

Utah State University

DigitalCommons@USU

All Graduate Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

5-2022

Voces: Experiences of Undocumented Latines

José Manuel González Vera
Utah State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

González Vera, José Manuel, "Voces: Experiences of Undocumented Latines" (2022). *All Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 8395.

<https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/8395>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@usu.edu.



VOCES: EXPERIENCES OF UNDOCUMENTED LATINES

by

José Manuel González Vera

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Psychology

Approved:

Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.
Major Professor

Luz M. Garcini, MPH, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Marisela Martínez-Cola, J.D., Ph.D.
Committee Member

Richard S. Inouye, Ph.D.
Interim Vice Provost of Graduate Studies

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

2022

Copyright © José Manuel González Vera 2022

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Voces: Experiences of Undocumented Latines

by

José Manuel González Vera, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2022

Major Professor: Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.
Department: Psychology

Immigration has seen a decrease since the mid-2000s. However, deportation and detention rates have increased. Additionally, enforcement on the Mexican-U.S. border has increased dramatically. These increases in enforcement, detention, and deportation have been shown to have negative impacts on the lives and psychological well-being of undocumented people. The purpose of this study was to explore the challenges that undocumented people face and the resources they use to navigate those challenges. Participants were recruited through network-based referrals. In total, there were 67 participants, many of whom were undocumented ($n = 49$) while the others had a relative or friend who was undocumented. Participants were interviewed across six different focus groups conducted in the state of Texas. Data were analyzed by using thematic analysis and guided by Critical Race Theory, Latine Critical Theory, and Undocumented Critical Theory. Results suggest that psychological distress is common not only for undocumented people but also for their loved ones who are not undocumented. Another

major challenge was institutional and individual discrimination. Many undocumented participants reported experiencing frustration at being limited by their immigration status. Some participants also mentioned facing both out-group and within-group discrimination. Moreover, family was highly valued in this community, however, some participants noted experiencing a disconnect within their family due to many of them being occupied with work, school, etc. In terms of strengths, results showed that problem solving is a major coping strategy for this community. Additionally, many participants reported using religion to remain hopeful and optimistic about their future. Religion seemed to palliate the stress associated with being undocumented. These findings suggest that it may be helpful for interventions to be geared towards enhancing this community's strengths.

(89 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Voces: Experiences of Undocumented Latines

José Manuel González Vera

The purpose of this study was to learn about the challenges that this community faced before the pandemic and how they coped through those challenges. To answer this question, I examined transcripts from group interviews collected in the state of Texas. In total, there were 67 participants, many of whom were undocumented ($n = 49$) while the others had a relative or friend who was undocumented. Data were analyzed by looking for common patterns and themes in the transcripts, and guided by Critical Race Theory, Latine Critical Theory, and Undocumented Critical Theory. Results suggest that psychological distress is common not only for undocumented people but also for their loved ones who are not undocumented. Another major challenge was feeling limited by their undocumented status. Some undocumented participants also emphasized that they had been discriminated against by others, including by other Latines. Moreover, family was highly valued in this community, however, some participants stated that they felt disconnected from their families. In terms of strengths, results showed that problem solving is a major coping strategy for this community. Additionally, many participants reported using religion to remain hopeful and optimistic about their future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful for all the support that my advisor, Dr. Melanie Domenech Rodríguez, has provided me. Thank you for being there every step of the way to guide me and learn with me. It was a long and draining process, both mentally and emotionally, but having your support made it feel a lot more manageable. Gracias Melanie, la estimo mucho. Thank you both Dr. Luz Garcini and Dr. Marisela Martinez-Cola for helping kickstart my appreciation of qualitative research. I appreciate how enthusiastically supportive you all were along the way. Special thanks to Dr. Luz Garcini for granting me access to these data. I am also indebted to Dr. Jeanett Castellanos and Dr. Jessica Borelli for making the time to mentor me and prepare me for graduate school. Special thanks to my wife, Teresa for accompanying me along my graduate school journey. I am also thankful for my lab siblings for always being so encouraging.

Este proyecto es dedicado a mi familia y a los participantes de Proyecto Voces. Sin ellos, este proyecto no hubiera sido posible. Mamá, papá, gracias por todos los sacrificios que hicieron para que yo pueda seguir mis sueños. Los quiero muchísimo. [This project is dedicated to my family and the participants of Proyecto Voces. Without them, this project would not have been possible. Mom, dad, thank you for all the sacrifices you made so that I can follow my dreams. I love you both.]

This project was funded by the American Psychological Foundation David H. and Beverly A. Barlow Grant.

José Manuel González Vera

CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
PUBLIC ABSTRACT	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Theoretical Grounding	5
Latine Critical Theory.....	13
Undocumented Critical Theory.....	14
Brief History of Immigration Laws and Policies in the United States	15
Current Context of Immigration and Mental Health.....	19
Current Study	21
CHAPTER III: METHOD	23
Design	23
Sampling	24
Participants.....	24
Procedure	25
Analysis.....	26
Positionality	27
CHAPTER IV: RESULTS.....	30
Psychological Distress	30
Discrimination.....	33
Liminality.....	36
Social Support.....	39
Coping.....	41
Religious Faith	45
Family as Capital	47
CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION.....	50
Challenges.....	50

Page

Strengths	53
Need for Social Support.....	56
Conclusion	57
Limitations	58
REFERENCES	61
APPENDIX: FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS (TRANSLATED)	77

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One major controversial topic in the current political climate is unauthorized immigration (Garcini, Domenech Rodríguez, et al., 2020). However, immigration – traveling to another country with the purpose of establishing permanent residence there (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.) – has not always been frowned upon. From an evolutionary perspective, migration – a large and temporary movement from one area of residence to another – is known to be an adaptive trait (Dingle & Drake, 2007). When resources are scarce, animals and people move to areas with better resources. *Sedentism* – the transition from holding nomadic practices to establishing permanent settlements – is arguably one of the most important movements in human history (Weisdorf, 2005). This is a trait that has allowed humans to create the urbanized and modernized cities that we have today. We have evolved from our nomadic predecessors to become mostly sedentary beings. At present, 96.5% of the world’s population live in the country they were born in (International Organization for Migration, 2020). However, when people are faced with a scarcity of resources or acts of violence, leaving the country they reside in may seem like the best option. This is illustrated by the wave of immigration to the U.S. in the 17th century. Many Europeans immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1600s to flee religious persecution and to search for better economic opportunities (Library of Congress, n.d.b). Despite the challenges presented by travelling across the ocean, many left their country to sail across with hopes of a better life. The wave of immigration led to the establishment of the U.S. In the current context, people immigrated to the U.S. for a

variety of reasons that include a search for better opportunities, better education, economic prosperity, and a safe haven from persecution (Grava, 2017; Luiselli, 2017). Even though there are similarities between why people immigrated in the early 1600s and why they immigrate now, immigration is currently controversial in the U.S. For the purpose of this study, an immigrant is broadly defined as someone who moves to a country that they were not born in (Bolter, 2019).

Contrary to stereotypes, the number of undocumented immigrants from Mexico has decreased dramatically to slightly less than half of the entire undocumented immigrant population (Passel & Cohn, 2019). Many undocumented immigrants in the U.S. are from countries in Asia and Central America, specifically El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. In addition, the overall rate of undocumented migration to the U.S. has decreased since 2005. Nonetheless, media has often portrayed undocumented immigrants in a negative way by fabricating a threat narrative (Farris & Mohamed, 2018) and immigrants from Mexico and Latin America have often served as the face of these threatening immigrants (Vargas & dePyssler, 1998). Despite the overall decrease in unauthorized immigration, the number of deportations (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2016) and detention rates (Ryo & Peacock, 2018) have increased dramatically since 2008.

Deportations negatively impact the well-being of families (Brabeck & Xu, 2010). For adults, fear of deportation has been linked to an increased difficulty in finding and maintaining a job, and lack of confidence that police will treat them fairly (Becerra,

2016). Specifically, undocumented Latine¹ women that experienced domestic violence reported that they were afraid to call the police because they did not trust officers (Reina & Lohman, 2015). Fear of deportation has also been linked to higher levels of stress (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007), lower psychological well-being (Brabeck & Xu, 2010), and less usage of health and social services (Becerra et al., 2015). Similarly, detention has been linked with anxiety disorders, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Von Werthern et al., 2018). The duration of detention is positively associated with symptom severity (Von Werthern et al., 2018). Overall, current immigration enforcement practices have been shown to lead to distress, vulnerability, and anxiety in undocumented Latine people (Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). Other challenges that Latine immigrant families are currently facing are discrimination, uncertainty, and a lack of jobs (Ayón & Becerra, 2013).

Despite the high need for support and services to address these negative mental health outcomes, immigrants have limited access to mental health services and poor utilization rates (Artiga & Díaz, 2019). The findings regarding distress in this population have been called a public health crisis (Garcini, Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2020). Researchers and clinicians need to understand the experience of undocumented individuals to apply their knowledge in developing and delivering interventions that are relevant, acceptable, and effective for undocumented people (Garcini et al., 2016). The

¹ It is important to note that there are different preferences in the terms used to refer to people from Latin America (e.g., Latina/o, Latinx, etc.). Use of one term does not necessarily infer rejection of another term. Participants used the terms “Latina/o” and “Hispano” interchangeably. I have chosen to use the term “Latine” instead of other terms in the results — except in the quotes — and throughout this paper because it is both gender inclusive and honors the Spanish language, the most common language in Latin America.

purpose of this study is to examine the most salient challenges for undocumented people before the Covid-19 pandemic and how they overcome those challenges through preparation and resilience. Critical Race Theory, Latine Critical Theory, and Undocumented Critical Theory helped guide the analysis of data.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review covers the theoretical guidance provided by Critical Race Theory and the associated Latine and Undocumented Critical Theories. In addition, a historical overview of immigration law provides important context for the current challenges faced by Latine immigrants in the U.S., with special attention to undocumented Latines.

Theoretical Grounding

Critical race theory (CRT) is a lens used to understand and challenge racial inequality (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011). CRT focuses on six specific tenets used to examine systematic racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The first tenet is that racism is an ordinary part of society. The second is that there is little incentive to eradicate institutional discrimination when upper class and working-class Whites are benefiting from it. Third, race is a social invention that can be manipulated or disregarded whenever convenient. Fourth, different ethnic/racial minority groups are minoritized at different times, depending on what is going on in society. Fifth, there are different contextual factors that can influence the way that people of color are discriminated. The last tenet is that being a person of color can give an individual a different perspective and experience that White people may not fully understand. This study is conceptualized from a Critical Race Theory perspective building knowledge from voices of people of color from their lived experiences and using tenets in data analysis.

The first tenet in CRT focuses on the how racism is embedded into society, through institutions and policies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Laws and policies such as the infamous SB1070 in Arizona that specifically targeted the Latine community, create fear and uncertainty within the undocumented community. SB1070 would have required Arizona police officers to question people about their citizenship status and it would have allowed them to detain people if they were suspected of being undocumented (Aguirre, 2012). After the presentation of the SB1070 bill, undocumented immigrants used public assistance services and preventative health care services at a lower rate (Toomey et al., 2014). Additionally, Latine youth who were more aware of SB1070 reported lower levels of regulatory behaviors in classroom settings compared to their peers who were less aware of the policy (Santos et al., 2018). This policy was struck down by the Supreme Court before it went into effect, yet it had visible effects on the lives and wellbeing of undocumented persons. The Supreme Court argued that the Arizona policy could not go into effect because the federal government should have full control over immigration issues (*Arizona v. United States*, 2012). The Supreme Court did not acknowledge that the policy could serve as a form of discrimination. Thus, police officers were technically still allowed to question people about their citizenship status, as long as it was not an official requirement for police officers to ask.

The second CRT tenet proposes that changes to systematic barriers only occur when it benefits upper-class and working-class White people (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Each year, undocumented people pay an estimated 11.4 billion U.S. dollars in taxes (Institute on Taxation & Economic Policy, 2017) and approximately \$12 billion

into the Social Security program (Goss et al., 2013). Yet, due to institutional barriers, they are not able to reap many of the benefits of this investment. This has been a long-standing issue that the country has not tackled because the taxes of undocumented people can be used to keep the Social Security program from going bankrupt.

Undocumented people have often been seen as an essential yet disposable part of U.S. society. During World War 2, the Bracero Program was passed to address the shortage in agricultural workers (Library of Congress, n.d.a). The Bracero Program granted temporary work authorization and entry to the U.S. for people from Mexico. Around the same time, there was an increase of people immigrating to the U.S. without entry authorization seeking job opportunities and many agricultural employers preferred to hire them because they were willing to be paid less (García, 1981). To address the influx of undocumented immigration, the U.S. government partnered local and state law enforcement to raid communities and deport as many undocumented people as they could (García, 1981). This wave of mass deportation was called Operation Wetback and lasted for a few months during 1954. Although the exact number of people deported is unknown, it is estimated that a million people were deported during that time. Operation Wetback instilled fear into the undocumented community and exacerbated mistrust of law enforcement (Avoteja, 1993). Operation Wetback conveyed the conflicting message to immigrants that they are needed but could be disposed of at any time; a rhetoric that has pervaded the history of the U.S.

Another prominent example of interest convergence was the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). The purpose of IRCA (1986) was to implement a strict ban on

hiring undocumented people. Anyone employing undocumented workers would receive a steep fine that increased each subsequent time they were fined. This meant that anyone who was undocumented had to be fired immediately after the act was signed. However, undocumented workers represented a substantial portion of agricultural workers (Heppel & Amendola, 1992). Therefore, the implementation of IRCA would also result in a significant impact to the U.S. economy. If undocumented immigrants were prohibited from working, then the U.S. would lose an estimated 3.5 million workers (Rytina, 2002). To ensure that there were no negative consequences to the economy, then-President Reagan issued a mass amnesty to undocumented people; ultimately giving undocumented people the opportunity to keep their jobs in agriculture. It is estimated that 39% of laborers continued to work in the same occupational category after naturalization (Rytina, 2002). Just three years after IRCA, tax revenue increased by 4.5 to 5.4 billion U.S. dollars because people naturalized through IRCA began to earn higher wages (American Immigration Council, 2013). The passage of IRCA also decreased poverty rates and increased home ownership and consumption of material goods; thus, benefitting the U.S. economy. It is uncertain whether Reagan put IRCA into effect for the selfless reason of helping undocumented people or to simply benefit the country. However, there is no doubt that the U.S. economy reaped benefits.

A more recent example of interest convergence occurred in 2019. Congress proposed the Farm Workforce Modernization Act of 2019 (FWMA) to grant amnesty to undocumented workers in agriculture. Unlike IRCA, FWMA would only apply to agricultural workers. In a time when detention and deportations of undocumented people

are unusually high, it makes sense that the government wants to ensure that agricultural workers are not deported as well, especially during the COVID-19 outbreak.

Approximately 19.8 million immigrants work in occupations that are currently considered essential by the federal government, currently making up about 17% of essential health care workers, 23% of construction workers, 18.6% of manufacturing workers, and 23% of workers in agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting (Joint Economic Committee, 2021). However, if undocumented agricultural workers are given a path towards citizenship, then many of them will want to look for new jobs where they will not have to engage in back-breaking work every day. This is a lesson that the U.S. learned after the passage of IRCA, when about 39% of Mexican men, the biggest population to receive legal status under IRCA, moved on to higher-paying occupations (Kossoudji & Cobb-Clark, 2000). Thus, if a similar amnesty was granted, then there may be fewer people working in agriculture because those who are granted amnesty may look for higher paying jobs after receiving residency. The U.S. would lose a fundamental part of its economy, a part that we have become too reliant on. FWMA attempts to address the occupational mobility that accompanies citizenship by requiring those pursuing a path to citizenship to work as agricultural workers for an additional four to eight years before applying for permanent resident status and after enactment of the bill. If the individual has worked in agriculture for at least 10 years before enactment, then they would be required to work at least an additional four years before applying. The requirement increases to eight years if the individual has worked in agriculture for less than 10 years before enactment. Nonetheless, FMWA 2019 was not passed by the senate.

The third CRT tenet explains that race is a social construction that can be manipulated or disregarded whenever convenient (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The term “White” has not always referred to the same group of people. “White” has been molded to include certain groups and exclude others based on the context of the time period. In the 1920s, people of Italian ancestry faced strong anti-immigration sentiment (Barrett & Roediger, 1997). During this time, people of Italian descent were not considered White. Now that immigrants from all across Europe are favored by U.S. immigrant policies, the term “White” has shifted to include anyone with origins from Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). At present some people with roots in the Middle East or North Africa are pushing back against this notion (Krogstad, 2014) especially those with darker skin tones that may experience more explicit discrimination (Chaney et al., 2020).

The arbitrariness of racial definitions has not been limited to the term “White.” In the 1930 census, “Mexican” was included as a race (Foley, 2005). However, the League of the United Latin American Citizens and the Mexican government protested to remove Mexican from the census. They argued that Mexicans who lived in the Southwestern states that used to be part of Mexico before being forcefully taken by the U.S., deserved the same rights as other citizens. They declared that they should count as White. They believed that if they were considered White legally, then they would be considered as equals to other citizens. Nonetheless, Latine people were left with a symbolic label on paper but continued to face institutional segregation. In some “White only” schools, Latine students were not allowed (Blanco, 2010) even though they were technically

considered White by the government.

The fourth tenet states that depending on societal context, different ethnic/racial minority groups will be the focus of discrimination. A prominent example of this is that during World War II, people of Japanese origin or ancestry became the target of discrimination due to the war with Japan. President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, forcefully relocating adults and children of Japanese descent to internment camps. Approximately 120,000 people of Japanese descent were housed in concentration camps (Conrat & Conrat, 1972). Two-thirds, or around 80,000, were U.S. citizens. A report from 2015 showed that sentiments towards people of Japanese descent became more positive (Pew Research Center, 2015). Unfortunately, the Covid-19 pandemic has reinvigorated discrimination towards people of Asian descent (Reny & Barreto, 2020).

Latines' position as targets discrimination was amplified during the 2016 presidential elections, with particular vitriol towards immigrants. Undocumented immigrants are portrayed in the media as a threat to society (Farris & Mohamed, 2018) and these images are often of Latine immigrants (Valentino et al., 2013). One possible explanation for this shift in focus towards Latines as a threat is tied to the growing numbers of Latines being documented in the Census (Flores, 2017). Scholars have argued that White Americans are beginning to feel a loss of power (Danbold & Huo, 2014). One study found that when White people were told that minorities would become a larger population than Whites by 2042, those whose White identity was central to them were more likely to support anti-immigration policies than those that did not receive the threat prompt (Major et al., 2018) suggesting that media portrayals and public policies matter in

shifting attitudes.

The fifth CRT tenet describes the importance of considering the impact of intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to the impact that race, gender, class, sexuality, and other identities have on an individual's experience (Nash, 2008). The fifth tenet of CRT acknowledges that people will have different experiences based on the combination of their racial group membership with other non-racial identities such as gender (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This concept is made clear by the wage gap between genders when considering other marginalized factors. In general, women tend to make less than men (Patten, 2016). When factoring in race/ethnicity, White women make five dollars per hour more than Latine women and four dollars more than Black women.

The last CRT tenet describes that ethnic/racial minorities carry an experiential perspective that White people and non-minorities are likely not to fully understand. It is important to note that everyone has unique life experiences. However, people of color and other minorities experience institutional and individual discrimination that gives them a unique perspective and experiences. Discrimination is evident in small and large ways, from not having access to band-aids that match their skin color (McIntosh, 1989), experiencing microaggressions (Sue, 2010), to parental socialization practices that include parents' educating their children about systematic racism as a way to protect their children's lives (Ayón, 2016; Blanchard et al., 2019; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006; Park et al., 2019). Then there are institutional barriers such as the New York Police Department stop and frisk policy that led to Latine and Black males being stopped and searched at disproportional rates to the overall Latine and Black

communities (New York Civil Liberties Union [NYCLU], 2019). It is estimated that NYPD used force with over 21,000 Latine and Black people compared to only 2,200 White people, despite Latine and Black people only accounting for 5% of the New York population. National statistics on police violence show this disparity at a national level (Edwards et al., 2019). Additionally, during the recent COVID-19 pandemic, people of color have been more likely to get the novel virus and die from it (CDC, 2020). The CDC theorizes that this is due to institutional factors such as lower access to health care, work circumstances, and living conditions. There are countless other experiences related to institutional discrimination that can impact an individual's life. These experiences coupled with the psychological impact that they can have on individuals, gives ethnic/racial minorities a unique perspective that non-minorities do not fully comprehend.

Latine Critical Theory

Latine critical theory (LatCrit) is a branch off of CRT. LatCrit was started in the 1990s by legal scholars who felt that CRT did not consider non-racial factors as deeply as racial factors (Aoki & Johnson, 2008) and that it did not address the specific issues of Latine people (Valdes, 1997). One of the court cases that sparked the beginning of LatCrit was *Hernandez v. Texas* (Haney Lopez, 1997). Hernandez, a farm worker at the time, was found guilty of murdering another farm worker by an all-White jury (*Hernandez v. Texas*, 1954). Hernandez and his defense team argued that people of Mexican descent had been excluded from serving as jury members, thus he was being deprived of his rights guaranteed by the 14th amendment. This court case was impactful

because it showed that the 14th amendment did not apply to anyone who was not Black nor White. Additionally, since Mexicans were legally considered White, the jury members were considered to be of the same race as Hernandez. After multiple appeals, the Supreme Court ruled that the 14th amendment applies to all ethnic and racial groups facing discrimination. This case portrayed the need for a theory that also covered non-racial marginalization. LatCrit was created to focus on factors in addition to race that can lead to marginalization, such as class, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, immigration status, and language (Aoki & Johnson, 2008). LatCrit provides support for the use of a CRT framework in working with Latine populations.

Undocumented Critical Theory

One of the newest offshoots of CRT is Undocumented Critical Theory (UndocuCrit). UndocuCrit was created to offer a lens to explore the undocumented experience (Aguilar, 2019). UndocuCrit is fairly new and likely to be added upon, thus it important to recognize that this section was based on 2019 version of UndocuCrit. Aguilar (2019) proposes that UndocuCrit is composed of four tenets. The first tenet states that undocumented people are constantly followed by a sense of fear for themselves and/or their family members. Despite the popularity of the Undocumented and Unafraid movement (Flores, 2016), UndocuCrit theorizes that there is still a level of fear that undocumented people face. The second tenet proposes that having a different sense of liminality (i.e., a transitional period between two distinct constructs; Menjívar, 2006) can impact an individual's undocumented experience. Although this tenet is mainly discussed

in relation to temporary immigration statuses (e.g., DACA, TPS, other forms of temporary visas), I propose that the same can be applied to liminality between cultures. It can be difficult to nurture enculturation so as to balance it with acculturation in the service of a bicultural identity development, especially when undocumented persons are not able to visit their country of origin due to their citizenship status. Thus, some undocumented individuals feel a sense of *ni de aquí, ni de allá* (not being from here, and not from there either; Castro-Salazar & Bagley, 2010). Living in the liminality of cultural identity can be an impactful factor in an individual's experience (Parra-Cardona et al., 2004). The third tenet claims that parental *sacrificios* can be used as a form of cognitive capital by undocumented people. This tenet is described to be a possible explanation for persistence among undocumented individuals. Last, the fourth tenet describes that *acompañamiento* embodies mentorship, academic redemption, and community engagement. In other words, undocumented people offer support to undocumented students, while undocumented students return the favor by making knowledge more accessible and relatable for their own community. UndocuCrit provides support and further contextualization for the use of a Critical Race Theory framework in working with undocumented populations.

Brief History of Immigration Laws and Policies in the United States

The U.S. was established in 1776 as a country composed of 13 colonies. It did not take long for rules and regulations guiding citizenship and belonging to appear. The Nationality Act of 1790 was enacted to only allow naturalization for “free White

persons” who had lived in the U.S. for at least 2 years (Smith, 2002). In 1795, the law was updated to require applicants to be in the U.S. for at least 5 years and to possess “a good moral character” (p. 1). Although difficult to determine what is considered as “good moral character,” this requirement has stood throughout all revisions and is still included in the 2022 requirements (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services [USCIS], 2022). When the U.S. entered a war with France in 1798, the Alien and Sedition Act changed the residency requirement from 5 to 14 years (Library of Congress, 2019). This was an unpopular requirement, and a revision was made in 1802 to return the residency requirement to 5 years, but the new law required applicants to renounce previous citizenship and all titles of nobility and swear their alliance to the U.S. constitution. Almost 80 years after the first Nationality Act, African Americans were allowed to obtain citizenship in 1868 (Library of Congress, 2018). This change responded to the abolition of slavery in January 1865.

The year 1906 marked a historic change in the naturalization process. Before 1906, naturalization was granted by courts based on their own discretion, with no basic guidelines given by the federal government. The Basic Naturalization Act of 1906 gave the federal government the power to oversee naturalizations (USCIS, 2020b). Individual courts retained the ability to grant naturalization, but now they had to follow federal guidelines and procedures. One specific procedure that was added was the naturalization exam. The naturalization exam was administered orally and in English to ensure applicants had working knowledge of English (U.S. Customs and Border Protection [USCBP], n.d.) as well as knowledge of cultural morays (USCIS, 2020a). Thus,

immigrants from English-speaking countries were set up for success, while immigrants from non-English-speaking countries faced a structural barrier to the naturalization process. However, there was no set list of questions that applicants were asked. Instead, judges were allowed to ask any question regarding U.S. history and civics, including trivial questions such as “how high [sic] is the Bunker Hill Monument” (USCIS, 2020a). This unfiltered discretion gave judges the opportunity to discriminate against anyone they did not deem worth of being a U.S. citizen by manipulating the difficulty of the questions presented. These types of questions became discouraged in the 1930s, but no standard test was created; judges still had full discretion. A standardized test was not created until 2008 (Migration Policy Institute, 2008). The Immigration Act (1917), also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1917, was the first to require a literacy test and specifically restricted immigration from most countries in Asia. The literacy test, which could be completed in any language, was used to keep people considered as “undesirables” from obtaining citizenship. All those who were deemed as intellectually inferior were not allowed to become citizens. The literacy test was changed to require a verbal English proficiency test in 1940 (Naturalization Act, 1940). This change further restricted people of certain communities, especially those who could not verbally speak English due to medical reasons. Despite the clear barrier for those who could not verbalize English, there was no exception granted to them until the Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act (1994).

In 1921, The Emergency Quota Act was enacted as the first immigration law to set a numerical limit on the number of immigrants allowed to enter the U.S. (National

Park Service, 2017). Only 3 years after, a new act was created to enforce quotas that vary by country; this became known as the Immigration Act of 1924. The quota system limited the number of immigrants to no more than 2% of the number of people of each nationality residing in the U.S. in 1890, based on the Census data (History, Art, & Archives: United States House of Representatives, n.d.). The Immigration Act of 1952 upheld a similar quota system, which was based on Census data from 1920. Since most immigrants in 1920 were from northern and western European countries, an estimated 85% of visas were allotted to immigrants from these countries (Office of the Historian, n.d.). Although, explicit restrictions on immigrants from Asian countries were repealed, the number was still low because of the newly established quota system. In fact, this was true for most other countries. Thus, the new quota system became a covert method of restricting immigrants that were not from northern and western European countries.

The Immigration Act of 1965 completely repealed the quota system. The new immigration system was based on giving preference to immigrants with special skills needed in the U.S., immigrants who already had families legally residing in the U.S, and refugees (Chishti et al., 2015). A specific tier system was used to determine preference. The first four tiers were family oriented, and the last tier was related to refugees. The tier system was changed in 1990 to be centered around the needs of the economy at any given time (Chishti & Yale-Loehr, 2016). A similar preference system policy continues to be used in the most recent immigration policies. In 1980, the Refugee Act, allowed refugees to qualify for federal assistance as they make their transition into the U.S (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012). Nonetheless, this act also granted the executive branch of

the government the ability to set a limit on refugees allowed each year. This meant that the president did not have to go through a long process with congress to set a limit on refugees. Therefore, a president could ignore the advice given to them by congress and set limits based at their own discretion.

A major structural change came around in 2003. The Immigration and Naturalization Services, which was under the Department of Justice, was renamed to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and moved to the Department of Homeland Security. This shift marked a major change for immigration-related offenses, changing them from civil to criminal status. This change was known as the Homeland Security Act (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2020). From then on, immigration was considered part of a department focused on deterring acts of terrorism instead of a department focused on justice. The structural change assumed that immigrants were likely to pose a threat to the country. The Homeland Security Act also established the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), whose sole duty was to enforce federal laws regarding border control and immigration. Since the establishment of USCIS and ICE, deportation and detention rates have exponentially increased compared to before 2003, reaching a peak of around 430,000 during the Obama Administration (Gramlich, 2020).

Current Context of Immigration and Mental Health

In 2012, the Obama administration enacted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) to grant temporary protection from deportation and work authorization

to undocumented youth, without a path towards citizenship (USCIS, 2021a). DACA recipients would have to renew their temporary status every two years and pay a hefty 495 U.S. dollars for each renewal. As of March 2021, there were 616,030 active DACA recipients (USCIS, 2021b). It is estimated that 1.7 million out of the approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants qualified for DACA when it initially passed (Passel & Cohn, 2019; Passel & Lopez, 2012). It is likely that most did not apply because the application required that applicants share personally identifying information such as place of residence and names of parents. With high deportation and detention rates, many were probably afraid that the information they provide would be used to deport them. In fact, a 2020 report showed that ICE, the organization created to deport undocumented immigrants, had access to the information shared by DACA applicants, despite promises by the Obama administration that all information would be protected from ICE (National Immigration Law Center, 2020). Shortly, after DACA was enacted, Deferred Action for Parents of American and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) was introduced a way to grant work authorization and protection from deportation to parents of documented children (Department of Homeland Security, 2021). However, DAPA never passed because it was blocked by federal courts.

In addition to the legal benefits provided by DACA, recipients have reported that their DACA status has allowed them to feel greater autonomy, an improved sense of belonging, more social support, and an improved self-image (Siemons, et al., 2017). Additionally, DACA eligible individuals are less likely to report symptoms of depression, psychological distress, hypertension (Giuntella & Lonsky, 2020), and they tend to report

an overall better psychological well-being than undocumented persons without DACA (Patler & Pirtle, 2018). Interestingly, DACA has served as a double-edged sword. Some DACA recipients report feeling an overwhelming responsibility to provide for their families (Siemons et al., 2017). The COVID-19 pandemic is likely to exacerbate feelings of overwhelming responsibility because DACA recipients may be one of the only ones in their family who could legally work. Indeed, a recent report by the Latino Immigrant Health Alliance and United We Dream (2021) shows very high levels of subjective distress as well as high levels of clinically elevated anxiety, depression, and somatization in a sample of undocumented immigrants obtained during the pandemic.

DACA recipients have also reported feeling limited because they know their protected status is temporary and they have a fear that it will get revoked at any time (Benuto et al., 2018). Some reported that even with DACA, they continue feeling afraid of deportation because the fear became engrained in their early childhood. Between 2012 and 2015, DACA eligible individuals reported significant improvements in health compared to previous years. These improvements disappeared after 2015 (Patler et al., 2019). It is around this time when the Trump campaign began promoting the idea of rescinding DACA. Thus, the improvements in wellbeing likely disappeared because there was an increase in fearing the cancellation of DACA. Despite a new president taking office, DACA's future remains uncertain.

Current Study

The current study focuses on the specific challenges that undocumented Latine

people currently face and how they overcome those challenges. Immigration laws and policies can change quickly. They can also have long lasting effects on the mental well-being of immigrants. This thesis explores the most salient challenges to undocumented Latine people in 2018, before the COVID-19 pandemic. I will also examine the different ways that undocumented Latine people overcome their challenges through preparation and resilience. CRT, LatCrit, and UndocuCrit guide the data analysis and interpretation of results.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study uses existing data from *Proyecto Voces* led by Dr. Luz Garcini. For this inquiry, I used transcripts from six focus groups conducted between March 2018 and September 2018.

Design

This was a qualitative study based on CRT, LatCrit, and UndocuCrit. CRT provides a lens to understand the institutional barriers that undocumented Latine people experience. As spinoffs of CRT, LatCrit and UndocuCrit help further focus results on how non-racial factors and immigration status play a role in the undocumented Latine experience. This study uses existing data from *Proyecto Voces* which aims to understand and address the mental health needs of undocumented people. *Proyecto Voces* is a multi-phased study that was conducted in Texas and southern California. This research includes transcripts from six focus groups conducted between March 2018 and September 2018. Focus group questions were specifically developed to gain an in-depth perspective of the issues that the undocumented Latine community were facing before the pandemic and to explore their resilience. This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Rice University. The Utah State University Institutional Review Board determined that this project was exempt.

Sampling

Participants were recruited in Texas through network-based referrals from collaborating community partners, faith-based organizations, and advocacy organizations. All data was collected by Dr. Luz Garcini and her lab between March 2018 and September 2018. I did not partake in any part of the data collection process. Data collection was funded by the American Psychological Foundation David B. and Beverly A. Barlow Grant. Participants received \$30 for their participation. Participant inclusion criteria for this *Proyecto Voces* study was as follows: (a) must be at least 18 years of age, (b) must be able to speak and understand Spanish, (c) must be Latine, and (d) must report being undocumented or have a family member who is undocumented. A series of yes/no questions were used to determine whether participants met criteria “d.”

Participants

Participants were Latine immigrants, undocumented and documented, all of whom had a connection with the undocumented community ($N = 67$). Age of participants varied from 18 to 75 years ($M = 36.33$, $SD = 13.36$) and their years in the U.S. varied from 0 to 64 ($M = 17.69$, $SD = 11.00$). Participants identified as men ($n = 29$) and women ($n = 38$). About half of participants were married ($n = 33$), 28 were single, and 2 were divorced. A sizeable number ($n = 16$) had less than a high school education, but a more sizeable number ($n = 37$) had some college experience. Over half ($n = 47$) reported having a job at the time of the study. While most were from Mexico ($n = 50$), there were five other nationalities represented: the U.S. ($n = 7$), Honduras ($n = 4$), Venezuela ($n = 2$),

Guatemala ($n = 2$), and Colombia ($n = 1$). One participant did not mention their country of birth. Most participants ($n = 49$) reported that not having a visa or documentation affected them. Nearly all ($n = 63$) participants reported that not having a visa or documentation affected a family member or friend.

Procedure

Participants were divided into six separate one-time focus groups. Previous research has shown that six focus groups are adequate to define key themes (Guest et al., 2017). Focus groups are particularly useful for discussing an issue through multiple perspectives (Glesne, 2016). To determine if participants were undocumented, a rule-out system was used incorporating a series of yes-no questions involving current legal statuses except undocumented status. This method has been found as the preferred way of assessing undocumented status, as it is more comfortable to participants (Marcelli et al., 2007). The focus groups were held in a secure location. Participants were not asked to state their undocumented status during the focus group to protect them. Thus, it was not possible to determine who was undocumented and who was not, unless participants explicitly stated it.

Focus groups interviews were structured using questions relating to participants' general experiences, struggles, and their resilience (see the Appendix). Dr. Luz Garcini served as the interviewer. The interview was semistructured to ensure that the participants took part in guiding the conversation. Thus, probing questions were adaptive to the conversations taking place. Focus groups lasted about 1 h and 30 min on average

and ranged from 1 h 20 min to 1 h 50 min. Each focus group was conducted in Spanish to accommodate to the preference of the participants and to make them feel comfortable. Participants were informed at the beginning that if they felt uncomfortable, they did not have to speak and that they could report any incidents to the Institutional Review Board. Additionally, they were told that they would receive the payment whether they spoke or not. Occasionally, participants and the interviewer engaged in code-switching between Spanish and English. Interviews were audio recorded, and interviewers also took notes. One interview was transcribed by me and five were transcribed by TranscribeMe, an online transcription service. All six interviews have been double checked to verify the accuracy and thoroughness of the transcription.

Analysis

Transcriptions were analyzed using thematic analysis as outlined by Nowell et al. (2017). Thematic analysis is helpful in understanding a social phenomenon; in this case, institutional discrimination/barriers. Two researchers coded each transcript individually and met after coding each transcript. The first transcript was used to create an extensive list of codes. This list of codes was narrowed down during our first meeting through a dialogic process to create a code guideline, which served as a guide for subsequent transcripts. The code guideline was revised after each meeting until we had a finalized version in order to have a consistent set of codes that commonly appeared in each transcript. The finalized code guideline was used to re-code each transcript. Only one coder re-coded all six transcripts. Previous research was used to define each code. After

the coding process was completed, the coders met once more to categorize the codes into themes. Once themes were clearly outlined, the primary interviewer of the focus groups reviewed our results to ensure accuracy.

Positionality

Conducting this study was more than an intellectual foray into understanding the experiences of undocumented Latines. As I collected my participant's stories, I recognized that another story existed, my own. During the course of this research, I personally recalled two distinct memories that deeply informed this research.

I was 2 years old when I arrived in the U.S. from Mexico. I do not remember much, but I do remember my first day of kindergarten. I was packing my new color pencils into my cool Spiderman backpack. I was excited to start school and show everyone my backpack. As I was heading out the door, my mother stopped me and said *"Mijo, espera. Si alguien te pregunta si eres ciudadano, no respondas. Si te preguntan donde naciste, no respondas."* Translated this means, "Son, wait! If anyone asks if you are a citizen, do not respond. If anyone asks where you were born, do not respond." With concern in her eyes, she explained to me that if anyone knew that I was born in Mexico and undocumented, they would separate us. That day, I stopped looking forward to school. I even tried to fake a stomachache to avoid going. While other families were likely worried about being away from their kids a few hours for the first time, my parents were worried about being separated permanently.

I grew up with that ever-present fear but keeping my family together served as my

motivator to survive and persist. At 4 years old, I learned how to shift conversations quickly when people asked where I was born. I was forced to live in the shadows from others and even from my own identity.

This chronic fear stayed with me well into college where I noticed that it had transformed into trauma. While taking an exam in college, my phone began vibrating in my pocket indicating that I was getting a phone call. I should note that around this same time, two significant events occurred. First, there were immigration raids going on in my community where parents were being taken away as their children were still in school. Second, the 45th president of the U.S., who used anti-immigrant rhetoric to get elected, was recently inaugurated. My heart began to race, and I thought, “I rarely get phone calls. Who could this be?” Usually, I call my family on the weekends, or they call me if something urgent occurs. My mind examined all the possible people that could be calling me. My thoughts quickly escalated to the possibility that Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) had gotten my family. I began to dissociate from the present moment more and more with each vibration from my phone. I could not focus on the exam, yet I was expected to finish. My eyes were reading the words on the paper, but my mind was not processing the meaning of the words. It all seemed like gibberish. How could I finish this test while my family was possibly being deported?

I started thinking about why my parents immigrated: to give me the opportunity for an education. They had sacrificed too much for me to be in college. I remembered my father’s words, “*Pase lo que pase, tu échale ganas. Todo va a valer la pena.*” Translated, this means, “Whatever happens, try your best. It’s all going to be worth it.” I took a few

deep breaths and continued to take the exam. After I rushed through the exam, I pulled out my phone to check the missed phone call. I played the voice message only to find it was a spam call. Tears poured down my cheeks. I was relieved, yet I felt an immense amount of anger. Why did I have to carry this fear with me every day while others did not have to?

While reading the transcripts in this study, I realized that I am not alone. My experience closely resembles the experience of the participants. We were united in our fear induced trauma. *Fear is endemic*. To be clear, the undocumented experience can vary greatly based on ethnicity, race, gender, skin tone, accent, English fluency, DACA status, among other factors. As a light-complected, Latine DACAmented, able-bodied, cisgender male, I am keenly aware of my privileges and how they have impacted my undocumented experience. *Intersectionality matters*. Nonetheless, the common theme in the undocumented experience is that the fear we carry, while traumatic, also helps us survive. Many of us have even thrived despite it. My undocumented experience has given me an analytical and critical lens that many scholars do not possess when researching this community. Consistent with the *voices of color thesis*, my lived experiences give me insight into the experiences of other undocumented people. Although I am undocumented, I will refer to the undocumented community as “them” rather than “us” in this study because I want the focus to be on the experiences of the participants.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Results are presented by major thematic categories in order from most to least discussed. Using thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017), two overarching themes were found: challenges and strengths. Participants very frequently discussed challenges, specifically discrimination (52 appearances) and psychological distress (77 appearances). Liminality and a need for social support were less common but notable challenges (23 appearances for each). Participants also discussed important strengths. Coping (88 appearances), family as capital (56 appearances), and religious faith (31 appearances) were the most common codes under strengths. In each section, the theme is defined and rooted in existing scholarship, then I highlight participants' range of lived experiences within that construct (e.g., the variety of ways in which participants faced discrimination) along with representative quotes. Each section ends with a brief summary that connects findings to existing scholarship.

Psychological Distress

Being undocumented can lead to various forms of psychological distress. Psychological distress is defined broadly as a state of emotional suffering (Drapeau et al., 2012). Within the transcripts, psychological distress was the most common code under the challenges theme. At the root of psychological distress was fear of being deported or losing contact with loved ones due to deportation. The effects of fear can have particularly profound impacts on children whose developmental trajectories are altered

(Rojas-Flores et al., 2017). One participant recounted the story of a child who was sure that her parents were going to be deported despite her parents explaining that they were not. This is the constant fear that children face. Children who are U.S. citizens worry about losing their parents, while undocumented children worry about their own security too.

Yo tenía una alumna - siete años - un día llegó llorando, le digo “¿Qué pasó?” “Van a deportar a mis padres”...Entonces, hablé con los padres. “No, lo que pasa es que en las noticias lo dicen a cada rato”...Pero eso es grave, porque eso es lo que ven nuestros niños, escuchan. [I had a student – 7 years old – arrived one day crying. I ask “so, what happened?” “They are going to deport my parents” ... Then I spoke with the parents. “No, what happens is that the news report this constantly” ... but that is serious, because this is what our children see, hear.]

Fear can serve as a major barrier in seeking health services. Even when services are accessible, fear keeps undocumented people from seeking help (Held et al., 2020). Many times, they rather try to find a solution themselves before attempting to seek out help. Isabela, an elementary school teacher, told the story of a time when she had a student who had lice. She expressed the fear that taking the child to the nurse may get Child Protective Services (CPS) involved, which may in turn get the child and their family deported. It is an unlikely possibility, but not a risk that seemed worth taking.

Yo le doy clases a niños indocumentados, y me toco una niña empiojada. Y me dice una compañera, ni se te ocurra hablarle a la enfermera otra vez, ¿por qué? Porque luego le llaman a CPS, y luego la van a deportar. Entonces tenemos acciones prohibidas. No podemos, estamos protegiendo. [I teach undocumented children, and I had a girl with lice. And a colleague tells me, do not even think about talking to the nurse again, why? Because then they call CPS, and then they are going to deport her. So we have prohibited actions. We cannot, we are protecting.]

Psychological distress can also manifest as frustration from being impeded by immigration status (Vaquera et al., 2017). Rocío, an undocumented mother, recounted the

time when her undocumented child, a high school honor student, became depressed after realizing that he could not attend college simply because of his immigration status. The frustration of not being able to attain certain goals can lead to devastating effects on the mental health of undocumented people, often leading to feelings of helplessness.

Entonces ese niño se graduó con todos los honores en la High School y estuvo en una depresión un año. Deprimido, tirado en una cama, que la mamá no sabía cómo levantarlo. No conseguía ni un solo trabajo. [So that kid graduated high school with honors and had depression for a year. Depressed, lying on a bed, his mother did not know how to get him up. He could not get a single job.]

Another finding was that psychological distress can impact the interpersonal relationships of undocumented people. With limited access to mental health care, some undocumented individuals attempt to withhold their emotional experiences (O'Neal et al., 2016), which can lead to negative effects (Richards & Gross, 1999). Ángeles, an undocumented young woman, became increasingly frustrated at feeling limited due to her immigration status, she began to displace her anger towards her family.

Como que “ya no me hables papá, no me hables mamá” Y ya a lo que yo vengo. Entonces como que también de esa forma yo también [he] manifestado ese estrés, en mi expresión y en mi comportamiento... como que era una lucha interna de que, “¿por que estoy aquí?, ¿por que me trajiste?” Entonces ya era como enojo. [Like “don't talk to me, dad, don't talk to me, mom” I do only what I need to do. So, I have also manifested that stress in that way, in my expression and in my behavior ... as it was an internal struggle of, “why am I here? Why did you bring me?” It was already like anger.]

The psychological distress that the undocumented community often carries tends to involve fear (Becerra, 2016). Participants often stated that the fear of deportation for themselves or for someone they care about served as a major stressor in their lives. The high rates of deportations and detentions, and the anti-immigrant rhetoric used by government officials has likely exacerbated the fear that this community experiences

(Blackburn & Sierra, 2021; Callaghan et al., 2019; Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019).

Consistent with UndocuCrit and CRT, fear was found to be endemic and ordinary within this community. Although the undocumented experience can vary, the anticipation and fear of deportation or detention is a constant and unique experience to this community.

The sustained anticipation of a possible traumatic event often leads to chronic psychological distress, which can manifest interpersonally, psychologically, and physically.

Discrimination

Discrimination is defined as any action, policy, or practice that creates a disadvantage for individuals based on membership to a particular social group (Altman, 2020). Discrimination is a common occurrence for undocumented individuals (Ayón & Becerra, 2013). Participants in this study mostly described instances of discrimination related to their ethnicity or their immigration status. Sonia, an undocumented mother, described an experience when she was exploited by a lawyer that she hired to represent her son in immigration court. The lawyer had told her that he would help her son stay in the U.S. but he ended up persuading the child to voluntarily deport himself. This quote highlights how mistrust in authorities is often developed within this community.

[M]e dice “no vaya usted, de gusto va a ir, si yo lo voy a representar,” yo estaba trabajando y usted sabe que aquí uno trabajando no le dan mucho permiso, entonces le digo a mi hijo, “pues mira hijo tu abogado te va a representar no te preocupes,” “está bien mami,” y se fue con el abogado...y el abogado le iba diciendo “firma deportación voluntaria porque eso es lo mejor que te conviene porque si no lo haces te vas a quedar preso allí mismo,” y como él estaba pequeño, tenía apenas 17, 18 años, lo puso en miedo. Él nunca había estado preso allá y era hijo de papi y mami pues-- y entonces que allá lo hizo firmar

deportación voluntaria y él vino para acá y me dijo “aquí traigo el papel, fíjate que el abogado me dijo que firmara.” [He says “don’t go, you would be going for nothing, since I am going to represent him,” I was working and you know that someone working here does not get much permission to leave work, so I tell my son, “Well, look son, your lawyer is going to represent you, don’t worry, ““ that is fine, mom,” and so he went with the lawyer... and the lawyer was saying” sign voluntary deportation because that is the best thing for you because if you do not do it you will be imprisoned there, “and since he was small, he was only 17, 18 years old, it scared him. He had never been a prisoner there and he was the son of dad and mom-- and then the lawyer made him sign voluntary deportation there and he came here and told me “here, I bring the document, the lawyer told me to sign it.”]

Within group discrimination is another common form of discrimination that was discussed by the participants. Mariana, an undocumented young woman, described how she was frequently discriminated by her teacher, who happened to be Hispanic as well. For some context, Mariana had just moved to a school that was majority Latine and/or Hispanic. She was excited to be in a school with others of the same of ethnicity. However, she was constantly bullied by students and by her biology teacher.

[E]ra como de que se burlaban de nosotras. Hubo un momento en el que tuve una maestra de biología, hispana. Y ella me hizo ese semestre más difícil que pude haber tenido porque al yo no entender nada, y ella el hablar mi propio idioma, y si yo sacaba de calificación un treinta, ella lo enseñaba adelante de toda la clase y me lo daba. Y me decía “¿qué estas haciendo aquí?” [It was like they were making fun of us. There was a time when I had a Hispanic biology teacher. And she made that semester more difficult than it could have been because I did not understand anything, and she spoke my own language, and if I got a grade of thirty, she would show it in front of the whole class and give it to me. And she would say to me “what are you doing here?”]

Discrimination at the institutional level can lead to psychological distress (Vaquera et al., 2017). Juan, a young man who did not qualify for DACA, expressed his frustration at not being able to get a job despite meeting all the qualifications except one; having a social security.

[L]lega el momento en que tenemos la misma educación, los mismos degrees, las mismas metas y todo y vamos y aplicamos a un trabajo. Pero el simple hecho de que tu no tengas ese seguro, aunque puedes ser mejor que la persona que tiene su seguro, tu te quedas atrás, te quedas como que “¡aaaaah!” Es frustración. [There comes a time when we have the same education, the same degrees, the same goals and all, and we go and apply for a job. But the simple fact that you do not have that social security, even though you can be better than the person who has their social security, you stay behind, you are left like “aaaaah!” It’s frustration.]

Notable in this discrimination theme is the absence of discussion from participants about discrimination based on other factors such as class, skin tone, gender, and sexual orientation. It is possible that the experience of within-group discrimination led participants in this group to discuss discrimination regarding their common experiences (e.g., immigrant status) but to shy away from other discussions (e.g., sexual orientation). However, this does not mean that discrimination based on other factors such as class, skin tone, gender, and sexual orientation do not occur within the broad undocumented experience. Indeed, data show that immigrant Latine women are likely to face sexual harassment, job insecurity due to pregnancy, and overall unfair treatment at work (Eggerth et al., 2012).

Discrimination is a multifaceted obstacle that can detrimentally impact the lives of undocumented people. Discrimination can occur at the individual level and at the institutional level and participants mentioned both. Interestingly, discrimination can also manifest itself from within one’s own community. Similar to literature on other ethnic and cultural groups who have a history of colonization, some Latines fall into a cycle of depreciating their own communities while upholding the colonizer’s values (i.e., colonial mentality; Capielo Rosario et al., 2019; David & Okazaki, 2006). People tend to fall into a colonial mentality in an attempt to better their own social status. In agreement with the

third tenet of CRT (i.e., race is a social construction), race can be easily manipulated to benefit some. In this case, Latine individuals with a colonial mentality racialize undocumented Latines based on their immigration status to benefit themselves.

Additionally, participants in our study expressed facing discrimination by authority figures they thought they could trust. It is likely that this kind of discrimination prevents undocumented individuals from seeking services such as health care and calling law enforcement when in danger; their fear of being discriminated and/or deported overrides their need for services. This has also been seen in previous studies (Becerra et al., 2016; Messing et al., 2015).

Participants in our study also revealed that being undocumented can prevent them from fully integrating into society. Being undocumented can make it difficult or even impossible to get a job, an education, a driver's license, a loan, or a bank account, just to name a few. Many times, participants who had lived most of their lives in the United States expressed anger and frustration at being limited by their undocumented status. It was clear that facing institutional barriers due to their status often led to psychological distress.

Liminality

Psychological distress and discrimination were evidently the most common challenges discussed by participants. Nonetheless, both psychological distress and discrimination can be impacted by an individual's liminal status. Liminality was defined as a temporary and unstable phase or status (Roth, 2018). In the context of the

undocumented experience, liminality can include having DACA which provides a temporary protection from deportation among other benefits but is not considered a legal status. Without a permanent legal status, DACAmented people, many of whom left their countries of origin at a young age, may feel disconnected from both their country of origin and the U.S. Jesus, a DACAmented individual, reported feeling a disconnect from the U.S. despite spending most of their life within the U.S.

Uno no se siente a gusto. Yo quisiera sentirme americano, tengo aquí 24 años, pero no puedo ni salir del país. Tengo el DACA, pero creo que nunca me voy a sentir americano, hasta el día que pueda salir y que pueda entrar. Y eso afecta, porque estamos como en la canción de Los Tigres, viviendo en una jaula de oro. O sea, tenemos todo, gracias a Dios, pero nos falta como sentirnos más libres. [One does not feel comfortable. I would like to feel like an American, I have been here 24 years, but I cannot even leave the country. I have DACA, but I do not think I will ever feel American, until the day I can leave and come back. And that is impactful, because we are like in the song of Los Tigres, living in a golden cage. In other words, we have everything, thank God, but we still need to feel liberated.]

In the quote above, Jesus mentions feeling frustrated about being stuck in a *jaula de oro*; a metaphor derived from a popular song of the same name by world renowned Mexican-American band, Los Tigres del Norte. In the song *La Jaula de Oro*, Los Tigres del Norte describe the U.S. as a country that provides job opportunities, yet feels like a prison for undocumented people because they cannot leave the country to visit their families or experience their cultures in their countries of origin without risking losing everything they have worked for in the U.S.

De que me sirve el dinero [What's money good for]
 Si estoy como prisionero [If I live like a prisoner]
 Dentro de esta gran nación [In this great nation]
 Cuando me acuerdo hasta lloro [When I'm reminded of this, I cry]
 Aunque la jaula sea de oro [Although this cage is made of gold]
 No deja de ser prisión [It's still a prison]

Although not explicitly stated in UndocuCrit, I believe that liminality can also include feeling disconnected from both cultures, an experience commonly reported by 1.5 undocumented immigrants (Calle, 2021). Adalberto, a DACAmented individual, expressed his frustration with not knowing where he is from, feeling a lack of belongingness from both his cultures.

[Y]o soy de DACA. Mi reto más grande es saber de donde soy porque toda mi vida viví aquí, pero nací en México. Yo no conozco nada de México, porque mi tía me trajo en los brazos cargando por el puente me dijo mi mamá. Entonces no sé de dónde soy, no soy americano ni soy mexicano y eso es reto más grande para mí porque no sé como identificarme. Porque crecí aquí, mi corazón está aquí, mi historia está aquí, sé todas las ciudades de Estados Unidos, sé el *Pledge of Allegiance* pero no soy americano. Ahora el sábado pasado en la pelea de Canelo era el grito de México y en verdad no entendía nada de eso. Mi orgullo es mexicano, pero no tenía el orgullo porque no sabía que es eso. ¿De dónde soy? [I have DACA. My biggest challenge is knowing where I am from because all my life I have lived here, but I was born in Mexico. I don't know anything about Mexico, because my aunt carried me in her arms over the bridge, my mother told me. So I do not know where I am from, I am not American or Mexican, and that is the biggest challenge for me because I do not know how to identify myself. Because I grew up here, my heart is here, my story is here, I know every city in the U.S., I know the Pledge of Allegiance but I am not American. Last Saturday in the Canelo fight, *El Grito de México* came up and I really did not understand any of that. My pride is Mexican, but I did not have pride because I did not know what that was. Where am I from?]

Liminality, as explained by UndocuCrit, can apply to mixed status families. A mixed status family is a family that has multiple immigration statuses (e.g., DACA, undocumented, TPS, U.S. citizen). Tania, a U.S. citizen Latine woman, expressed that she feels helpless whenever her significant other, who is undocumented, talks to her about his struggles as an undocumented man.

Cuando me habla él a mí, yo no tengo las palabras para apoyarlo, y decirle “sigue adelante, yo estoy aquí contigo, está mi familia aquí”. Es triste verlo así a él, porque él no tiene el apoyo de su mamá, nomás por teléfono. [When he talks to me, I do not have the words to support him, and tell him “go ahead, I am here

with you, my family is here.” It is sad to see him like this, because he does not have the support of his mother, just by phone.]

Being in a state of liminality can create intrapersonal conflicts for individuals (Benuto et al., 2018). For our participants, these intrapersonal conflicts mostly involved feeling a lack of belongingness between their cultures. Not being able to visit their countries of origin without sacrificing the life they have built in the U.S. disconnects them from the culture of their countries of origin. Being treated as a foreigner in the U.S. disconnects them U.S. culture. It is a state that many know as “*ni de aquí, ni de allá*” which translates to “not from here (the U.S.), nor from there (their countries of origin)”.

UndocuCrit emphasizes that liminality affects both undocumented people and their U.S. born or naturalized family members (Aguilar, 2019; Dreby, 2012). In our study, some of our participants who had U.S. citizenship expressed frustration at not being able to help their undocumented family members. Evidently, having a legal status does not protect U.S. born or naturalized family members of undocumented people from experiencing hardships created by the undocumented experience (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Zayas et al., 2015). In fact, when compared to undocumented children, U.S.-born children in undocumented families face similar negative effects to their psychological well-being (Vargas & Benítez, 2019).

Social Support

Social support is defined as the emotional and psychological resources provided between people (Cohen & McKay, 1984). Social support has been found to be serve a protective role for immigration related stress (Sanchez et al., 2019). This code usually

appeared as an unmet need for participants. When asked what undocumented youth need, AJ, an undocumented individual, stated that they would have liked to have a community who understands their experience and motivates them to persist:

“Tener una comunidad. Porque a veces simplemente tener amigos que te entiendan... [N]ecesitas una comunidad que te entienda...[S]implemente te motiva el escuchar a otra persona, que a pesar de que no tiene papeles, dice ‘yo voy con todo’.” [“Having a community. Because sometimes simply having friends who understand you ... You need a community that understands you ... Put simply, it motivates you to listen to another person, who even though they don’t have papers, says ‘I’m all in.’ “]

Other participants also expressed their desire to provide support to other individuals under similar circumstances as themselves. René, an undocumented individual, explained that they wanted to assure other undocumented individuals that they are not alone.

[Y]o les digo mi propio testimonio y lo que yo he pasado, y creo que eso ayuda a que la otra persona tenga la confianza para abrirse y saber que hoy no eres el único que pasas por cosas así y quizás esto te pueda ayudar. [I tell them my own story and what I have been through, and I think that helps the other person have the confidence to open up and know that today you are not the only one who goes through things like that and maybe this can help you.]

In correspondence with UndocuCrit, some undocumented individuals who had difficulties navigating the education system expressed their desire to pave the road for other undocumented individuals by providing mentorship. Gabi, an undocumented scholar, noted that they helped their brother navigate the education system after struggling to navigate it themselves.

Está bien difícil porque no sabes dónde empezar, no sabes a dónde ir, donde buscas de becas porque no se va a poder pagar, de que si se necesitan papeles o no. Batallamos mucho y mi mamá fue la que me llevó y nos dieron esa información...[Y]o pienso que me hubiera ayudado alguien que dijera “por aquí se puede, yo ya pasé por aquí,” porque ya cuando le tocó a mi hermano, ya nomás

siguió mis pasos y le tocó mucho más fácil. [It is very difficult because you do not know where to start, you do not know where to go, where to look for scholarships because you will not be able to pay, whether you need documentation or not. We fought a lot and my mother was the one who took me and they gave us that information ... [And] I think someone who said “you can do it this way, I already passed by here,” because when it was my brother’s turn, He just followed in my footsteps and it was much easier for him.]

Social support appeared to be an unmet need for some undocumented individuals.

This unmet need led some to seek out ways to provide social support to others. Although social support did not appear as frequently as the others, social support remains an important aspect of this community (Autin et al., 2018). It is likely that this code did not appear more often because most of the interview questions were not related to social support.

Coping

The psychological distress that is often endemic to the undocumented community forces many to find ways to cope. Coping is defined as a protective behavior that can mitigate the effects of psychological distress (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). In focus groups, coping was often discussed proactively. Participants mentioned how they coped with the uncertainty that permeates through the undocumented experience. Specifically, some participants mentioned the idea of having a Plan B. Plan B was defined as a backup plan in case of a negative event that occurs due to an individual’s immigration status (e.g., deportation, detention). Plan B strategies varied greatly. For example, one parent mentioned that family unity was highly important to them. If one of them was deported, they would all travel out of the U.S. together.

...[T]odos queremos lo mejor para nuestra familia y me gustaría estar aquí sano, salvos, pero en el último de los casos pueden viajar todos juntos, buscar una ciudad que tenga el índice menos crimen, y cuando el chico si quiere regresar a su país que sería Estados Unidos, pueden regresar después porque ellos ya son ciudadanos americanos. [We all want the best for our family and I would like to be safe here, but as a last resort, they can all travel together, look for a city that has the lowest crime rate, and when the boy wants to return to his country, which would be the United States, they all can return because they are already American citizens.]

Another family reported the opposite plan. If a parent were to be deported, the children were instructed to stay:

En cambio, en mi familia siempre se dijo “si se van y se llevan a alguien ustedes no se muevan, trabajen de acá y echen para allá para que veamos algo. [On the other hand, in my family it was always said” if someone is taken away, do not leave, work here and send money there so that we can have something.]

Some participants coped by preparing financially in case of their own deportation.

One individual reported that they started saving money after the Trump administration rescinded DACA in 2017.

[E]mpecé a prepararme, porque desde que pasó eso en septiembre del 2017, empecé a tener un plan B. Tuve que hacer un plan B en caso de que ya no se me quedaran los papeles. Empecé a ahorrar dinero, empecé a también ver otras opciones de trabajo.” [“I started to prepare, because ever since that happened in September 2017, I started to have a plan B. I had to make a plan B in case I no longer had the papers. I started saving money, and also started to see other job options.]

Making a Plan B was not easy for some. Some believed that making a Plan B was admitting defeat and required accepting the fact that deportation may someday become a reality. Andy, an undocumented individual, expressed their reluctance to make a Plan B but reiterated that they felt forced to make one when they thought they were going to be deported after a traffic stop. After expressing their reluctance earlier in the interview, they said:

[U]na vez sí tuve que hacerlo de un segundo para otro, porque estaba parado por una minor traffic [stop]. Luego fue la inmigración y yo dije “mañana voy a estar en México, tengo estudio...[P]uedo trabajar allá algo que no he podido trabajar en este lugar”. Tuve que hacer el plan así, porque iba a irme hacia allá, pero si no me hubiera pasado eso, no. Es difícil. [One time, I did have to do it from one second to the next, because I was stopped by a minor traffic [stop]. Then it was immigration and I said “tomorrow I am going to be in Mexico, I have a study ... I can work there something that I have not been able to work in this place”. I had to make the plan like that, because I was going to go there, but if that hadn't happened to me, no. It's hard.]

When asked why they do not want to have a Plan B now, they said: “Porque esta es mi casa, es como ‘vete de tu casa’ y estás en otra casa. [Because this is my home. It is like “leave your home” and you will be in another home.]

Proactive coping can also occur through racial socialization. Racial socialization is defined as the way that parents pass on values, information, and perspectives about race and ethnicity to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization can occur out of necessity to protect themselves and their family (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Ayón et al., 2019). Catalina, an undocumented mother, described her experience having a conversation about deportation with her children. The mother prepared her children for their potential deportation by stating that they would at least have a place to stay if they were deported:

Entonces sientes la necesidad de advertirles a ellos, para que cuando suceda no sea una cosa inesperada, o un shock...[M]e preguntan, ‘¿y qué haríamos?’ Y afortunadamente tenemos familia en México, y allá hay forma de llegar. [Then you feel the need to warn them, so that when it happens it's not unexpected, or shocking ... They ask me ‘and what would we do?’ And fortunately we have family in Mexico, and once there, there are ways to get there.]

Coping was also discussed reactively, often based on previous experiences of discrimination. Sonia, the mother who previously mentioned that she was exploited by

her lawyer, told the story of when her daughter was called in for an immigration hearing. Rather than paying for a lawyer like she did when her son needed to report to his immigration hearing, she decided to take on the role of the lawyer herself. Both options had their risks, yet she already experienced the downfalls of relying on a lawyer. Her willingness to serve as the lawyer without previous training exemplifies a common theme within this community: a mistrust of authorities.

Le tocaba corte a la niña, “¿y no va a llevar abogado?” “no mamita yo soy el abogado.” Y el juez le preguntaba una cosa y otra y como ella tenía 15, le dice el juez que si firman deportación voluntaria, que no van a quedar como no entraron a este país y que le van a borrar todo, que si no, va a quedar como una criminal. “Ella no va a firmar porque yo no la voy a dejar firmar,” le digo...Y nos fuimos. [The girl had a court hearing, “and is she not going to have a lawyer?” “No *mamita*, I’m the lawyer.” And the judge asked her one thing and another and since she was 15, the judge tells her that if she signs voluntary deportation, that they will erase everything. That if not, she will look like a criminal. “She is not going to sign because I am not going to let her sign,” I tell her ... And we left.]

Isabela, the individual who had an undocumented student with lice, noted that the friend who told her not to call the nurse ended up taking out the lice herself. Yet another example of an individual who was guided by their mistrust of authority figures to take matters into their own hands. “Entonces mi compañera se la llevo el sábado y la despiojo.” [“Then my colleague took her on Saturday and deloused her.”]

There are many different ways to cope with the uncertainties that encompass the undocumented experience. Throughout the transcripts, coping was discussed through proactive means and through learning from previous experiences. Coping can also occur at the family level, often through socialization of the undocumented status. Whichever form of coping that undocumented people choose, it is evident that many times coping is a form of *survivance* -- a concept derived from Native American literature meaning the

combination of survival and resistance (Powell, 2002). With the anticipation of deportation around the corner, undocumented people are forced to find ways to survive and resist the chronic stress and trauma that permeates their lived experience.

Religious Faith

Religion is another resource that undocumented people use. Religious faith was defined as having trust in God (Bishop, 2016). Some participants described how religion provided hope for them and kept them from feeling helpless. Additionally, some appeared to engage in radical acceptance while using religion to cope. Alex, an undocumented individual, highlighted the notion that they accepted the reality of their experience, and they trusted that God would provide guidance in their life.

[L]a esperanza en Dios es lo último que se pierde. No tengo una situación migratoria, no tengo una documentación ... pero Dios tiene un plan para mí en esta historia, en este tiempo. Entonces acepto mi estatus, acepto que no tengo documentos. Trato de portarme moralmente lo mejor que pueda porque Dios tiene un plan para mí. [The hope in God is the last thing that's lost. I do not have an immigration status, I do not have documentation ... but God has a plan for me in this story, at this time. So I accept my status, I accept that I have no documents. I try to behave morally the best I can because God has a plan for me.]

Another individual, Ariel, expressed a similar experience. They recognized that they are limited by their immigration status in some ways and emphasized their faith in God. Ariel appears to use religion as a way to remain hopeful; believing that their life is in God's hands.

Y lo que a mí me ha dado la fuerza de seguir una y otra vez. Una, ha sido mi fe. Yo soy de las personas que reza cuatro rosarios al día, y estoy en oración, y trato de ponerlo todo en manos de Dios, porque yo digo "Yo hago lo que yo puedo." Yo voy, aplico, y digo "quiero trabajar como contratadora independiente," yo hago eso, pero hay cosas que yo no puedo hacer, y eso yo lo pongo en manos de

Dios. [And what has given me the strength to continue over and over again. One has been my faith. I am one of the people who prays four rosaries a day, and I am in prayer, and I try to put everything in the hands of God, because I say “I do what I can.” I go, apply, and say “I want to work as independent contractor,” I do that, but there are things that I cannot do, and that I put in the hands of God.]

Another common use of religion was through expressing gratitude. Previous research has found that gratitude has positive effects on mental health and overall well-being (Portocarrero et al., 2020; Valikhani et al., 2019). Individuals in the study would frequently state their gratitude towards God by saying “gracias a Dios” when describing a difficult experience that they have overcome. Sebastián, an undocumented immigrant who was diagnosed with acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) a few years before, expressed his gratitude toward God for helping him remain alive despite having AIDS:

Le doy gracias a Dios cada día que amezco, le digo “gracias por conservarme a mis hijas,” ya cada una me dio una nieta, y hoy somos abuelos de esas dos nietas. [I give thanks to God every day I wake up, I say “thank you for protecting my daughters,” each already gave me a granddaughter, and today we are grandparents of those two granddaughters.]

Additionally, religious grounds provided a safe haven for some undocumented people. Nidia, a young adult, noted that when she engaged in activities at her church, her worries tended to dissipate. This highlights the importance of churches and religious activities for this community.

Y a veces me presiono y me pongo así como que “aahh no puedo.” Y lo que me ayuda con mi estrés y cosas así es involucrarme mucho allí en mi parroquia... Ya que llego allí, se te olvida todo. Todos tus problemas. Se te olvida porque no piensas. [And sometimes I pressure myself and go like “aahh I can’t.” The thing that helps me with my stress and things like that is to get involved a lot in my parish ... Once I get there, you forget everything. All your problems. You forget because you don’t think.]

For many immigrants from Latin America, religion serves as a valuable and essential resource (Bhimji, 2010). When our participants experienced some sort of difficulty, many of them resorted to using their religious faith in a fatalistic way to help themselves remain optimistic; often by stating that God is looking out for them. Religion also served as a safe space where undocumented people felt welcomed and assured, both physically and emotionally.

Family as Capital

Family as capital was defined as using your family as a source of motivation. Family as capital is a code that was derived from UndocuCrit's parental *sacrificios* tenet, which was defined as undocumented youth using their parent's sacrifices as a form of motivation to persist (Aguilar, 2019). For this study, the definition was broadened to include the perspectives of parents too. Many participants explained how family served as a motivator. Lupe, an undocumented individual, reiterated that their daughter is their main source of motivation:

Yo digo que para mi, mi gran motivación es mi hija. O sea, de decir 'le voy a echar ganas por ella,' porque uno no quiere que pase lo mismo que uno pasó. [I say that for me, my great motivation is my daughter. That is, saying 'I'm going to persist for her,' because I don't want her to live the same experiences I did.]

Similarly, Ariel, an undocumented parent, emphasized that parents are often thinking about what is best for their child:

[Y]o pienso que las mamás o los papás, desde que hagamos las cosas pensando siempre en el bienestar de los hijos, en lo mejor. Yo creo que siempre lo hacemos por amor... [I think that mothers and fathers, while we always do things thinking about the wellbeing of the children, the best for them. I think we always do it for love ...].

Other participants reported on how living in the U.S. can unexpectedly lead to negative impacts on family cohesion. As family members wish to provide a better life for each other, they begin to work more, until they start losing touch with each other. It is a paradoxical cycle that some of the participants reported falling into. Dani, an undocumented immigrant, highlighted this notion: “Y luego entonces se toman un trabajo, luego otro y luego otro y allí se empieza a despegar el núcleo de la familia.” [And then they take one job, and then another, and then another, and there the family core starts to detach.”]

Jamie, an undocumented individual, mentioned a similar feeling. Jamie highlighted the importance of family for this community and reported that it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain strong familial ties due to the fast-paced life that undocumented people can be forced into.

Aparte, yo creo que es la unión familiar, la mayoría de nosotros los hispanos somos muy apegados a la familia...Pero en este caso, aquí en este país, a veces nos estamos no sé, nos estamos despegando de la familia por el mismo, por la vida tan rápida que tenemos. Eso es otra cosa también, que a veces nosotros también nos empezamos a-- se nos olvida la familia a veces... [Besides, I believe that it is the family union, most of us Hispanics are very attached to the family ... But in this case, here in this country, sometimes we are, I don't know, we are detaching ourselves from the family for the same reason. For the fast life we have. That is another thing too, that sometimes we also start to-- sometimes we forget the family ...]

Disruption of family ties can often lead to negative effects, especially when the disruptions occur from forced separation such as deportation. Fran, an undocumented individual whose father had been deported, described their experience of being away from their family. When family ties appear to be disrupted for an indefinite amount of time, which can be years, even decades, it can leave undocumented people feeling highly

distressed.

Y realmente el estar lejos de la familia-- porque mi papá está deportado, él está en México-- y el no poder ir a verlo, a mí me afecta. Y aparte de mi papá, está mi familia entera, mis abuelos, mis tíos. La mayor parte de mi familia está en México. Y sentir como que tu corazón está tan dividido, es difícil. [And actually being away from the family-- because my father is deported, he is in Mexico-- and not being able to go see him affects me. And apart from my dad, there is my whole family, my grandparents, my uncles. Most of my family is in Mexico. And feeling like your heart is so divided, it's hard.]

In correspondence to the third tenet of UndocuCrit (parental *sacrificios* being used as a form of cognitive capital), parents seemed to use the thought of their children as a form of cognitive capital. No matter the obstacles that undocumented parents seem to face, many appear to feel motivated to persist by holding on to the belief that they will provide a better life for their children. Nonetheless, their persistence can sometimes be a double-edged sword that unintentionally leads to disruptions of family ties when they begin to work multiple jobs. For some undocumented people in our study, finding a balance between working to provide a better life and maintaining close connections with loved ones was a challenge.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the most salient challenges that undocumented Latine people face and how they overcome those challenges. CRT, LatCrit, and UndocuCrit were used to inform and frame the findings. Findings showed that psychological distress and discrimination were among the most common challenges. Consistent with the theories, psychological distress and discrimination appeared to be common experiences for many participants. Psychological distress commonly appeared as fear and frustration. Additionally, participants highlighted various types of discrimination that they faced: institutional, out-group, and within-group. To overcome these challenges, participants often engaged in problem solving and proactive coping. Participants also reported using their religious beliefs to help them remain hopeful and optimistic.

Challenges

One of the most salient challenges that our participants, both documented and undocumented, described was psychological distress. The UndocuCrit tenet of liminality advances the idea that the issues that undocumented people face also affect their documented relatives (Aguilar, 2019). Empirical evidence supports this tenet. For example, a recent study found that children whose parents knew a deportee were at an increased risk for a developmental disorder, irrespective of the children's citizenship status (Vargas & Benitez, 2019). Anti-immigrant policies such as the Zero Tolerance

policy on border crossings established by the Trump administration, which separated families caught crossing the border in order to prosecute the adults, are having significant negative impacts on the psychological and physical wellbeing of migrant children (Edyburn & Meek, 2021). In this study, both undocumented and documented participants described feeling fearful at the thought of deportation of themselves or a loved one. They reported that this fear had lasting effects on their behavior. For example, some participants reported not seeking services for fear of deportation, a finding that is already reported in the literature (Cholera et al., 2021). Psychological distress also manifested itself as frustration for participants. Our undocumented participants reported being frustrated at facing institutional barriers when pursuing a career. A similar study found that those who had DACA were frustrated because institutional barriers continued to impede their educational trajectory (Benuto et al., 2018). On the other hand, documented participants in our study mostly reported being frustrated at not being able to or not knowing how to help their undocumented relatives. Future research should further explore how the undocumented experience affects documented relatives.

Given the literature, it is imperative for future immigration policies to prioritize the humanity and wellbeing of the families (Edyburn & Meek, 2021). Giving undocumented people a chance to connect to their cultures and families of origin by visiting their country of origin (Ruth et al., 2019) and through transnational clinical interventions (Falicov, 2008) can be ways to decrease the negative effects associated with the undocumented experience and to increase belongingness. Allowing Advanced Parole to continue being an option for DACA recipients and allowing therapy to occur across

countries can both be policies that facilitate a deeper connection for undocumented immigrants to their countries and families of origin.

Another challenge that our participants frequently discussed was discrimination. Participants expressed their frustration at being discriminated by both out-group and in-group members. Some believed that within-group discrimination was more painful than out-group discrimination because it was unexpected. Within-group discrimination for Latines is usually related to immigration status (Córdova & Cervantes, 2010) and skin color (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). For participants, immigration status was the most common reason for within-group discrimination. Supported by CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) and LatCrit (Valdes, 1997), immigration status can become a racialized identity. Throughout history, some ethnic groups have fought to be considered “White” and gain all the privileges that come with it (Barret & Roediger, 1997). This same concept can take place within in the Latine community. In this case, documented Latines may discriminate against undocumented Latines to perceive themselves as being of a higher social class. Given how rampant xenophobia has been in the U.S. (Daniels et al., 2021), some documented Latines may want to consider themselves as being separate from undocumented Latines to ensure their own safety from the effects of xenophobia. Future research should explore how xenophobia relates to attitudes of colonial mentality.

Before reviewing the transcriptions, I expected that factors such as skin tone, gender, and sexual orientation would impact the experiences of the participants. However, these factors were not discussed by the participants. Skin tone was surprisingly not mentioned at all throughout the transcripts, yet previous research has found that

darker skin tone is associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination (Araujo-Dawson, 2015). As mentioned earlier, it is likely that participants did not mention any factors other than immigration status because that was the focus of the questions.

Researchers interested in researching the undocumented Latine community should consider taking an intersectional approach when collecting data to get a better sense of whether other factors impact the experiences of undocumented Latines.

Strengths

Undocumented people in this study often coped with challenges by creating a plan in case they or someone they love is deported. Previous research has found undocumented people to cope by using both individual and family level coping methods (Kam et al., 2018). One of the most common coping methods at both the individual and family level seems to be avoidance; some undocumented people prefer not to think about the potential consequences of their immigration status (e.g., deportation; Goodman et al., 2017; Kam et al., 2018). This appeared to hold true for some of our participants. When asked if they had made a backup plan in case, they, or someone they know is deported or detained, some of them expressed reluctance at creating a plan because it was difficult for them to think about the possibility of deportation or detention. They preferred to avoid thinking about that possibility. However, some participants preferred to cope by discussing individual and family level plans to prepare in case of deportation. Many stated that if they were deported, they would travel to another country, such as Canada, that has similar opportunities to the U.S. Others reported they have talked to their

families about what they would do if someone in the family were to be deported. It was clear thinking about creating back up plans was emotionally difficult but many of them felt like they had no choice.

Another way that participants would cope with the challenges that arose due to their immigration status was to problem solve situations on their own. It appears that many of them preferred to take matters into their own hands because they did not want to rely on others or institutions. A common pattern in our results was that the undocumented people who shared this sentiment feared being betrayed or hurt by authority figures and institutions. Mistrust of authority figures appears to be a common experience for undocumented people (Doshi et al., 2020). This mistrust likely stems from our long history of anti-immigrant laws and policies such as Arizona's SB1070 and Operation Wetback and has likely been augmented by the anti-immigrant rhetoric spewed by Donald Trump and his presidential administration (Campos, 2021; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Their mistrust of authorities may be their way of keeping themselves safe. Clinicians working with this community cannot take trust for granted nor interpret guardedness as resistance to services. Providers need to skillfully build trust with undocumented clients before expecting them to share their stories during therapy sessions. As outlined by the HEART model, building trust with undocumented people involves creating sanctuary spaces that offer protection, affirmation, and validation (Chavez-Deñias et al., 2019). The HEART model uses the terms "sanctuary spaces" rather than "safe spaces" because the lives of undocumented people are constantly under threat (Chavez-Deñias et al., 2019). Thus, it is impossible to create spaces that are

completely safe for undocumented people.

When situations did not seem to have a solution, some participants resorted to using religion as a resource to maintain hope and a positive outlook on life. Religion is known to be a helpful tool for people undergoing various types of life stressors (Park, 2005). It has also been shown to be specifically helpful for Latine immigrants (Bekteshi & Kang, 2018; Silva et al., 2017). For participants, having faith in God helped them find meaning in their lives. Many of them believed that God has plans for them whether they are deported or not. It seems that this type of fatalism helps alleviate the chronic anticipatory stress that is associated with the potential deportation of themselves or a loved one. Although holding fatalistic beliefs has been associated with negative outcomes (Basáñez et al., 2014; Shahid et al., 2020), fatalistic beliefs appear to be a helpful coping mechanism for undocumented immigrants. Holding a fatalistic belief may allow undocumented immigrants to make space to hold the anxieties about a possible deportation. This perspective can also be understood as optimism through spirituality (Garcini et al., 2021). Future research should explore the relationship of fatalism or optimism through spirituality and the psychological well-being of undocumented people.

For researchers interested in conducting research on the undocumented community, I would advise you to be cautious if recruiting participants from religious grounds. Religious grounds are integral for some undocumented people and are some of the only spaces where undocumented people feel safe (Garcini, Chen, et al., 2020; Menjívar, 2003, 2006). Thus, it is the researchers' responsibility to make sure not to invade these spaces. If interested in recruiting undocumented people from any setting, I

would advise to partner with community leaders and advocates who have the undocumented people's best interest in mind.

Need for Social Support

Social support appears to mitigate immigration related stress and improve overall health for undocumented people (Sanchez et al., 2019). Participants emphasized the importance of building community with others who understand their experiences. Some highlighted that this type of social support was missing in their lives even from their families. They explained that they felt disconnected from their families because their parents were focused on work. Undocumented parents added that they were focused on working, often sacrificing their own basic needs, to provide financial support to their children. Parents emphasized their desire to provide a better life for their families. However, that same desire to sacrifice themselves to meet the needs of their children can unintentionally backfire. As undocumented parents take on multiple jobs to provide financial support to their children, they not only sacrifice their own bodies, they also sacrifice being physically present with their children. Working long hours has been linked to higher psychological distress in children and less family cohesion (Major et al., 2002). Having both parents and children in the sample allowed us to see that parents are doing the best they can to provide for their families and that the children are feeling the impact of their absence. It is unclear whether acculturation or assimilation gaps within the family worsen perceived family cohesion for Latine people (Smokowski et al., 2008). Future clinicians may want to consider using interventions that are geared towards

strengthening the bonds between children and their parents, such as *Confía en mi, Confío en ti* (Borelli et al., 2021) for young children, or *Criando con Amor: Promoviendo Armonía y Superación* (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2011; Parra-Cardona et al., 2012) for older children and adolescents.

Conclusion

The Crit theories articulate specific realities that are evident in the lived experiences of the participants. This was particularly true for CRT and UndocuCrit. LatCrit served in a more supportive role to CRT. All three theories convey that discrimination is an ordinary experience for marginalized groups. This appeared to be the most salient tenet from all three theories that applied to the undocumented experience of the participants. Other than the tenet mentioned above, the next most applicable tenet from CRT was the one that explains race as a social construction. This tenet applied to the undocumented experience in the sense that the undocumented identity has become racialized. LatCrit's tenet of Latine heterogeneity was useful in further unpacking the racialization of the undocumented identity. Regarding UndocuCrit, all four tenets were used to understand the experiences of the participants, but the most used tenet was that fear is endemic. It was clear that fear of deportation pervaded the undocumented experience.

The findings demonstrated four key takeaways. One is that proactively coping by creating back up plans in case of deportation was useful in alleviating some of the stress caused by the fear of deportation, yet it also caused emotional pain for some. The second

takeaway is that experiences of discrimination from authorities and institutions has made some undocumented Latines hesitant to find support outside of their families. Thus, it is imperative for people working with this community to recognize that mistrust is a valid experience given their history. Thirdly, COME BACK appears to be a useful coping mechanism for undocumented individuals. This appears to be especially true for situations that are seemingly uncontrollable. Last, Latine families that include an undocumented relative may benefit from interventions that involve a family-oriented approach. Considering the importance of family for undocumented Latines and the unintentional disconnection from their family that sometimes occurs, it may be helpful to assist undocumented Latines in strengthening their relationship with their family.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. This study was limited to participants from Texas; a state with a large population of undocumented people (Migration Policy Institute, 2019). Immigration policies can vary between states, some having more restrictive and conservative policies, while others have more progressive policies. Thus, experiences of undocumented people in Texas, a relatively conservative state, can be different than the experiences of undocumented people in other states. Additionally, various cities within Texas have differing policies regarding undocumented people. Living in different cities and states can have major impacts on the lives of undocumented people. That is why it is crucial to conduct research on the undocumented experience in many locations. However, limiting the location allows us to understand more deeply the

experiences of these undocumented immigrants while keeping their geographical local consistent.

Qualitative research by nature includes smaller numbers of participants than quantitative surveys. Selection bias is a threat to validity because some undocumented people may prefer to not participate in this study out of fear of trusting a researcher with their status. Therefore, we may not be understanding the full complexities of the experiences of undocumented people who are afraid to participate in studies. Yet, qualitative research doesn't seek to yield generalizable knowledge. As such, the voices of these participants provide important knowledge regardless of whether it applies to all undocumented Latines or not. Further, making space for these voices is consistent with the CRT voices of color tenet.

This study is very much anchored in its historical context. Laws and policies regarding immigration can change rapidly and unexpectedly. Thus, future laws and policies may have drastic changes on the undocumented Latine experience. This is a continual challenge in all studies pertaining to undocumented people. Relatedly, data was collected right before the pandemic occurred. The pandemic seems to have exacerbated the challenges that undocumented people face (Garcini, Domenech Rodríguez, et al., 2020). The full effects of the pandemic on the undocumented experience are still relatively unknown but getting a sense of their most salient challenges before the pandemic may help us have a base to work with.

Last, I was not involved in the original data collection and did not have direct contact with participants. Thus, I run the risk of misinterpreting what the participants

were trying to convey. However, the main interviewer verified the results to decrease the risk of misinterpreting the data.

REFERENCES

- Aguilar, C. (2019). Undocumented critical theory. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 19(3), 152-160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708618817911>
- Aguirre, A. (2012). Arizona's SB1070, Latino immigrants and the framing of anti-immigrant policies. *Latino Studies*, 10(3), 385-394. <https://doi.org/10.1057/lst.2012.28>
- Altman, A. (2020, April 20). *Discrimination*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/discrimination/>
- American Immigration Council. (2013, April 3). *An immigration stimulus: The economic benefits of a legalization program*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigration-stimulus-economic-benefits-legalization-program>
- Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 63-75. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000392>
- Aranda, E., & Vaquera, E. (2015). Racism, the immigration enforcement regime, and the implications for racial inequality in the lives of undocumented young adults. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 88-104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214551097>
- Araujo-Dawson, B. (2015). Understanding the complexities of skin color, perceptions of race, and discrimination among Cubans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 37(2), 243-256. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986314560850>
- Arizona v. United States, 567 U.S. 382 (2012). <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/11-182>
- Artiga, S., & Díaz, M. (2019, July 15). *Health coverage and care of undocumented immigrants*. Kaiser Family Foundation. <https://www.kff.org/disparities-policy/issue-brief/health-coverage-and-care-of-undocumented-immigrants/>
- Aoki, K., & Johnson, K. R. (2008). An assessment of LatCrit theory ten years after. *Indiana Law Journal*, 83(4), 1151-1196. <https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/ilj/vol83/iss4/2/>
- Autin, K. L., Duffy, R. D., Jacobson, C. J., Dosani, K. M., Barker, D., & Bott, E. M. (2018). Career development among undocumented immigrant young adults: A psychology of working perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 65(5), 605. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000280>

- Avotcja. (1993). A very subjective view of "Operation Wetback" (1957). *Social Justice*, 20(3/4) 51-56. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29766754>
- Ayón, C. (2016). Talking to Latino children about race, inequality, and discrimination: Raising families in an anti-immigrant political environment. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 7(3), 449–477. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686929>
- Ayón, C., & Becerra, D. (2013). Mexican immigrant families under siege: The impact of anti-immigrant policies, discrimination, and the economic crisis. *Advances in Social Work*, 14(1), 206–228. <https://doi.org/10.18060/2692>
- Ayón, C., Tran, A. G., & Nieri, T. (2019). Ethnic-racial socialization practices among Latino immigrant families: A latent profile analysis. *Family Relations*, 68(2), 246-259. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12356>
- Barrett, J. E., & Roediger, D. (1997). Inbetween peoples: Race, rationality and the "new immigrant" working class. In P. Rothenburg (Ed.), *White privilege* (pp. 39-44). Worth Publishers.
- Basáñez, T., Warren, M. T., Crano, W. D., & Unger, J. B. (2014). Perceptions of intragroup rejection and coping strategies: Malleable factors affecting Hispanic adolescents' emotional and academic outcomes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43(8), 1266-1280. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-013-0062-y>
- Becerra, D. (2016). Anti-immigration policies and fear of deportation: A human rights issue. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 1(3), 109–119. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-016-0018-8>
- Becerra, D., Quijano, L. M., Wagaman, M. A., Cimino, A., & Blanchard, K. N. (2015). How immigration enforcement affects the lives of older Latinos in the United States. *Journal of Poverty*, 19(4), 357–376. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10875549.2014.999969>
- Becerra, D., Wagaman, M. A., Androff, D., Messing, J., & Castillo, J. (2016). Policing immigrants: Fear of deportations and perceptions of law enforcement and criminal justice. *Journal of Social Work*, 17(6), 715-731. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017316651995>
- Bekteshi, V., & Kang, S. W. (2018). Contextualizing acculturative stress among Latino immigrants in the United States: A systematic review. *Ethnicity & Health*, 25(6), 897-914. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.2018.1469733>

- Benuto, L. T., Casas, J. B., Cummings, C., & Newlands, R. (2018). Undocumented, to DACAmended, to DACALimited: Narratives of Latino students with DACA status. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 40(3), 259–278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986318776941>
- Bhimji, F. (2010). Undocumented immigrant day laborers coping with the economic meltdown in Los Angeles. *Cultural Dynamics*, 22(3), 157–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374010383850>
- Bishop, J. (2016, March 30). Faith. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/faith/>
- Blackburn, C. C., & Sierra, L. A. (2021). Anti-immigrant rhetoric, deteriorating health access, and COVID-19 in the Rio Grande Valley, Texas. *Health Security*, 19(1), 50-56. <https://doi.org/10.1089/hs.2021.0005>
- Blanchard, S. B., Coard, S. I., Hardin, B. J., & Mereoiu, M. (2019). Use of parental racial socialization with African American toddler boys. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28(2), 387-400. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1274-2>
- Blanco, M. (2010, March). *Before Brown, there was Mendez*. American Immigration Council. https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/Mendez_v._Westminster_032410.pdf
- Bolter, J. (2019, February). *Explainer: Who is an immigrant?* Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/content/explainer-who-immigrant>
- Borelli, J. L., Yates, T. M., Hecht, H. K., Cervantes, B. R., Russo, L. N., Arreola, J., Leal, F., Torres, G., & Guerra, N. (2021). Confía en mí, Confío en ti: Applying developmental theory to mitigate sociocultural risk in Latinx families. *Development and Psychopathology*, 33(2), 581-597. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0954579420001364>
- Brabeck, K., & Xu, Q. (2010). The impact of detention and deportation on Latino immigrant children and families: A quantitative exploration. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 32(3), 341–361. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310374053>
- Callaghan, T., Washburn, D. J., Nimmons, K., Duchicela, D., Gurram, A., & Burdine, J. (2019). Immigrant health access in Texas: Policy, rhetoric, and fear in the Trump era. *BMC Health Services Research*, 19(1), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-019-4167-1>
- Calle, C. Z. (2021). *Ni de Aquí, Ni de Allá: Sense of Belonging among Latinx DACA recipient University Students* (Publication No. 28715150) [Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University]. ProQuest Dissertation and Theses Global. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2572593732/fulltextPDF/5D329CA5E8C54D51PQ/1?acc>

[ountid=14761](#)

- Campos, L. (2021). *Mental health outcomes of various types of fear among university students who have an undocumented legal status during the Donald Trump presidency* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of San Francisco]. <https://repository.usfca.edu/diss/536>
- Capielo Rosario, C., Schaefer, A., Ballesteros, J., Rentería, R., & David, E. J. R. (2019). A caballo regalao no se le mira el colmillo: Colonial mentality and Puerto Rican depression. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 66(4), 396. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000347>
- Castro-Salazar, R., & Bagley, C. (2010). 'Ni de aquí ni from there'. Navigating between contexts: Counter-narratives of undocumented Mexican students in the United States. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 13(1), 23-40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320903549651>
- Cavazos-Rehg, P. A., Zayas, L. H., & Spitznagel, E. L. (2007). Legal status, emotional well-being and subjective health status of Latino immigrants. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 99(10), 1126–1131. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2574408/>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020, April 22). *COVID-19 in racial and ethnic minority groups*. <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/need-extra-precautions/racial-ethnic-minorities.html>
- Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Saud, L. (2020). White categorical ambiguity: Exclusion of Middle Eastern Americans from the White racial category. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 12(5), 593-602. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620930546>
- Chavez-Dueñas, N. Y., Adames, H. Y., & Organista, K. C. (2014). Skin-color prejudice and within-group racial discrimination: Historical and current impact on Latino/a populations. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 36(1), 3-26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986313511306>
- Chavez-Dueñas, N. Y., Adames, H. Y., Perez-Chavez, J. G., & Salas, S. P. (2019). Healing ethno-racial trauma in Latinx immigrant communities: Cultivating hope, resistance, and action. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 49-62. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000289>
- Chishti, M., Hipsman, F., & Ball, I. (2015, October 15). *Fifty years on, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act continues to reshape the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states>

- Chishti, M., & Yale-Loehr, S. (2016, July). *The Immigration Act of 1990: Unfinished business a quarter-century later*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-act-1990-still-unfinished-business-quarter-century-later>
- Cholera, R., Ranapurwala, S. I., Linton, J., Shmuel, S., Miller-Fitzwater, A., Best, D. L., Simha, S., & Flower, K. B. (2021). Health care use among Latinx children after 2017 executive actions on immigration. *Pediatrics*, 147(2). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-0272>
- Cohen, S., & McKay, G. (1984). Social support, stress and the buffering hypothesis: A theoretical analysis. *Handbook of Psychology and Health* 4, 253-267.
- Conrat, M., & Conrat, R. (1972). *Executive order 9066: The internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans*. California Historical Society. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED061372>
- Constantine, M. G., & Blackmon, S. M. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences: Their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies*, 32(3), 322–335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002193470203200303>
- Copenhaver-Johnson, J. (2006). Talking to children about race: The importance of inviting difficult conversations. *Childhood Education*, 83(1), 12-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2006.10522869>
- Córdova, D. Jr., & Cervantes, R. C. (2010). Intergroup and within-group perceived discrimination among US-born and foreign-born Latino youth. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 32(2), 259-274. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310362371>
- Danbold, F., & Huo, Y. J. (2014). No longer “All-American”? Whites' defensive reactions to their numerical decline. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6(2), 210-218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550614546355>
- Daniels, C., DiMaggio, P., Mora, G. C., & Shepherd, H. (2021). Has pandemic threat stoked xenophobia? How COVID-19 influences California voters' attitudes toward diversity and immigration. *Sociological Forum*, 36(4), 889-919. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12750>
- David, E. J. R., & Okazaki, S. (2006). Colonial mentality: A review and recommendation for Filipino American psychology. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.1.1>
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). New York University Press.

- Department of Homeland Security. (2021). Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents Recession Memo (“DAPA”).
<https://www.dhs.gov/publication/deferred-action-parents-americans-and-lawful-permanent-residents-recession-memo-dapa>
- Dingle, H., & Drake, V. A. (2007). What is migration? *Bioscience*, 57(2), 113-121.
<https://doi.org/10.1641/B570206>
- Domenech Rodriguez, M., Baumann, A., & Schwartz, A. (2011). Cultural adaptation of an empirically supported intervention: From theory to practice in a Latino/a community context. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(1-2), 170–186. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-010-9371-4>
- Doshi, M., Lopez, W. D., Mesa, H., Bryce, R., Rabinowitz, E., Rion, R., & Fleming, P. J. (2020). Barriers & facilitators to healthcare and social services among undocumented Latino (a)/Latinx immigrant clients: Perspectives from frontline service providers in Southeast Michigan. *PloS one*, 15(6).
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0233839>
- Drapeau, A., Marchand, A., & Beaulieu-Prévost, D. (2012). Epidemiology of psychological distress. *Mental Illnesses-Understanding, Prediction and Control*, 69(2), 105-106. <https://doi.org/10.5772/30872>
- Dreby, J. (2012). The burden of deportation on children in Mexican immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(4), 829-845.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00989.x>
- Edwards, F., Lee, H., & Esposito, M. (2019). Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race-ethnicity, and sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(34), 16793-16798. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1821204116>
- Edyburn, K. L., & Meek, S. (2021). Seeking safety and humanity in the harshest immigration climate in a generation: A review of the literature on the effects of separation and detention on migrant and asylum-seeking children and families in the United States during the Trump administration. *Social Policy Report*, 34(1), 1-46. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sop2.12>
- Eggerth, D. E., DeLaney, S. C., Flynn, M. A., & Jacobson, C. J. (2012). Work experiences of Latina immigrants: A qualitative study. *Journal of Career Development*, 39(1), 13-30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845311417130>
- Falicov, C. J. (2008). Transnational journeys. In M. McGoldrick & K. Hardy (Eds.). *Revisioning culture, race, and class in family therapy* (3rd ed., pp. 108-122). Guildford Press.

- Farm Workforce Modernization Act of 2019, H.R. 5038, (2019). <https://www.congress.gov/116/bills/hr5038/BILLS-116hr5038rfs.pdf>
- Farris, E. M., & Mohamed, H. S. (2018). Picturing immigration: How the media criminalizes immigrants. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 6(4), 814–824. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2018.1484375>
- Flores, A. (2017, September 18). 2015, *Hispanic Population in the United States statistical portrait*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2017/09/18/2015-statistical-information-on-hispanics-in-united-states/>
- Flores, W. V. (2016). Undocumented and unafraid: The emergence of an undocumented movement and its impact on immigration policy, the DREAM Act, DACA, DAPA, and family unification. *Journal of Family Strengths*, 16(1), 3, 1-34. <https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/jfs/vol16/iss1/3>
- Foley, N. (2005). Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and whiteness. In P. Rothenburg (Ed.), *White privilege* (pp. 59-70). Worth Publishers.
- García, M. T. (1981). Operation Wetback: The mass deportation of Mexican undocumented workers in 1954. *The Public Historian*, 3(2), 121-125. <https://doi.org/3377235>
- Garcini, L. M., Cadenas, G., Domenech Rodríguez, M. M., Mercado, A., Campos, L., Abraham, C., Silva, M., & Paris, M. (2021). Lessons learned from undocumented Latinx immigrants: How to build resilience and overcome distress in the face of adversity. *Psychological Services*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ser0000603>
- Garcini, L., Chen, N., Cantu, E., Sanchez, N., Ziauddin, K., Maza, V., & Molina, M. (2020). Protective factors to the wellbeing of undocumented Latinx immigrants in the United States: A socio-ecological approach. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 19(4) 456-471. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2020.1836300>
- Garcini, L. M., Domenech Rodríguez, M. M., Mercado, A., & Paris, M. (2020). A tale of two crises: The compounded effect of COVID-19 and anti-immigration policy in the United States. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 12(S1), S230-S232. <http://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000775>
- Garcini, L. M., Murray, K. E., Zhou, E. A., Klonoff, M. G., Myers, M. G., & Elder, J. P. (2016). Mental health of undocumented immigrant adults in the United States: A systematic review of methodology and findings. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 14(1), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2014.998849>

- Giuntella, O., & Lonsky, J. (2020). The effects of DACA on health insurance, access to care, and health outcomes. *Journal of Health Economics*, 72, 102320. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2020.102320>
- Glesne, C. (2016). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (5th ed.). Pearson.
- Gomez, V., & Pérez Huber, L. (2019). Examining racist nativist microaggressions on DACAmented college students in the Trump era. *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.5070/p2cjpp11243089>
- Gonzalez-Barrera, A., & Lopez, M. H. (2016, December 16). *U.S. deportations fall to lowest level since 2007*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/12/16/u-s-immigrant-deportations-fall-to-lowest-level-since-2007/>
- Goodman, R. D., Vesely, C. K., Letiecq, B., & Cleaveland, C. L. (2017). Trauma and resilience among refugee and undocumented immigrant women. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 95(3), 309-321. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12145>
- Goss, S., Wade, A., Skirvin, J. P., Morris, M., Bye, K. M., & Huston, D. (2013, April). *Effects of unauthorized immigration on the actuarial status of the social security trust funds*. Social Security Administration. https://www.ssa.gov/oact/NOTES/pdf_notes/note151.pdf
- Gramlich, J. (2020, March 2). *How border apprehensions, ICE arrests and deportations have changed under Trump*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/03/02/how-border-apprehensions-ice-arrests-and-deportations-have-changed-under-trump/>
- Grava, D. (2017). *Why do so many Mexican immigrants come to the United States?* Immigrant Connect. <https://immigrantconnect.medill.northwestern.edu/blog/2017/03/16/why-do-so-many-mexican-immigrants-come-to-the-united-states/>
- Guest, G., Namey, E., & McKenna, K. (2017). How many focus groups are enough? Building an evidence base for nonprobability sample sizes. *Field Methods*, 29(1), 3-22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822x16639015>
- Haney López, I. F. (1997). Race, ethnicity, erasure: The salience of race to LatCrit Theory. *California Law Review*, 85(5), 1143-1211. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3481058>
- Held, M. L., Nulu, S., Faulkner, M., & Gerlach, B. (2020). Climate of fear: provider perceptions of Latinx immigrant service utilization. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 7(5), 901-912. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-020-00714-w>
- Heppel, M. L., & Amendola, S. L. (1992). *Immigration reform and perishable crop agriculture?* University Press of America.

- Hernandez v. Texas, 347 U.S. 475 (1954). <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/347/475>
- History, Art, and Archives: United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). *The Immigration Act of 1924*. <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1901-1950/The-Immigration-Act-of-1924/>
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: a review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental psychology*, 42(5), 747-770. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747>
- Immigration Act of 1917, Pub. L. No. 301, H.R. 10384, 894 (1917). <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/64th-congress/session-2/c64s2ch29.pdf>
- Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act of 1994, Pub. L. No. 103-416, 108 Stat. 4305 (1994). <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-108/pdf/STATUTE-108-Pg4305.pdf>
- Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-603, 100 Stat. 3359 (1986). <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-100/pdf/STATUTE-100-Pg3445.pdf#0-0-0-345>
- Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. (2017). *Undocumented immigrants' state and local contributions*. <https://itep.org/undocumented-immigrants-state-local-tax-contributions-2017/>
- International Organization for Migration. (2020). *World migration report 2020*. https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/wmr_2020.pdf
- Joint Economic Committee. (2021). *Immigrants are vital to the U.S. economy*. https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/6750b0f0-c851-4fee-9619-295582fd44e8/immigrants-are-vital-to-the-us-economy-final.pdf
- Kam, J. A., Pérez Torres, D., & Steuber Fazio, K. (2018). Identifying individual-and family-level coping strategies as sources of resilience and thriving for undocumented youth of Mexican origin. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 46(5), 641-664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2018.1528373>
- Kossoudji, S. A., & Cobb-Clark, D. A. (2000). IRCA's impact on the occupational concentration and mobility of newly-legalized Mexican men. *Journal of Population Economics*, 13(1), 81-98. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.166541>
- Krogstad, J. M. (2014, March 24). *Census Bureau explores new Middle East/North Africa ethnic category*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/24/census-bureau-explores-new-middle-eastnorth-africa-ethnic->

[category/](#)

- Library of Congress. (n.d.a). *1942 Bracero Program*. <https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/bracero-program>
- Library of Congress. (n.d.b). *Religion and the founding of the American republic*. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01.html>
- Library of Congress. (2018). *14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Primary documents in American History*. <https://guides.loc.gov/14th-amendment>
- Library of Congress. (2019). *Alien and Sedition Acts: Primary documents in American History*. <https://guides.loc.gov/alien-and-sedition-acts>
- Luiselli, V. (2017). *Tell me how it ends: An essay in 40 questions*. Coffee House Press.
- Major, B., Blodorn, A., & Major Blascovich, G. (2018). The threat of increasing diversity: Why many White Americans support Trump in the 2016 presidential election. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 21(6), 931-940. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216677304>
- Major, V. S., Klein, K. J., & Ehrhart, M. G. (2002). Work time, work interference with family, and psychological distress. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(3), 427-436. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.3.427>
- Marcelli, E. A., Holmes, L., & Estella, D. (2007). *(In) visible (im) migrants: The health and socio-economic integration of Brazilians in metropolitan Boston*. Center for Behavioral and Community Health Studies, San Diego State University.
- McIntosh, P. (1989). White privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. *Peace and Freedom, July/August*, 10-12. https://psychology.umbc.edu/files/2016/10/White-Privilege_McIntosh-1989.pdf
- Menjívar, C. (2003). Religion and immigration in comparative perspective: Catholic and Evangelical Salvadorans in San Francisco, Washington, DC, and Phoenix. *Sociology of Religion*, 64(1), 21-45. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712267>
- Menjívar, C. (2006). Liminal legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants' lives in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(4), 999-1037. <https://doi.org/10.1086/499509>
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). *Immigration*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/immigration>

- Messing, J. T., Becerra, D., Ward-Lasher, A., & Androff, D. K. (2015). Latinas' perceptions of law enforcement: Fear of deportation, crime reporting, and trust in the system. *Affilia*, 30(3), 328-340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109915576520>
- Migration Policy Institute. (2008, September). *High stakes, more meaning: An overview of the process of redesigning the U.S. Citizenship Test*. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/BR6_NatzTest_092908.pdf
- Migration Policy Institute. (2019). *Unauthorized immigrant population profiles*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/us-immigration-policy-program-data-hub/unauthorized-immigrant-population-profiles>
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist review*, 89(1), 1-15.
- National Immigration Law Center. (2020, April). *New documents reveal ICE access to DACA recipients' information*. <https://www.nilc.org/2020/04/21/new-documents-reveal-ice-access-to-daca-recipients-information/>
- National Park Service. (2017). *Closing the door on immigration*. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/closing-the-door-on-immigration.htm>
- Naturalization Act of 1940, Pub. L. No. 853, 54 Stat. 1140 (1940). <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/76th-congress/session-3/c76s3ch876.pdf>
- New York Civil Liberties Union. (2019, March). *NYCLU releases report analyzing NYPD stop-and-frisk data*. <https://www.nyclu.org/en/press-releases/nyclu-releases-report-analyzing-nypd-stop-and-frisk-data>
- Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847>
- Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (the McCarran-Walter Act)*. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/immigration-act>
- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2012). *The Refugee Act*. <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/policy-guidance/refugee-act>
- O'Neal, C. R., Espino, M. M., Goldthrite, A., Morin, M. F., Weston, L., Hernandez, P., & Fuhrmann, A. (2016). Grit under duress: Stress, strengths, and academic success among non-citizen and citizen Latina/o first-generation college students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 38(4), 446-466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986316660775>

- Parra-Cardona, J. R., Busby, D. M., & Wampler, R. S. (2004). No soy de aqui ni soy de alla: Transgenerational cultural identity formation. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 3(4), 322-337. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192704268374>
- Parra-Cardona, J. R., Domenech-Rodriguez, M., Forgatch, M., Sullivan, C., Bybee, D., Holtrop, K., Escobar-Chew, A. N., Tams, L., Dates, B., & Bernal, G. (2012). Culturally adapting an evidence-based parenting intervention for Latino immigrants: The need to integrate fidelity and cultural relevance. *Family Process*, 51(1), 56-72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2012.01386.x>
- Park, C. L. (2005). Religion as a meaning-making framework in coping with life stress. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(4), 707-729. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00428.x>
- Park, I. J. K., Du, H., Wang, L., Williams, D. R., & Alegría, M. (2019). The role of parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices in the discrimination–depression link among Mexican-origin adolescents. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 49(3), 391-404. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2018.1547969>
- Passel, J. S., & Cohn, D. (2019, June 12). *Mexicans decline to less than half the U.S. unauthorized immigrant population for the first time*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/12/us-unauthorized-immigrant-population-2017/>
- Passel, J. S., & Lopez, M. H. (2012, August 14). *Up to 1.7 million unauthorized immigrant youth may benefit from new deportation rules*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2012/08/14/up-to-1-7-million-unauthorized-immigrant-youth-may-benefit-from-new-deportation-rules/>
- Patler, C., Hamilton, E., Meagher, K., & Savinar, R. (2019). Uncertainty about DACA may undermine its positive impact on health for recipients and their children. *Health Affairs*, 38(5), 738-745. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2018.05495>
- Patler, C., & Pirtle, W. L. (2018). From undocumented to lawfully present: Do changes to legal status impact psychological wellbeing among Latino immigrant young adults? *Social Science & Medicine*, 199, 39-48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.03.009>
- Patten, E. (2016, July 1). *Racial, gender wage gaps persist in U.S. despite some progress*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/>
- Pearlin, L. I., & Schooler, C. (1978). The structure of coping. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 19(1), 2–21. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2136319>

- Pew Research Center. (2015, April 7). *Americans, Japanese: Mutual respect 70 years after the end of WWII*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2015/04/07/americans-japanese-mutual-respect-70-years-after-the-end-of-wwii/>
- Portocarrero, F. F., Gonzalez, K., & Ekema-Agbaw, M. (2020). A meta-analytic review of the relationship between dispositional gratitude and well-being. *Personality and Individual Differences, 164*, 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110101>
- Powell, M. (2002). Rhetorics of survivance: How American Indians use writing. *College Composition and Communication, 53*(3), 396–434. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1512132>
- Reina, A. S., & Lohman, B. J. (2015). Barriers preventing Latina immigrants from seeking advocacy services for domestic violence victims: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Family Violence, 30*(2015), 479-488. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-015-9696-8>
- Reny, T. T., & Barreto, M. A. (2020). Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19. *Politics, Groups, and Identities, 1*-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2020.1769693>
- Richards, J. M., & Gross, J. J. (1999). Composure at any cost? The cognitive consequences of emotion suppression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(8), 1033–1044. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672992511010>
- Rojas-Flores, L., Clements, M. L., Hwang Koo, J., & London, J. (2017). Trauma and psychological distress in Latino citizen children following parental detention and deportation. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 9*(3), 352-361. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000177>
- Rollock, N., & Gillborn, D. (2011) *Critical race theory (CRT)*. British Educational Research Association. <https://www.bera.ac.uk/publication/critical-race-theory-crt>
- Roth, B. J. (2018). The double bind of DACA: Exploring the legal violence of liminal status for undocumented youth. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 42*(15), 2548-2565. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1540790>
- Ruth, A., Estrada, E., Martinez-Fuentes, S., & Vazquez-Ramos, A. (2019). Soy de aquí, soy de allá: DACAmented homecomings and implications for identity and belonging. *Latino Studies, 17*(3), 304-322. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-019-00197-9>
- Ryo, E., & Peacock, I. (2018, December 5). *The landscape of immigration detention in the United States*. American Immigration Council. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/landscape-immigration-detention-united-states>

- Rytina, N. (2002). *IRCA legalization effects: Lawful permanent residence and naturalization through 2001*. Office of Policy and Planning, Statistics Division, US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
- Sanchez, M., Diez, S., Fava, N. M., Cyrus, E., Ravelo, G., Rojas, P., Li, T., & De La Rosa, M. (2019). Immigration stress among recent Latino immigrants: The protective role of social support and religious social capital. *Social Work in Public Health, 34*(4), 279-292. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2019.1606749>
- Santos, C. E., Menjivar, C., VanDaalen, R. A., Kornienko, O., Updegraff, K. A., & Cruz, S. (2018). Awareness of Arizona's immigration law SB1070 predicts classroom behavioural problems among Latino youths during early adolescence. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41*(9), 1672-1690. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1311021>
- Shahid, F., Beshai, S., & Del Rosario, N. (2020). Fatalism and depressive symptoms: active and passive forms of fatalism differentially predict depression. *Journal of Religion and Health, 59*(6), 3211-3226. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-020-01024-5>
- Siemons, R., Raymond-Flesh, M., Auerswald, C. L., & Brindis, C. D. (2017). Coming of age on the margins: Mental health and wellbeing among Latino immigrant young adults eligible for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 19*(3), 543-551. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-016-0354-x>
- Silva, N. D., Dillon, F. R., Verdejo, T. R., Sanchez, M., & De La Rosa, M. (2017). Acculturative stress, psychological distress, and religious coping among Latina young adult immigrants. *The Counseling Psychologist, 45*(2), 213-236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000017692111>
- Smith, M. L. (2002). INS administration of racial provisions in U.S. immigration and nationality law since 1898. *Prologue Magazine, 34*(2). <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1.html>
- Smokowski, P. R., Rose, R., & Bacallao, M. L. (2008). Acculturation and Latino family processes: How cultural involvement, biculturalism, and acculturation gaps influence family dynamics. *Family Relations, 57*(3), 295-308. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2008.00501.x>
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, H., Teranishi, R., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2011). Growing up in the shadows: The developmental implications of unauthorized status. *Harvard Educational Review, 81*(3), 438-473. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.3.g23x203763783m75>

- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Toomey, R. B., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Williams, D. R., Harvey-Mendoza, E., Jahromi, L. B., & Updegraff, K. A. (2014). Impact of Arizona's SB 1070 immigration law on utilization of health care and public assistance among Mexican-origin adolescent mothers and their mother figures. *American Journal of Public Health, 104*(S1), S28-S34. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2013.301655>
- United We Dream. (2021). Undocumented health report: Mental health and wellbeing in United We Dream community. <https://unitedwedream.org/heretostay/undocuhealth-and-wellness/2021-undocuhealth-report/?ifso=success>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2020). *About race*. <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2022). *Chapter 9 - Good moral character*. <https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-12-part-d-chapter-9>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2021a). *Consideration of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)*. <https://www.uscis.gov/DACA>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2021b). *Approximate active DACA recipients*. <https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/reports/Active%20DACA%20Recipients%20%E2%80%93March%2031%2C%202021.pdf>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2020a). *Origins of the naturalization civics test*. <https://www.uscis.gov/history-and-genealogy/featured-stories-uscis-history-office-and-library/origins-naturalization-civics-test>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2020b). *Who's #1?* <https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/whos-1>
- U.S. Customs and Border Protection. (n.d.). *June 29, 1909*. <https://www.cbp.gov/about/history/timeline/timeline-date/june-29-1906#>
- U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2020). *History*. <https://www.ice.gov/history>
- Valdes, F. (1997). Foreword: Under construction. LatCrit consciousness, community, and theory. *California Law Review, 85*(5), 1087-1142. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3481057>

- Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., & Jardina, A. E. (2013). Immigration opposition among U.S. whites: General ethnocentrism or media priming of attitudes about Latinos?: Immigration opinion and media group priming. *Political Psychology, 34*(2), 149–166. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00928.x>
- Valikhani, A., Ahmadnia, F., Karimi, A., & Mills, P. J. (2019). The relationship between dispositional gratitude and quality of life: The mediating role of perceived stress and mental health. *Personality and Individual Differences, 141*(2019), 40-46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.12.014>
- Vargas, E. D., & Benítez, V. L. (2019). Latino parents' links to deportees are associated with developmental disorders in their children. *Journal of Community Psychology, 47*(5), 1151-1168. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22178>
- Vargas, L., & dePyssler, B. (1998). Using media literacy to explore stereotypes of Mexican immigrants. *Social Education, 62*(7), 407-412. <http://www.socialstudies.org/sites/default/files/publications/se/6207/620704.html>
- Vaquera, E., Aranda, E., & Sousa-Rodriguez, I. (2017). Emotional challenges of undocumented young adults: Ontological security, emotional capital, and well-being. *Social Problems, 64*(2), 298-314. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spx010>
- Von Werthern, M., Robjant, K., Chui, Z., Schon, R., Ottisova, L., Mason, C., & Katona, C. (2018). The impact of immigration detention on mental health: A systematic review. *BMC Psychiatry, 18*(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-018-1945-y>
- Weisdorf, J. L. (2005). From foraging to farming: Explaining the neolithic revolution. *Journal of Economic Surveys, 19*(4), 561-586. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0950-0804.2005.00259.x>
- Wray-Lake, L., Wells, R., Alvis, L., Delgado, S., Syvertsen, A. K., & Metzger, A. (2018). Being a Latinx adolescent under a Trump presidency: Analysis of Latinx youth's reactions to immigration politics. *Children and Youth Services Review, 87*, 192–204. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.02.032>
- Zayas, L. H., Aguilar-Gaxiola, S., Yoon, H., & Rey, G. N. (2015). The distress of citizen-children with detained and deported parents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24*(11), 3213–3223. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0124-8>

APPENDIX
FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS (TRANSLATED)

Focus Group / Questions (Translated)

Impact of stress

1. What comes to mind when they hear someone speak badly about our immigrant community?
 - a. In today's environment, how do you think other ethnic groups see our immigrant youth or do they think they think of our youth? (e.g., compassion, resentment, threat, etc.).
2. What are some of the biggest challenges facing our young immigrants (especially those without a visa)?
 - a. What do you think are your biggest fears? (especially those without a visa)?
 - b. What do you think are your greatest needs? (especially those without a visa)?
 - c. What do you think are your biggest goals / ambitions / hopes? (especially those without a visa)?
 - d. What matters most to these young people besides having a visa? (e.g., making money, family union, spirituality, education, relationships)
 - e. What are some of the challenges facing relatives of undocumented youth?
3. How do you think the current context (anti-immigrant) is affecting the health and well-being of our young immigrants? Of their families? From our community in general?
 - a. What do you think are the main causes of anxiety in our young immigrants?
 - b. How do you think anxiety presents or manifests itself in our young immigrants?
4. What effect do you think the use of the word "illegal" has on our young immigrants?
 - a. What other terms or words do you feel should be used that would cause less damage?
5. Do you think there are some of these young immigrants who are more affected than others? (e.g., women / men, those who do not have studies, those who do not speak English)
Can you give some examples?
6. What do you think is the message that is being given to future generations (children) when they hear what is happening with our undocumented immigrants?
7. Do you think there are some of these young immigrants who are more affected than others? (e.g., women / men, those who do not have studies, those who do not speak English)
Can you give some examples?
8. Do you think there are some of these young immigrants who are more affected than others? (e.g., women / men, those who do not have studies, those who do not speak English)
Can you give some examples?

9. In your opinion, where are we going as a community, what do you think is going to happen with our immigrant community, particularly with our youth?

Coping and solution approach

1. In your opinion, what are some of the things that can help our immigrant youth cope with the stress in which they live?
2. In your opinion, what kind of resources do you think are available for these young immigrants to help them feel better and less stressed?
 - a. In your opinion, what resources do you think our young immigrants or communities need to help them cope with the stress in which they live?
 - b. What needs to be done to help protect the welfare and health of our young immigrants?
3. In your option, how does faith help these young people?
4. What are some of the resources (or things) that our religious institutions or faith communities are doing to help our immigrant youth?
 - a. In your opinion, what else do you think our religious institutions or faith communities can do for our immigrant youth?
5. You as a member of this community, what are you doing or can you do to help our youth?
6. What do you think is the solution to the current situation that is living against our immigrant community?
7. Do you have any other suggestions or recommendations on how to improve the welfare of our immigrant youth in the conditions we are living?

Grupo de Enfoque / Preguntas (Spanish Version)

Impacto de stress

1. ¿Qué les viene a la mente cuando escuchan a alguien hablar mal sobre nuestra comunidad inmigrante?
 - a. ¿En el ambiente actual, como crees que otros grupos étnicos ven a nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes o que creen que es lo que piensan de nuestros jóvenes? (e.g., compasión, rencor, amenaza, etc.).
2. ¿Cuáles son algunos de los retos mas grandes que están enfrentando nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes (especialmente los que no tienen visa)?
 - a. ¿Cuáles crees que son sus miedos mas grandes? (especialmente los que no tienen visa)?
 - b. ¿Cuáles crees que son sus necesidades mas grandes? (especialmente los que no tienen visa)?
 - c. ¿Cuáles crees que son sus metas/ambiciones/esperanzas mas grandes? (especialmente los que no tienen visa)?
 - d. ¿Que es lo que más les importa a estos jóvenes además de tener una visa? (e.g., hacer dinero, unión familiar, espiritualidad, educación, relaciones)
 - e. ¿Cuáles son algunos de los retos que están enfrentando los familiares de jóvenes indocumentados?

3. ¿Cómo crees que el contexto actual (anti-inmigrante) está afectando la salud y el bienestar de nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes? ¿De sus familias? ¿De nuestra comunidad en general?
 - a. ¿Cuales crees que son las causas principales de ansiedad en nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?
 - b. ¿Como crees que se presenta o se manifiesta la ansiedad en nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?
4. ¿Que efecto crees que tiene el uso de la palabra “illegal” en nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?
 - a. ¿Que otros términos o palabras sienten que se deberían usar para causar menos daño?
5. ¿Crees que hay algunos de estos jóvenes inmigrantes que estén más afectados que otros? (e.g., mujeres/hombres, los que no tienen estudios, los que no hablan ingles)

¿Puedes dar algunos ejemplos?
6. ¿Cual crees que es el mensaje que se les esta dando a las generaciones futuras (niños) cuando escuchan lo que está pasando con nuestros inmigrantes indocumentados?
7. ¿Crees que hay algunos de estos jóvenes inmigrantes que estén más afectados que otros? (e.g., mujeres/hombres, los que no tienen estudios, los que no hablan ingles)

¿Puedes dar algunos ejemplos?
8. Crees que hay algunos de estos jóvenes inmigrantes que estén más afectados que otros? (e.g., mujeres/hombres, los que no tienen estudios, los que no hablan ingles)

¿Puedes dar algunos ejemplos?
9. ¿En su opinión, hacia donde vamos, que creen que es lo que va a pasar con nuestra comunidad inmigrante, particularmente con nuestros jóvenes?

Enfoque de afrontamiento y solución

1. ¿En tu opinión, cuales son algunas de las cosas que pueden ayudar a nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes a enfrentar el estrés en el que viven?
2. ¿En tu opinión, qué tipo de recursos crees que están disponibles para estos jóvenes inmigrantes para ayudarlos a sentirse mejor y menos estresados?
 - a. ¿En tu opinión, qué recursos crees que necesitan nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes o comunidades para ayudarlos a enfrentar el estrés en el que viven?
 - b. ¿Qué se necesita hacer para ayudar a proteger el bienestar y la salud de nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?
3. ¿En tu opción, como ayuda la fe a estos jóvenes?
4. ¿Cuales son algunos de los recursos (o cosas) que están haciendo nuestras instituciones religiosas o comunidades de fe para ayudar a nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?
 - a. En tu opinión, que mas crees que nuestras instituciones religiosas o

comunidades de fe puedan hacer por nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes?

5. ¿Tu como miembro de esta comunidad, que es lo que estas haciendo o puedes hacer para ayudar a nuestros jóvenes?
6. ¿Cual crees que es la solución a la situación actual que se esta viviendo contra nuestra comunidad inmigrantes?
7. Tienen alguna otra sugerencia o recomendación sobre cómo mejorar el bienestar de nuestros jóvenes inmigrantes en las condiciones que estamos viviendo?