

Gender, Family Dynamics and Violence at the Onset, Transit and Incorporation of Underage, Unaccompanied, Migrants from Central America to the United States

Leila Rodriguez
Department of Anthropology
University of Cincinnati

In 2014, President Obama declared the crossing of tens of thousands of unaccompanied minors into the southern U.S. border to be an urgent humanitarian situation (Obama 2014). Officially labeled as unaccompanied alien children by the U.S. government, they are “defined in statute as children who lack lawful immigration status in the United States, are under the age of 18, and are without a parent or legal guardian in the United States or no parent or legal guardian in the United States is available to provide care and physical custody” (Seghetti, Siskin and Wasem 2014:1). The government directed its attention at this particular population not because it is new, but because it was growing in numbers and visibility. Between October 2013 and September 2014 alone, U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents apprehended over 68,000 minors (USCBP 2016). Thousands more are deported from their trek through Mexico before they even reach the U.S. border. The majority of these children come from Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, a region known as the “Northern Triangle” of Central America that exhibits some of the highest murder rates in the world and persistent poverty and inequality (AIC 2015). These minors are emblematic of an increasing trend in the international flows of displaced people that are becoming increasingly young, female, and that complicate the economic migrant/political refugee dichotomy.

Seminal studies in the United States on children and migration focus on the integration of U.S.-born children of immigrants and refugees, or those who were brought by their parents at a very young age (e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001), or alternatively, on children left behind by their migrating parents (e.g. Salazar Parreñas 2005). Almost no publications directly address the integration of children who migrate alone. More importantly, the narrative about this phenomenon has remained largely genderless, despite evidence that the exit, transit, and integration experiences of minors vary by sex.

Gender is a critical lens through which to analyze the experiences of these minors. It plays an important role in family dynamics and the experience of poverty and violence of these young migrants. It shapes their experiences at the onset, transit and incorporation into the United States, either while apprehended and detained at the border or if they cross undetected, and after they reunite with family or others sponsors in myriad localities in the United States. In essence, the experiences of adult men and women help to shape the contexts of exit, transit and reception of the minors, and they shape them for male and female minors differently. In this paper, I discuss some of the ways in which the exit, transit, and integration experiences of minors are gendered. Specifically, I focus on the relationship between gender, family dynamics and violence in shaping the migration experience of minors. I emphasize their integration into their new society because it is at this stage in the migration process that social programs and public policy can have a most direct impact. The information presented here are the preliminary findings of an ongoing yearlong research project about the integration of unaccompanied minors to Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Broader Context of Unaccompanied Minor Flows

The arrival of unaccompanied minors to the U.S. is not a new phenomenon. Over the past few decades, scholars have written about the psychological trauma experienced by unaccompanied refugee minors (Felsman et al 1990, Sourander 1998), their legal rights (Scharf and Hess 1988, Olivas 1990) and substitute care needs (Baker 1982), among other topics. Nonetheless, in recent years the phenomenon has drawn public attention and increasing media coverage, and for good reason: the number of unaccompanied minors apprehended at the southern U.S. border has increased dramatically (see Table 1). In the last five fiscal years¹ alone, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) has apprehended over 230,000 minors. While the number of minors apprehended during this time period peaked in 2014, the percentage of the total apprehended individuals that these minors represent is highest in the most recent year, 2016. These data are not perfect. Increases and decreases in apprehensions can reflect real increases and decreases in migration flows, or they can represent various degrees of success in crossing the border undetected – which thousands of additional minors accomplish with the help of hired smugglers. Nonetheless, they are the best available indicator of the continued growth of the migration of unaccompanied minors.

Table 1: Unaccompanied Minors Apprehended at the U.S. Southern Border.

Fiscal Year	Number of Minors Apprehended	Minors as Percentage of Total Individuals Apprehended
2012	24,403	6.84%
2013	38,759	9.35%
2014	68,541	14.30%
2015	39,970	12.06%
2016	59,692	14.60%

Source: U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 2016

Not only are the number and proportion of unaccompanied minors on a growing trend, but so is the share of these minors who are female. Data on the sexual composition of unaccompanied minors are not readily available from US Customs and Border Protection. The Office of Refugee Resettlement, however, does provide data on the sex of the minors in their custody (see Table 2). Within just the five years included in the data, the percentage of apprehended unaccompanied minors who are female grew by 11%. Although there was a small dip in the percentage of female minors from 2014-2015, the overall trend is still one of growth.

¹ Fiscal year runs October 1 – September 30.

Table 2: Composition of the Apprehended Unaccompanied Minor Population by Sex.

Fiscal Year	Percentage Female
2012	23%
2013	27%
2014	34%
2015	32%
2016	33%

Source: Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2016

The growing flows of unaccompanied minors include a significant percentage of very young children, a particularly alarming fact. Table 3 summarizes the age composition of the unaccompanied minor flows from FY2012-2016. It shows that while the percentage of minors in each bracket has fluctuated over the years, in FY2016 the percentage of minors under age 12 increased 7% from FY2015; the increase in the next age category 13-14, is 4%.

Table 3: Breakdown of Unaccompanied Minor Flows by Age Category, FY2012-2015.

Age	FY2011	FY2012	FY2013	FY2014	FY2015	FY2016
0-12	17%	21%	14%	11%	11%	18%
13-14	14%	16%	13%	11%	10%	14%
15-16	38%	36%	40%	39%	38%	37%
17	30%	27%	34%	38%	40%	31%

Source: Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2016

Unlike adults, when unaccompanied minors from noncontiguous countries traveling alone are apprehended at the U.S. border, they are transferred to the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), which is obligated to feed, shelter, and provide them with medical care until they are released to an adult relative or another approved sponsor while they await immigration proceedings. Sponsors are typically family members who undergo background checks and agree to take the minors to all immigration proceedings and to report them to the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency if they are recommended for removal/repatriation. Some minors are released to their sponsors with no additional follow-up but the expectation that they will attend court hearings. Other minors, however, are recommended for home studies and post-release services.

Children are recommended for home study when they are victims of severe forms of trafficking, if they are special needs children with a disability, if they were victims of physical and sexual abuse, or if the proposed sponsor presents a risk of abuse, maltreatment, exploitation or trafficking to the child. In addition, unaccompanied minors who are under 12 years of age and released to a non-relative, and those released to a non-relative seeking to sponsor multiple children are also recommended for home studies (ACF 2016). All minors recommended for home study receive post-release services, which can range from a one-time visit to help connect them to community resources, to regularly scheduled visits, ongoing needs assessments, and access to mental health and other services. In FY2016, ORR recommended 3,540 minors for home study and 10,564 minors were served by post-release services; these numbers represent an increase of 86% and 22% from FY2015, respectively (ORR 2016).

Most current scholarship on migrant children commonly measures household structure as residence with one versus two parents, and does not account for the range of residence patterns displayed by unaccompanied minors, which includes parents, aunts and uncles, older siblings, Godparents, other relatives, as well as nonrelatives and institutions. More importantly, while it is valuable to measure the family or household *structure* in which the minors reside, it is clear from the inclusion of home studies and post-releases services that family and household *relationships* is a crucial factor in shaping the integration of unaccompanied minors.

The large-scale migration of these minors furthermore exposes the difficulty in employing a simplistic economic migrant/legal refugee dichotomy to understand their displacement. Central American minors are exposed to persistent poverty and inequality in their countries of origin, as well as widespread violence. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, the percentage of population living below the poverty line is 32%, 60%, and 63%, respectively (UNICEF 2016). Violence is also pervasive in the region. El Salvador has the highest murder rate in the world (103 per 100,000); Guatemala and Honduras's murder rates are also among the world's highest, at 30 and 57, respectively (UNICEF 2016). In Honduras and El Salvador in particular, powerful gangs dominate most urban and rural areas, and minors are coerced to join (UNICEF 2016; Terrio 2015). Within the same flows of displaced Central American minors, they list both violence and poverty as the primary motives for migrating; secondary motives include family reunification and educational and other opportunities (USGAO 2015; Terrio 2015). In my own research, I have encountered minors from the same regions of Guatemala, who grow up under near identical situations of poverty and exposure to crime. Yet, when asked specifically why they chose to migrate to the U.S., they focused on different aspects of their experiences. For example, Bernardo², who was 14 when he came to the U.S., told me:

“You can be successful in Guatemala, but when you are successful people see that you have money and it is very dangerous. They start looking for information about you, they start to follow you and all that stuff... so I don't like that and I told myself I'm going to have to leave and I think the United States is the only choice. Gangs are everywhere, where I lived it wasn't as bad, but when you go out walking they rob you... or they get on the bus and rob everyone, when you are a kid they might demand 1-2 Quetzales from you, but they demand more when you are an adult. I left because I was always worried about my safety.”

In contrast, Gaspar, who migrated at age 16, focused on the economic conditions in which he was living and his pessimism about future economic possibilities:

“I lived with my grandparents in Guatemala. They worked the land, planted many things. We sold them on the market. I had to work the land too, and after working in the field I would go to school. I was always tired. We didn't have a lot of things and I knew I would keep working and studying and I would never make something better of myself. I thought in the U.S. I wouldn't be poor.”

² All names are pseudonyms.

Global recognition about the increase in “mixed” flows is growing. Most recently, in September 2016 the United Nations General Assembly hosted the first high-level summit on the large movements of both refugees and migrants. Its purpose was to strengthen global governance of international migration and to create a more responsible and predictable system to respond to large movements of people. As part of the resulting New York Declaration, countries committed to protecting the human rights of all refugees and migrants, improving the delivery of humanitarian and development assistance, and integrate the International Organization for Migration into the UN system (UNHCR 2016).

For now, unaccompanied minors encounter an U.S. immigration law that further complicates the migrant/refugee dichotomy. Those who cross the border and arrive to their final destinations undetected live their lives as undocumented migrants. Those who are apprehended, detained, and subsequently released, however, enter a legal limbo that leaves them with an unclear status, often for years. The initial Customs and Border Protection detention centers range from minimum to high security and vary in the actual services and treatment of the minors (Terrio 2015). Minors are told they have the right to legal counsel, but the government does not have the obligation to provide them with actual legal representation and the vast majority of minors represent themselves in court. There are several potential legal reliefs available to apprehended minors. They can file a defensive asylum application; request Special Immigrant Juvenile Status (SIJS) which allows some of them to obtain lawful permanent residency if they meet various requirements including that they are eligible for long-term foster care due to abuse, neglect, or abandonment; they can apply for a T-visa that allows victims of severe forms of trafficking to remain in the United States; or they can apply for a U-visa created for victims of certain crimes who have suffered mental or physical abuse and are helpful to law enforcement or government officials in the investigation or prosecution of criminal activity (Byrne 2008).

While this paper focuses on one particular migration flow, the arguments I set forth have important implications for other movements of displaced peoples in other parts of the world. Data from several sources suggest that many flows of displaced peoples are becoming increasingly young, and increasingly female. In the European Union, for example, for the past seven years, the number of asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors has steadily increased with each year, with 2015 representing a 400% increase from the previous year (see Table 4).

Table 4: Number of Asylum Applications in the European Union by Extra-EU Unaccompanied Minors.

Year	Asylum Applications
2008	11,695
2009	12,190
2010	10,610
2011	11,690
2012	12,540
2013	12,725
2014	23,150
2015	96,465

Source: EUROSTAT, 2016

Methods and Data

The information presented in this paper stems from the preliminary findings of an ongoing, yearlong, mixed method ethnographic study about the integration experience of unaccompanied minors in Cincinnati, Ohio. Designed as a community-based, participatory research project, it is being conducted in partnership with Su Casa Hispanic Center, the largest provider of health, educational, social, and legal services for Latino immigrants in Cincinnati, and one of many organizations and services provided under the umbrella of Catholic Charities of Southwest Ohio. Their interest in the partnership stems from an increase in the number of unaccompanied minors seeking their services, and their desire to better understand their integration experiences and to employ research data in their advocacy efforts. Cincinnati is located in Hamilton County, which in the last three years alone (FY2014-2016) has received 563 minors released from ORR (ORR 2016), in addition to the hundreds of others who arrived undetected at the border. Although unaccompanied minors

The research project includes five main methods of data collection: qualitative interviews and focus groups with unaccompanied minors, qualitative interviews with parents and other sponsors, qualitative interviews with community leaders and representatives of various government, educational, health and social service organizations, and a quantitative survey with unaccompanied minors. The paper is based on the earliest results obtained from the qualitative methods only. The patterns and themes detected in the interviews, some of which are presented in this paper, have become specific hypotheses about the relationship between gender, sponsor type and apprehension experience and measures of integration including education and school attendance, participation in wage labor and normalization of legal status. The hypotheses are being tested with the still ongoing survey collection project phase.

Contexts of Exit

As mentioned previously, unaccompanied minors leave their homes primarily to escape poverty and violence, and secondarily, for family reunification and to pursue various opportunities. In their home communities, gender plays a role in their experiences of violence and their familial contexts of migration. All the unaccompanied children that I have encountered during my study come from non-traditional family structures. Most lived in small, rural communities in Guatemala with their mother and siblings, or with their mother and maternal grandparents, and occasionally, with only their grandparents. Fathers were frequently absent, either being uninvolved in their children's lives from an early age, or living abroad in the United States. The women in their communities are bearing the brunt of the burden of farming the land, selling the products in the market, and feeding and caring for their children. Children, too, work hard. From an early age they are expected to help with the farming, and for the girls, to share in the domestic household work as well. Few boys or girls study beyond the sixth grade, which poses a challenging problem to local schools in the United States that must place them, because of their age, in higher levels like 9th or even 12th grade. Tomasina, 17, spoke about her duties at home in Guatemala, and compared them to her life in Cincinnati:

“I lived with my grandparents and I took care of most things in our house. I cooked and cleaned and took care of my siblings, and I helped grandma sell [in the market]. I went to school but I didn’t like it too much. Here, I take care of the kids too [it is not uncommon for several families to share one residence, which is what she is referring to] and I go to school again. I like school but it’s hard. But my stepmom is here and I don’t have to do all the cooking anymore.”

Gender also shapes how violence is experienced. Both boys and girls spoke about the fear of being mugged or assaulted in public spaces, but the boys specifically spoke more about concerns about forced gang recruitment. Ernesto, 16, recounted:

“I left before things got too bad. Even if you try to stay out of trouble (gang members) come for you. At first they don’t talk to you too much, but you know that one day they will come, and they will beat you up or worse. I didn’t feel safe. My dad was in the U.S. and he said ok, I will send for you.”

Contexts of Transit

Unaccompanied minors essentially have two ways of traveling through Mexico and into the United States. Those who can afford to hire a smuggler. The minors I interviewed paid between \$6000-\$7000 to a smuggler who took them from their towns into the United States. All who crossed into the U.S. without being detected by border agents did so with the services of a smuggler. Family members already in the U.S. help pay for the smuggler, but most minors began working upon arrival to start paying off their debt. Some of the minors whom I interviewed did not have family members in the U.S. and saved most of the money prior to migrating. The poorest migrants travel through Mexico on top of freight trains known as *la bestia*, the beast. These rides are not free: they have to pay for bribes to Mexican authorities and tariffs to local gangs, but they are still significantly cheaper than paying a professional smuggler (Dominguez Villegas 2014). Most minors, however, do travel with smugglers. I have not encountered train-riding minors in my interviews, but they do exist and they are subject to the worst abuses because of their heightened vulnerability.

No matter their mechanism of travel, all minors are at increased risk of falling into the hands of traffickers. The depressing reality of my research is that, by focusing on the integration of those who arrived in Cincinnati, I do not observe those who were kidnapped or killed along the way. Girls are at increased risk of falling prey to sexual predators and sexual traffickers; many of those traveling from Central America have ended up working in brothels and bars (UNICEF 2016). Amnesty International (2013) estimates that 6 out of 10 women and girls are raped in transit. Workers in migrant shelters estimate that number to be even higher.

Contexts of Integration

In the U.S., children with at least one immigrant parent fare worse than their native-born counterparts on almost any social indicator, a fact that is especially concerning considering that immigrant children are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population (Tienda and Haskins 2011). Because my ongoing study is the first systematic data collection of the integration specifically of unaccompanied minors, we do not yet have comparative results, but all preliminary indicators suggest that unaccompanied minors fare poorly on social indicators as well.

Gender and family relationships also shape the integration experiences of the unaccompanied minors. Those who are reunited with their parents have an easier time accessing education, because parents are more likely to encourage them to attend school, even if they also work during their time away from school. It is not rare, however, for the minors to be released to more distant relatives, like an uncle they have not seen in years. Distant relatives are more likely to pressure the minors to work full time, contribute to the household finances, and pay off the smuggler quickly. Minors too, are attracted to the allure of money, and some do not see the value in an education for which they are often unprepared. A local school counselor echoed these sentiments during an interview. She explained her frustration in getting some of the minors into the schools.

“Sometimes the kids don’t want to study. They think that if you find a job at McDonald’s and you can buy a cellphone, that that’s enough. That’s wealth. The boys in particular, they all want to own a car, fancy sneakers. But even when they do, the sponsors sometimes don’t want them to. They tell them to work and not waste their time at school.”

Family reunification matters in other ways, too. While those who reunite with distant relatives may not benefit from the closer emotional ties, the social distance also means less oversight and more independence for them. Parents often spoke of the difficulties they faced in getting along with teenaged children they had not seen in many years. This was especially true for mothers, who are seen as less of an authoritative figure than boys. Elisa, a woman whose 14 year old daughter had not seen her in six years, recounted:

“I had a very hard time with her. She wouldn’t listen to me. She didn’t want to go to school, or help much around the house. I realized she was angry with me because I left her [in Guatemala], and also, her grandparents didn’t discipline her much. It’s been a struggle but thanks to God we are doing better now.”

In larger cities, like New York, reports suggest that unaccompanied minors highlight the identity conflicts they face, and issues of social isolation (Fordham and Vera 2014). In my own study, I find that students do not struggle much with social isolation. They attend public schools that are composed primarily of African-American students, but given their English learning needs, they are also placed in the same 5-7 schools with sizeable Latino migrant populations. The majority of them cited other Guatemalan minors as their main group of friends, and reported little conflict with the rest of the student population. Those who are not attending school

nevertheless live in neighborhoods or apartment complexes with sizeable Guatemalan populations, and have social networks of peers as well.

Identity, however, did become a struggle. Unaccompanied minors are of two kinds. First are the “official” unaccompanied minors who fall under the legal definition. These have been apprehended at the border, held under ORR custody, and subsequently released. The second kind are *de facto* unaccompanied minors. These managed to those the border undetected, and live outside the complex legal web that entangles the official unaccompanied minors. They see, of course, no difference amongst themselves. They come from the same communities, left for the same reasons, used the same mechanisms to migrate, and – by sheer chance - some were apprehended and others were not. The legal difference, however, does affect how minors lead their day-to-day lives. Those who were not apprehended defined themselves as “immigrants” or “undocumented immigrants”. They knew what their undocumented status means, and how they were supposed to conduct their lives at the margins of the law. They spoke of their perceived possibilities for the future (“I know I can’t go to college”), and made plans accordingly. Those awaiting immigration proceedings, however, lived life in a limbo. Not sure of what the final outcome of their petitions for asylum will be, for example, they went on with some of their daily activities, like attending school, but paused others. The entire asylum process can take years, and many expressed anxiety of the unknown, the desire to hope for the best, and the fear of “getting too excited about the future” which remains uncertain.

Adapting to life in the U.S. has its challenges for all minors, but girls in particular expressed some competing feelings about their place in society. Most girls accepted the traditional gender expectations of their culture. They plan to marry, have children, and care for them fulltime. While this is viewed as the norm, and even the ideal, the reality is that most girls in this community, as well as adult women, do work part-time, especially if they have older children and certainly when they are single mothers. At the same time, many girls expressed interest in the option of going to college, or pursuing some sort of skilled or professional work outside the factory jobs that most of them hold. Jimena, a sixteen year old girl who arrived unaccompanied two years earlier, summarized these conflicts well:

“They are always telling us about studying, and going to college. But I am not even sure if I am allowed to go to college [given her undocumented status]. Can I? I heard maybe I can go to Great Oaks [a technical college]. I don’t know. I’ve been in the ESL classes for two years and they are now putting me in the regular classes. I like them, but it’s hard. I don’t know... [*nervous laugh*]. I’m not sure what I want to do.”

Community and educational leaders have considered the possibility of creating some sort of technical educational option for these minors. They cite the problem of them aging out of the school system, or being pressured by some schools to leave and seek out a GED. A trade option would enable the older minors to learn English and a trade that teaches them an employable and transferable skill. When these kinds of programs are proposed, it is important to consider what specific trades are taught, and to ensure that the include options for girls who are unlikely to be attracted to certain jobs perceived to be “male”.

Girls are as likely as boys to be employed part-time or full-time, but they also have additional household responsibilities. Teenage pregnancy is common in this population, and girls quit school first, although when the father of the baby is another teenager, he eventually

leaves the school also to work. These minors receive no sexual education. It is not something readily discussed at home, much less with those who live with the more distant relatives. Few of the Cincinnati area school districts provide comprehensive sex ed classes, that go beyond and abstinence-only focus. Complete abstinence is unrealistic for any teenaged population, but even more so for the unaccompanied minors that lead more independent, less sheltered lives than many of the U.S.-born peers, and who come from a culture where having five or six children at a relative young age is not uncommon.

Summary –Why Gender Matters

Migrant children have a lot of agency, and nowhere is this more exemplified than in the unaccompanied minor flows. The Guatemalan youth I interviewed led lives in Guatemala that do not fit the Western model of child development. Even before reaching the teen ages, many had adult-sized responsibilities, doing farm work, selling in markets, and caring for younger siblings in addition to their school obligations. Most grew up in non-traditional families with at least one absent parent, and contexts of pervasive poverty and violence. Regardless of who helps them pay for a smuggler –if anyone – they ultimately made the decision to leave. Gender and household relationships affect their experiences of exit, transit, and incorporation:

- Girls have additional household obligations at their former and current homes that limit their opportunities to pursue education and some employment.
- Boys face increased coercion to join criminal gangs at home.
- Girls are very likely to experience sexual assault and rape in transit.
- Distant relatives pressure the minors to work while those who are reunited with one or both parents are more encouraged to continue their schooling.
- Girls who become pregnant leave school and the workforce and fulfill traditional roles inside the home.
- Girls struggle more with competing gender ideologies.
- Mothers struggle the most to connect with children they have not seen in many years.
- Minors who reunite with parents center their lives in the U.S.- those who reunited with distant relatives and have a mother at home send remittances and maintain stronger transnational ties.
- Receiving community members may have different perceptions of boys and girls from the same migrant group.
- Quantitative data will reveal whether there are statistically significant gender differences in use of legal counsel, immigration hearing decisions, English language skills, perception of and experiences with racism and crime in the receiving communities, interactions with school officials, police officers and other community leaders, perception of safety at home and in school, and general educational, health, legal, social, financial and other needs.

References

ACF – Administration for Children and Families (2016) Home Study and Post Release Services for Unaccompanied Children. Available at: https://ami.grantsolutions.gov/files/HHS-2017-ACF-ORR-ZU-1139_0.pdf

AIC – American Immigration Council (2015) A Guide to the Children Arriving at the Borders: Laws, Policies and Responses. Available at: <http://immigrationpolicy.org/special-reports/guide-children-arriving-border-laws-policies-and-responses>

Amnesty International (2013) Migrants in Mexico: Invisible Journeys. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2013/10/migrants-mexico-invisible-journeys/>

Baker, Nicholas G. (1982) Substitute Care for Unaccompanied Refugee Minors *Child Welfare* 61:6

Byrne, Olga (2008) Unaccompanied Children in the United States: A Literature Review. The Vera Institute of Justice.

Dominguez Villegas, Rodrigo (2014) Central American Migrants and “La Bestia”: The Route, Dangers, and Government Responses *Migration Information Source*. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-migrants-and-la-bestia-route-dangers-and-government-responses>

EUROSTAT (2016) Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors by citizenship, age and sex Annual data (rounded). Available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_asyunaa&lang=en

Felsman, J. Kirk, et al. (1990) Estimates of psychological distress among Vietnamese refugees: Adolescents, unaccompanied minors and young adults. *Social Science & Medicine* 31(11)1251-1256

Obama, Barack (2014) Presidential Memorandum -- Response to the Influx of Unaccompanied Alien Children Across the Southwest Border. Available at: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/02/presidential-memorandum-response-influx-unaccompanied-alien-children-acr>

Olivas, Michael A. (1990) Unaccompanied Refugee Children: Detention, Due Process and Disgrace. *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 2:159-166

ORR – Office for Refugee Resettlement (2016) Facts and Data. Available at: <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/about/ucs/facts-and-data>

Portes, Alejandro and Rubén Rumbaut (2001) *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Rumbaut, Rubén and Alejandro Portes (2001) *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Salazar Parreñas, Rhacel (2005) *Children of Global Migration. Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford:Stanford University Press

Scharf, Irene and Christine Hess (1988) What Process is Due? Unaccompanied Minors' Rights to Deportation Hearings. *Duke Law Journal* 1:114-128

Seghetti, Lisa, Alison Siskin, and Ruth Elen Wassem (2014) *Unaccompanied Alien Children: An Overview*. Congressional Research Service Report. Available at <http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/library/P8978.pdf>

Sourander, Andre (1998) Behavior problems and traumatic events of unaccompanied refugee minors. *Child abuse & neglect* 22(7) 719-727

Terrio, Susan (2015) *Whose Child Am I? Unaccompanied, Undocumented Children in U.S. Immigration Custody*. Oakland:University of California Press

Tienda, Marta and and Ron Haskins (2011) Immigrant children: Introducing the issue. *The Future of Children* 21(1)3-18

UNHCR (2016) New York Declaration. Available at: <http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration>

UNICEF (2016) *Broken Dreams: Central American children's dangerous journey to the United States*.

USCBP - U.S. Customs and Border Protection (2016) *United States Border Patrol Southwest Family Unit Subject and Unaccompanied Alien Children Apprehensions Fiscal Year 2016*. Available at: <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/southwest-border-unaccompanied-children/fy-2016>

USGAO – United States Government Accountability Office (2015) *Information on Migration of Unaccompanied Children from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras*. Report to Congressional Requesters. February 2015