titled "*Engaging in Resistance and Mobilization Strategies to Survive the U.S. Immigration Enforcement Regime's Effects on Salvadoran Men and their Families,*" I examined the experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men and deported men as they engaged in resistance and mobilization strategies to challenge the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices. First, Salvadoran immigrant and deportees discussed their understanding and claims about immigration laws and their positionality to these laws. Most Salvadoran men were found to respond to these laws and enforcement practices based on their legal consciousness (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in this study were found to position themselves "before the law" as they considered laws as something sacred that required their respect, "with the law" as they found it to be accessible and utilized it as a resource for their advantage to make claims for equality and inclusion, and "against the law" as they became

distrustful and suspicious of the law and its harmful effects in their lives. Those who identified against the law engaged in different mobilization strategies. Salvadoran immigrant men engaged in several resistance strategies by participating in legal mobilization efforts, seeking legal assistance from immigration attorneys, avoiding law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies, reuniting with their family members from El Salvador in the U.S. without legal authorization, and creating emergency plans for their families in case they were deported. Similarly, Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador also participated in different resistance and mobilization strategies as they reunited with their U.S. children and romantic partners temporarily and permanently in El Salvador, received support from faith-based and non-profit organizations in El Salvador, discussed their plans to return to the U.S. without legal authorization, remained hopeful that their children and romantic partners would petition them so they could return to the U.S., and shared their plans to find new countries to migrate to in order to no longer live in El Salvador or return to the United States. Through this study, Salvadoran immigrant and deported men discussed their diverse understandings of the law and their positionalities to laws, which further encouraged most men to engage in resistance and mobilization strategies to challenge the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime.

This chapter highlights how nation-states' criminalization and removal of immigrant men could motivate immigrants and their families to engage in different resistance and mobilization strategies to challenge the harmful effects of laws and enforcement practices. While some immigrants and deportees may consider these laws and policies worthy of their respect and view them as a resource for their advantage, most individuals who were continuously targeted and criminalized by these laws eventually become concerned and

suspicious of these policies that have had harmful effects on their lives. In response, they may engage in mobilization efforts to obtain a sense of normalcy and independence from the nation-state. By participating in resistance and mobilization efforts, they are able to control their own fate and make their own personal decisions for their families against the desires of the nation-state. By supporting non-governmental organizations, seeking legal resources, avoiding governmental agencies, reuniting with their relatives without approval from the nation-state, and moving to other countries, they are determining their own futures without interference from the nation-state. While they share diverse understandings of the law and position themselves to the law, they ultimately participate in certain actions that challenge the nation-state's efforts to control their lives and futures.

Broader Impacts: This dissertation focused on the effects of the U.S. immigration enforcement regime on Salvadoran immigrant and deported men and their families. But it more broadly demonstrated how laws and enforcement practices could have a harmful effect on individuals, their children, romantic partners, and their futures. This study also demonstrated how families in their U.S. and family members in other countries could be affected by these laws and enforcement practices. This study also demonstrated how laws could change over time, place, and affect individuals and families differently. It also demonstrated the influence of these laws beyond U.S. borders especially among the deported population. While U.S. immigration laws have helped many immigrant families adjust their statuses and petition their relatives, most of these laws and enforcement actions have harmed immigrants from racial and ethnic minority communities. While this study focuses on the experiences of Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in the U.S. and in El Salvador, further research may find similar findings among other groups of

immigrant and deported men. Through this study, scholars can better understand the experiences of immigrant and deported fathers and their transnational families.

Limitations: While this dissertation sheds light on the harmful effects of U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices on Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador, there were several limitations in this research. This study specifically focused on the experiences of Salvadoran men who had children so it excluded all Salvadoran men who were not fathers. Also, due to increased enforcement actions under the Trump Administration, several Salvadoran fathers in the U.S. were reluctant to participate in this study. While I was able to find several participants in the East Coast and Midwestern regions, most of the participants were from the Southern California region. Due to the distance to several participants outside California, I was not able to conduct in person interviews as some were conducted through video calls and over the phone. Regarding interviews with Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador, the sample was not representative of all Salvadoran deported men even though most participants lived in the San Salvador region of the country due to safety and security issues. While Salvadoran deported men confided in me as the researcher, many avoided certain questions or decided to withhold specific information about their families in the U.S. and in El Salvador because of safety and security problems in the country. While recruiting participants, many were referred to this study through non-profit and faith-based organizations and through personal networks among deportees. As a result, this study may have missed the opportunity to include deportees who were not affiliated with these organizations and networks among deported male participants. More importantly, this study specifically addressed the experiences of forty Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S.

and forty Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador, which is not a representative sample of all Salvadoran fathers in these two countries. However, these findings illustrate the experiences of Salvadoran men as they navigated the harmful effects of U.S. laws and enforcement practices in their own lives.

Future Research: While this dissertation has several limitations, this research presents important findings on the experiences of Salvadoran immigrant men in the U.S. and Salvadoran deported men in El Salvador and their families. Through this study, I demonstrated how Salvadoran men in both countries navigated their parenting practices while being targeted and criminalized by the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. I was also able to highlight how U.S. immigration laws and enforcement practices affected Salvadoran immigrant and deported men's relationships to their children and romantic partners. This study also highlighted how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men were able to navigate their membership and sense of belonging under restrictive and discriminatory immigration laws and enforcement practices. Lastly, this study demonstrated how Salvadoran immigrant and deported men in the U.S. and in El Salvador understood and positioned themselves to different laws and responded to these laws and enforcement practices by engaging in resistance and mobilization efforts. Moving forward, I believe it would be highly beneficial to study the experiences of Salvadoran immigrant mothers in the United States in relation to Salvadoran deported mothers in El Salvador. Through this study, scholars would be able to understand how Salvadoran mothers have navigated their parenting practices, their relationships to their children and romantic partners, their membership and belonging, and their involvement in resistance and mobilization efforts under the U.S. immigration enforcement regime. It would also be

important to research the experiences of the children and grandchildren of immigrant and deported parents to understand the effects of these policies and enforcement actions in their lives. It would also be beneficial to do a similar research study with other racial and ethnic minority immigrant and deported fathers to compare their experiences and perspectives. Ultimately, these research studies and findings will lead to positive changes in immigration laws and enforcement practices in the United States and beyond.

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