Title
Graduate student service learning in medically underserved communities

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0pt0629h

Journal
Journal of Nursing Education and Practice, 7(5)

ISSN
1925-4040

Authors
Schapiro, Naomi A
Green, Emily K
Gutierrez, Ivette

Publication Date
2022-12-18

DOI
10.5430/jnep.v7n5p17

Peer reviewed

Corresponding Author: Ms. Naomi A Schapiro, MS, PhD Candidate

Corresponding Author's Institution: UCSF School of Nursing

First Author: Naomi A Schapiro, RN, PhD, CPNP

Order of Authors: Naomi A Schapiro, RN, PhD, CPNP; Susan M Kools, RN,
PhD, FAAN; Sandra J Weiss, RN, DNSC, PhD, FAAN; Claire Brindis, DrPH

Abstract: There are increasing numbers of mothers as well as fathers who
engage in long-term migration to support their children and other family
members in their home countries. In this article, the current state of
the literature about children and adolescents left at home in these
transnational families is surveyed and reviewed. The article reviews the
effects on children of the process of separation from parents, the impact
of gifts and remittances home, communication with distant parents and the
quality of life with their substitute caregivers. The effects of
immigration in late childhood or adolescence on these separated children
is examined, as well as what is known about the processes of adaptation
and family reunification, including migration traumas, impact of gender,
and educational outcomes. Suggestions are given for pediatric clinicians
working with reunifying families. Gaps in the literature are highlighted
and the need for research into factors that promote successful family re-
engagement and overall adaptation upon reunification.

Running head: TRANSNATIONAL ADOLESCENTS

Separation and Reunification: The Experiences of Adolescents living in Transnational Families

Naomi A. Schapiro

Susan M. Kools

Sandra Weiss

Claire Brindis

In Chicago, a Spanish language television commercial shows a warehouse store where immigrants can buy computers, appliances, and furniture with direct shipping to Mexico and Central America. Fathers enter the store and, in an inset, smiling children, surrounded by tropical greenery wave, and shout "gracias, papi!" In the fictional movie *Under the Same Moon[1]*, and in the journalistic account *Enrique's Journey[2]*, boys travel alone from Mexico and Central America to find and reunite with their mothers who are working in the United States. In film,and print, these are stories of transnational families, with social, economic and emotional ties that span national borders.

But what happens at the end of Enrique's journey? How are children faring when their mothers and fathers work countries and continents away, and what happens when families reunite? Do the sacrifices made by parents and children pay off in improved educational, developmental and mental health outcomes for children and families? In this paper, we address issues confronting youth living in transnational families by reviewing the research literature on the effects of migration-related family separation and reunification on children and adolescents, with implications for health care and suggestions for future research.

Significance

There are an estimated 214 million immigrants and refugees worldwide, 20% of whom are in the United States (U.S.).[3] Unauthorized immigrants comprise approximately 28% of the total U.S. immigrant population.[4] The majority of all U.S. immigrants, as well as the majority of unauthorized immigrants, are from Mexico.[5,6]

In contrast to earlier waves of migration, women are now as likely as men to be the first immigrant in a family [7] and may stay in the host country longer than male compatriots [8]. In fact, nearly half of U.S. migrants are now women.[9] Historically, women have migrated both within

and across national borders to improve the lives of their own families by caring for the homes, children and elderly relatives of wealthier women.[8] Currently, many hail from the urban and rural poor in the Caribbean,[10] Mexico and Central America.[11,12] However, in recent years middle class women have joined this migrant stream. Since the 1980s, most female migrants from the Philippines have been college-educated and professionally-trained women who can earn more in domestic work in wealthier countries than they can as professionals at home.[13-15] There has been large-scale internal migration from rural to urban areas in China,[16] migration out of other South Asian [8,17] and Southeast (SE) Asian [14,18] countries, as well as migration out of Africa,[19] all of which involves maternal-child separation to greater or lesser degrees.

Migrant children and youth

One fifth of U.S. immigrants are children, and 40% of child immigrants are unauthorized.[5] Their proportion in the U.S. population rises with age, accounting for children who migrate in late childhood, often called the 1.5 Generation.[20] Unaccompanied minors, crossing the border without a parent or guardian, have long been an acknowledged and undercounted part of the immigrant stream to the U.S., [21,22] and at least 20,000 youth may be crossing the border from Mexico alone every year[23]. Numbers and particulars of unaccompanied and other undocumented immigrant youth are largely unknown, as most apprehended youth (over 100,000 in 2006) agree to return to Mexico without formal detention and processing.[21]The majority of minors detained in the U.S. are young men from Central America, [21,24] and recent studies show that they endorse poverty, family reunification and fleeing violence in their home countries as their primary reasons for migrating.[24,25] Current homicide rates in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras are among the highest in the world,[26] and the numbers of detained

unaccompanied Central American minors in the first half of 2012 was almost double that of 2011,[24] even as migration from Mexico has declined during the same period.[27]

Impact of transnationalism

Transnational families visit, call and participate in decisions and celebrations on both sides of the border, and these ongoing connections have led researchers and clinicians to question traditional concepts and measures of acculturation. [28,29] Anthropologists[30,31] and sociologists[32] have theorized about the impact of modern mass migration on identity formation and the globalization of electronic media that allow migrants and distant family members to be immersed in two cultures simultaneously. Health researchers and clinicians have just begun to understand the impact of these changes on the lives of immigrant families.[29,33-36] As Falicov[33] noted, "Because lives and relations are linked across borders, transnationalism offers an attractive, and at times deceiving, imagined possibility of living with two hearts rather than with one divided heart (p. 339)."

Migration and gender relations

Traditional immigration scholarship viewed families as indivisible units surrounding male wage earners.[8,37] Breaking with this tradition, Hondagneu-Sotelo[35] studied the impact of gender on all aspects of migration, starting a rich and ongoing body of literature about migration in which gender is prominent.[11,14,15,38-47]

How do gender relationships, changing or traditional, impact children in transnational families? While immigrant parents share household chores and childrearing when both are working, [38,41] traditional ideals of father as breadwinner and mother as nurturing parent in the home are remarkably similar across cultures. Immigrant families from Mexico, [11,47,48] Ecuador,[44] the Dominican Republic,[41] and the Philippines,[15,38] describe the father's parenting role as

providing economically, engendering respect and disciplining children, while mothers are in charge of emotional and moral development. A father migrating for work without his children is fulfilling the traditional provider role, while a mother who migrates for work is breaking with tradition. While both mothers and fathers in the transnational literature report sadness about their distant children,[40,42,49] only mothers report feeling guilty[42] and the impact of paternal and maternal migrations on parent-child relations may differ.

The children of distant parents: strategies for care

Migrating mothers may leave children at home for political and economic reasons: legal restrictions on immigration and their own ability to pay for better childcare at home.[8,12,14,15] However, others feel that their children receive a better upbringing in their home country,[38,50] are safer and better supervised[12,51,52] and protected from racial and anti-immigrant prejudice.[53] A study of 157 Mexican and Central American domestic workers in the Los Angeles area found that 75% were mothers, and of these, 40% had at least one child living in their home countries.[12]

When mothers are not able to take their children with them, they use a variety of caretaking strategies from a distance, including paying childcare workers,[12,54] and placing children with family members, such as grandmothers, aunts, or older sisters, who then receive regular remittances and gifts to improve the economic stability of the household.[12,15,45] Child shifting, or placing children with relatives or friends for a variety of reasons, is a relatively common practice in the Caribbean,[50,55,56] Africa,[51,57] the Philippines[58] and Peru,[59,60] even when parents have not left the country. But when the migrant mother pays extended family for childcare with remittances and gifts, social and economic relationships of caring co-exist, and the impact of these transformations on children is unknown.[8,54]

Literature Review

Migration studies, research about transnational families, and family adjustment to immigration are dynamic areas in current health and social sciences literature. There are many different types of parent-child separations related to migration. In some instances, parents migrate as temporary workers in another, wealthier country, with legal employment and no chance of permanent settlement; in these cases, any reunifications will occur when parents return to their home country. In the research literature these situations are usually found under "transients and migrants," and more of the literature pertains to internal and external labor migration in Asia. In other situations, parents hope to bring their children after them to the destination country, whether or not they are working and living in that country legally. In the research literature these situations are coded under "immigration and emigration," and the literature generally pertains to workers who originate in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, family strategies in these different regions may be similar: some Mexican migrant workers never intend to bring family with them and eventually return to their home country, and some internal migrants in China bring family members with them to the cities, even though they are not authorized to live there and their lives are similar to undocumented workers in foreign countries. A final strategy, in which parents send adolescents to live with relatives or paid caretakers in order attend high school and college in a wealthier host country, is coded under "parachute children" or "parachute kids."

We searched PubMed, CINAHL, and Proquest Social Science databases using the terms: "adolescent," "immigration and emigration," "transients and migrants," "human migration or immigration," "immigrants," "family relations," "parent/child relations," "mother-child relations," "family structure," "parenthood status." "adolescent/behavior/ethnology," "separation or reunification," "family separation," "separation reactions or reunification",

"transnational," "globalization," "psychosocial factors," "parachute children, "parachute kids" and "family separation." This review includes published studies and dissertations in which children, adolescents, and adults who experienced migration-related parental separation and/or reunification were studied in real time or retrospectively, using qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. This article will review migration-related separation literature from the Western hemisphere and several studies from Asia where larger studies allow for some generalization, and family reunification studies primarily in the U.S. and Canada. With the large and ever-growing body of research on migration and transnational families, the aim is to focus on literature of most relevance to clinicians practicing in North America.

Reflecting many social science disciplines, the articles reviewed use a variety of theoretical frameworks to explain family separation and reunification effects, including Bowlby's attachment theory,[61-68] Boss's theory of ambiguous loss,[50,68] ecological approaches to child and family development, [69,70] and theories of adolescent individuation,[62,71] gender roles,[11,15,72] and acculturation. [63,69] We agree with Falicov [28] that the care of children and families can be improved by taking into account relational, community, and socio-political contexts of their lives and have found valuable insights from a variety of theoretical approaches.

The paper will begin by discussing the two most commonly used theoretical frameworks, attachment theory and ambiguous loss theory, with their implications for clinical care. We will then review studies of children who are separated from migrant or immigrant parents and discuss parachute children, the effects of the gender of separated parent and child, and the impact of remittances on home country households. Reviews of research literature about reunified children start with pre-immigration conditions, explore effects of immigration itself, early reactions to family reunification, effects of gender, educational issues and longterm effects of reunification.

Studies focusing on the reactions of children to separation are listed in Table 1 and studies primarily addressing reunification are in Table 2.

<div align="center">Theoretical Frameworks</div>

Attachment Theory

John Bowlby developed attachment theory by studying the behaviors of normal infants and children who had experienced temporary separations from and reunifications with their parents, in order to make generalizations about their mourning behaviors.[73] In the 1940s and 1950s, these separations might have been war-related and were often the result of hospital policies that strictly limited parental visiting.[74] Bowlby described attachment as a homeostatic control mechanism that is preferentially responsive to a small number of familial caregivers, maintaining the relationship with the attachment figure within certain limits of distance and accessibility.[75,76] Bowlby proposed that infants developed an internal working model of the world that included the identities, locations and expected responses of his attachment figures and an internal working model of the self, in response to caregiver reactions.[73] He asserted that the infant's response to potentially fearful situations was partly dependent on predictions of how available the attachment figures were going to be. He also felt that patterns of attachment became stable over time and could be transmitted intergenerationally.[73,74]

Bowlby was convinced that his contemporaries generally underestimated both the young child's capacity for mourning and the depth of the child's anger when reunited with the attachment figure.[75] He described the defensive process of detachment as the failure of a young child to engage in attachment behaviors when reunited with the attachment figure (usually the mother) after a period of separation. He suggested that defensive processes constituted a normal part of mourning at every age, but were apt to stabilize and persist in infants and children.

Theorizing that early grief could have devastating effects on the child's later development, Bowlby cited case studies of clients whose abilities to engage in adult relationships and capacities to experience an emotional life were blocked by an inability to reactivate attachment behaviors.[76] Adults whose own parental attachment had been disrupted developed what he termed compulsive self-reliance.[77]

Bowlby and his colleague Mary Ainsworth described a balance between attachment and exploratory behaviors, as an interest in novel features of the environment allowed the young animal (or human) to acquire necessary knowledge and skills.[78] Ainsworth noted that the infants explored their environment more when their mother was present, using her as a "secure base" (p. 61) from which to explore.[78] Through structured observations and the Strange Situation research, Ainsworth,[78-80] and Mary Main[81] developed the categories of attachment styles that may be familiar to pediatric clinicians: secure, insecure, disorganized, and nonattached. These attachment styles tend to persist over time, even into adulthood,[78,79,82-84] though both attachment styles and developmental outcomes can be affected by stressors outside the parent-child relationship.[84,85]   During adolescence, a time in which emotions, behavior and perceptions of parent-child relationships are changing rapidly, attachment behaviors are used less frequently than during childhood and the balance of attachment and exploratory behaviors shifts towards more independence.[86] Observational assessments of adolescent attachment, therefore, are challenging to conduct. [86] The cross-cultural validity of attachment theory has been both critiqued and defended,[87-90] and more cross-cultural research is indicated.[91]

Theory of Ambiguous Loss

The theory of ambiguous loss was developed by Pauline Boss after working with families of pilots who were Missing In Action during the War in Vietnam. Ambiguous loss is defined as

grief that is "unclear, indeterminate" (p.6),[92] either because the outcome is unknown or because the relations involved are ambiguous. There are two types of ambiguous loss: in which a family member is physically absent, but psychologically present (such as a missing person or a parent after divorce) or physically present, but psychologically absent (such as in someone with dementia or brain damage).

In ambiguous loss theory, Boss proposed that stress is caused by change, or the threat of change, in the composition and expected roles and tasks within the family system.[92,93] The situation, not the family, is seen to be sick, although family members may be adapting in more or less functional ways. The stress of ambiguous loss persists, as there is no closure in the traditional sense of grieving and at times the loss itself may be disenfranchised, as in the failure of infertility treatment or the break-up of a lesbian couple with children.[94,95] Disenfranchised loss is defined as a loss that is not "recognized, validated, or supported by the social world of the mourner" (p.18).[96] In contrast to traditional grief, ambiguous loss often involves ongoing losses, as in reminders of a distant parent, or a series of continuing losses, as with the decline of a loved one with a debilitating disease.[97] Despite the ongoing nature of the loss, individuals and family members have the potential to recover and thrive by learning how to manage the stress.

While ambiguous loss theory was developed in working with adult family members, the theory has been used to guide clinical research with children of incarcerated parents,[98] children in foster care,[99] and refugee children.[100] Researchers suggested that professionals in the field should be helped to understand the confusion, helplessness and displaced rage of children in foster care as normative, rather than pathological, and that the viewpoint of ambiguous loss might lead to more helpful interventions.[99]

Taken together, attachment and ambiguous loss theories may provide a perspective for understanding the effects of migration-related family separations and reunifications on children and youth, as described below. They can be helpful to pediatric providers and mental health clinicians in working with children and families who are experiencing prolonged separations or are adjusting to reunification.

Separation

Reactions of children to separation

Whether expressed through interviews with parents, [11,38,45,101,102] caretakers, [45,103] or children,[15] pain at parent-child separation is a universal finding (see Table 1). Parents viewed the separation as a sacrifice for the benefit of the children,[11,12,38,45,104] but children showed some ambivalence at being the beneficiaries of such sacrifices.[15,72] Researchers documented various ways that children expressed reactions to their parents leaving, including anger, distress, feelings of vulnerability, abandonment, and somatic complaints.[50] Children reported being deceived about the timing or the fact of their parent's departure,[40,50,105] being told, for example, that their parent was going on an errand or working in another part of their home country, and reported that the lack of preparation for parental departure increased their initial distress.

Communication between distant parents and children may be fraught with emotional, as well as practical barriers. All studies documented parental strategies for connecting with their children, including regular phone calls home [11,14,15,45,72] and, more recently, e-mails, web chat, and social networking.[14,105,106] Unless the child had access to a computer, however, these contacts tended to be parent-initiated, due to expenses of calling out from home countries.[37] Children reported that phone calls were difficult if they had no shared daily life experiences to discuss or if they had only dim memories of their parent,[42] and in some cases refused to come to

the phone when parents called.[72] Filipino adolescents with migrant mothers did not find that frequent phone calls diminished their sense of abandonment.[15]

There were also neutral or positive responses to separation. Children of Jamaican migrants showed no more overall psychological or academic distress than the comparison group, unless they were specifically unhappy with their parents' migration.[50] Benefits of parental migration were found in Mexico, where children of migrant fathers reported a calmer home atmosphere and less family violence,[107] and children in Jamaica whose parents were migrants reported less abuse by caretakers and less exposure to community violence. [50] These small pioneering studies compared children of migrant parents with children of nonmigrant parents. However, some of the comparison group children also experienced parental absence (Mexico) and child shifting (Jamaica). The complexities of life in sending locales, including poverty, community violence, and additional family stresses, as well as the common practice of sending children to other families and internal migration for work, add to the difficulties in measuring the independent impact of family separation.

Reactions to separation may vary by gender, with two Latin American studies noting more behavioral issues in boys whose fathers had migrated.[104,107] Sons of migrant fathers in Ecuador suffered an outbreak of *nervios,* a culturally specific syndrome of anxiety and depression usually associated with adult women.[104] The researcher suggested that *nervios* was a culturally acceptable way of acting out against their own preparation for future migration. A study of early adolescents in Mexico, noted higher distress levels in boys, and also postulated that the pressure of future migration was a contributing factor.[107] One Chinese study of children of migrant families found that girls whose parents left at younger ages had higher depression and anxiety scores than boys. [108]

Gender of the migrating parent was seen as significant in a study of college-age Filipino youth.[15] Migrant fathers called less frequently than mothers, using calls as a mode of discipline, rather than emotional connection, but this distance was not nearly as distressing to the youth as the absence of their mother. Children of migrant mothers expressed feelings of abandonment, longing and regret, even when their extended family seemed to be devoted to their well-being.[15] Children of migrant mothers fared less well on psychological measures, school engagement and behavioral issues than children of migrant fathers or two-parent migrant families in several large Chinese studies.[16,108,109] However, one large-scale comparison of migrant families in Southeast Asia found that having a migrant mother was actually protective in Vietnam compared to Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, [18] and a companion ethnographic study described Vietnamese caretaker fathers as very involved with their children.[110]

Children's reactions to separation may vary by age of the child. Dreby[72] found that preadolescents reacted to migration by naming their caregivers as parents, appearing indifferent to parental phone calls and visits, deferring parental authority to their substitute caregivers, and refusing to migrate. Adolescents, in contrast, were more defiant of caregiver authority, and had behavioral and academic problems. Parents, confronting these problems from a distance, increased their emotional involvement with their children, including visits to Mexico, at considerable economic sacrifice and legal risk. In contrast to pre-adolescents' refusal to migrate, adolescents sometimes insisted on migrating to a low wage job in the U. S., despite parental desires for them to pursue higher education in Mexico. In one Chinese study, quality of life scores were lower for children who had been left behind than for children in non-migrant households, however within the group of left behind children, scores were higher in older children and in those households with a higher socioeconomic status.[111]

Remittances

Parents who are working abroad send money and gifts back home, which may benefit both their children and the households in which they live. Remittances make up 19% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Honduras, 16% in El Salvador, and 12% in the Philippines. [112] The average monthly remittance to Mexico may comprise up to 34% of income in poor and middle class households, increasing spending for health care and school expenses. [113] However, some research suggests that the economic benefits of remittances may be canceled out by parental absence, with children of migrant parents showing poorer educational outcomes. [114,115]

Remittances have symbolic meaning in transnational households. Salvadoran migrant mothers sent a greater percentage of their income more regularly and over longer periods of time than migrant fathers, despite lower earning power. [116] The researcher suggested that gendered expectations of maternal responsibility and self-sacrifice contributed to this difference. Parents have used frequent gifts as a way to stay connected and show their love for children and other family members. [50,72,104] Larger houses and consumer goods bought with remittances also demonstrate differing class status of migrants' families within small communities. [37,117] These changes have mixed results, as Pribilsky noted in an ethnographic study in Ecuador, where larger houses with more private spaces led to changes in family socialization patterns. [104] He theorized that gifts from migrant fathers entailed reciprocal obligations of attending school and acquiring English language skills to prepare for future migration. [104]

When children migrate first: Parachute children

Parachute children, or "parachute kids," is a term used to describe children who are sent to a higher income country for college preparatory education with the aim of attending college in that country, while parents stay in their home country. [118-120] The children either live with

14

relatives in their new home or with paid caretakers. In the U.S., this phenomenon has been noted primarily in Southern California among Chinese and Korean children,[118,119] although a recent study of Latino immigrant youth attending a Midwest high school noted that some of the participants fit this description.[121] One author estimated that 40,000 parachute children arrived in California in the 1980s and 1990s, coming primarily from Taiwan.[119] A study of 10 Korean parachute children currently attending college in the U.S. noted that parents had sent children who had not done well in the college track testing in Korea to the U.S., in order to give them another chance at a university education.[118] While Chinese study participants expressed gratitude at the sacrifices their parents made to offer them this opportunity, some of the issues noted for parachute children revolve around general loneliness and a relative lack of adult supervision.[119] The youth in Zhou's study were also less connected to the Chinese immigrant community than children who had migrated with or to rejoin their parents.[119]

Summary of the effects of separation

There is variation in child responses to parental separation. While pain and distress are compelling and most common, others include anger, feelings of abandonment and insecurity, ambivalence, and anxiety and depression. There were also positive outcomes such as less interpersonal violence and turmoil at home. Gender of the migrating parent and age of child at migration were associated with differential responses, and these also varied by country.

<div align="center">Reunification</div>

Studies of children or adolescents who have migrated to rejoin their parents have covered a broad range of sizes, locations, and time frames and include retrospective studies of adults. To the extent that premigration experiences affect the adolescent's adaptation to life in the U.S. or Canada, these studies also address the impact of prior separation. This section will cover the

effects on children and adolescents of the timing of migration, the stressors before and during migration, early and late family adjustment, and educational and community issues.

Timing

When children migrate to rejoin their parents, the timing is typically set by legal and economic factors over which they have no control, and they may have very little warning of the impending change.[10] This process is best described in the literature about Caribbean migration to the U.S. and Canada.[10,55,64,67] Migrating children experience an often extreme climatic and cultural change, as they leave a society where they are in the racial and cultural majority and join one where they are part of a racial minority that is treated as inferior, without feeling connected to native born African-American or African-Canadian children.[10,56] Parents and children may be unprepared for the difficulties of living together again, resuming relationships of affection and authority as relative strangers, and major relationship crises may develop after a period of initial calm.[10]

Impact of pre-migration conditions on the reunifying adolescent

Central American adolescents who were interviewed after reunification stated that they were more likely to have felt proud of their parent's sacrifice in migrating if the move was necessary in order to escape the dangers of civil war, or if the family's economic situation improved drastically. [90] Appreciation of migrating parents' sacrifices had positive effects on the adjustment of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong[122] and Filipino adolescents in Canada.[123] Conversely, adolescents were more likely to have felt abandoned by parents if the move seemed to be motivated by parental desires for self-improvement or to leave a marriage, factors that were internal to family functioning and possibly elicited conflicting loyalties for the adolescents.[62] Failure of the parent to inform the child about leaving not only increased the child's distress on

separation, but made reunification more difficult, as children saw their parents as less trustworthy.[90]

Caretakers in the home country could provide emotional connections that mitigated the child's feelings of abandonment,[65] yet these same connections made leaving to rejoin the parent more difficult.[55,122] Caretakers played a crucial role in maintaining the child's memories of distant parents, and could positively affect the child's adjustment to separation by supporting the parent's migration,[90] or reinforce a sense of abandonment by criticizing the parent for leaving.[64]

Effects of migration stressors on the reunifying adolescent

Researchers have started to address the impact of trauma on family reunification, including pre-migration violence in and outside of the home and during the migration itself. Almost half of unaccompanied Central American youth who were detained at the U.S. border and then surveyed in a Mexican shelter reported that they had been victims of robbery, extortion, physical, verbal, and sometimes sexual abuse at some point in the journey, many during the processes of apprehension, arrest, and detention.[25] In one study of youths who had been reunified with their parents after the Central American civil wars of the 1980s and 90s, war-related trauma was so prevalent that its impact was difficult to disentangle from the impact of family disruption.[62,90] Another study of Caribbean families in New York[65] found that 8 of the 12 adolescent participants had suffered harsh treatment by home country caregivers, including physical and sexual abuse, and these prior traumas negatively affected their adjustment to life with their parents.

Many of the adolescents interviewed in family reunification studies (See Table 2) were unauthorized immigrants [62,65,90,121,124] and while documentation status was discussed in individual interviews, the impact of the journey across the border was highlighted in the analysis

of only one qualitative study.[69] Documentation status also affected the length of separations and the ability of parents to visit prior to reunification.[40,42,121] One study of Mexican families in Texas reported relatively short separations and smooth reunifications; this study included only authorized immigrants,[63] and is difficult to compare with other studies of Mexican or Central American immigrant families, with many unauthorized or mixed status families.[125]

A recent randomized sample of Latino immigrant adolescents and their parents in North Carolina (Latino Adolescent Migration Health and Adaptation or LAMHA) is unique in being a large mixed-methods study that specifically addresses family separation, documentation, and the traumas of migration.[126] Adolescents filled out depression and anxiety scales, as well as questionnaires about length of family separation, legal status in the U.S., and any traumatic events during migration. Unauthorized teens reported more anxious symptoms, although family separation was not an independently associated factor.

Adolescent involvement in the decision to migrate affects post-migration adaptation. In the LAMHA study,[126] youth involvement with migration was part of the migration stressors scale, and higher involvement predicted lower anxiety and depression scores. In contrast, in a retrospective study of Caribbean adults with difficult reunification trajectories, many believed that they had been brought to England for practical reasons, and not because their mother might have missed them, and this distrust colored their reunification experiences.[61]

First impressions: Early reunification experiences

Some adolescents reported warm and tearful reunions with parents [90,121] and a period of relative calm with little interpersonal conflict shortly after reunification.[55,122] Others stated that they immediately felt disoriented, did not recognize their parents,[70] or were greeted formally, with no signs of physical affection.[61] The close relationships that youth had with caregivers in

their home country increased their ambivalence about migration and contrasted with their sense that their parent was a stranger.[61,68,90,124] Some adolescents reported withdrawing emotionally from their parents after reunification and rejecting parents' attempts to engage them, while neither parents nor teens were able to talk about their disappointment constructively.[55,64] When initial attempts at engagement were rebuffed, parents were described by youth as resorting to harsh criticism and punishment, including physical punishment. Adolescents reported that their parents threatened them with deportation, expressed regret that they had been born,[55,64] criticized home country caregivers for spoiling them [90] and disparaged their home culture.[55,64] Arriving adolescents did not feel that they were allowed to express sadness at losing their home country caregivers and additionally felt that their accents, dialects or lack of English were mocked both at home and at school.[61]

Youths had been led to believe that their parents had achieved wealth by the gifts they received during separation, and were surprised and disappointed by harsh living conditions in their host country.[55,64,122] The contrast was particularly harsh in one study,[122] where teens had gone from multi-room houses in China paid for by remittances to apartments in Hong Kong shared by ten families. After reunification, adolescents struggled with the realization that it was now their turn to sacrifice, by working hard in school, caring for younger siblings, refraining from complaints about life in North America, and looking for paid work.[90,123] Teens expressed resentment at the long hours parents had to work in the U. S., compared with the relative availability of their caregivers in their home country[55,64,90], though a few teens in one study found parents to be more available in the U.S.[69] Reuniting with both biological parents eased the re-engagement process,[63,65,68] while the presence of step-parents and new siblings increased reunification difficulties.[55,65,68] Immigrant children in two studies who had previously been

separated from their parents reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than non-separated children,[66,68,70] however, in two larger surveys, parental separation was not significant as an independent risk factor for depression.[123,126]

Impact of reunification on school and social outcomes

Children who moved from a majority culture to a country where they were a stigmatized minority confronted racism and anti-immigrant prejudice for the first time, [55,123] and expressed distress that parents did not share survival strategies with them [55] or actively confront discriminatory treatment. [123] In one survey, experiences with discrimination in Canada were more important predictors of Caribbean youth mental health than family separation, and for both Caribbean and Filipino youth, current family functioning was more important than separation experiences in predicting youth attitudes toward school.[123]

Neighborhood contexts were specifically addressed in two studies. In one, adolescents arrived to a new migration destination with safe neighborhoods and adequate school resources.[121] In contrast, in the Harvard Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study, Haitian, Dominican, Mexican, and Central American adolescents were likely to be attending segregated schools in high poverty neighborhoods where gang activity was prevalent.[124] Further, parents who were working long hours in the U.S. and Canada had little time to help children navigate their new environment, and one author noted that children spent more time with their peers than they did in their home country, putting them at higher risk of gang involvement and criminal activity.[55]

The migration research literature has documented the importance of social networks for adult immigrants,[12,35,43,45] assisting with migration routes and destinations, places to live, jobs, and other practical, social and emotional support. Networks also have the capacity to spread

gossip both locally and transnationally,[39] and parents may be reluctant to seek non-family community support when children are misbehaving.[55] Despite the importance of peer relationships to adolescent development,[55,90,127] assessing the impact of social networks on newly arrived adolescents has remained elusive.[55,65,124,128] Newly arrived Caribbean adolescents in Canada were drawn to an oppositional culture of African-Canadian peers in one study,[55] but another researcher found that relatives and friends provided a buffer for teens experiencing difficult reunifications with their parents.[65] One quantitative study measured the impact of early separation on familial and peer social networks for Caribbean late adolescents in New York.[128] A mixed method study explored the impact of relational networks on academic achievement on immigrant adolescents.[124] Though neither of these explorations had statistically significant results, the importance of relational networks outside the nuclear family for reunified youth is an emerging finding that deserves further research.

Adjustment to a new educational system was a challenge, even for children who spoke the same language,[55,64] and harder still for children learning English.[68,90,124] Immigrant adolescents reported that they were struggling in school, even if they had done well in their home country, and that their parents were unable to help them with their schoolwork.[90] In the LISA Study, almost 400 immigrant children with a high proportion of past family separations were followed longitudinally for five years after their first entry into U.S. schools. [68,124] Grade point averages for 2/3 of the participants declined over time, though 22% of students excelled consistently, and another 10% were able to improve during the course of the study. Academic achievement had weak though consistent statistical links to parental educational levels, having two adults in the home, and a father working outside the home.[124]

Gender

Findings consistently showed that young women had an easier time adapting to life in their host country than young men. In the LISA study, Qin-Hilliard[129] noted that boys had worse educational outcomes than girls, who were more able to connect to helpful peers and school personnel and tended to be more consistent in school attendance and homework completion.[124] Of interest is that there was no gender difference in this sample in performance on standardized tests.[124]

In a retrospective study of a convenience sample of Caribbean youth, young adult women showed higher self-esteem, lower rates of deviant behavior such as truancy, and more conformity to parental wishes than young men.[67] The authors suggested that same gender-attachment figures might have eased the transition for young women, as all young adults were more likely cared for by female relatives and more likely to reunite with a mother than a father.

In contrast to an earlier literature review suggesting that separated Latina girls were at higher risk than boys,[130] more recent studies have shown that boys may be at higher risk, both in the home country and after arrival in the U. S.[68,104,107,124,129] Factors that may increase male risk include increased pressures on boys as future migrants and breadwinners[68,104,107,124] and their decreased propensity to seek and receive helpful mentoring and other support.[68,124,128] While girls report more depressive symptoms than boys, they also report more family responsibilities and closer family ties, which may be protective,[67,129] as these responsibilities anchor the adolescent and provide them with pathways to establish a new identity.

Long-term effects of late migration and family reunification

In this emerging area of scholarship, long-term outcomes in reunified families have been documented primarily in retrospective studies of adults.[61,67] In one convenience sample partly recruited through therapists,[61] Caribbean women aged 35 to 50 and living in England told of

continuing disappointments in their relationships with their mothers. These were perceived to be continuations of their initial difficult and emotionally distant reunification experiences as adolescents. While participants who were not in therapy tended to report warmer experiences with caretakers during separation, none of the women reported current close emotional relationships with their mothers. Given the age of participants, their separations occurred during the pre-digital era, with costlier and less frequent communication than current transnational families. The findings of a survey of a younger reunified Caribbean cohort in Canada are more equivocal.[67] While longer separations were associated with more difficult reunifications, half of this young adult sample reported having warm relationships with their parents. Age of migration affected the participants' willingness to obey their parents' wishes, but did not affect overall adaptation, and the authors noted that this finding might be developmentally appropriate, rather than migration-related.

Some Central American late adolescents noted that "relationships with their parents would never recover from lost time and lost connections" (p. 164). [90] Others, having assumed responsibilities of work or parenting themselves, were able to appreciate their parents' sacrifices and re-establish a close relationship on a more equal footing. The LAMHA study [126] found that adolescent mental health symptoms, even for those who had suffered migration trauma, diminished with longer time in the U.S., and the LISA study[70] findings showed decreased symptoms of anxiety and depression for most reunified youth in the study at the 5-year mental health surveys.

Summary of effects of late migration and family reunification

While a retrospective study of adults who reunified after prolonged separations showed enduring difficulties with family re-engagement, current real time studies show an adjustment

over time, with diminishing symptoms of anxiety and depression. Qualitative studies show that some youth have accepted the inability to recreate their imagined or remembered family from childhood, while others have been able to re-establish warm and close ties with their parents. The late immigrants in these studies generally struggled educationally, although it is not clear that histories of family separation added to this problem. Some of the researchers suggested that child-parent contact during the separation,[67] the configuration of the family,[65,68,70] and the presence of extended social networks[65,131] affect the reunification process. Gender may affect re-engagement with parents[67] and educational outcomes,[124,129] with young men faring worse. One Canadian study [123] suggested that encounters with racial stereotyping and job discrimination may have a bigger impact on adolescent mental health than prior histories of family separation.

Implications and Gaps in the Literature

Recommendations during separation

While parents report that their distant children are always in their hearts,[40,42,45] they may not be effectively communicating this love across borders.[61,70] Despite the technical and emotional difficulties with parent phone calls,[15,72] interviews with children or adults after their own reunification have underscored the importance of steady communication and visual representations of parents while children are apart.[65,70,121] Resentment may be unavoidable. It has surfaced as a barrier to re-establishing warm relationships,[55,61] and researchers recommended open communication with children before and during separation in order to diminish resentment.[40,90]

Recommendations for family reunification

Researchers also recommended that parents take time off work whenever possible when children are arriving,[63,90] recognize the importance of a warm extended family network,[55,122] and

avoid criticizing previous caretakers.[70] Researchers[70,90,124] and clinicians[28] recommended that parents and providers embrace all of the caretakers in the child's life, rather than trying to replace one with another. Further suggestions include school orientations for parents of newly arrived immigrant students to academic expectations, as well as family issues,[63,65] school-based support groups for adolescents,[64] and setting up community- or faith-based sources of support for parents who may be reluctant,[42,55,65] or unable[132] to access mental health services.

Implications for education, health care and health policy

Educational barriers

Children who join parents after prolonged separations are members of the 1.5 generation, those who migrate in late childhood. [20] While some late immigrants attain educational outcomes superior to second generation children, others may be derailed by early pregnancy, incarceration,[133] or simply the inability to learn academic skills in English.[124,134] A recent study using 2000 U.S. Census data showed lower rates of high school graduation and lifetime earnings for immigrants who arrived after age 10, especially for those whose native language was not English.[135] For the estimated 40% of these children who are unauthorized,[5] current legal and financial barriers to college education in most states may prevent them from attaining or applying the skills that are needed in the future labor force of the U.S.,[124,134] locking them into low wage jobs without health benefits. The Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors or DREAM Act has proposed eliminating Federal restrictions, providing a path to legal status for youth in the U.S. for 5 years who arrived before age 16 and who have completed either two years of college or military service, as well as preventing deportation of youth over 12 who are in secondary school.[136] Meanwhile, the recently enacted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, allows youth with similar qualifications to apply for a two year stay of deportation. This policy

has the potential to affect 1.7 million youths.[137] Because deportation relief and paths to authorization are tied to academic achievement, these policies could provide additional incentives for late immigrant adolescents to complete high school and go on to post-secondary education.

Health care needs

Unauthorized immigrants and even some authorized immigrants are prevented from obtaining public health insurance under current Federal and State laws and are excluded under the Affordable Care Act.[132,138] It is possible that many of the children described in this review encounter the health care system only for the vaccines and examinations needed to enter school or in emergencies, meaning that their health care needs are not only unmet, but also largely unknown in the health policy arena and there is a likely need for counseling and mental health services.

There is a large overlap between immigrant youth who are reunifying with parents and late immigrants to the U.S.,[124,126] and pediatric providers working in public health settings, nonprofit institutions, Federally Qualified Health Centers, school health centers and urgent care and emergency settings, are likely to encounter this population. Interventions for reunifying adolescents have not been well-studied, but some suggestions for pediatric providers can be gleaned from the research recommendations reviewed above (See Box for targeted history questions).

Providers should widen family history to include more than current household or caretakers, including locations of extended family and prior caretakers. Asking about any prior caretakers in the child's life can be a neutral way of exploring family disruptions. In addition to usual screenings about domestic violence and child abuse, providers should ask about

community violence exposure before, during and after immigration. When immigrant youth present to clinics for immunizations or urgent care visits, efforts should be made to bring them back for a more comprehensive visit, including a psychosocial screen for adolescents. For families who are unauthorized or have mixed status, it would be important to inform families of the confidentiality of medical records and the specifics of health coverage.[132]

Clinicians should consider referring families for a check-in or more extended time with a linguistically appropriate behavioral health clinician, either in the clinical setting or at the immigrant child's school. Although group and individual support has been widely recommended in the research literature about reunifying youth,[63-65] clinicians do not yet have evidence to support the efficacy of one type of intervention over another, and this remains a fruitful arena for future research.

Current immigration enforcement

The pain of separation, difficulties with reunification and related trauma documented by the studies above are being reproduced in a different direction, as an estimated 1.5 million families have been separated by immigration raids and deportations since 2002.[134,139] In addition to undocumented adults, children without legal status in the U.S. may be deported to countries in which they have not lived since early childhood, or which they may have fled as adolescents from unstable caretaking arrangements or threats from gangs or drug cartels.[140] It is important for pediatric providers to be aware of these potential disruptions and their impact on families, even among longterm patients.

Gaps in the literature and suggestions for future research

Changing views of parenting and childhood in sending countries may impact the child's and parent's interpretation of and interaction with family separation in succeeding cohorts.[44,141]

Whether gender relations are changed in migrating families[35,44] or are solidified in the parents' and children's longing for a culturally consonant definition of normality[15] remains an open question. Relationships may be configured differently, depending on the contexts of the sending and receiving countries, as well as the gender of the migrating parent(s) and the motivation for immigration. While some research with migrating mothers shows that they do more emotional work to maintain relationships with their children than migrating fathers,[15,42] this contention has been disputed, especially in cases of parental divorce.[11] The current literature suggests that young women are in some ways more protected than young men as new immigrants, though they often endorse more depressive symptoms.[68,129] Whether or not young women and young men who migrate as teens engage in the same gendered behavior as their parents in reconstructing relationships, and what factors might be involved in risks for poor emotional and health outcomes or resiliency remain to be explored in future research.

For any adolescent, migrating alone across a militarized border may add to migration stresses in largely unexplored ways.[69] Researchers are starting to interview unaccompanied minors as part of family reunification[121] and educational studies.[22] Additionally, the stresses of the journey itself, the increasing drug- and gang-related violence in sending countries, trauma during migration, and the ongoing concerns about immigration enforcement should be addressed in future studies.

The earliest years of late-immigrant entry, in upper elementary school, middle school, and high school, merit additional attention, in order to see how the adaptation process begins to unfold for the 1.5 generation. The LISA study[68,70,124,129] provides a rich foundation for future studies that could further explore the relative educational and developmental problems or benefits of migration during adolescence, and could disentangle these from family reunification

issues. Some studies have shown that remittances and alternate caregivers do not ensure improved home country educational outcomes for children of transnational parents,[114,115] and additional research could also address potential protective factors of socialization in the home country, increased availability of extended family supports, and protection from discrimination that have figured into parental decisions to extend periods of separation.

There is an increasingly robust body of literature describing problematic parent-child relationships during reunification[55,64,65,70,90,121] and their potential long-term effects.[61,67] The one study reporting relatively smooth transitions sampled two-parent Mexican families with short durations of separation.[63]

There are several important gaps in this literature. One is that the qualitative literature, for the most part, remains problem-focused, without enough exploration of factors related to easier separations or smoother reunifications. Another is that there is little agreement between the qualitative and quantitative literature about the essential question: the impact of prolonged family separations. Studies of migrant families in Asia have shown mixed effects, depending on measures used, caretakers, migrant parent and country,[16,18,108] with some measures improving in older children.[111] Neither of the two studies of reunified families using a stratified cluster sample[123,126] found that family separation was statistically significant as a modifier of mental health status. While family separation was not a predictor of academic outcomes in the LISA study,[124] it was linked with short-term increases in depression and anxiety. It is possible that the parental and teen reluctance to discuss family reunification problems noted in qualitative research[70] manifests as a reluctance to answer similar items on questionnaires or even a reluctance to participate in research.[123] It is also possible that the questions themselves are not eliciting the kinds of information in surveys that are emerging in more free-ranging discussions.

Finally, it is also possible that the qualitative literature is too narrowly focused on family dynamics.

While the focus on parent-child relationships is important, young immigrants are coming from cultures where extended family relationships are important and they also are migrating into pre-existing social networks that may extend beyond the nuclear family.[70,131] As adolescents, they may be reaching out to peers within and outside their families, and extending the focus of prior researchers on their contexts and development as adolescents[55,70,90] will add to the literature. This research could explore the social networks, processes and interactions at work in successful, as well as problematic family reunifications. It is possible that some reunifications are not coming to the attention of clinicians because of their relative lack of problems, even under adverse circumstances such as long separations, late migration, lack of legal status and uneven contact during the separated years. In addition, greater access to electronic communication, from cell phones and texting to webcams and instant messaging, may be changing the quality of long-distance parent-child contact. Because this change is so recent, it is not reflected in the parent-child studies above and is only starting to appear in transnational literature.[14,106]

The most profound insights into this population, so far, have come from qualitative and mixed method studies. Qualitative approaches may allow for continued fresh and original means to understand the complexities of these experiences,[142] as well as a move from description to theorizing,[143] providing directions for health care providers and policy makers.[144] Further, adolescent viewpoints on successful, as well as problematic family reunification can be incorporated, as well as allowing for consideration of the impact of changing political and technological influences on this experience. In addition to qualitative studies, quantitative or

mixed methods research may be indicated to compare the effectiveness of different clinical and

educational interventions for late childhood immigrants and reunifying families. Continued

knowledge development in this field can inform family and immigration policy, as well as

provide insights to health and other professionals working with reunifying families.

1.   Riggen P. Under the same moon. Fox Searchlight;2008.
2.   Nazario S. *Enrique's journey: The story of a boy's dangerous odyssey to reunite with his mother*. New York: Random House; 2006.
3.   International Organization for Migration. International Organzation for Migration facts and figures. n.d.; http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/facts--figures-1.html. Accessed 10/20/08.
4.   Johnson H, Hill L. *Illegal immigration.* San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California;2011.
5.   Passel JS. Demography of immigrant youth: past, present, and future. *Future Child.* Spring 2011;21(1):19-41.
6.   Passel JS, Cohn DV. *A portrait of unauthorized immigrants in the United States.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center; April 29, 2009.
7.   Cerrutti M, Massey DS. On the auspices of female migration from Mexico to the United States. *International Migration Review.* 2001;372:187-201.
8.   Isaksen LW, Devi SU, Hochschild AR. Global Care Crisis: A Problem of Capital, Care Chain, or Commons? *American Behavioral Scientist.* 2008;52(3):405-425.
9.   Batalova J, Terrazas A. Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States. *Migration Information Source.* 2011(December 2010). http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/print.cfm?ID=818. Accessed 11/20/11.
10.   Crawford-Brown CPJ, Rattray JM. Parent-child relationships in Caribbean families. In: Webb NB, ed. *Culturally diverse parent-child and family relationships: A guide for social workers and other practitioners*. New York: Columbia University Press; 2001:107-130.
11.   Dreby J. Honor and Virtue: Mexican Parenting in the Transnational Context. *Gender & Society.* Feb 2006;20(1):32-59.
12.   Hondagneu-Sotelo P, Avila E. "I'm here, but I'm there": The meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society.* Oct 1997;11(5):548-571.
13.   Barber PG. Agency in Philippine Women's Labour Migration and Provisional Diaspora. *Women's Studies International Forum.* 2000;23:399-411.
14.   Lan P-C. *Global Cinderellas: Migrant domestics and newly rich employers in Taiwan.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press; 2006.

15. Parreñas RS. *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; 2005.

16. Wen M, Lin D. Child development in rural China: children left behind by their migrant parents and children of nonmigrant families. *Child Dev.* Jan-Feb 2012;83(1):120-136.

17. George SM. *When women come first: Gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2005.

18. Graham E, Jordan LP. Migrant Parents and the Psychological Well-Being of Left-Behind Children in Southeast Asia. *J Marriage Fam.* Aug 2011;73(4):763-787.

19. González-Ferrer A, Baizán P, Beauchemin C. Child-Parent Separations among Senegalese Migrants to Europe. *The Annals Of The American Academy Of Political And Social Science.* September 1, 2012 2012;643(1):106-133.

20. Rumbaut RG. Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review.* 2004;38(3):1160-1205.

21. Haddal CC. *Unaccompanied alien children: Policies and issues.* Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service;2007.

22. Martinez I. What's Age Gotta Do with It? Understanding the Age-Identities and School-Going Practices of Mexican Immigrant Youth in New York City. *High School Journal.* 2009;92(4):34-48.

23. International Organization for Migration. New center for unaccompanied minors opens on Mexico's southern border. *International Organization for Migration Press Briefing notes.* 2009. http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/media/press-briefing-notes/pbnAM/cache/offonce/lang/en?entryId=25843. Accessed 9/4/12.

24. Jones J, Podkul J. *Forced from home: The lost boys and girls of Central America.* New York: Women's Refugee Commission; October, 2012.

25. Wier B. *Child Migration: The detention and repatriation of unaccompanied Central American children from Mexico.* Baltimore, MD: Catholic Relief Services - US Conference of Catholic Bishops; January, 2010.

26. UNODC Statistics and Surveys Section. *2011 Global study on homicide: Trends, contexts, data.* Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC);2011.

27. Passel JS, Cohn DV, Gonzalez-Barrera A. *Net migration from Mexico falls to zero - and perhaps less.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center; 4/23/12.

28. Falicov CJ. Working with transnational immigrants: expanding meanings of family, community, and culture. *Fam Process.* Jun 2007;46(2):157-171.

29. Sánchez P. Cultural authenticity and transnational Latina youth: Constructing a meta-narrative across borders. *Linguistics and Education. Special Issue: Transnational literacies: Immigration, language learning, and identity.* Win 2007;18(3-4):258-282.

30. Appadurai A. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 1996.

31. Rouse R. Questions of identity. *Critique of Anthropology.* 1995;15(4):351-380.

32. Levitt P, Jaworsky BN. Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends. *Annual Review of Sociology.* 2007;33:129-156.

33. Falicov CJ. Emotional transnationalism and family identities. *Fam Process.* Dec 2005;44(4):399-406.

34. Furman R, Negi NJ. Social work practice with transnational Latino populations. *International Social Work.* 2007;50(1):107-112.

35. Hondagneu-Sotelo P. *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; 1994.

36. McGuire S, Martin K. Fractured migrant families: paradoxes of hope and devastation. *Fam Community Health.* Jul-Sep 2007;30(3):178-188.

37. Dreby J, Adkins T. Inequalities in Transnational Families. *Sociology Compass.* 2010;4(8):673-689.

38. Parreñas RS. *Servants of globalization: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; 2001.

39. Dreby J. Gender and Transnational Gossip. *Qualitative Sociology.* 2009;32(1):33-52.

40. Dreby J. *Divided by borders: Mexican migrants and their children*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2010.

41. Levitt P. *The transnational villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2001.

42. Avila EM. *Transnational motherhood and fatherhood: Gendered challenges and coping*: University of Southern California, 2009.

43. Menjívar C. *Fragmented ties: Salvadoran immigrant networks in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2000.

44. Pribilsky J. 'Aprendemos a convivir': Conjugal Relations, Co-Parenting, and Family Life among Ecuadorian Transnational Migrants in New York City and the Ecuadorian Andes. *Global Networks.* 2004;4(3):313-334.

45. Schmalzbauer L. Searching for Wages and Mothering from Afar: The Case of Honduran Transnational Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* Dec 2004;66(5):1317-1331.

46. Schmalzbauer L. Gender on a new frontier: Mexican migration in the rural Mountain West. *Gender & Society.* 2009;23(6):747-767.

47. Smith RC. *Mexican New York: Transnational lives of new immigrants*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2006.

48. Falicov CJ. Mexican families. In: McGoldrick M, Giordano J, Pearce JK, eds. *Ethnicity and family therapy* 2d ed. New York: Guilford Press; 1996:169-182

49. Dreby J. Negotiating work and parenting over the life course: Mexican family dynamics in a binational context. In: Foner N, ed. *Across generations: Immigrant families in America*. New York: New York University Press; 2009:190-218.

50. Pottinger AM. Children's Experience of Loss by Parental Migration in Inner-City Jamaica. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.* Oct 2005;75(4):485-496.

51. Bledsoe CH, Sow P. Back to Africa: Second Chances for the Children of West African Immigrants. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* 2011;73(4):747-762.

52. Orellana MF, Thorne B, Chee A, Lam WSE. Transnational childhoods: The participation of children in processes of family migration. *Social Problems.* Nov 2001;48(4):572-591.

53. Ong A. Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States. *Current Anthropology.* 1996;37(5):737-751.

54. Hochschild AR. Love and gold. In: Ehrenreich B, Hochschild AR, eds. *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books; 2002:15-30.

55. Lashley M. The unrecognized social stressors of migration and reunification in Caribbean families. *Transcultural Psychiatry.* 2000;37(2):203-217.

56. Waters MC. *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; 1999.

57. Gonzales NA, Coxe S, Roosa MW, et al. Economic hardship, neighborhood context, and parenting: Prospective effects on Mexican-American adolescent's mental health. *American Journal of Community Psychology.* 2011;47(1-2):98-113.

58. Peterson JT. Generalized Extended Family Exchange: A Case from the Philippines. *Journal of Marriage and the Family.* 1993;55(3):570-584.

59. Leinaweaver JB. On moving children: The social implications of Andean child circulation. *American Ethnologist.* 2007;34(1):163-180.

60. Leinaweaver JB. Outsourcing Care: How Peruvian Migrants Meet Transnational Family Obligations. *Lat Am Perspect.* 2010;37(5):67-87.

61. Arnold E. Separation and loss through immigration of African Caribbean women to the UK. *Attach Hum Dev.* Jun 2006;8(2):159-174.

62. Artico CI. Perceptions and memories of Latino adolescents separated in childhood due to piecemeal patterns of immigration. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences.* Apr 2001;61(9-A):3472.

63. Black AE. *The separation and reunification of recently immigrated Mexican families*: Walden University, 2005.

64. Glasgow G, Gouse-Sheese J. Themes of rejection and abandonment in group work with Caribbean adolescents. *Social Work with Groups.* 1995;17(4):3-27.

65. Hine-St. Hilaire D. When children are left behind: The perceptions of West Indian adolescents separated from their mothers during childhood due to migration, and the effects of this separation on their reunification,New York University; 2008.

66. Lemy M-E. *The effect of early separation on parent-child attachment among haitian immigrants families*,Seton Hall University; 2000.

67. Smith A, Lalonde RN, Johnson S. Serial Migration and Its Implications for the Parent-Child Relationship: A Retrospective Analysis of the Experiences of the Children of Caribbean Immigrants. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology.* May 2004;10(2):107-122.

68. Suárez-Orozco C, Todorova I, Louie J. Making up for lost time: the experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families. *Fam Process.* Winter 2002;41(4):625-643.

69. Ko LK, Perreira KM. "It Turned My World Upside Down": Latino Youths' Perspectives on Immigration. *J Adolesc Res.* May 2010;25(3):465-493.

70. Suárez-Orozco C, Bang HJ, Kim HY. I felt like my heart was staying behind: Psychological implications of family separations & reunifications for immigrant youth. *Journal Of Adolescent Research.* 2011;26(2):222-257.

71. Mitrani VB, Santisteban DA, Muir JA. Addressing Immigration-Related Separations in Hispanic Families With a Behavior-Problem Adolescent. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.* Jul 2004;74(3):219-229.

72. Dreby J. Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* 2007;69(4):1050-1064.

73. Bowlby J. *Attachment and loss: Separation and anger.* Vol 2. New York: Basic Books; 1973.

74. Bretherton I. The origins of attachment theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. *Developmental Psychology.* Sep 1992;28(5):759-775.

75. Bowlby J. *Attachment and loss: Loss, sadness and depression.* Vol 3. New York: Basic Books; 1980.

76. Bowlby J. *A secure base: Parent-child attachment and healthy human development.* New York: Basic Books; 1988.

77. Bowlby J. The making and breaking of affectional bonds. I. Aetiology and psychopathology in the light of attachment theory. An expanded version of the Fiftieth Maudsley Lecture, delivered before the Royal College of Psychiatrists, 19 November 1976. *Br J Psychiatry.* Mar 1977;130:201-210.

78. Ainsworth MS, Bell SM. Attachment, exploration, and separation: illustrated by the behavior of one-year-olds in a strange situation. *Child Dev.* Mar 1970;41(1):49-67.

79. Ainsworth MD, Blehar MC, Waters E, Wall S. *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the Strange Situation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; 1978.

80. Ainsworth MS, Bowlby J. An ethological approach to personality development. *American Psychologist.* Apr 1991;46(4):333-341.

81. Main M, Kaplan N, Cassidy J. Security in infancy, childhood, and adulthood: A move to the level of representation. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development.* 1985;50(1-2):66-104.

82. Main M. Introduction to the special section on attachment and psychopathology: 2. Overview of the field of attachment. *J Consult Clin Psychol.* Apr 1996;64(2):237-243.

83. Main M, Hesse E, Kaplan N. Predictabilty of attachment behavior and representational processes at 1, 6 and 19 years of age: The Berkeley Longitudinal Study. In: Grossmann KE, Grossmann K, Waters E, eds. *Attachment from infancy to adulthood: The major longitudinal studies*. New York: The Guilford Press; 2005:245-304.

84. Vaughn B, Egeland B, Sroufe LA, Waters E. Individual differences in infant-mother attachment at twelve and eighteen months: stability and change in families under stress. *Child Dev.* Dec 1979;50(4):971-975.

85. Sroufe LA, Egeland B, Carlson E, Collins WA. Placing early attachment experiences in developmental context: The Minnesota Longitudinal Study. In: Grossmann KE, Grossmann K, Waters E, eds. *Attachment from infancy to adulthood: The major longitudinal studies*. New York: The Guilford Press; 2005:49-70.

86. Allen JP. The attachment system in adolescence. In: Cassidy J, Shaver PR, eds. *Handbook of attachment: Theory, reasearch, and clinical applications*. Second ed. New York: The Guilford Press; 2008:419-435.

87. Rothbaum F, Rosen K, Ujiie T, Uchida N. Family systems theory, attachment theory and culture. *Family Process.* Fal 2002;41(3):328-350.

88. Peluso PR, Miranda AO, Firpo-Jimenez M, Pham MT. Attachment dynamics and Latin cultures: Areas of convergence and divergence. In: Erdman P, Ng K-M, eds. *Attachment: Expanding the cultural connections.* New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY; 2010:281-295.

89. Behrens KY. *Amae* through the eyes of Japanese mothers: Refining differences and similarities between attachment and *amae*. In: Erdman P, Ng K-M, eds. *Attachment: Expanding the cultural connections.* New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY; 2010:55-69.

90. Artico CI. *Latino families broken by immigration: The adolescents' perceptions*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing; 2003.

91. Metzger S, Erdman P, Ng K-M. *Attachment in cultural contexts*. In: Erdman P, Ng K-M, eds. *Attachment: Expanding the cultural connections.* New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY; 2010:3-12.

92.   Boss P. *Ambiguous loss: Learning to live with unresolved grief*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1999.

93.   Boss P, Greenberg J. Family boundary ambiguity: a new variable in family stress theory. *Fam Process.* Dec 1984;23(4):535-546.

94.   Boss P. Ambiguous Loss Theory: Challenges for Scholars and Practitioners. *Family Relations.* Apr 2007;56(2):105-111.

95.   Boss P, Roos S, Harris DL. Grief in the midst of ambiguity and uncertainty: An exploration of ambiguous loss and chronic sorrow. *Grief and bereavement in contemporary society: Bridging research and practice.* New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY; 2011:163-175.

96.   Walter CA, McCoyd JLM. *Grief and loss across the lifespan: A biopsychosocial perspective*. New York: Springer; 2009.

97.   Boss P. The trauma and complicated grief of ambiguous loss. *Pastoral Psychology.* 2010;59(2):137-145.

98.   Bocknek EL, Sanderson J, Britner PA. Ambiguous loss and posttraumatic stress in school-age children of prisoners. *Journal of Child and Family Studies.* 2009;18(3):323-333.

99.   Lee RE, Whiting JB. Foster children's expressions of ambiguous loss. *American Journal of Family Therapy.* Oct-Dec 2007;35(5):417-428.

100.   Luster T, Qin D, Bates L, Johnson D, Rana M. The Lost Boys of Sudan: Coping with ambiguous loss and separation from parents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.* 2009;79(2):203-211.

101.   Hondagneu-Sotelo P, Gaudinez G, Lara H, Ortiz BC. "There's a Spirit that Transcends the Border": Faith, Ritual, and Postnational Protest at the U.S.-Mexico Border. *Sociological Perspectives.* 2004;47(2):133-159.

102.   Sternberg RM. The plight of transnational Latina mothers: Mothering from a distance. *Field Science Action Reports.* 2010(Special Issue 2). http://factsreports.revues.org/486.

103.   Moran-Taylor MJ. When Mothers and Fathers Migrate North: Caretakers, Children, and Child Rearing in Guatemala. *Latin American Perspectives.* 2008;35(4):79-95.

104.   Pribilsky J. Nervios and 'modern childhood': Migration and shifting contexts of child life in the Ecuadorian Andes. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research. Special Issue: Capitalizing on concern.* May 2001;8(2):251-273.

105.   Duque Paramo MC. *Migración Parental: Niñas, niños, y jovenes cuentan sobre sus experiencias y situación de salud.* Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana; 2010.

106.   Schapiro NA, Pinderhughes HL, Kools SM. Phone Cards and Webcams: Latino Immigrant Youth and Transnational Parenting in the 21st Century. *The Journal of adolescent health : official publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine.* 2009;44(2):S24.

107.   Aguilera-Guzmán RM, de Snyder VN, Romero M, Medina-Mora ME. Paternal absence and international migration: stressors and compensators associated with the mental health of Mexican teenagers of rural origin. *Adolescence.* Winter 2004;39(156):711-723.

108.   Liu Z, Li X, Ge X. Left too early: the effects of age at separation from parents on Chinese rural children's symptoms of anxiety and depression. *Am J Public Health.* Nov 2009;99(11):2049-2054.

109.   Jia Z, Tian W. Loneliness of left-behind children: a cross-sectional survey in a sample of rural China. *Child Care Health Dev.* Nov 2010;36(6):812-817.

110. Hoang LA, Yeoh BSA. Breadwinning wives and "left-behind" husbands: Men and masculinities in the Vietnamese transnational family. *Gender & Society.* 2011;25(6):717-739.

111. Jia Z, Shi L, Cao Y, Delancey J, Tian W. Health-related quality of life of "left-behind children": a cross-sectional survey in rural China. *Qual Life Res.* Aug 2010;19(6):775-780.

112. Ratha D, Mohapatra S, Silwal A. Migration and remittances factbook 2011: World Bank; 2010: http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/migration-and-remittances.

113. Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Latin American Outlook 2010. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; 2010: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/48/14/44121339.pdf.

114. Amuedo-Dorantes C, Pozo S. Accounting for Remittance and Migration Effects on Children's Schooling. *World Development.* 2010;38(12):1747-1759.

115. Lahaie C, Hayes JA, Piper TM, Heymann J. Work and family divided across borders: the impact of parental migration on Mexican children in transnational families. *Community, Work & Family.* 2009;12(3):299-312.

116. Abrego L. Economic well-being in Salvadoran transnational families: How gender affects remittance practices. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* 2009;71(4):1070-1085.

117. Pribilsky J. *La chulla vida: Gender, migration, and the family in Andean Ecuador and New York City*. First ed. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press; 2007.

118. Byun B. *South Korean high school parachute kids in Southern California: Academic, psychological adjustment and identity formation*, University of Southern California; 2010.

119. Zhou M. Conflict, coping and generation: Intergenerational relations in Chinese immigrant families. In: Foner N, ed. *Across generations: Immigrant families in America*. New York: New York University Press; 2009:1-46.

120. Tsong Y, Liu Y. *Parachute kids and astronaut families*. New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY; 2009.

121. Hernandez MG. *An exploratory narrative study of the migration patterns, parent-child relationships, and the adaptation of immigrant Central American and Mexican adolescents*: University of Wisconsin, Madison; 2009.

122. Lam AM, Chan TS, Tsoi KW. Meaning of family reunification as interpreted by young Chinese immigrants. *Int J Adolesc Med Health.* Apr-Jun 2005;17(2):105-122.

123. Rousseau C, Hassan G, Measham T, et al. From the family universe to the outside world: family relations, school attitude, and perception of racism in Caribbean and Filipino adolescents. *Health Place.* Sep 2009;15(3):721-730.

124. Suárez-Orozco C, Suárez-Orozco MM, Todorova I. *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; 2008.

125. McGuire S, Georges J. Undocumentedness and liminality as health variables. *Advances in Nursing Science.* 2003;26(3):185-195.

126. Potochnick SR, Perreira KM. Depression and anxiety among first-generation immigrant Latino youth: key correlates and implications for future research. *J Nerv Ment Dis.* Jul 2010;198(7):470-477.

127. Steinberg L, Morris AS. Adolescent development. *Annu Rev Psychol.* 2001;52:83-110.

128. Kotuby JM. The effects of parental separation on the social networks of recent Caribbean immigrants. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering.* Vol 632003:3923.

129. Qin-Hilliard DB. Gendered expectations and gendered experiences: immigrant students' adaptation in schools. *New Directions in Youth Development.* Winter 2003(100):91-109.

130. Schapiro NA. Issues of separation and reunification in immigrant Latina youth. *Nursing Clinics of North America.* Sep 2002;37(3):381-392.

131. Hernandez DJ, Denton NA, Macartney S. Children in immigrant families - the U.S. and 50 states: economic need beyond the official poverty measure. *Research Brief Series.* 2009(Publication 2009-19). http://www.childtrends.org/Files/Child_Trends-2009_04_09_RB_ChildImmigPoverty.pdf. Accessed 5/7/09.

132. National Immigration Law Center. *How are immigrants included in health care reform?* Los Angeles, CA: National Immigration Law Center; 4/19/10 2012.

133. Rumbaut RG. Turning points in the transition to adulthood: Determinants of educational attainment incarceration, and early childbearing among children of immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies. Special Issue: The Second Generation in Early Adulthood.* Nov 2005;28(6):1041-1086.

134. Rumbaut RG, Komaie G. Immigration and adult transitions. *Future Child.* Spring 2010;20(1):43-66.

135. Beck A, Corak M, Tienda M. Age at Immigration and the Adult Attainments of Child Migrants to the United States. *The Annals Of The American Academy Of Political And Social Science.* September 1, 2012 2012;643(1):134-159.

136. Crosnoe R, Turley RN. K-12 educational outcomes of immigrant youth. *Future Child.* Spring 2011;21(1):129-152.

137. Passel JS, Lopez MH. *Up to 1.7 million unauthorized immigrant youth may benefit from new deportation rules.* Washington,DC.: Pew HIspanic Center; August 14, 2012; 2012.

138. Jerome-D'Emilia B, Suplee PD. The ACA and the undocumented. *Am J Nurs.* Apr 2012;112(4):21-27.

139. Dreby J. The Burden of Deportation on Children in Mexican Immigrant Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* 2012;74(4):829-845.

140. Steinberg N. *Neither rights nor security: Killings, torture, and disappearances in Mexico's "War on Drugs"*: Human Rights Watch; November 2011 2011.

141. Gutmann MC. *The meanings of macho: Being a man in Mexico City*. 10th Anniversary Edition ed. Berkeley: University of California Press; 1996/2007.

142. Creswell JW. *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Second ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications; 2007.

143. Clarke AE. Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction.* 2003;26(4):553-576.

144. Yanow D. *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications; 2000.

Table1

Table 1 – Studies of Children Separated through Parental Migration
All samples are purposive unless otherwise noted

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Aguilera-Guzman et al., 2004	N = 24 early adolescents, in depth interviews N= 310 early adolescents, rural Mexico	Mixed methods: in depth interviews used to develop administered survey about paternal absence	Youths experienced more economic pressure, emotional vulnerability when father away, and calmer home with less physical violence. Girls more upset about physical discomforts, boys about inequity and taking on traditionally female chores. Stress for boys possibly related to pressures to prepare for future migration
Abrego, 2009	N= 130 (80 adolescent and young adult children in El Salvador, 47 parents in US, separated on average 11 years, 3 caregivers)	In-depth semi-structured interviews, extended case method of analysis, focus on impact of remittances	Families classified by access to nutritional, educational and other resources. In contrast to higher-earning fathers, mothers sent larger percentages of their salary with more regularity, and remittances did not decrease over time or with new relationships. More mother-away families were thriving, and more father-away families were barely subsisting.
Avila, 2009	N=10 adult children, ages range 23-45 Subset of a larger study	Mixed methods, in-depth interviews	All migrant fathers left children home with their mother; most migrant mothers were single. Of 10 adult children interviewed, 7 had been separated from a mother, 8 had reunified. Mothers constructed absent father as hero and maintained relationships, caretakers did not do the same for absent mothers. Maternal separation emotionally more difficult.
Dreby, 2007	N = 141 children & caretakers in Mexico, with parents in the US	Ethnographic methods, interviews, participant observation	Children's needs influence parental migration patterns. Preadolescents: feign indifference on phone, visits; refuse to migrate. Adolescents: exploit ambiguous lines of authority; behavioral and academic difficulties with limited caregiver assistance; prefer migration to US versus university in Mexico. In response, parents expend unplanned money, resources on dangerous trips home.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
JIa & Tian, 2010 Jia, Shi, Cao, Delancey & Tian, 2010	N= 605 children 8-14 years, in 2-parent families, 324 left behind (migrant parents), Shandong province	Stratified cluster sampling, cross-sectional survey, measuring loneliness and HRQOL	Loneliness scale showed left behind children 2.5 times more likely to be lonely and 6.5 times more likely to be very lonely than children in nonmigrant families. Loneliness increased with grandparent caretakers, poor communication and relationship with parents. (Jia & Tian, 2010) HRQOL increased with age, SES, level of education, but worse for children of migrants at every stratification.
Liu, Li & Ge, 2009	N= 592, children ages 10-17, in 3 Chinese rural areas whose parents migrated to urban areas for work	Cross-sectional, randomized selection of counties, schools, demographic surveys including age of separation, depression and anxiety scales	CDI and trait anxiety scores highest for children whose parents left before age 3; state anxiety scores highest for children whose parents left before age 7. Scores were higher if mother or both parents had left at an early age than fathers alone. Findings differed by sending region, by SES of student (students with higher SES had less depression, anxiety), and gender of parent who left, with higher symptoms when mothers or both parents departed. Females showed higher levels of depression and trait anxiety than males if both parents had left.
Parreñas, 2005	N = 228 middle/high school students, survey N= 69 college students, 31 guardians in Philippines, with parents abroad	Mixed methods: Survey, ethnographic methods, interviews, focus groups	Immigration reinforces traditional gender roles; mothers attempt to fill both emotional and economic gaps left by migrant fathers, but fathers do not reciprocate for migrant mothers. Youths resent mothers' absence, even when well cared for by relatives. Findings reinforce critique of gender and globalization, family's role as economic-reproductive institution and arena for shared experiences.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Pottinger, 2005	N = 54 9 to 10 year olds in urban Jamaican school with parents abroad	Case control, children with migratory parents matched by gender & grade with control Tested for academic achievement, self-esteem, family background, problem behavior, exposure to violence. Interviewers blinded to groups	Children of migrated parents showed more anger, loneliness, somatic complaints, fears of abandonment, but were no different from comparison groups on overall well-being, behavior, test scores. Unhappiness with parents' migration directly correlated with depressive symptoms and suicidal ideation. Children in both groups experienced child shifting (more in migration group) and the comparison group experienced more violence and abuse.
Pribilsky, 2001 Pribilsky, 2007	N= 30 adolescents in 4 mountain villages in Southern Ecuador, traditional sending areas to NY and Chicago N= 137 secondary school students with migrant parents	Ethnographic methods, interview and participant observation	With migration of fathers, less emphasis on children helping with agriculture, more on education, including boarding school, learning English and other migration skills. Village tensions between migrating and non-migrating families, and larger houses of transnational families with more private space change socialization patterns. "*Nervios*", formerly seen only in adult women, now seen in boys, possibly due to attachment disruptions, reaction to cultural changes, and/or pressure to migrate.
Wen & Lin, 2012	N = 625 (704-79) children 8-18 living in 5 villages in rural Hunan province, with migrant and nonmigrant parents, purposive sampling	Cross-sectional survey	Measured satisfaction with life, positive health behaviors, school engagement. Children from mother-migrant families more disadvantaged (family cohesion and support, school engagement) than children from two-parent migrant families. School engagement same for father-migrant families as nonmigrant families, though less healthy behaviors; little overall satisfaction difference between migrant and nonmigrant parents
Research reports and conference proceedings			

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Duque Páramo, 2010 (report)	N= 186 children in Bogotá, ages 6-17, with a migrant parent	In-depth interviews and focus groups	Youth missed their parents, idealized future reunification, and appreciated their parents' sacrifices for the good of the family. Expressed anger at parents who deceived them about migration when departing. Parents used cell phones, computers, chat and webcams for frequent communication with distant children.

Table2

Table 2 Studies of Reunified Children
All samples are purposive unless otherwise noted

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Arnold, 2006	N=20, adult Caribbean women in England, reunited with mothers after prolonged separations, some in therapy	Semistructured interviews, content analysis	Women in therapy were less attached to childhood substitute caregivers; those not in therapy remembered happier childhoods; 95% were disappointed in initial and subsequent encounters with their mother, reported difficulty responding to mothers' overtures for physical and emotional affection, and adjusting to younger siblings. Participants felt unable to mourn loss of substitute caretakers. Having shared separation experience with siblings or peers promoted resilience.
Ártico, 2001, 2003	N = 7, Central and South American adolescents, convenience sample, some in therapy	Two in depth interviews, one semi-structured, thematic and sand tray analysis	Parents and youth experienced war and political trauma in home country. Youth resented separation for personal reasons, rather than financial support or fleeing violence. Expressed resentment at parents' long work hours, ambivalence about parental authority. Participants felt pressure to withhold undesirable feelings from parent, to repay parental sacrifice by working hard. Felt sense of loss in the US, and pride in their upbringing. Alcoholism of fathers a major problem.
Black, 2005	N = 22, 10 adults and 12 children in 6 families, authorized Mexican-American families in Texas, recruited through school district	Qualitative interviews of parents and children (ages of children & length of separations not given), narrative analysis	Immigration disrupted family attachment, children found attending school, learning new language stressful. Parental contact with children during separation helped adjustment.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995	N: Not given. Caribbean adolescents, referred for group work, attending Toronto schools over a 5 year period	Case reports of series of therapy groups	Recurrent group themes: rejection, abandonment, rebuffing parental attempts at affection, reporting harsh parental discipline, degrading home culture as inferior to Canadian culture. Family privacy issues impeded therapists' work with parents. First report in contemporary migration literature about reunification difficulties.
Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008	N= 24 (12 teens, 12 mothers), Caribbean families recruited from NY area churches and community centers	In-depth separate interview of, mother and teen, content analysis	Teen-mother disagreement about preparation for migration, childcare during separation, communication with mother during separation, support of mother by home country caregiver, jealousy of mother about child-caregiver bond. Less involvement by fathers and stepfathers. Differing expectations, abuse during separation, additions to family in US, and regret and blame related to separation all increased difficulties of reunification.
Hernandez, 2009	N=26 Mexican, Honduran, Nicaraguan high school students (14-20 years) residing in US between 3 months and 7 years,	Qualitative interviews (2 each), narrative analysis	Study included unaccompanied minors, parachute migration, and family reunification. Most but not all desired migration. Many reported satisfaction with the separation arrangements and caretaking by a grandparent. Readjustment to living with parents was the most difficult for adolescents.
Ko & Perreira, 2010	N= 20 Latino immigrant youth 12-19, randomly selected from stratified cluster sample	Qualitative interviews	Youth experienced family disruption, stressful migration journeys, anticipated reunification but found arrival and reunification disorienting. Only 45% were happier in US, but recognized greater opportunities. Examples given of resilience of youth, also barriers related to undocumented status.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Kotuby, 2003	N= 74. English-speaking Caribbean immigrants ages 17-21, separated from parents ≥ 1 year and in US 6 months+, recruited from alternate HS literacy program, NY	Semi-structured interview, surveys, multiple regression analysis	Separation variables, including parental contact and satisfaction with caretaking during separation, predicted social network variables, such as network size and multiplexity (multifunctional relationships) and interconnectedness between family and non-family networks. Multiplexity predicted lower symptom levels, but only for adolescents separated from a father.
Lam, Chan & Tsoi, 2005	N = 45 Chinese immigrant students in Hong Kong, selected on basis of high, medium, low survey adjustment scores	Semi-structured interviews, narrative analysis	Participants experienced serial migration of family members to Hong Kong, with fathers leaving first. Adolescents sometimes reluctant to leave China, experienced a "honeymoon" on arrival. Living conditions were worse, reestablishing relationship with father was difficult and they missed previous caretakers. The main differences between well and poorly adjusted youth were in the quality of family life, and amount of gratitude for parents' choices.
Lashley, 2000	N = 4 Caribbean adolescents in Canada	Case reports, interviews with parents, children, notes from court appearances	Youths were ambivalent about immigration, unprepared for racism or cultural and academic differences in Canada, identified more with Afro-Caribbean youth subculture. Parents expressed conflicts about discipline, lack of privacy, lack of extended family support, ambivalence about social services and court system.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Lemy, 2000	N =119 Haitian immigrant youth ages 11-16, recruited through NY area churches, schools, community centers	Cross-sectional survey, using some previously validated mental health and attachment scales, comparing separated and non-separated groups	Separated adolescents had greater internalizing but not externalizing scores on behavioral checklist, no significant differences on attachment scores. Girls who had been separated were more alienated from their fathers, separated boys had more anxiety regarding future separations.
Mitrani, Santisteban & Muir, 2004	N= 21 Latino reunified immigrant teens referred for substance abuse treatment, (22% of total referrals) average separation from parents 3 years.	Case reports, clinical intervention strategies	Sibling bonds were strengthened during separations, sometimes preventing resumption of parental bond. While parental separation did not increase risk for substance abuse, when it did occur, separation had to be addressed before successful substance abuse treatment.
Potochnik & Perreira, 2010	N = 281 first generation Latino immigrant youth ages 12-19 in N. Carolina, probability sample, secondary data of Latino Adolescent Migration Health & Adaptation (LAMHA) study	Survey, cross-sectional, logistic regression, primarily used previously validated scales for this population	Youth experiencing increased migration stressors, and/or undocumented status, scored higher on depression and anxiety scales. Longer time in US, support from family and teachers predicted lower scores. 75% of sample had been separated from a parent; separation not independently significant in model, but may indirectly affect levels of perceived family support, which was significant and negatively related to levels of anxiety and depression.

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Rousseau, et al., 2009	N=254 , 118 Caribbean and 136 Filipino 1st, 2d generation adolescents 12-19 in Canada and 1 parent. Cluster sampling of 11 high schools, 49% refusal rate	Mixed Methods: survey including previously validate and adapted scales, 6 focus groups (parents, adolescents, community leaders)	More Filipino adolescents had been separated from their parents than Caribbean adolescents. Separation was not significantly related to family cohesion or conflict; was dropped from the regression analysis. Filipino adolescents scored higher on internalizing measures. Caribbean adolescents scored higher on perceptions of racism and family conflict, but also on collective self-esteem related to social group. Unable to analyze differences between refusing and enrolled families.
Smith, Lalonde & Johnson, 2004	N = 48 Caribbean and African young adults recruited at a family reunification conference, separated a mean of 9.5 years, most reunified with their mothers	Retrospective study, asked to answer questionnaires based on perceptions of self and caretaker during separation, 1 year after reunification and currently	Participants generally felt greater attachments to and conformity with expectations of childhood caregivers than to parents. Longer length of separation correlated with more difficult parental relationships, though visits during separation were helpful. About half of the sample felt strongly bonded to parents, but cohesion was lower with step-parents and new siblings. Self-esteem was lowest at the time of reunification, which was harder for young men.
Suárez-Orozco Todorova & Louie 2002 Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova , 2008	N = 385, immigrant children entering a US school between ages 9 and 14, recruited from 51 schools in in Boston and SF Bay areas, from Dominican, Haitian, Chinese, Mexican, Central American families	Part of 5-year Longitudinal Immigrant School Adaptation (LISA) study Mixed methods: quantitative surveys, grades and test scores, ethnographic methods	79% of children separated from fathers, 55% from mothers during immigration; Chinese children were least likely, Central American, Dominican and Haitian children most likely to be separated, with longest separations from Central American mothers (>5 yrs). Separated children reported ambivalence about reunification, and more depressive symptoms early in the study. 2/3 of all participants showed academic decline over time

Author	Sample	Study Design	Summary of Findings
Suárez-Orozco, Bang & Kim, 2011	Subset of LISA sample N= 282 (all of LISA sample for whom anxiety, depression data available at year 5)	Analyzed surveys from years 1 and 5 and semi-structured interviews in year 2 by length of separation from one or both parents	Youths who had undergone no or short separations (<2 years) showed the least depressive and anxious symptoms at 1 year; those who had undergone the longest separations (>4 years) showed the highest symptoms at one year. Decrease in symptoms reported for all groups at year 5. Qualitative descriptions of reunification process show initial distress from both parents and children. Researchers report this a difficult topic in interviews.

Table

Box Suggested History questions

Suggested areas for targeted history	Sample questions
Extend questions about family beyond current household	Do you have any family members who are not living with you? Where are they?
Ask children/adolescents about history of past caretakers	Have you lived with your parents (other caretakers) your whole life?
Explore extended family and community supports	Who do you celebrate holidays with? Whom do you go to when you have a problem?
Explore past exposures to violence	Have you or your family in your home country ever been hurt or threatened with harm?
Ask about any interruptions in education	How far did you go in school in your home country? Were you out of school before you came here?

List of Callouts

1. One fifth of U.S. immigrants are children, and 40% of child immigrants are unauthorized (p. 3, right below *Migrant children and youth*

2. Migrating mothers may leave children at home for political and economic reasons: legal restrictions on immigration and their own ability to pay for better childcare at home (p. 5 under heading *children of distant parents, strategies for care)*

3. Caretakers played a crucial role in maintaining the child's memories of distant parents, and could positively affect the child's adjustment to separation by supporting the parent's migration,[90] or reinforce a sense of abandonment by criticizing the parent for leaving (p17, top)

4. Gender may affect re-engagement with parents[67] and educational outcomes,[124,129] with young men faring worse (top of page 24)

5. Clinicians should consider referring families for a check-in or more extended time with a linguistically appropriate behavioral health clinician, either in the clinical setting or at the immigrant child's school. (p. 27, second paragraph)

Table of Contents