Latina/o Adolescents' Family Undocumented-Status Disclosures Directed at School Counselors: A Latent Transition Analysis

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For adolescents from undocumented families, school counselors may serve as a resource to draw upon for support should the adolescents decide to disclose their family status. In this study, we identified psychological factors that were associated with adolescents' decisions to disclose (or not) their own or a family member's undocumented status to a counselor and examined corresponding mental health implications. Utilizing latent transition analyses with a sample of 410 Latina/o immigrant high school students, four profiles emerged in Wave 1: (1) indifferent nondisclosers, (2) concerned revealers, (3) anxious revealers, and (4) secure revealers. By Wave 2, we identified the same profiles, except anxious revealers were no longer present, and anxious nondisclosers emerged as a new profile. At Wave 3, we only identified three profiles: (1) indifferent nondisclosers (2), concerned revealers, and (3) anxious revealers. As Latina/o immigrant students experienced greater fear of deportation in the middle and end of the year, they were more likely to be concerned revealers (i.e., reporting moderate perceived risk of disclosing, low communication efficacy, and moderate levels of disclosure) compared with most profiles. Anxious revealers reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than several other profiles in the beginning of the year, and concerned revealers reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than several other profiles in the middle and end of the year. This study emphasizes the importance of considering the diverse experiences of family undocumented adolescents, and it sheds light on the extent to which family undocumented adolescents confide in a counselor.

Public Significance Statement
This study's findings show that it is important to recognize family undocumented adolescents as diverse in their motivations for and their experiences with confiding in a counselor. Adolescents who perceived greater risks to disclosing to a counselor and who had little knowledge of how to have such conversations had more depressive symptoms than adolescents in other groups. Adolescents also primarily used indirect disclosures (e.g., hints) to confide in a counselor. If counselors can recognize indirect disclosures, they might be better positioned to support family undocumented adolescents.

In the United States, family undocumented adolescents (i.e., adolescents who are undocumented or who have a nuclear family member who is undocumented) often face numerous challenges such as severe financial strain (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011), inadequate means to higher education (Contreras, 2009), fear of self or family deportation (Arbona et al., 2010), and heightened uncertainty about their future (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013). To help manage such challenges, family undocumented adolescents might consciously or unconsciously draw from what resilience theory refers to as *internal assets* (i.e., abilities within the individual) and *protective resources* (i.e., sources outside the individual; Fergus & Zimmer-

man, 2005). Internal assets include problem-solving abilities or efforts to cognitively reframe challenges in ways that attenuate their burdensome nature. Protective resources include support from family, friends, teachers, school counselors, and other people within family undocumented adolescents' social network (Pérez, Cortés, Ramos, & Coronado, 2010). Because family undocumented adolescents regularly attend school, school counselors (hereafter referred to as counselors) have the potential to serve as particularly important protective resources that can positively affect family undocumented adolescent development, including their chances for upward mobility post high school (Jefferies, 2014; Morrison et al., 2016; Muñoz, 2008).

To date, several qualitative studies have found that family undocumented adolescents might hesitate to disclose their own or family's undocumented status and seek support from resources available in schools. This decision makes sense given the potential negative consequences (e.g., discrimination, fear for self and family's safety) that might emerge from sharing one's family undocumented status with others (Gonzales, 2010; Scranton, Afifi, Afifi, & Gangi, 2016). Despite these barriers, schools may still offer support that can positively affect family undocumented adolescents' development. For example, Jefferies (2014) found that school administrators wanted to offer assistance to undocumented students and their families, and they described several benefits to establishing trust with them. To the extent that schools can understand family undocumented students' individual needs, schools can work with undocumented families to develop solutions tailored to address issues relevant to them like obtaining citizenship, knowing their rights, finding college scholarships, and referring them to mental health resources (Gonzales et al., 2013).

Deciding to disclose one's family undocumented status to a counselor is an individual decision. Family undocumented adolescents are a heterogeneous group; although some might feel comfortable disclosing to a counselor, others may not. In cases when family undocumented adolescents are motivated to confide in a counselor, it is, nonetheless, important to consider what factors are associated with that disclosure. Thus, we utilize the revelation risk model (RRM; Afifi & Steuber, 2009), a theoretical framework rooted in privacy management, to identify a set of potential psychological motivational factors for disclosure. RRM suggests that individuals are more likely to share private information when they are relationally close to the recipient, when they perceive the disclosure is of low risk, and when they feel efficacious about disclosing.

In this study, we employed latent profile and transition analyses (LPA and LTA), statistical methods that identify subgroups within heterogeneous samples and examine their stability over time, with several goals. First, to explore what factors accompany different forms of disclosure to a counselor, we identified profiles of Latina/o family undocumented high school students based on their motivations for disclosing and their disclosure patterns. Second, to examine external factors associated with these patterns, we tested whether fear of deportation or having a family member who has been detained/deported predicts profile membership or changes in profile membership over an academic year. Finally, to probe the mental health implications of disclosure-related experiences, we determined whether profiles of family undocumented students differed with respect to depressive symptoms.

A Focus on Counselors

The research on counselors' interactions with family undocumented adolescents is sparse, yet we focus on counselors because of their great potential to support family undocumented adolescents and promote positive development (Morrison et al., 2016). Our work on family undocumented students' disclosures directed toward teachers has found that overall, Latina/o immigrant high school students reported low to moderate levels of disclosure about their family undocumented status (Kam, Marcoulides, Steuber, Mendez Murillo, 2017).[1] Counselors, however, differ from teachers with respect to their roles, which might lead to different degrees and patterns of disclosure for family undocumented students. Specifically, counselors have been described as "critical in providing services to undocumented students. They are the main individuals who will have the necessary skills to attend to the academic, socio-emotional, and career advancement services given to undocumented immigrant families and children" (Morrison et al., 2016, p. 2). Thus, counselors have the potential to serve as supportive confidants because of their role in the education system (American School Counselor Association, 2017, para 1).

Counselors' relationships with students are highly variable depending on the school and grade level, and some schools have large student to counselor ratios, thereby making it challenging for counselors to meet with each student (Gonzales, 2010). Nonetheless, when counselors meet with students, such interactions often involve one-on-one meetings and an assurance of confidentiality. By contrast, high school teachers interact with many students in large-group settings (25–35 students per class) and often feel pressured to cover a certain portion of the curriculum during each class period, which can limit their individualized time with students (see Peeters & Rutte, 2005). The different role expectations and functions for counselors and the more individualized interactions that they can have with students might lead to different degrees of disclosure. Thus, it is crucial to consider counselors in addition to our work that has focused on teachers because family undocumented adolescents might be inclined to confide in a counselor. A question, however, still remains as to what psychological and environmental factors motivate family undocumented students to confide in a counselor?

The Revelation Risk Model (RRM) and Family Undocumented Disclosures

Prior to deciding whether to disclose private information, the RRM (Afifi & Steuber, 2009) posits that individuals engage in a cognitive *risk assessment* by anticipating the negative consequences to themselves and to others (e.g., family members) that might result from revealing their information to the recipient (Vangelisti & Caughlin, 1997). The greater the perceived negative risk (i.e., high negative risk assessment), the less likely individuals will disclose their private information to the recipient, particularly when the private information might be negatively valenced (Afifi & Steuber, 2009). Several qualitative studies have shown that Latina/o adolescents are more likely to withhold their family

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[1] The results for teachers are reported in another manuscript under review. Attempts were made to combine the two manuscripts, but page limitations required two separate manuscripts.

undocumented status from people outside their family for fear of deportation (Jefferies, 2014; Scranton et al., 2016). According to RRM, a potential buffer to this concealment is *relational closeness* (i.e., the bond between the individual and the recipient), such that as individuals feel more relationally close to the recipient, the less likely they are to perceive disclosing as risky. In turn, the more likely they are to experience *communication efficacy* in disclosing the information (Afifi & Steuber, 2009).

Communication efficacy refers to individuals' confidence in how to begin the conversation, how to bring up the private matter, or how to disclose the private information to the recipient (Afifi & Steuber, 2009). According to the RRM, the more communicatively efficacious individuals feel, the more likely they are to disclose. Previous research suggests that individuals may alter their disclosure strategies—that is, be relatively more *direct* or *indirect*— depending on how much risk they assess, how close they feel to the recipient, and how efficacious they feel. Direct disclosures generally consist of explicitly informing the recipient of the private information in a face-to-face interaction (Afifi & Steuber, 2009). There also are a variety of indirect means by which individuals disclose private information; however, the most relevant to this context is to implicitly convey information using hints, or reveal only small amounts of information. In these kind of situations, individuals often observe the recipient's reaction and then determine whether to disclose further (directly or indirectly; Steuber & High, 2015). The RRM suggests that family undocumented adolescents would be less likely to talk to their counselor about their family undocumented status, or are more likely to use indirect disclosures, the less relationally close they are, the greater their negative risk assessment, and the lower they are in communication efficacy (Afifi & Steuber, 2009).

Establishing Profiles Based on the RRM

Previous research suggests that some adolescents might be hesitant to disclose their family undocumented status (Scranton et al., 2016), whereas others might share such information to garner support (Jefferies, 2014) or as an expression of self-confidence and activism (Eisema, Fiorito, & Montero-Sieburth, 2016). We attempt to capture such heterogeneity by utilizing LPA. This method can be used to categorize family undocumented adolescents into different subgroups or profiles based on their motivations for disclosure and actual disclosures. LPA enables researchers to observe a combination of low, moderate, and high probabilities across various indicators (i.e., relational closeness, negative risk assessment, communication efficacy, direct disclosure, and indirect disclosure). As such, LPA is able to represent some of the complexity of motivations for disclosure and actual disclosure.

Consistent with the notion that family undocumented adolescents are diverse in their disclosure patterns, several different disclosure profiles may emerge. One profile of adolescents might have a close relationship with the counselor(s), low negative risk assessment, high communication efficacy, low indirect disclosures, and high direct disclosures. Specifically, members of this profile might feel comfortable discussing their family undocumented status because they feel relationally close to the counselors and perceive the risks of disclosure to be low. A second profile might emerge that exhibits low relational closeness with a counselor, a high negative risk assessment, a lack of communication

efficacy, and low indirect and direct disclosures. Some schools have large student-counselor ratios, which might make it challenging to form close relationships with all the students (Gonzales, 2010). Thus, this profile might be characteristic of the undocumented participants in Scranton et al.'s (2016) study, who reported attempts to "pass" as documented or avoid situations that could reveal their undocumented status. The aforementioned profiles are merely examples, and other profiles could exist. Thus, given the exploratory nature of LPA with respect to family undocumented adolescents, the following research question was developed:

RQ1: What profiles of family undocumented Latina/o adolescents will emerge based on their counselor-student relational closeness, negative risk assessment, communication efficacy, indirect disclosures, and direct disclosures?

Changing Disclosure Patterns

Some family undocumented adolescents might change profile membership as they progress through the academic year (i.e., from beginning to middle, and end). This could occur for a number of reasons. For example, it might take time for family undocumented adolescents to develop a close relationship with a counselor; therefore, it is possible that some adolescents are situated within a low-closeness, low disclosure profile early in the academic year but transition to a higher closeness, higher disclosure profile by the end of the academic year. In addition, changing experiences within their environment could lead family undocumented adolescents to share their family situation because they require assistance. Family undocumented adolescents might have, for example, an undocumented nuclear family member who requires medical care, and the adolescent could turn to a counselor to help them find affordable health care (Kam, & Pérez Torres, 2017). Thus, the following research question was posed to explore potential changes in motivations for disclosure and actual disclosure patterns over time:

RQ2: How do family undocumented Latina/o adolescents change profile membership across the academic year?

Fear of Detainment/Deportation and Having a Detained/Deported Family Member

Prior research indicates that some family undocumented adolescents might not share their family's situation with others because the disclosure of such information could result in the detainment/deportation of the adolescent or their undocumented family members (Jefferies, 2014; Scranton et al., 2016). Fear of detainment/deportation for self and family, as well as having a family member who has been detained/deported, are likely to predict their disclosure patterns and motivations, and thus, their profile membership. Family undocumented adolescents who experience more fear of detainment/deportation for themselves or family, and those who have a family member who has been detained/deported, might belong to profiles that are characterized by higher negative risk assessment, lower communication efficacy, and lower levels of disclosure. Thus, the following research question was set forth:

RQ3: How do fear of deportation and having a family member detained/deported predict profile membership across the academic year?

Disclosure's Implications for Mental Health

Family undocumented adolescents face numerous challenges that can threaten their mental health and wellbeing. The undocumented adolescents in Gonzales et al. (2013) reported feeling hopeless about their future because of the limited opportunities to obtain a higher education or a good job post high-school graduation. Some students reported suicidal ideation, a lack of belonging, withdrawing from their peers, and feeling isolated. Given the stressors that family undocumented adolescents encounter, some might experience depressive symptoms. As a form of internalizing behaviors, depressive symptoms include feeling depressed, sad, having difficulty concentrating, or feeling unable to manage life problems (Radloff, 1977).

Research suggests that revealing private information, especially if it is met with a positive or compassionate reaction, is linked to effective coping and improved health (Harvey, Orbuch, Chwalisz, & Garwood, 1991; Pennebaker & Francis, 1996). Thus, profile membership might be associated with depressive symptoms. For example, family undocumented adolescents who are in profiles characterized by high disclosure patterns, strong relational closeness, low negative risk assessment, and high communication efficacy might have lower depressive symptoms because: (a) they have garnered support from a counselor by disclosing, or (b) they may represent a more confident group of adolescents, evidenced by their strong relationship with a counselor and communication efficacy. Furthermore, the fever model (Stiles, 1987) suggests that some individuals disclose private information as a form of catharsis. Thus, profiles characterized by high direct disclosure patterns might be associated with lower levels of depressive symptoms, to the extent that adolescents find immediate relief in talking to a counselor and subsequently benefit from this in the longer-term. Thus far, limited research has been conducted on family undocumented adolescents' disclosures, as well as the relationship between their disclosure and mental health outcomes. We thus pose the following research question.

RQ4: Do family undocumented Latina/o adolescents' depressive symptoms differ by profile?

Method

The longitudinal survey data for this study come from a larger project that considers the stress, resilience, and wellbeing of immigrant high school students at a district located in the southwestern United States. Three waves of data were collected to capture change or stability across an entire academic year. Students completed a survey in November 2015 for Wave 1 (beginning of the academic year), in February 2016 for Wave 2 (middle of the academic year), and in May 2016 for Wave 3 (end of the academic year).

Participants

Among the 648 immigrant students that completed a survey, 85.9% (*n* = 550) were of Latina/o origin, according to the school district data. The other students were born in countries such as the Philippines, Sierra Leone, and Germany. Among the 550 Latina/o immigrant sample, students were then selected if they or a nuclear family member (parent or sibling) was undocumented, as self-reported by the students. Students who disclosed their undocumented status to us, the researchers, were selected for the data analyses; however, it is important to note that many of them had not disclosed their status to a counselor at the time of the study. Moreover, students were not told that they had to have disclosed their undocumented status to a counselor to participate in the larger study; therefore, it is unlikely that selectivity bias occurred. This selection process resulted in a final sample of 410 Latina/o family undocumented high school students. The 410 Latina/o family undocumented students could enter or exit the study at any wave; 16.6% participated in only one wave, 37.3% participated in two waves, and 46.1% participated in all three waves.

Among the 410 Latina/o students, 75% reported being undocumented themselves, 89% had a parent who was undocumented, and 83.5% had at least one sibling who was undocumented. With respect to their nationality, 92% was born in Mexico and 6% in El Salvador, with the remaining 2% born in another Spanish-speaking country. The sample of Latina/o students had lived in the United States on average for 7.32 years (*SD* = 4.04), and 55% were male. Their mean age was 16.1 years (*SD* = 1.30). Thirty-six percent was in 9th grade, 24% in 10th grade, 23% in 11th grade, and 17% in 12th grade. According to school district data, 98.5% were part of the free-lunch program.

Procedures

Prior to collecting any survey data, approval was obtained from the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Upon receiving approval, the Department of Education's website was used to identify public schools that had Latina/o student populations of at least 50%. School principals were called, sent information packets, and e-mailed. A school district located in an agricultural city in a Southwestern state volunteered to participate because its goal was to develop additional resources for immigrant students. The school district consists of three high schools enrolling approximately 7,000 students in total. Proportions of Latina/o students at the three high schools ranged from 58% to 94%. To maintain the safety of the participating students, limited information is provided about the schools' characteristics and locations.

The school district agreed to invite 700 immigrant students across the three high schools to participate. The district selected students according to how recently they immigrated to the United States until a sample size of 700 was obtained. Afterward, the school district mailed an information letter to the 700 immigrant students' parents. The letter, which was printed in Spanish and English, described the study's objective, its voluntary nature, and that students would complete a survey three times that academic year. Parents were informed that their high school student would "answer questions on how they manage stressful experiences related to immigration (e.g., having a family member deported, migrating to the United States unaccompanied, and having to live in one country, while a parent(s) lives in another country)." Parents had two weeks to withdraw their child from the study. At Waves 2 and 3, the school district used an automated phone messaging system to inform parents in Spanish and English of the study. The message offered parents the opportunity to withdraw their child from the study. Eight parents withdrew their child from the study (see supplemental materials for more detail).

On each survey date, participating students completed the survey in their school library or a classroom during a class period.

Before providing the students with the survey, research personnel explained in English and Spanish the study's purpose and described how the study was voluntary and confidential. At each wave, the students completed an assent form, and afterward, they completed the survey online with a tablet or a school computer. The entire process took approximately 30–45 min. All study documents were offered in English and Spanish. Translation fidelity was established utilizing Rogler's (Rogler, 1989) back-translation method. Thirty-five percent of the of the 410 Latina/o students completed the survey in Spanish at Wave 1, 31% at Wave 2, and 32% at Wave 3. Research personnel gave each student a snack and university paraphernalia (e.g., stylus highlighter pens and notepads) for participating.

Measures

Shortened survey measures were employed to meet the students' developmental needs and the length of school's class periods.

Indicators of latent profile membership. Latent profile membership was based on school counselor-student relational closeness, self-family risk assessment, maintenance risk assessment, communication efficacy, indirect disclosures, and direct disclosures. For each latent profile indicator, we created a mean composite score from a multiitem scale (see below). When surveyed, students completed the measures, reflecting on three sources: teacher(s), school counselor(s), and friend(s). Because this study concentrated on counselor-student communication, only the items reflecting on counselors were utilized in the analyses reported here. In Waves 2 and 3, the following statement was added at the beginning of the items to represent the time intervals between waves: "In the last 3 months (90 days). . . ." All items used a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*) unless otherwise noted.

Counselor-student relational closeness. Modifying the scale used in prior studies of RRM (i.e., Afifi & Steuber, 2009; Steuber & Solomon, 2011), we asked students how strongly they agreed with two statements from Buchanan, MacCoby, and Dornbusch (1991): "The following people [school counselor(s)] are interested in talking to you when you want to talk" and "You are confident that the following people [school counselor(s)] would help if you had a problem" (M_{W1} = 3.71, SD = 1.00, α = .79; M_{W2} = 3.42, SD = 1.03, α = .80; M_{W3} = 3.32, SD = 1.14, α = .85).[2]

Students' self-family risk assessment. Vangelisti and Caughlin (1997) conducted two studies to validate different types of risk assessments (e.g., evaluation, defense, and maintenance). For *evaluation risk assessment*, students responded to two items taken from the larger scale: "Thinking about your family member's documentation status, how strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?" Two statements were used, "The following people [school counselor(s)] would disapprove if they knew about your family's situation" and "If the following people [school counselor(s)] found out about your family's situation, they would think badly about your family." For *defense risk assessment*, we used two items from Vangelisti and Caughlin's (1997) scale: "The following people [school counselor(s)] might use the information about your family situation against you and your family" and "If the following people [school counselor(s)] found out about your family's situation, they would probably tell others about it." *For maintenance risk assessment*, students read two statements from

Vangelisti and Caughlin (1997)'s scale, "Telling these people about your family's situation would really create problems for your family" and "Members of your family would be really upset if you told the following people about your family's situation."

When testing RRM, Afifi and Steuber (2009) combined evaluation and defense into one composite score, which they labeled, "self-protection." They then kept maintenance items separate from self-protection. For our study, we used the composite score of the evaluation and defense items to create "self-family protection," as opposed to "self-protection." Our items had students reflect on the risk to themselves and their family, should they disclose their family's situation; therefore, it made sense to have students reflect on the family, not merely the self. We then created the composite score of the two maintenance items. Thus, we had two types of risk assessments: *self-family protection* (M_{W1} = 2.28, SD = 0.84, α = .65; M_{W2} = 2.21, SD = 0.88, α = .73; M_{W3} = 2.21, SD = 0.96, α = .91) and *maintenance* (M_{W1} = 2.43, SD = 0.97, α = .78; M_{W2} = 2.25, SD = 0.92, α = .76; M_{W3} = 2.39, SD = 0.98, α = .81).

Students' communication efficacy. Students were asked, "Thinking about your family member's documentation status, how strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?" Students read two items from Afifi and Steuber (2009), which were originally modified from Caughlin et al. (2005), "You can't think of any way to tell the following people [school counselor(s)] about your family's situation," and "You don't know how to start a conversation with the following people [school counselor(s)] about your family's situation" (M_{W1} = 3.30, SD = 0.99, α = .72; M_{W2} = 3.44, SD = 0.96, α = .68; M_{W3} = 3.48, SD = 1.01, α = .77). Scores were reverse coded, so that higher scores indicated more communication efficacy.

Students' indirect disclosures. Students read the introduction, "Thinking about your family member's documentation status, how strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?" They then read two statements originating from Afifi and Steuber (2009): "You've provided pieces of information about you family's situation to see how the following people [school counselor(s)] would react," and "You've revealed small details to the following people [school counselor(s)] about your family's situation to see how they would respond" (M_{W1} = 2.75, SD = 1.11, α = .87; M_{W2} = 2.26, SD = 1.06, α = .88; M_{W3} = 2.44, SD = 1.09, α = .90).

Students' direct disclosures. Students read the introduction, "Thinking about your family member's documentation status, how strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?" They read two statements originating from Afifi and Steuber (2009) and utilized in Steuber and High (2015): "You've directly told the following people [school counselor(s)] about your family situation," and "You've told the following people [school counselor(s)] about your family situation, in person, face-to-face" (M_{W1} = 2.26, SD = 1.03, α = .86; M_{W2} = 2.01, SD = 0.92, α = .87; M_{W3} = 2.11, SD = 1.02, α = .91).

Predictors of latent profile membership and transitions. We examined whether s*tudent fear of detainment/deportation for self*, *student fear of detainment/deportation for a family member,*

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[2] The means, standard deviations, and reliabilities are based on the data from all participants who responded for a given wave.

and *a family member being deported* predicted latent profile membership across the academic year. One item was taken from Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, and Orozco-Suárez (2011), "How often have you worried that you might be detained or deported?" (1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *often*, 5 = *very often*; M_{W1} = 2.60, SD = 1.47, M_{W2} = 2.21, SD = 1.37, M_{W3} = 2.04, SD = 1.29). A measure also was adapted to capture students' fear of detainment/deportation for a family member, "How often have you worried that family members might be detained or deported?" (M_{W1} = 3.06, SD = 1.42, M_{W2} = 2.62, SD = 1.38, M_{W3} = 2.29, SD = 1.31). Because the two items were highly correlated, fear of deportation was calculated as the average of the two items.

A single, dichotomous (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*) detainment/deportation experiences predictor at each wave was created from three (dichotomous) items, which asked whether participants' (a) father, (b) mother, or (c) siblings had been detained/deported in the last three months because of their immigration status (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*). If participants responded affirmatively to any of these three items for a given wave, they were coded as 1 (yes) on the composite predictor. If participants responded negatively to all three items, they were given a 0 (no) on this predictor. At Wave 1, 16.6% of students who completed the survey had a nuclear family member who had been detained/deported; at Wave 2, 15.6%; and at Wave 3, 13.9%.

Depressive symptoms. We used four items from the depressive affect subscale from Radloff's (1977) Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale. At Wave 1, we asked students, "In the past month (30 days), how often have you . . ." and students read four items ("felt depressed?", "felt that you could not stop feeling sad, even with help from family and friends?", "felt that you could not deal with the problems in your life?", and " staying focused on what you were doing?"; 1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *often*, 5 = *very often*; M_{W1} = 2.45, SD = 1.16, α = .90; M_{W2} = 2.31, SD = 1.14, α = .91; M_{W3} = 2.36, SD = 1.17, α = .92). For Waves 2 and 3, the introduction was changed to "In the past 3 months (90 days), how often have you . . ." To calculate depressive symptoms, we followed Kam and Bámaca-Colbert (2013), as well as Kam, Basinger, and Guntzviller (2017) by obtaining the composite score (average) of the items. Although CESD was created to have participants reflect on the week prior to completing the measure, we asked students to report on the past month because the time between waves was lengthy (3 months). Lastly, instead of having students use a response-option that had them reflect on the number of days within a week on which they experienced symptoms, we used a 5-point response option similar to Kam, Castro, and Wang (2015) and Kam, Marcoulides, & Merolla (2017) that focused on general frequency of symptoms.

Control variables. We examined whether any of the following demographic variables predicted profile membership in each wave: school site (dummy coded), documentation status of adolescent (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*, but a member of the family is undocumented), school-reported sex (0 = *male*, 1 = *female*), grade level (dummy coded), length of school enrollment, and time spent in the United States at Wave 1; and student-reported age, survey language choice (0 = *Spanish*, 1 = *English*), and self-reported closeness with each parent (mother, father) at Wave 1 (measured with a composite of three items from Vangelisti & Caughlin, 1997). Parent–child closeness was included

because students might be more likely to confide in a counselor the less relationally close they are with their mother or father. Students' school-reported status as socioeconomically disadvantaged (as measured by participation in the school's free-lunch program) was planned as an additional (dichotomous) variable for inclusion. However, 98% of student participants were identified as socioeconomically disadvantaged, meaning there was almost no variance in this variable; thus, it was excluded from the analysis.

Results

Data Analysis

As an analytic approach, we employed LPA and LTA using Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2014). Typically, LPA is used to identify homogenous subgroups of people (i.e., those with similar patterns of responses to indicator items) within a larger, more heterogeneous sample. LTA is used to examine sequential changes in subgroup memberships over two or more points in time (e.g., Marcoulides, Gottfried, Gottfried, & Oliver, 2008).

Data analysis proceeded in two stages. In the first stage, we conducted a series of analyses for each wave (i.e., point in time) separately, analyzing data only from participants who completed questionnaires for a given wave. Initially, these consisted of LPAs with the six RMM composites (i.e., closeness, self-family risk, maintenance risk, communication efficacy, indirect disclosure, and direct disclosure) as indicators of profile membership. To identify the number of profiles for each wave, we ran a series of models, each with one more profile than the previous model. When models became unstable and/or included substantively nonsensical profiles, this process stopped. To determine which model (among those run) best fit the data for each wave, we considered both fit statistics and substantive interpretation of the profiles (Collins & Lanza, 2010). The Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC) served as our main statistical criterion (Matsunaga, 2009; Morgan, Hodge, Wells, & Watkins, 2015), and the Lo-Mendell-Rubin (LMR) likelihood ratio test as a secondary criterion. Generally, lower BIC values indicate better fit; a significant *p* value for a LMR likelihood ratio test indicates that the current model fit offers a significant improvement over the previous model (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007). Entropy was an additional check that model selection was appropriate for subsequent analyses comparing outcomes for each profile (see Masyn, 2013). Table 1 found in the supplemental materials provides fit statistics for each model at each wave. In making our final model selection for each wave, we also considered the substantive interpretability of the profiles.

After identifying the best latent profile solution for each wave (RQ1) individually, we used the three-step approach (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2013; Nylund-Gibson, Grimm, Quirk, & Furlong, 2014) to examine whether fear of deportation and detainment/deportation experiences (in addition to any demographic variables, entered simultaneously) uniquely predicted profile membership at each wave (RQ3). We used multiple

Table 1

LTA Transitions Between Waves 1 and 2 and Between Waves 2 and 3

(a) Probability	IND	CR	AND	SR
Wave 1 (Row) to Wave 2 (Column)				
IND	.67	.25	.03	.05
CR	.07	.52	.18	.23
AR	.13	.57	.00	.30
SR	.38	.17	.03	.42
	IND	CR	AR	
Wave 2 (Row) to Wave 3 (Column)				
IND	.82	.18	.00	
CR	.05	.84	.12	
AND	.40	.60	.00	
SR	.47	.52	.01	
(b) Number of people	IND	CR	AND	SR
Wave 1 (Row) to Wave 2 (Column)				
IND	42	16	2	3
CR	14	107	37	48
AR	1	6	0	3
SR	46	0	0	0
	IND	CR	AR	
Wave 2 (Row) to Wave 3 (Column)				
IND	90	19	0	
CR	8	138	19	
AND	14	22	0	
SR	44	48	1	

Note. IND = indifferent nondisclosers; SR = secure revealers; CR = concerned revealers; AR = anxious revealers; AND = anxious nondisclosers.

imputation[3] in Mplus (with $n = 100$ data sets) to handle missing data on predictors for each wave (Enders, 2010). Then, in a separate analysis, we used a posterior probability-based multiple imputation approach (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2014) to test whether participants' self-reported depressive symptoms at each wave differed by profile membership (RQ4).

In the second stage, an LTA was tested that combined all three waves into single analysis, to examine what changes in subgroup membership occurred over an academic year. Full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was used to handle missing data on profile indicators (Enders, 2001; Enders & Bandalos, 2001). The final LTA model included three time waves of data and two predictors of profile membership, as well as school site and adolescent documentation status as controls, at each wave (see Figure 1 in supplemental materials). The LPA and LTA results reported below (for RQ1 and RQ2) are from this final model.

RQ1: Profiles of Risk and Disclosure

The first research question asked what subgroups could be identified based on Latina/o family undocumented students' counselor-focused relational closeness, risk assessments, communication efficacy, indirect disclosures, and direct disclosures. Based on the criteria outlined above, a four-profile solution was determined to be the most appropriate for the first two waves, and a three-profile solution the

most appropriate for the third wave. Figure 1 presents a graphical representation of the final profile solution for each wave; corresponding descriptive statistics are presented in Tables 2 and 3 under supplemental materials.

The first profile, which we labeled *indifferent nondisclosers*, was characterized by moderate levels of self-reported closeness with their counselor, accompanied by relatively low negative risk assessments, high communication efficacy, and low levels of indirect and direct disclosure. Figure 1 shows that indifferent nondisclosers had the lowest negative risk assessment levels, highest communication efficacy levels, and lowest direct and indirect disclosure levels relative to the other profiles. This profile increased in size across the academic year, growing from less than one fifth of the sample in Wave 1 to nearly one third of the sample in Wave 3. The second profile, which we labeled *concerned revealers,* was characterized by moderate counselor-student relational closeness, negative risk assessments, communication efficacy, and levels of disclosure. Compared to the other profiles in Figure 1, concerned revealers had the second highest negative risk assessment levels, accompanied by moderate disclosure levels, which is why we labeled them concerned revealers. The concerned revealers decreased in size between Waves 1 and 2, and then increased again from Wave 2 to 3.

The third profile, *anxious revealers*, differed slightly between waves. In Waves 1 and 3, it was characterized by high levels of counselor-student relational closeness, negative risk assessments, and indirect and direct disclosure, along with low levels of communication efficacy. Relative to the other profiles in Figure 1, they had the highest negative risk assessment and disclosure levels, but the lowest communication efficacy levels. In Wave 2, anxious revealers disappeared, and instead, *anxious nondisclosers* emerged as a fourth profile. Anxious nondisclosers had moderate counselor-student closeness, moderate maintenance risk assessments, but low communication efficacy, as well as low indirect and direct disclosure. Compared to the other profiles, they had the lowest disclosure and communication efficacy levels, but the highest maintenance risk assessment levels. This profile was the smallest across waves.

The fifth profile, which we labeled *secure revealers,* was characterized by moderate to high levels of counselor-student relational closeness, but low negative risk assessments, moderate communication efficacy, and moderate levels of indirect and direct disclosure. Relative to the other profiles, secure revealers had nearly the highest levels of counselor-student closeness, the second lowest negative risk assessment levels, the second highest communication efficacy levels, and the second highest disclosure levels. This profile only appeared in Waves 1 and 2, and increased in size slightly between waves.

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[3] Using FIML in model estimation does not address missing data on covariates. The default handling of missing data in Mplus for data missing on predictors is listwise deletion. Given participation rates and patterns across waves, removing any participant who did not fully complete all predictor items for all waves resulted in unacceptable loss of data. Thus, imputation of missing data was determined to be best option given the situation.
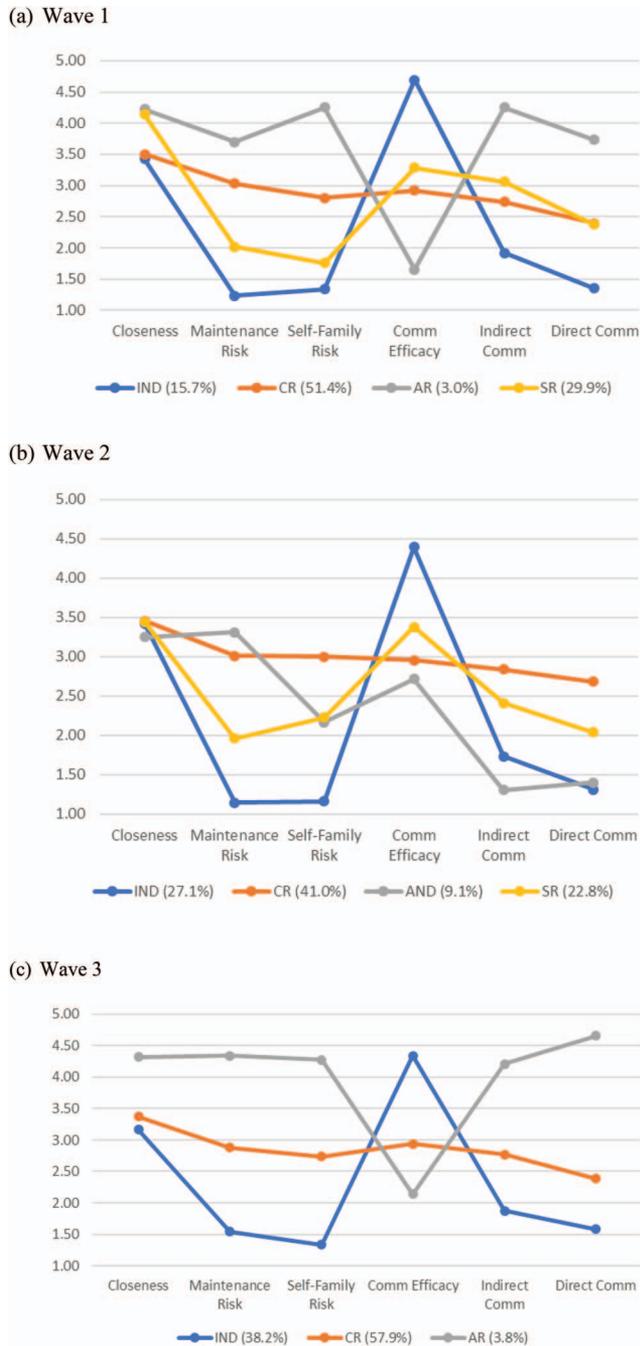
Figure 1. Latent profiles of family undocumented status disclosures by wave. IND = indifferent nondisclosers; SR = secure revealers; CR = concerned revealers; AR = anxious revealers; AND = anxious nondisclosers. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

RQ2: Changes in Profile Membership Across the Academic Year

To investigate changes in adolescents' profile membership across the academic year, the transition probability matrices generated as part of the three-wave LTA described above were examined. In a LTA

model, Mplus uses information about adolescents' relative probability of membership in each profile in each wave to estimate their probability of staying in their current profile or moving to another profile across waves. The result of this procedure for all adolescents is a set of matrices (one for the Wave 1 to Wave 2 transition; one for the Wave 2 to Wave 3 transition) in which the diagonal represents the probabilities of staying in the same profile across waves, and the off-diagonal represents the probabilities of moving to other profiles. For a given matrix, the sum of the probabilities for each row (i.e., membership in a given profile at the first time point) is always 1.00 (Marcoulides et al., 2008). The transition matrices for Latina/o family undocumented adolescents across the academic year are presented in Table 1.

Indifferent nondisclosers and concerned revealers were the most stable across time. From Waves 1 to 2, the probability of indifferent nondisclosers and concerned revealers staying in their profiles was 67% and 52%, respectively. From Waves 2 to 3, this increased to 82% for indifferent nondisclosers and 84% of concerned revealers. If concerned revealers were to transition from Waves 1 to 2, they were most likely to become secure revealers, followed by anxious nondisclosers. Secure revealers were most likely to become indifferent nondisclosers, followed by concerned revealers. By Wave 3, concerned revealers were most likely to become anxious revealers. Secure revealers and anxious nondisclosers were no longer present in Wave 3. The remaining profiles were somewhat less stable over time. From Waves 1 to 2 and from Waves 2 to 3, indifferent nondisclosers were most likely to become concerned revealers. From Waves 1 to 2, anxious revealers were most likely to become concerned revealers. Anxious nondisclosers at Wave 2 were most likely to become concerned revealers by Wave 3, followed by indifferent nondisclosers.

RQ3: Fear of Deportation and Detainment/Deportation Experiences as Predictors

To determine whether students' (a) fear of deportation or (b) detainment/deportation experiences predicted profile membership, these two variables, along with the control variables listed above, were entered as predictors at each wave. The results of these multinomial regressions are in Table 4 under supplemental materials. All regression coefficients (and odds ratios) reported are relative to concerned revealers, the reference profile.

In the first wave, neither fear of deportation nor detainment/deportation experiences predicted profile membership. In the second wave, as fear increased, students were less likely to be in the indifferent nondisclosers or (marginally) secure revealers profile, relative to concerned revealers ($OR = .48$ and .64, respectively). However, there were no significant effects of detainment/deportation experiences on profile membership in the second wave. In the third wave, similar to the second wave, as fear increased, students were less likely to be in the indifferent nondisclosers profile, relative to concerned revealers ($OR = .69$).

In terms of control variables, school site predicted membership in the anxious revealer profile in Wave 1 (relative to all other profiles), as well as membership in the indifferent nondisclosers profile in Waves 2 and 3. Students at one of the schools were more likely to be anxious revealers. In Wave 2, being older also pre-

dicted a lower likelihood to being an indifferent nondiscloser compared to a concerned revealer ($OR = .46$).

RQ4: Differences in Depressive Symptoms by Profile

The final research question asked whether different profiles were associated with varying levels of depressive symptoms in Latina/o family undocumented adolescents. We compared[4] the scores for these measures across the latent profiles for each wave (one wave at a time). Table 5 in supplemental materials presents the results of these tests. In Wave 1, anxious revealers had significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms than indifferent nondisclosers, $\chi^2(1) = 5.02$, $p = .025$, $\varphi = .12$, and concerned revealers, $\chi^2(1) = 4.15$, $p = .042$, $\varphi = .11$. Depressive symptoms in each of these other profiles did not significantly differ from each other. In Wave 2, concerned revealers had significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms than indifferent nondisclosers, $\chi^2(1) = 9.79$, $p = .002$, $\varphi = .18$, and anxious nondisclosers, $\chi^2(1) = 5.80$, $p = .016$, $\varphi = .14$. Depressive symptoms for secure revealers were also higher than for the indifferent nondisclosers, $\chi^2(1) = 4.18$, $p = .041$, $\varphi = .12$. In Wave 3, concerned revealers had higher levels of depressive symptoms than indifferent nondisclosers, $\chi^2(1) = 4.67$, $p = .031$, $\varphi = .13$.

Discussion

For this study, we considered the extent to which family undocumented adolescents confided in counselors, a potential protective resource outside their family. Given the effect that some counselors can have on adolescents' positive development, we sought to understand the factors associated with adolescents' disclosure of their family's undocumented status to counselors. To this end, we examined profiles of immigrant adolescents based on their motivations for disclosure and their actual disclosure of their family's undocumented status. We also uncovered several predictors of profile membership and reveal how family undocumented adolescents differ in depressive symptoms according to profile membership.

Profiles of Disclosure

We identified five distinct profiles based on members' motivations for disclosure and their actual disclosure patterns: *indifferent nondisclosers, concerned revealers, anxious revealers, anxious nondisclosers,* and *secure revealers.* Prior research has found that undocumented Latina/o adolescents often experience fear of deportation and are hesitant to disclose their undocumented status to nonfamily members (Jefferies, 2014; Scranton et al., 2016). However, our results emphasize the notion that family undocumented adolescents are diverse in their disclosure patterns; family undocumented adolescents are heterogeneous. For example, we identified a profile of family undocumented students that appeared to exhibit very little concern for their family undocumented status. Indifferent nondisclosers were most distinct from the other three profiles because they generally did not reveal their family undocumented status, whereas adolescents in other profiles reported greater disclosure. Given their low negative risk assessment, indifferent nondisclosers might include family undocumented adolescents who are not as worried or concerned about their family's

status. This interpretation is corroborated by findings that lower fear of deportation predicted a higher likelihood of being in this profile (relative to concerned revealers) in the middle of the year.

We might be able to understand the emergence of the indifferent nondisclosers profile by drawing from an interview study on Latina/o undocumented adolescents (Kam & Pérez Torres, 2017). Some of the undocumented adolescents in this study reported having limited fear of deportation at the time of data collection. They reported seldom thinking of their undocumented status, and they thought their undocumented status was "not a big deal." Of those who held such views, some thought that being undocumented had become "routine" and "normal." Being undocumented was the only way of life that they were accustomed to, and they did not feel the need to frequently talk about being undocumented with their family, friends, or school. In light of such results, indifferent nondisclosers might represent a similar group of undocumented adolescents who have low negative risk assessments and engage in limited disclosures because their family undocumented status has become routine to them.

Contrary to indifferent nondisclosers, concerned revealers, secure revealers, and anxious revealers were more similar to each other in motivations for disclosure and disclosure patterns. Each of these profiles reported slightly greater negative risk assessments and disclosures than the previous profile (anxious revealers > concerned revealers > secure revealers), but slightly less communication efficacy (anxious revealers < concerned revealers < secure revealers). Anxious revealers and concerned revealers are inconsistent with the RRM's predictions that higher disclosure should be associated with *higher* communication efficacy and *lower* negative risk assessments. Instead, concerned revealers and anxious revealers all had moderate to high levels of counselor-student closeness, negative risk assessments, and disclosure. They also reported the highest levels of depressive symptoms, which makes sense, given their higher negative risk assessment levels and lower communication efficacy levels. Although marginally significant, the general pattern appeared to be that students were more likely to be concerned revealers as fear of detainment/deportation increased.

These patterns of motivations and behaviors suggest that there are likely other criteria at play in determining disclosures in this context. For example, the factors nominated by RRM might at times be overrode by needs to access information or other resources that the school can provide. Vangelisti, Caughlin, and Timmerman (2001) found that when asked whether individuals would reveal a family secret, some individuals reported that they would reveal if they had a strong need to talk about the issue; this might be a dominant motivator for anxious and concerned revealers. Vangelisti and colleagues also found that permission from

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[4] In the analysis conducted, participants are assigned to latent profiles using their estimated probability of profile membership. In each profile, participants' scores on each of the outcomes of interest are used to calculate a corresponding mean score for the profile. This process is repeated across a series of simulation runs. The means calculated across all runs are then averaged to produce a final mean score for each profile, on each outcome variable of interest. Then, a χ^2 test is employed to test for significant differences between final means. This test has one degree of freedom for pairwise comparisons, and $k - 1$ degrees of freedom for an overall test (where k is the number of latent profiles). For additional details on this procedure, see Gasiorek, Fowler, and Giles (2015).

family members could "exonerate" a person who disclosed a secret to those outside of the family. Secure revealers might be more confident sharing, despite knowing the overall risk, because their family has given them implicit or explicit permission to do so to obtain assistance (Petronio, 1991).

Although none of the profiles perfectly matched the tenets of the RRM (Afifi & Steuber, 2009), secure revealers and anxious nondisclosers might be most representative of this theoretical framework. Secure revealers had high levels of counselor-student closeness, low negative risk assessment levels, moderate communication efficacy levels, and moderate indirect disclosure levels. The RRM suggests that individuals are more likely to disclose private information as their relational closeness increases, negative risk assessment decreases, and communication efficacy increases. Similarly, anxious nondisclosers, although they had moderate counselor-student closeness, had the highest levels of maintenance risk, lowest levels of communication efficacy, and nearly the lowest levels of disclosure in Wave 2. This profiles' characteristics are mostly consistent with RRM's postulations; however, relational closeness did not seem to matter. Relational closeness was moderate to high across all profiles, which again suggests that other factors might carry more weight in distinguishing profiles from each other. Thus, our results provide some evidence for the RRM, but they also extend the RRM by introducing several other profiles.

It is important to note that the secure revealers profile disappeared by the end of the academic year, and anxious nondisclosers were only present in the middle of the year. One possible explanation for the disappearance of the secure revealers profile by the end of the academic year is the ICE raid that occurred between Waves 2 and 3. This ICE raid garnered local media attention and generated concern within the school district's community. After the raid, adolescents who disclosed their family undocumented status might have perceived great risks to disclosing, thereby resulting in the disintegration of the secure revealers. Revealing one's family undocumented status was no longer secure. With respect to the emergence of anxious nondisclosers, it is possible that this profile emerged as a group that already disclosed in Wave 1. Indeed, anxious nondisclosers were most likely to transition from concerned revealers. These students maintained their negative risk assessment from Waves 1 to 2, but they decreased their disclosure levels, perhaps because they already disclosed in Wave 1. However, when the ICE raid occurred in between Waves 2 and 3, we observed the disappearance of anxious nondisclosers by Wave 3 and the reemergence of anxious disclosers. Perhaps the ICE raid led Latina/o family undocumented adolescents to confide in a counselor because they required support following the raid.

Another finding worth noting is that family undocumented adolescents' indirect disclosures were higher than their direct disclosures across all profiles. The sensitive nature of a family undocumented status might lead adolescents to be more hesitant to directly disclose their family's situation (see Afifi & Steuber, 2009; Vangelisti et al., 2001 for reviews). When immigrant adolescents did reveal their family undocumented status to a counselor, it appears that indirect disclosures (i.e., providing small details or pieces of information) were the most commonly utilized means. Prior to this study, little was known regarding what factors motivate family undocumented adolescents to confide in a counselor. In addition to RRM, other motivational factors should be considered, at least in the context of disclosure of undocumented

status. For example, students may need informational support from school officials, which they may perceive as "worth" the risk of disclosing. Consistent with this, Contreras (2009) found that students talked about their undocumented status to school officials to learn more about career and educational opportunities. In addition to Contreras' results, research on privacy management has recognized the importance of catharsis—the extent to which disclosing private information might provide a sense of emotional relief (Afifi & Steuber, 2009). Family undocumented adolescents might confide in a counselor to garner emotional support and to alleviate the burden of having to keep their information secret. Finally, other work on information management has emphasized the importance of target efficacy (i.e., the belief that the recipient can provide the desired information or support; Afifi & Weiner, 2004). Family undocumented adolescents may not confide in a counselor if they do not think the counselor can provide effective support.

Changes in Profile Membership Over an Academic Year

Across an academic year, family undocumented adolescents were most likely to maintain their present patterns of disclosure motivation and behavior (represented by remaining in the same profile). However, some did exhibit changes in these patterns over time. First, anxious revealers were only present in the beginning and end of the year, and in the middle of the year, anxious nondisclosers emerged, but only at that period. Interestingly, members of those two profiles were most likely to come from the concerned revealers profile. Thus, concerned revealers who became anxious revealers perceived greater risk to disclosing, but disclosed more, perhaps because they were in great need of assistance from a counselor. By contrast, concerned revealers who became anxious nondisclosers perceived greater risk to disclosing, but they disclosed less, perhaps because they had already confided in a counselor.

The present study also suggests that affective and environmental factors—in this case, fear of deportation for self or family—may motivate adolescents to disclose their undocumented status to counselors. As adolescents experienced greater fear of deportation in the middle of the academic year, they were generally more likely to be concerned revealers (who are characterized by the second highest negative risk assessment, second lowest communication efficacy, and second highest levels of indirect and direct disclosures) than members of other profiles. Fear of deportation may motivate adolescents to confide in a counselor despite both concerns that disclosing might lead to negative consequences and not knowing how to discuss their family's situation. Although some adolescents may want to withdraw out of fear, concerned revealers may have confided in a counselor because their need for informational, emotional, or instrumental support was sufficiently high as to override these other considerations.

Our findings regarding depressive symptoms also lend support to this interpretation. In the middle and end of the academic year, concerned revealers reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than most profiles, and anxious revealers reported higher levels than most profiles in the beginning of the year. According to the fever model (Stiles, 1987), individuals might reveal private information to obtain emotional relief. Anxious and concerned revealers might have disclosed their family undocumented status to a

counselor because they needed to discuss the challenges of being undocumented to relieve the distressing nature of being undocumented. Given that the significant differences in depressive symptoms dissipated by the end of the academic year for anxious revealers, it is possible that significant differences disappeared for them because their profile consisted of few members.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Despite this study's contributions, it has a number of limitations that suggest avenues for future research. Although the selection of variables in this study was guided by theory (i.e., the RRM), the results underscore the need to consider other factors that might motivate confiding in a counselor. One possible avenue for future research is to consider how RRM and variables independently predict trajectories of disclosure over time (using e.g., growth mixture modeling). Similarly, this study is limited by its sole focus on predicting disclosure instead of also considering the extent to which family undocumented adolescents garnered support from counselors. How counselors respond is of great importance to family undocumented adolescents' positive development, and is thus a worthy topic for future investigations.

Another limitation to this study is its longitudinal design that only followed family undocumented adolescents across one academic year. The survey data were also collected in the academic year prior to the 2016 presidential elections. The election results led to a large shift in the United States political climate surrounding immigration policies. Data collected postelection might result in different findings such as increased fear of deportation, which could lead adolescents to either withdraw from a school counselor to maintain their family's safety or to be even more motivated to confide in a school counselor for increased support.

Some limitations regarding the study's survey instrument are also worth noting. Shortened measures were employed to meet the developmental needs of the adolescents, as well as the time restriction imposed by the school's class periods. In addition, because the questions are sensitive in nature, some adolescents may not have felt comfortable answering those questions honestly. Moreover, most of the mean scores reported in this study (e.g., risk assessments, lack of efficacy, depressive symptoms) were low to moderate. Yet, understanding factors that are associated with differences in outcomes like depressive symptoms can be informative, given that experiences during adolescence shape future developmental trajectories.

Lastly, we grouped Latina/o students based on their motivations for disclosure and disclosure patterns, but we did not consider variations based on nationality. Generally, undocumented immigrants of Mexican origin are more likely to have resided in the United States for a longer period of time than undocumented immigrants from other countries (Gonzalez-Barerra & Krogstad, 2017). Motivations for disclosure, disclosure patterns, fear of deportation, and depressive symptoms may also change. Related, experiences with being undocumented likely differ by adolescents' environment (e.g., whether there are many or few undocumented adolescents in the school or neighborhood) and the state's overall sentiment toward immigration.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Previous research has emphasized the importance of building trust between high school students and counselors (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010), and theories on privacy and information management, including RRM (Afifi & Steuber, 2009) have suggested that relational closeness, risk assessments, and perceptions of communication efficacy can contribute to individuals' decisions to share private information. Such motivational factors have predicted disclosure in other contexts (e.g., revealing a secret to a romantic partner), and we observed some similar patterns among secure revealers and anxious nondisclosers. However, the other profiles that we identified indicate that additional motivational factors might be important in predicting family undocumented adolescents' disclosing one's family undocumented status. For example, family undocumented adolescents' may be willing to confide in a counselor despite having high negative risk assessments and lacking communication efficacy. It seems that this is a likely outcome when adolescents require support from a counselor.

In addition, our findings reveal that adolescents generally preferred to utilize indirect disclosures than direct disclosures. Building a trusting and supportive relationship with students may require counselors to recognize the indirect disclosure when it occurs. For example, anxious revealers engaged in the highest levels of indirect disclosures; this subgroup also reported the lowest levels of communication efficacy, and had the highest levels of depressive symptoms in the beginning of the year. Similarly, concerned revealers had the second highest levels of indirect disclosures and higher levels of depressive symptoms than several other profiles in the middle and end of the year. If counselors can recognize indirect disclosures, they will be better positioned to provide support that could help family undocumented adolescents' mental health, and in turn, their academic performance and future trajectory.

Although family undocumented adolescents might rely on their nuclear or extended family members as protective resources, several studies suggest that family undocumented adolescents may turn to a counselor for support (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gonzales, 2010; Jefferies, 2014). Seeking assistance from counselors might require the adolescents to disclose their family undocumented status. We do not advocate for disclosing one's status; rather, we argue that disclosing private information is an individual decision, and we offer an initial attempt to shed light on the decision-making process.

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