Title
Transforming the Immigrant Identity:Looking at Linked-Fate in Racialized Immigration
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Immigrant Communities in Los Angeles After 2016

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Introduction

In 2016, former President Donald Trump came to the city of Costa Mesa, located just forty miles south of UCLA. His rally was held on the basis of building a wall, the eradication of "illegal aliens," and often conflating the terms "illegal immigrants" and "Mexicans" in an open-air amphitheater in which Latinx/a/o and Asian immigrant communities gathered outside in protest could hear (Kenny 2016). Political and media coverage of immigrant communities and their perceived intentions for life in America brought about a surge of debates on immigration policy circa 2016. Now in 2022, legislation that determines the eligibility of thousands of children of undocumented immigrants, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), still remains at the forefront of media and policy debate. When the validity of one's ability to sleep, work, raise a family, get an education, and live in America is the discussion of American citizens, one wonders what the effects of politicians and the media boiling immigrant policy to xenophobic intent have on existing immigrants in America.

In this thesis, we will explore the potential concept of an "immigrant linked fate" as a theoretical explanation for the change in the behavior of immigrants in recent years due to increased xenophobia and immigrant identity. The conceptual framework of the immigrant linked fate has been built by the concept of the "Linked Fate" as applicable to generational African Americans in America by Michael C. Dawson. A mixed methods study was conducted as a part of the research to understand the strength of an immigrant linked fate in immigrant communities in Los Angeles. The study has been formally called "Measuring Impacts of Immigration on Levels of Observed Linked-Fate: Immigrant Communities Los Angeles After 2016" or "ILOL: Los Angeles" for short. As an introductory study in Los Angeles, its structure is replicable to be conducted in other areas of interest. ILOL: Los Angeles aimed to answer the

central question of: To what extent have immigrant experiences and perceptions shifted from recent years of heightened politicization of the immigrant identity, and how can we observe "immigrant linked fate" in Black and Latinx/a/o immigrants in Los Angeles given this context?

ILOL: Los Angeles was conducted from December 2022 to January 2023. It included seven interviews with Black immigrants and seven with Latinx/a/o immigrants to acquire stories, perceptions, and sentiments of the recent immigrant experience and if participants themselves felt that their fates were interlinked. Results of the study showed that the immigrant participants, regardless of race, felt an eminent bond over three overarching topics: Education, Economic Opportunity, and Community. Participants displayed extensive knowledge of the specific sociopolitical barriers in place from success in each of the three categories, as well as their fears for the sanctity of progress in the three categories because of how they perceived a collective group's future heading in certain directions. In its essence, ILOL: Los Angeles serves as a foundational study to prove the sociopolitical parameters necessary to influence further research on the immigrant linked fate and understand how it can be used as a tool for political activism, progressive immigration reform, and decrease xenophobic aggressions within the political sphere surrounding immigration. Based on the results of ILOL: Los Angeles, it can be projected that the "immigrant linked fate" does present validity in its argument through various means of analysis. Participants were shown to have a collective identity based on immigration, to feel that the events of some immigrants directly correlate with their personal experiences, and to perceive their future through the lens of a potentially collected future. Therefore it is proposed that the immigrant linked fate should be further studied on a larger scale with a more racially diverse group of immigrant participants.

Literature Review

To understand the concept of "immigrant linked fate," it is necessary to study the theoretical framework of the Black Utility Heuristic, Linked Fate, and Group Consciousness as three concepts that emerge in the immigrant context. Then, there will be specific examples of the importance of these concepts in understanding the current situations of Latinx/a/o and Black people in America, as well as immigrants as a general group, in an America with heightened racial emphasis on immigration. By looking at the levels of political activism amongst Black folks in America under the utility heuristic, alongside the appropriate picture played out of the state of immigration, it becomes possible to project the idea that immigrants are changing their behavior individually, as well as a collective, to prevent a perceived fate that the direction of political agendas is presenting to them.

With this in mind, how different are the effects of the situations that black people face in contemporary police abuse to immigrants with xenophobic abuse? Rather, the better question to ask is, what is *similar* between the two? This literature review aims to really center on how the use of concepts from critical race theory can expand on the identity of immigrants, and more so, how we can better identify their social subjugation in recent years in order to accurately address potential political impacts for the future.

Dawson's 1995 book *Behind the Mule* is composed of multiple historically changing contributions to Critical Race Theory. Amongst are ideas like the Black Utility Heuristic, but more central to this paper, the African American Linked Fate. It is a framework for the way that Black communities in America perceived the socioeconomic and political burdens of some members of the community as those that applied to the whole. A contemporary consideration of the African American Linked Fate forms in action is the way that the repeated spread of news of

police brutality against Black individuals has led to overall concern between the Black community and police relations throughout the country. It is because of this community-wide concern that Black people unite and mostly vote in favor of police regulation and the release of policing records in the presence of a potential case of unjust violence. This collected reasoning is why Black voters in America turn out to vote as one of the most united racial groups in the country. This framework given by Dawson points to the idea that a community tied by racial or ethnic means is more likely to recognize what is happening repeatedly to some members of its community as a measure of activism for the whole.

Since then, the subject has been expanded upon. In a 2016 study of the levels of linked fate observed in Latinx folks regarding the idea of universal healthcare, it was found that significant appearances of linked fate in the collective desire of the polled Latinx in America wanting to raise taxes for the consumption of collective, universal healthcare option (Sanchez $ Medeiros 2016). In other words, the collectivist mindset and appearance of linked fate amongst Latinx/a/o folks and their views on healthcare indicate the racialization of welfare programs, and who they are made for as well as who in a community can benefit from them.

Most of what Americans know about race as a construction comes from the way the law ascribes and redacts characteristics of their volition. In *Ozawa v. United States*, Ozawa was within his right to claim that he was white, as he had taken many steps to prove his assimilation efforts to the courts. When his whiteness, and therefore his eligibility for citizenship, was denied, it was on criteria of what made him not white rather than what did. Therefore, the races of minorities have been historically defined as what they do not have in terms of whiteness, which has changed over time. Non-whiteness has been criminalized when it comes to immigration policy, the Chinese Exclusion Act being a critical example. Ian Haney-Lopez's book *White by*

Law reflects a similar frustration with the application and implication of being non-white as reflected in the United States Census. Until the 1960s, the race question on the Census was seen as one that was used to influence legislation and law-making practices. Once the purpose of the question shifted towards fixing racial disparities in the country, is when the expansion of the race category to represent a variety of different ethnic and racial groups occurred. The main example of this is the newer MENA (Middle Eastern and North African) option that was added. As time has progressed, the law has found itself at the same table as the media when it comes to the newer conjectures on race. Media has been found to be an effective way to push negative and positive stereotypes about races and ethnicities and shape a certain narrative onto those seeking the information.

Scholarship in critical race theory consistently ties together the law with the construction of race in America. From the three-fifths clause in the Constitution to landmark cases like *Thind v. United States*, race has been manipulated in the law to disenfranchise people of color at whatever stage necessary. This connection has been used to explain the means under which minorities continue to undergo racist experiences and, more specifically, why society cannot escape the racist systems that were intentionally built without people of color in mind.

In today's context, and with a lot more research on the Black vs. White dichotomy in race, ethnicity, and politics, research in other racial and ethnic groups like Latinos and Muslim-Americans have shown similar applications of concepts like "group consciousness" and "linked fate" in varying levels. With the recent racialization of immigration policy through electoral and bipartisan politics in the 2010s, the academic community in political science should look at the potential for a connection between the immigrant identity and the need for different ethnic immigrant groups in the same geographic area to band together to fight for immigration

rights on a local and national scale. More specifically, this should be investigated using the lens that critical race theorists have provided, specifically in group consciousness and linked fate. In this literature review, the analysis of racialization within the law and the formation of immigration policy will be connected to modern concepts of group consciousness and linked fate within existing political activism and immigrant self-perception, to point to the gaps that this study aims to fill.

Understanding the definitions of these two socio-political terms is important. The concept of "linked fate" can be best summarized by Michael C. Dawson as the idea that one's perception of their own future experiences is tied to that of their racial group. The conception of their fate and its likely outcomes are influenced by the direct successes and failures of the racial group. The term "group consciousness," although not coined by Dawson, explains a similar sociological phenomenon where there is a sense of shared awareness– a consciousness that members of a racial group feel toward one another. This can include morals, values, and political and social goals that stem from shared culture, history, and collectivist identities observed within racial minorities. Both of these definitions are succinct ones that will be used when further defining and expanding on the following literature review. There is a consistent pattern in which where "linked fate" can be identified, so can "group consciousness" to a certain level. It becomes important when analyzing the processes and political behaviors of groups, specific immigrants to the United States, in this case, stemming from decades of racial subjugation to Black, Latinx/a/o, Asian-American, etc populations, as both concepts help the general understanding of how the feeling of belonging in a group can influence the desire to belong in the country.

The racialization of immigration in this specific context should be defined as the viewing of immigration, migration to the United States, and all political matters associated with

immigration through the racial lens. The racialization of concepts or ideas that aren't inherently racial in the first place does not happen overnight. The racialization of being an immigrant is bolstered heavily by opinion and the popularity of racist rhetoric being used in relation to the subject that is being racialized. In a study where nearly 1,400 frames from the New York Times over the course of nearly twenty years were analyzed in reference to their use of Latinx and immigration policy, it was found that even amongst positive portrayals of Latinx immigrants, they were still viewed as "exploitable," "vulnerable but blameworthy," and nonetheless "illegal" (Estrada & Cabaniss 2020). The repetition of these themes alongside politicized topics around immigration policy shifts the narrative of immigrants to one that is a "us Americans" (presumably closer to whiteness and Westernization) and a "them immigrants of color," which further polarizes the idea of racism geared specifically towards those who are seeking to or have already migrated to the United States. In the earlier parts of his campaign, former president Donald Trump often conflated the policy that was primarily geared towards immigration as a whole, or relations with the country of Mexico, with each other tweeting, "The Mexican legal system is corrupt, as is much of Mexico. Pay me the money that is owed me now - and stop sending criminals over our border" and the infamous opening speech words, "They're [Mexican immigrants] bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people," (Trump 2015). In Trump's case specifically, this rhetoric is damaging because of his loyal base of the white, lower middle class, religious, and under-educated individuals who are the target of the narrative he is seemingly protecting them from. This base remembers the American pride instilled within them from the times of Ronald Reagan and believes that the American identity is specific and something that not all those who come here can obtain. This recenters the racist idea that "illegal aliens" are specifically primarily Latinx Americans. When

this existing mindset is compiled with racist rhetoric towards Latinx folks and immigrants as a whole, the former president furthers his support at the cost of security and belonging for immigrant communities across the country.

It is important to note here that Latinx/a/o immigrants are subject to different immigration systems depending on the part of South or Central America they are holding prior citizenship to. The assumption in the narrative that all Latinx people in the United States are here to "steal jobs" contradicts the numbers. In 2018, Nearly 600,000 Central American immigrants were seeking asylum in the United States on the basis of escaping gang violence back home whilst Mexican immigrants are most likely to receive permanent residency, with 107,000 obtaining a green card in just 2021 (UNHCR 2021). Both of these figures do not account for undocumented immigration or overstays of given visas. When the process of immigration, and more specifically the reasoning for the migration, can differ to this extent just within neighboring countries, the generalization of purpose that Latinx/a/o people in the United States are being twisted amongst talks of immigration policy further aggrandizes the racialization of immigration as problematic, misleading, and now heavily vulnerably to a tangible danger on immigrants in the United States.

The racialization of immigration can then be tied back into the larger conversation of race relations in America. This twist of inherently non-racial areas of policy aside from immigration, naturalization, etc, especially in recent political history, the United States provides the stage for which immigration policy has found itself within. Welfare systems have been heavily questioned by politically conservative folks to imply the idea that the exploitation of welfare for personal misuse is primarily seen among people of color. Bringing the idea back that Reagan-era reminiscent conservatives often sided with the former president on his portrayals of the infamous "Welfare Queen," a Black woman who was supposedly misusing Social Security benefits for

embezzling money, may continue to resonate with such portrayals of Black and Brown people in newer forms of welfare such as federally subsidized healthcare.

In part, racializations of concepts like immigration stem from existing stereotypes and the notions about groups they placate themselves on. To redirect to the discussion on linked fate, the racism that African Americans have faced for multiple generations entirely relies on the negative stereotypes and falsehoods about Black folks that fuel regressive actions. The increasing levels of "linked fate" and "group consciousness." When Michael Dawson explored the awareness of a collective fate amongst Black individuals in America, he ascribed it to the causal identity for changes in Black people's social, mental, economic, and political potentials. The higher the levels of linked fate in Black people, the higher the levels of their goals being centered on unity, shared fates, of collectivism for the greater benefit of the people. This all comes into play when analyzing the Black community in America in regard to class. "Class," as defined by Dawson, is a group of Americans (in his case African Americans) who are subject to similar access to goods, services, and skills, which therefore outlines the similarities in life chances amongst the class. Similar to the view of non-racial classes, such as economic class, when some are affected by economic occurrence, it is likely that others are subject to similar situations. Economic crises like recessions, depressions, busts, etc all hit those of lower and middle economic classes in similar fashions. Using this same ideology, Dawson expands on the idea of "class" to one that is based on race, which then filters into the reason why linked fate is a prevalent indicator of the existence of a Black class. The African American class comes with varying sublevels, or "segments," as Dawson labels them, and prods on the idea that events within the class tend to create specifications based on lateral identities. The emergence of a Black middle class in the late twentieth century posited the grounds for the creation of sublevels within the Black class that

focused primarily on economic status. While these segments produce differences in political interests, cultural habits, and life expectancies, Dawson concludes that the overall unity within the African American class comes from their unshakeable common denominator: being Black in America.

The Black class outlines the emphasis on a Black person's awareness of their group identity. Dawson finds that the majority of any difference found between Black folks' political interests and their *group* political interests can be ascribed to any feelings of responsibility they have to their Black peers. To reiterate, the Black Utility Heuristic provides the explanation as to why Black folks continue to act politically united within the social and economic subjugation that they consistently face.

> "... as long as African Americans continue to believe that their lives are to a large degree determined by what happens to the group as a whole, I would expect African Americans' perceptions of racial group interests to be an important component of the way individual blacks go about evaluating policies, parties, and candidates" (Dawson 1997).

This is the recurring thesis that Dawson refers back to and is the causal psychological explanation to why there is so much political unity amongst Black folks in America.

Political strategy shifts with this understanding. Presidents like Barack Obama widely used a campaigning strategy called *micro-targeting* to reach Black, browns, and individuals of other marginalized identities to push the Obama 2012 agenda onto them. The famous 2012 campaign that continued to advocate for Obamacare, foreign policy isolation, and civil justice found itself using a different combination of advertising goals that were relevant to the specific identities that people in targeted areas held. Black-identifying individuals in lower-income neighborhoods were shown campaign goals that resonated with the desire for continual civil

justice and access to government support economically. The success of the 2012 campaign, in addition to the overarching rise in numbers of Latinx and Black voting registrations and votes, can be attributed to the campaign's knowledge of the way that linked fate and group consciousness-like appearances in Black and brown communities solidifies that they make political decisions based on their class' collective interest.

Obama's campaign serves as a robust modern example of using the Black utility heuristic and linked fate to the uplifting of marginalized races in America into becoming more politically involved. It transitions their feelings of prior political isolation into one where they truly merge into their spaces and use their collective to initiate change. There is potential in the activation of the utility heuristic in turning around the political voices of those around us. Concepts like 'linked fate' or 'group consciousness' have so long proven the effects of collectivist culture, but more importantly, the decades of political trauma inflicted upon communities of color that makes them exhibit certain political behavior. For Dawson, each individual Black person experiences many of the realities that resonate with the larger black community. These experiences are a combination of those that occur within contemporary times that are added onto the experiences that generations of Black people have faced in America. Dawson emphasizes that political unity is not built overnight, nor is it built without struggle, fear, and the urgency of making a presence known to America.

With this, what becomes clear is that racial minorities have made the suffering, the pain, the loss, and the silence politically until there simply is no choice to do anything but make a change. The racialization of politics inherently damages and targets minorities into feeling that policy and legislation are to inhibit their existence in America, to subjugate them, to remind them that they are *other*. Racial minorities create social and political movements in response to violent

policies that attack who they are at their core. The #BlackLivesMatter movement comes from a long journey of violence against Black people from Law enforcement, who are supposed to be upholders of the law. As a sociopolitical movement, the Pew Research Center reported that at the peak of the movement in 2020, 86% of polled Black people supported the movement in one way or another (Patten & Parker 2020). That level of unity amongst a marginalized group is powerful in encouraging the progression of the movement. That same poll found that four-in-ten Black Americans have felt that they've been unjustly stopped by the police because of their race and ethnicity. The sentiments that these two statistics carry is one that emphasizes the prevalence of an issue and the respective response from the community. A common phrase holds true, "Emotion drives change," with quotes of responses from that time including, "Watching my people get murdered and lynched day after day pushed me to a heavy place in my heart!" (Rihanna 2020). Although Black people continue to become victims of abuses of the police force, three years since the murder of George Floyd has provided enough political push to prove itself powerful. The legislative and policy impacts since the protests peaked include safe and protection measures for Black people in the form of the establishment of databases that review and document police use of force and misconduct, mandating the use of body cameras on officers, banning the use of choke-hold and other carotid restraints unless given obscure circumstantial threat (White House 2022). The political activism driven by the #BlackLivesMatter movement uplifted the voices and fears of Black people around the country and led to the change exhibited in recent years. This isn't the first time movements and change have gained traction because of the heightened awareness of subjugation and injustice done to marginalized communities. These come at the precipice of centuries of wanting liberation and freedom from racial oppression. This record and active practice from the awareness of racial

unity, linked fate, and group consciousness provides the consensus for how change is embodied for these racial minorities in the future.

The postulation of what is happening to immigrants to the United States today comes into view. The atmosphere-related pressures, the strain of the experience, and the perceptions of those surrounding immigrants are heavily polarized. These folks don't come from a certain race or ethnicity but are to be largely considered people of color due to the racialization of immigration today. Researchers are finding that connection between the media, the law, and how Latinx/a/o are being negatively stereotyped based on "perceived criminality" and conflated with everyone being undocumented immigrants. The racialization of immigration policy did not happen overnight. Although "immigration" and "undocumented" were some of the most popular subjects for candidates in 2016 and 2020 elections, the emphasis on the legality and validity of immigrants has been recently questioned since the early 2000s. What Americans see now is what decades of anti-immigrant sentiments under the table look like when they are presented on top. Policies like the "Muslim Ban" or caps on immigration usually harm more than just the targeted group. They wrongly conflate national security issues with those related to the immigration of Middle Eastern, North African, and other Muslim immigrants. It is because of this that immigrants of all nonwhite races and ethnicities find themselves advocating for similar legislation and working together not to be silenced in the process of lifting the stigma against immigration and immigrants.

An analysis of ten years of immigration policy from 2009 to 2019 from the Social Science and Medicine journal under Elsevier found that approximately two-thirds of immigration-related policy from that time range was considered exclusive to racial minorities. Immigration to the United States is contentious for this exact reason. When nativism and

xenophobia conspire, they come as exclusionary policy that subjugates immigrants by the racial groups they preside. That same study found that exclusionary state legislation was harmful to individuals in a similar manner in which federal policy affected immigrant attitudes towards racial marginalization. This is reminiscent of the way in which certain pieces of immigration policy will target specific areas of immigration and then be dubbed a name that directly correlates with a minority race or ethnicity to signify the connection with the race and ethnicity of the group that resides mainly in that area. A Trump-era series of Executive Orders prohibited immigration from countries where most of the population was part of Islam. This later became to be known as the "Muslim Ban"

However, as egregious as the "Muslim Ban" became, immigrants to the United States have been in similar levels of fear for their future, discrimination from work opportunities, reentry to the U.S., and more. Harmful immigration policies are frequent and severely damaging:

- The "Migration Protection Protocols" kept South American migrants looking to immigrate to the United States under asylum south of the American border in Mexico as they awaited their case. Migration poses inherent dangers, and thousands of immigrants find themselves without a place to sleep, eat, or live.
- The teetering termination of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) brought on fear for the future of nearly seven-hundred thousand recipients in 2020. Although the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court, no new DACA applications have been taken since (Uriazee 2021).
- Temporary Protected Status has faced similar threats to DACA, with many individuals from countries undergoing severe instability in Africa and Central America as consistent potential for the loss of their lawful status in the United States. In 2018, TPS was ended

for those from Honduras, complicating the status of thousands of Hondurans residing in the United States (Jordan 2018).

- Caps on refugees have diminished exponentially during the Trump administration, with a historic low cap of 18,000 refugees allowed into the country in 2020 (MPI 2022).
- H1-B visas, usually given to high educated individuals seeking to immigrate to the United States for temporary employment (and eventual eligibility to apply for a green card), were denied at four times the rate between 2015 and 2019 (Perreira 2019).

Much of the harmful legislation that targets minority immigrant communities may not have passed but loops the overarching sentiment that *immigrants are secondary people in the United States*. Raids by ICE being filmed and uploaded to the media spur comments that make immigrants and their communities filled with fear on if "they will be next." The potential of adding a citizenship question that asks if those filling out the 2020 Census are documented citizens in the country further fuels fear in immigrant communities over the potential record of their potential complicated status'. What has been mentioned above is just the specific policies that are likely to gain media traction, and don't focus on the hundreds of less publicized, but equally dangerous government and political decisions made towards jeopardizing the future of thousands of immigrants in the United States. There have been double-downs on protected status for children who immigrate to the United States alone, abandoned, or abused. Backlogs in asylum cases influenced legislation that asked immigrants to the U.S. to prove that they've attempted to seek asylum in another country on their way to migrating to the southern border. These policies do more than just what they say at the surface, they hurt the minority races and ethnicities present in the United States. They damage morale, create fear for the future, and in

more ways, become closer and similar to the environments seen surrounding Black and brown folks when they choose to eventually politically activate.

In racially and ethnically diverse hubs like New York or Los Angeles, advocacy groups and constituents of all ethnicities will work together to provide a more unified front when it comes to showing up for public comment, providing testimonies, and asking for direct representation. Studies are ongoing in trying to gain the crucial understanding of the complex issue that is immigration in the United States and how advocacy groups are using the positionality of immigrants in political ways to advocate for their seat at the table. There still needs to be work and testimony to the idea that the racialization of immigration has individually changed the way that immigrants are viewing the event of their immigration and everything since then. The effects of prejudice, discrimination, persecution, can only truly be heard from the people themselves. The discrimination that immigrants face based on existing research proves that they the racialization of immigration can lead to xenophobic stereotypes that put immigrants at disadvantages for basic needs like employment opportunity, housing, and other government services. Ethnographic evidence of the journeys and hardships of immigrants can reflect these ideas and prove the existence of linked fate and group consciousness as they serve for the analysis of the racialization of immigration. It could build grounds for continuing to study the "brown utility heuristic," which serves as a parallel to the "black utility heuristic" as explained by Michael Dawson for Black folks. With this potential knowledge, the examination and implementation of immigration policies can significantly impact the development of immigrant communities beginning in Los Angeles, but expanding nationwide. Important aspects of what kind of legislation would best aid these communities could be built off knowing that they experience a linked fate, meaning that if immigrant Latinx face turmoil at the border that

immigrant Muslims may fear they are next. In essence, the promotion of evidence-based policies that are in the true interest of immigrants to the United States are positioned above the threats of xenophobic and discriminatory political decisions.

Similarly for group consciousness, grassroots organization, social media campaigns, or legislation can be written to navigate how we can dissociate negative stereotypes and legislation away from the immigrant community. It is critical that these concepts are used when analyzing racialized immigration in order to purposefully understand the ways in which immigrants are framed, forced into suffering, and debated almost inhumanely, and how this may play into their larger political mobilization. The existing research is lined up, and now the extra parameters serve to benefit the immigrant communities around America that make the country as powerful as it is.

While it was hundreds of years of racial subjugation that brought Black people to these levels of connection, research is aiming to understand how these notions of linked fate, group consciousness, etc, spawn and how long it takes it to form. Immigration policy, a policy subject that has taken interest of many legislators specifically after the events of September 11th, saw a sharp increase in engagement around the 2016 election. Immigration legislation is critical for the livelihoods of those living here and abroad, it brings together and breaks families, it financially and emotionally fulfills those in search for a better life.

Argument

Although immigration policy has been an item of contention for decades now, it was when the 2016 election highlighted immigration policy and stringency as a primary debate matter on national, state, and local levels, that the media and political media began the expansion

of it as a discussion item. This is where xenophobic ideas that stem from racist ones began to influence the side of the discussion that rang closely with anti-immigrant sentiment. Conservative politicians and pundits began conflating the ideas of immigration "issues" with those associated to specific racial and ethnic groups around the world. This specific racialization of immigration and its subsequent policy rings fear within the larger immigrant community as it is seen as directly attacking immigrants of color, as well as their positionality in the larger social, economic, and political spheres in the United States. It is making issues surrounding racism and immigration that might have affected a limited group, becoming one that immigrants of any race or ethnicity can find. The issue is growing, and can be postulated to soon become a blanket issue that encompasses immigrants of all non-white racial and ethnic backgrounds. This could cause a form of collective organizing and planning amongst communities where there are larger numbers of immigrant populations. When analyzed in the lenses of linked fate and group consciousness, immigrant communities in America with larger populations of immigrants will observe levels of intragroup bonding over their collective struggles in fighting for immigrant rights. **Specifically speaking, immigrants as a collective have begun to start displaying a linked bond that ties the potential hardships of multiple racial and ethnic minorities together to work for collective causes like rights, racial subjugation, and accurate representation in media and politics due to the racialization of immigration.**

What this means is that research should be conducted studying the way that the immigrant identity holds together communities of color towards achieving a similar goal. When it comes to policy like immigration quotas or bans, such as Trump's proposed "Muslim Ban," this doesn't just affect the communities in America that are Middle Eastern or Muslim, but presents as a potential precedent or pretext for something similar happening to other

communities from outside America. Communities of color, or those that specifically have higher amounts of people that have immigrated in the past forty years, have tended to hold their cultural and community identities close to them. This desire for collective preservation and desire to continue building their lives in America drives them to fight for the rights that they believe are theirs. Geographically closer communities of immigrants are therefore more likely to engage in this organizing and therefore, will fight for similar goals.

If immigrants are to be researched and considered in the lenses mentioned earlier, then their geographical situation also contributes to their ability to organize amongst one another. Picket signs, protests, public comments at city meetings, and other forms of community activism aren't visible just to the community in action and the government/perpetrators, but rather anyone else who is located nearby and can resonate with the message. The locational similarity that immigrants from different racial and ethnic backgrounds are in are beneficial to their ability to form intra group alliances. As Dawson claims, "The economic and political components of group interest have a major role in shaping perceptions of both economic well-being and relative group influence," meaning that commonalities that usually come with living in a similar area, such as socioeconomic status and political opinions, are attributed to the way that people perceive their influence. Communities of color in Los Angeles do experience similar levels of socioeconomic status and political subjugation, meaning their influence is dependent on their area around them.

Research points to the imminent emergence of the same type of environmental parameters that Black and Latinx people have faced for generations that lead them to observe linked fate and group consciousness in such extreme levels. It is absolutely critical that this is identified in the immigrant communities currently present in the United States so that political

action is engineered to prevent the wins of xenophobic intent, and to ensure the sanctity and safety of immigrants to the United States.

Concept Specification and Operationalization

For this research, it is important to understand that there are not only a variety of variables, but also the outcome variables that we are measuring. In this section, the reasoning behind the choice of using Los Angeles as the area of interest will be explained, and then the specific independent variables of media and political influences will be explained. This will lead to the two critical dependent variables of the study, the immigrant linked fate and group consciousness..

Geographic Interest in Los Angeles is another variable for the study. Granted the large immigrant population in Los Angeles, it serves as a premier participant pool for diversity in responses, as well as being geographically more accessible and manageable for the researcher. Additionally, the distribution of partisanship is majority progressive, but there is money that is pooled into partisan politics and lobbying in Los Angeles, creating suspense and initiative for those trying to secure immigrant rights to really advocate clearly and with admonition on the government scale. The operationalization of this concept, similar to being an immigrant, won't really need to be measured because of the way that all participants from the study will be situated in Los Angeles. Yet it is still important to understand that similarly, the emergence of immigrant identity in this study would mean the solidification of geographic influence on policy advocacy.

Media Influence as a concept can be defined by any conversation on any public platform that aims to discuss or formulate opinions on immigrants, races, ethnicities, and policy. Political coverage can also, and likely will mostly be considered media coverage as well. Media is a variable in this study because of the way that xenophobic and racist intentions can be

disseminated through the media, and this research project aims to see to what extent did media coverage circa and post 2016 contribute to the overarching feelings that immigrants had to develop positions that exhibited linked fate. To operationalize this variable, it is important to note that as the researcher, I did not speak about any specific article or sentiment expressed by a certain commentator, but rather asking participants about their general feeling of being portrayed in the media. In *Brown et. al.*, media coverage in the South expressed concern with the perceived criminality of Latinx immigrants not just once or twice, but hundreds of a variety of media types. Specific interview questions will be formulated and coded as questions that aim to address the impacts of media coverage on the participants' race or ethnicity specifically, to trail into the questions being coded as political coverage.

Political Influences can be defined as any conversation, media coverage, debate stage, etc where immigration policy, or immigrants themselves are being discussed. It is important to note that since this research project is running with the understanding that race has been conflated with immigration, specifically in the Latinx sense, that discussions on the perceived criminality of a race or ethnicity in conjunction to potential policy also counts as political coverage. This concept specifically provides a framework for what impacts policy has had on the research findings. To operationalize this concept, we can look to a justification similar to that of Media Coverage, meaning that specific interview questions will be coded as questions that measure the effects of political coverage of the race, ethnicity, and immigrant identity of the participant. For example asking, “How do you feel that your racial or ethnic community has been represented accurately and inaccurately respectively on the political scale? How does that make you perceive your immigrant identity and place in America?” aims to code the way that politics outside have specifically affected the immigrants' sense of self and identity.

Immigrant Linked Fate is the novel contribution that is expected from this research and thesis. It aims to build off of the African American Linked Fate and further research done on the subject to apply to the immigrant identity. In essence, it is described as the sense of a common fate amongst immigrants due to their perceived linked history, political, and social events. Contemporary examples of this are MENA-Americans understanding and seeing that others of their race are being hate-crimed and discriminated in job-searches based off looking "Muslim" and therefore feeling that they themselves must also be subject to that similar discrimination, instilling a fear from xenophobia and islamophobia in these people. A similar case can be drawn from the Black community and coverage on police violence against them, and the subsequent mobilization of the community to counteract these occurrences in the form of Black Lives Matter. This is the primary variable we are building a case for, and intend on using the interview space to find foundational links within immigrant communities. To operationalize the immigrant linked fate, the specific questions asked within the interview will aim to tie together specific subjects of the participant's interest to gain a wider understanding of where they see their immigrant identity's positionality in the grande sociopolitical scheme of America. Questions, as can be foun in the Appendix, dial into the communities, opportunities, hardships, intentions, and perceptions that immigrant participants have, in order to build a picture of the aggregate; which in this sense is the foundational background of the immigrant linked fate.

Group Consciousness aims to provide sociopolitical justification and represent a sense of consciousness amongst a group of people in a racial or ethnic minority in the context of political mobilization. For this research project specifically, I aim to take the existing contexts that group consciousness exists within and expand it to the immigrant identity, similar to that of linked fate. As mentioned previously, the term would be flexible and more of an outcome

variable to the presence of linked fate. The idea is that if there is one, then there is probably cause for the other to exist. To operationalize this variable, we will take an approach identical to how the immigrant linked fate will be measured, and code specific survey and interview questions for group consciousness. Questions for group consciousness and would not inherently contrast from a question on linked fate. They will specifically pull into the political context the participant is in, and how they feel that their group identity disposes them to feel a certain way when they need a community to rely on. Anticipated answers would specifically aim to relate the way that community built after immigration to the United States creates a sense of group identity amongst immigrants and on their decisions made based on their surrounding communities. In other words, the immigrant linked fate is to be measured on the existing realities, whereas group consciousness bonds would be measured through scenario-type cases that reflect potential political and social decisions for the participant.

Based on our sets of variables as well as existing knowledge on linked fate and the political climate surrounding immigrant, projections for topics and perceptions of interest were identified in advance.

One, is that there has been an effect that political and social media coverage has had on immigrant populations coursing over the span of their time in the United States on certain key subjects such as community awareness. That their perception of their immigration to the United States has intersected with the various barriers that socio-political relations in the country have put up for them. Expectations would show that immigrants became more conscious of their immigrant identity circa 2015 or another major election period. Any change in consciousness of being an immigrant over the course of their journeys can be categorized as evidence of the emergency of a group consciousness and the immigrant linked fate. This is monumental for

critical race theory, as it sums up how America still actively is affecting and changing the perception of American life that immigrants of color see around them, and that even in a day and age where Americans generally believe that racism is on the decline, that xenophobic intent operationally re-marginalizes communities of color. The establishment of a transracial/ethnic bond from the appearance of group consciousness and linked fate would allow for further research to be done on the horizontal and vertical effects this has to do in labor work that employs large amounts of immigrants, the success of America's initial intentions and opportunity, and further the research on how media representation genuinely affects the way that immigrant, racially and ethnically, minorities are perceived in the American social sphere.

Or alternatively, not all, but a certain few of the variables of media and political influences and geographic situation are factors for the exhibited levels of immigrant linked fate and a group conscious bond. This will be found when looking closely at the specific topics that participants cover when speaking on having a shared sense of fate or what they pull more responsively to. Transcripts of the interviews and the quantitative method attached will be analyzed for these specific topics, and could be projected to be more in the financial or opportunity-based parts of the immigrant experience.

Data Methods and Research Design

This research study aims to center into how we can use concepts from critical race theory to expand on the identity of immigrants, and more so, how we can better identify their social-political subjugation in recent years in order to accurately address potential impacts for the future. Using the conceptual framework of linked fate, the idea that a racial group that observes a pattern of a certain event occurring to some in their group, be a likely fate for the rest of the racial community, blends the idea of what the effects of generational discrimination and racism

have had on the mentality of contemporary racism a group faces. Linked fate has been historically associated with race and ethnicity, most commonly amongst the Black community. With this project, we hope to extend the concept to a different kind of identity: being an immigrant. The hypothesis to test: To what extent can the collective immigrant experience of immigrants in Los Angeles be connected to an application of linked fate? We are using a similar framework to the design as Michael C. Dawson, a professor at the University of Chicago as well as the curator of linked fate, to use a qualitative approach to find the levels of observed linked fate in immigrant peoples in Los Angeles.

The Primary Investigator for ILOL: Los Angeles is Abeeha Hussain, a fourth-year Political Science and Labor Studies double-major at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), working under the Faculty Sponsor for the study, Natalie Masuoka Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science and Asian American Studies at UCLA. All correspondence associated with this study was done confidentially between Dr. Masuoka and Ms. Hussain, as there were no other key personnel or study staff involved with the project. ILOL: Los Angeles was conducted as the primary source of research and data for this thesis, and the candidacy of Ms. Hussain for the Political Science Departmental Honors.

ILOL: Los Angeles is considered a minimal risk study, and was reviewed for expedited review by the North General Institutional Review Board (IRB). As a part of the application for the candidacy within the department of Political Science at UCLA, the Primary Investigator was required to take a data and research methods class ‘Political Science 191H’ as a prerequisite course to develop the scientific background and prospectus for the application (see Appendix for the submitted prospectus). It is important to note that the prospectus highlights the need for the research and a potential application of a research project that reflects the desire for finding a

connection between linked fate and immigrant identity. The proposed example of a research project in the prospectus was not followed and adjusted as follows.

The study will recruit fourteen participants across two racial groups:

(7) Latinx/o/a:

Participants who have immigrated to the United States and identify as Latinx, Latina, or Latino. Participants in this category were not limited to having their country of origin being a South American country.

(7) Black:

Participants who have immigrated to the United States and identify as Black. Participants can concurrently identify as African or African American. Participants in this category were not limited to having their country of origin being an African or Black-majority country.

Potential participants provided their email to the research team and were screened for eligibility over email communication. The finalized requirements to be eligible to participate in ILOL: Los Angeles were as follows:

a. Identifying as Black or Latino/a/x
b. Attending some form of post-high school education or have finished their education from a college/trade school/etc.
c. Being between the ages of 20-45 years old
d. Having immigrated to the United States on a date on/after January 1, 1990
e. Reside in the Greater Los Angeles area

Potential participants were screened over email to see if they match the following requirements. The screening process consists of the questionnaire of if the potential participant matches the requirements listed above. This process is about a five minute email conversation. The actual

interview is the rest of the active participation to only be completed by confirmed participants and took about 30 to 45 minutes. and the first seven Black and seven Latinx/a/o identifying individuals who satisfied the requirements were emailed of their acceptance into the participant pool.

All confirmed participants were then emailed a scheduler using Google Calendar to schedule a one hour block for the interview to take place. Once the participants scheduled their interview dates, they were provided the additional details including zoom links, questions, as well as preparation information for the interview up to forty-eight hours in advance. All Zoom links were individualized to the interview and could not be shared outside the invitee's link.

The inclusion criteria has been selected to be Black and Latinx/a/o identifying individuals due to the use of the Black participants as controls for the race-based analysis of linked fate and group consciousness, with any specific responses to contribute to the evidence for the appearance of these concepts in immigrants. The use of Latinx/a/o participants shows to reflect the race/ethnicity of the largest group of immigrants in the greater Los Angeles area. For specificity, the term 'greater Los Angeles area' refers to the area of Los Angeles county, and the surrounding counties of Orange, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Riverside. All participants must currently reside in these general regions in order to be eligible to participate. In addition, all participants must be above the age of 18, with the preferred age range being between 20 and 45 years old. Due to capacity restraints of the research team, it was not possible to recruit participants of other racial and ethnic categories, although that potential would provide greater depth to the analysis of immigration racialization. Participants will be in some form of post-high school education and participate in a semi-structured interview that will be recorded and take place over ucla.zoom.com. We will select from those in college/a collegiate equivalent, as well as program

graduates because we believe that being in an educational environment opens up access to knowledge about the political climates surrounding the immigration policies in Los Angeles. Race and ethnicity play the critical role in a representative sample of the Latinx and Black immigrants in the greater Los Angeles area. Due to the limitations of the research team, the transcriber can only transcribe interviews conducted in English, therefore participants must be able to speak and conduct their interview in English. All participants will be asked the same questions regardless of their country of origin, and will be instructed to answer the question with first a numerical answer to dictate the application of their answer in regards to the question, and then asked to expand on their answer with their reasoning. For example, a participant can answer with a 8/10 to the question of, "I feel that me being an immigrant affects those around me" and then will be asked to expand on the answer. The goal of mixing the numerical and verbal answers is to eventually code the transcriptions to find common patterns across different ethnicities relative to the immigrant experience. These patterns identified will be the eventual results of the study to apply to the hypothesis. As a part of the study design, we will identify specific requirements of linked fate, and what results/sentiments we find in the patterns that will apply to either confirming or denying the presence of linked fate in immigrant populations in Los Angeles.

There is very minimal risk associated with the effects of recalling experiences that may have been traumatic for the participant. General warnings for anxiety or stress will be given through the consent script (attached in Appendix). Therefore, the investigating team and those conducting the interviews will work on creating a safe environment in which the participants are aware that they do not have to share anything beyond their initial layers of comfort. Additionally, they will be reminded that they may take their time responding to questions, pause, or even stop

the interview at any time during the recording. Anecdotes and experiences are important to collect in the interest of being able to show the ways in which individuals perceive their applications of linked fate and group consciousness. Although the investigating team does not want to inflict any pressure on participants to share anything that would induce stress or anxiousness, it is often the case that these experiences that leave the participants with emotions about them in the long term are the ones that properly reflect emotional links as in linked fate.

ILOL: Los Angeles was entirely funded by the UCLA Undergraduate Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences under their Undergraduate Research Fellows and Undergraduate Research Scholars Programs. The two programs and the URC-HASS aim to provide student and undergraduate researchers with the opportunity to engage in the university's rigorous and innovative research potential. No other government agency, university entity, or third party was involved in the funding, production, or any other form of participation within the study.

All research activities were performed by the researchers at the UCLA campus or through internet communications on Zoom or over email. All participants and potential participants were contacted and communicated directly over email prior to their Zoom interview. All interviews were required to be recorded and transcribed in English by the Primary Investigator on the research. Individual participants were notified of their right to contact the research team and request a copy of the transcript of their interview recording and request minimal edits and review of the transcript with general reasoning. All recordings and transcripts are locating in .mp4 and .pdf files in an encrypted set of data files to ensure confidentiality and only the Primary Investigator and Faculty Mentor on the project are allowed to access the recordings aside from the individual participants. All identities of the participants are strictly

anonymous and are only available to the Primary Investigator and the participants themselves. All participants have had their name's and identifying information replaced with their associated Letter/Number combination in the transcriptions (available in Appendix) and throughout the empirical analysis of this research. Names were only acquired for the structure of the interview questions and to increase the comfort-factor for the interviewee. In analysis practices, participants will be split into the letters 'B' for Black-identifying participants and 'L' for Latinx/a/o identifying participants, and then numbered in the order in which they were interviewed. All potential participant IDs are: B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, L6, and L7. Participants were notified of their participant ID before the recording of the interview began. Any identifying information such as names, educational institutions, addresses, or any other information that could be considered confidential has been redacted from each of the transcripts in Appendix II. This information is not considered important to the ability to properly conduct an analysis on the interviews.

All Zoom interviews were conducted on ucla.zoom.us on the Zoom application platform for digital communication. The interviews were conducted and facilitated by Ms. Hussain as they were in a closed off space in a reserved private study room at UCLA's Powell or Young Research Library, or at their personal and private residence to ensure physical privacy. No other persons not involved in the research were present in the vicinity of the primary investigator while the interviews were being conducted. Additionally, Ms. Hussain was required to wear headphones to increase the quality of recordings, and participants were encouraged to have good wifi connection and earbuds as well to increase privacy.

In a statement to the IRB about was the intended purpose of the research, problems and hypothesis to be addressed, the following was the summary: To what extent are the abuses and

current climate (after 2016) surrounding the immigrant identity similar to the situational impacts and observed linked fate that different racial groups face in America? This research aims to really center into how we can use concepts from critical race theory to expand on the identity of immigrants, and moreso, how we can better identify their social subjugation in recent years in order to accurately address potential impacts for the future.

Proving an effective reasoning between the way that immigrants perceive the events in their life in accordance to them being an immigrant, and those events occurring because of their linked fate to other examples of immigrant experiences they may have encountered, creates groundwork for future research, policy work, or even momentum for further social change against xenophobia. Sharing a level of intra-group and inter-group consciousness can also aid organizations that work with immigrant populations (i.e. worker coalitions, unions, immigrant law firms, etc) to get a better perspective on how to address the impact of the recent experiences to immigrants.

It was then provided that the background and significance for the study was, including its expected contribution to existing research: Research has expanded in critical race theory multiple-fold over the past thirty years. The contribution of this research has been critical in society's understanding of being race and racial experience conscious when it comes to various forms of decision making. Legislative policies (Affirmative Action, etc), the social awareness months for different communities (AAPI, Black History, Hispanic Heritage), and the general understanding of the historical impacts of racism in modern psychosocial relations, are all changes that have stemmed from the general knowledge citizens in America are gaining about their intersectional and diversely impacted neighbors.

By interviewing Black and Latino/a/x immigrants at a college level, it becomes more apparent the similarities and differences between the existing scholarship on how Linked Fate and Group Consciousness affects Black and Latino/a/x populations, but that differences could be based on differences in immigration statuses.

To a similar effect, it is critical to look into the other, although not inherently racially charged, but marginalized identities such as being an immigrant. The immigrant identity has faced racial profiling, xenophobic policies, and general media jargon thrown at it. Studies have proven that the media influences the way that communities view their self-perception, and Dawson's study on group consciousness and linked fate brings that context into a race perspective. Therefore, it is also reasonable to make the conjecture that being an immigrant is also a potential identity that changes the way that people view their identity.

Finally, the following is the IRB approved process (approved on 11/2/2022) for the research design and methodology, providing details into the design and how ILOL: Los Angeles was conducted:

Flyers with the basic description of ILOL: Los Angeles, what the requirements are, how to contact the investigation team, and other relevant information were created with alternative texts for accessibility. Flyers were distributed across varying community boards, including on campus at UCLA. (All flyers and sample recruitment materials can be found in Appendix). The investigation team aimed to reach out to different student affairs officers across colleges in the designated regions including: community colleges, continuation schools, universities, and trade schools. Flyers were distributed in paper print, through email, and other forms of submission required by each institution. Direct outreach was also conducted by asking student organizations

at universities for references to potential applicants. All email correspondence was communicated by Ms. Hussain through abeehahussain@ucla.edu.

On the day of the interview, participants were expected to log onto the Zoom call at the time they had selected as their slot. Interviews began unrecorded, with a short summary of the study as well as an introduction to the Primary Investigator to increase the level of comfort exhibited by the participants. They were also debriefed on the agenda for the meeting, and if or when they would be receiving further communication from the research team. Consent to record was asked before the commencement of the recording. After the recording began, the oral consent script (Appendix) was read aloud to the participant in a coherent manner for maximum comprehension. The participant was then asked for their consent to commence the interview. After that, the interview would formally begin. The interviewer refrained from making commentary and focused on the semi-structured interview. Interview questions were read in the exact same order for each participant, regardless of any independent variables associated with the participant's ID. Questions begin at summaries and story-building of the participant to help them refresh the memories of their immigrant journeys thus far, and then begin to prod further into their reflections of community, senses of self, opinions on media, and how all of that culminates into their potential feelings of group consciousness and linked fate. Questions could be repeated, and the interviewer was allowed to ask for expansion so that all interviewees generally cover the same topics. For numerical questions, questions 2, 9, and 10, participants were asked to respond to the statement or question with the numerical rating on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being a score that identifies that the participant disagrees with the resonance of the statement or question, and 10 as a strong identification and resonance with the statement or question. Only a whole number answers were accepted for these questions. Participants were then asked to expand and explain

their justification for answering the question with the scaled rank of their choosing. The interviewee was able to pause or stop the interview at any point during the conduction, and was told once the questions have been answered, as well as when the recording begins/ends.

As mentioned earlier, the interviewee was given the chance to ask any remaining questions, and the interviewer gave an approximation to when the remainder of the study will be completed, as well as how long they might have to wait until the transcription of the recording is ready and requestable by the participant.

Analysis of the interviews will be conducted as followed and the following section of this thesis will reflect this analysis methodology.

Numerical responses for questions 2, 9, 10 will be analyzed through specific quantitative methods and will be individually expanded on. Question by question analysis will be offered in the following section. Questions 2, 9, and 10 were all be sent through different methods of statistical analysis to find the following:

- Average score per question
- Statistically extraneous variables
- Median score per question
- Scores juxtaposed between the answers for Latinx/a/os and Black people

A combination of these analysis factors should bring the team to an overall consensus on how to respond to the hypothesis. Sentiments that resonate with the provided definitions of linked fate will be pushed as evidence for the appearance of linked fate, as well as any sentiments that go in the opposing direction will be considered countered. A similar process will be applied to the analysis of group consciousness and whether or not it exists within the

ethnographic results of this study. Anecdotes, quotes, and extra variables will be shared to see what stands out within the analysis.

Analysis

The interviews conducted as a part of ILOL: Los Angeles include dozens of stories, attitudes, understandings, and perceptions of the individual self and immigrant journeys. Participants were asked to share their truthful story with all the highs and lows that creates the candid picture that is immigration to the Los Angeles area. Many are outstandingly unique events, while many others are seen as extremely common across both Black and Latinx/a/o immigrants. The progression of political opinion shows homogeneity amongst participants, highlighting education, economic opportunity, and the sense of community amongst each other as cornerstones of their perception of the sociopolitical U.S. around them. These topics were expected, as each one of the questions probed for the participant's experience with a certain subject in regards to their positionality in American society.

For example, questions 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 all varied around the participant, where they see their immigrant identity directly racialized, polarized, and politicized, as well as how this affects the community they surround themselves with. Questions 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7 all asked participants to reflect on their stories specifically, and what it meant in relation to the following questions, which were questions 2, 4, 9, and 10. The prevalence of education was suspected, but not at the emphasis of which it was mentioned, desired, and disputed amongst participants, and shares an interesting perspective for the way that education influences the immigrant class as a major determinant of success, and a source for the political drive that immigrants have. Economic opportunity is prevalent in Dawson's analysis of the Black class in *Behind the Mule* and becomes an important stakeholder in the observed linked fate. A deep dive into Question 9 will allow for the understanding of similarities, but more importantly differences, between Black and Latinx/a/o immigrants. Lastly, the membership team believes that a more fitting term for

Dawson's use of the word "class" can be described as "community" in ILOL: Los Angeles' context. Observations of immigrants understanding each other's struggles, and displaying levels of linked fate and group consciousness evidently bind them to each other, building *community*. A statistical breakdown of Questions 2 and 10 will allow for a better understanding of the importance that immigrant individuals find in themselves, their activity, and their general positionality to others who share the immigrant identity.

Each section in this chapter will begin by sharing some of the individual cases that participants present with the context provided by them. This is to create the case for the prevalence that the topic at hand (education, economic opportunity, or community building) present in the overarching immigrant identity. Then, the cases will be compared and contrasted within the race variable; differences in Black immigrant opinions will be analyzed with each other, and the same for Latinx/a/o participants. They will then be analyzed outside of the race variable to find iminent racialization within the immigrant identity. Quantitative factors will be displayed for the sections on economic opportunity and community building. Sections will conclude with the framework provided for predicting future immigrant political behavior based on the observed aspects of linked fate and group consciousness throughout the analysis.

Education

California arguably offers a wider variety of access to higher education than most other states, let alone countries, are able to provide. More notably, the California Community College to California State University and University of California transfer systems is amongst the most developed in the country. The California College Promise program (AB 19) guaranteed eligible Californians the ability to attend two years of community college in California for free. Most immigrants must establish residency in California or acquire undocumented status with the California Dream Act in order to be eligible for the Promise Program. More importantly, becoming a California resident, immigrant with protected status, or being associated with the California Dream Act for example, allows immigrants to be eligible for financial aid. Access to education has been a priority for the state, either verbally or on paper. Specifically for communities of color, the opportunity to receive an education has been a major social, economic, and political booster in terms of community placement and overall perception of success. Dawson himself found that a higher access to educational opportunities *increased* the amount of association that black participants had to their race. Through observations from ILOL interviews, it is projected that as California continues to offer opportunities for immigrants, regardless of status, to obtain K-12 as well as postsecondary education in the state, that immigrants will display an *increase* of their association of education directly with their immigrant identity.

Furthermore, immigrants can also be predicted to explain the racism they face during their education as a consequence of their immigrant identity, feeling “other” or separate, and their status as a person of color. These experiences developed an attitude of, “These people (those involved with the institution of postsecondary education in California) are happy to keep you at whatever level you start at. As an immigrant, you have to yank the information from

people…" – B7, a transfer student commenting on his college pathway. Latinx/a/o participants tended to entertain the idea that an education would keep someone in their community from working or "limiting" their economic opportunities beyond college, while Black participants flowed closely with the notion that an education was a key factor to the reason they came to America in the first place.

All participants in the study had received some form of education that included English, as it was necessary for the interview process that it could be conducted in English. That being said, L1, L3-6, and all Black participants were in the process or had completed their postsecondary education in California. Participants B1, B2, B4, B7, L3, L5, and L6 noted their transfer status in their interviews. Participants L2 and L7 both noted an education in their countries of origin, Cuba and El Salvador respectively, but emphasized the importance of having an American education on one's experience towards their potential success in America as they were unable to get access to an education in The States. L2, who completed her education in Cuba mentioned that, "I believe sometimes that if maybe I was born in this country, and I grew up in this country, and I study in this country, I would be in a very different economic situation than I am right now," and "If I maybe, or maybe if I will come like as a kid, or something like that, like younger– you know that you start studying here and go to college." She continued to justify that it is okay that she ended up not receiving a college education here because it fulfills her that her daughter gets to go to college in the U.S. Both B7 and L2 point towards the idea that it is a systematic challenge to obtain a college education in America, and that barriers that are broken down by the individual are contributing factors to the overarching levels of access that their family and kin can expand on and enjoy, even if the barrier keeps them from benefiting off the system themselves. The consciousness of the individual in the breaking of barriers in

education in America is a prime occurrence of group consciousness. This objective is reminiscent in every interview, as will be expanded on in this section.

Amongst Latinx/a/o participants, education experiences were largely hindered once it came to access to postsecondary education. L5, an undocumented student at a four-year institution, came here to understand that, if one is an immigrant with an education from their country of origin, "they don't matter. I've seen doctors from home work in gas stations here." Similarly, L3, a college graduate noted that her mother,

> "had a degree– she was an accountant in Mexico. But when she came over here that was all gone right? Like they don't care what degree you have like– like here she was a waitress. She cleaned houses. She worked at a factory once… it's like very limited what you can do with your immigrant status, especially if you come at a much older age, where you can't really go back to school and get that degree."

The devaluation of educational experiences from a home country singles out the education population of immigrants to the United States. For L5, seeing someone who could save lives back home come to America and not even be able to find a job in the medical field, it made her feel like she was just useful for her power of manual labor. As she stayed in Los Angeles, her immigrant identity was isolating her from opportunities that she knew she was capable of, but was actively being denied. Her high school counselors told her, "'Oh you're undocumented, you would have to pay out of state tuition'" and it was only after she had children and had been in the workforce for nearly a decade that she was able to begin her pathway to higher education, attesting, "I just barely started my education. You know I went to community college two years ago, and that was because I found out that I could actually qualify to go to community college and transfer… because when I graduated high school in 2008, there wasn't the California Dream

Act yet, there wasn't this other bill, I think– AB 540 was available." Assembly Bill 540 was in fact available in 2008, but when her counselors told her conflicting information, it became hard to know which pathways are available. L5 displays an eminent connection between her ability to get an education and her identity as an immigrant who is specifically undocumented.

While L5 saw the connection between her race, immigrant status, and her fate tied to specific policies in terms of getting a higher education, L1, an immigrant from El Salvador, explained that who was in office greatly effected her morale for getting her bachelors, and eventually her masters degree, "I personally felt like I was sort of stopped because of my status from pursuing higher education levels, even like getting my masters, especially during the Trump administration, [...] all the talks about them trying to end it [Temporary Protected Status]. It sort of felt like you know, like, "Why am I going to continue like going for my masters if at some point I basically have to go back." The form of documented immigration to the United States that L1 has is Temporary Protected Status (TPS), which allows individuals from countries undergoing crises as established by the Department of Homeland Security to immigrate to America temporarily. TPS is not a guarantee for permanent residency, and must be extended before each deadline for eligible countries. Aside from El Salvador, countries like Syria, Yemen, and Honduras are amongst the places where nationals are eligible for TPS. The decision to extend TPS for Salvadoran people in the U.S. was a highly contested topic in 2019 and 2020, with people on both political spectrums advancing individual agendas, which is where L1's suspicions arose. Therefore, L1 associates her ability to obtain a postsecondary education in America directly related to her protected status as an immigrant from El Salvador. Fortunately now L1's employment is helping her with obtaining permanent residency.

Dawson records that Black people who felt a strong connection between their perceived fate and their race also felt that linked fate "greatly" impacted the efficacy of the Civil Rights movement. In a similar context, L5 shares that her immigrant identity is connected to her ability to get an education in America, and that subsequent legislation and advocacy is indicative of her linked fate as it breaks barriers in her journey. Similarly, L3 continued to mention how she is able to go to college and become an extension of her mother's dreams. Participants L1, L3, L5, and L6, all displayed a desire to improve the community, to help their families, and to break barriers to education within their own educational pathways. In this effect, their stories share a connection between their immigrant identity, the respective barriers that they face in their educational access and the eventual abilities for them to contribute to the longevity and strength of success for their communities.

These examples of a linked fate amongst Latinx/a/o participants simultaneously highlights the ideas of group consciousness in the way that they act in their schooling. L3, who immigrated to the United States from Mexico young enough to go to grade school mentioned the fear she felt when her classmates would joke around about calling Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) on Latinx/a/o students or when her mother's employer would mistreat her, "So it's just like putting up with what they give you, because they know you can't say anything or fight it back because you don't have any protection here." The feeling of being "other" and simultaneously helpless to the will of those in power, is a dynamic that increases the levels of linked fate observed in a person. Dawson notes that the increasing perception that whites are dominant in opinion over Black folks increased feelings of subordination because of the race variable. What it means for L3 to see a generational pattern of their immigrant identity being

used against them beginning at education largely changed the way she saw her pathway to higher education.

When interviewing the Black participants, their pride was eminent in their capacity to excel in their education. B5, an immigrant from Nigeria quoted, "*Naija no dey carry last*" which roughly translates to, "Nigerians never finish last," as he shared the reason why he felt that Nigerians work so hard to obtain an education in America. The same questions that invited the responses discussed above from Latinx/a/o participants gave different focuses for Black immigrants. Participants focused more on geographic determination, racism, and direct comparisons of education systems back home. B2, a Nigerian immigrant to the United States who attended college first in the United Kingdom attested that one of the biggest differences she found was how one's location directly impacted the quality of education they received, which she found shocking, "Usually like a lot of immigrants, they come to America like they have to live in horrible areas, or places that they normally wouldn't have expected." B2's direct association between the heavily immigrant packed areas in Los Angeles, most notably in East Los Angeles, and the essence of geographical determination beginning immigrants on a different quality of an educational pathway becomes problematic for many folks who come to America for an education that matches that of California residents that surround them. This is reminiscent of the feeling the educational opportunities directly impact linked fate in individuals, as they see how systematically tied their fates are based on where they choose, or more importantly, are forced to immigrate to for financial reasons, and its impact on their perceived education's quality.

When asked about feelings and experiences of being persecuted, Black participants came forward with more occurrences that they tied directly to their Black race identification. B4, who grew up in Ireland before immigrating to the U.S. emphasized the feeling of being "other" in his

education, “When I tell people, ‘Oh, I wasn’t born in America’ all of a sudden I am 100% looked at differently immediately. I’m looked at as, oh wow, some kind of unicorn.” Other interactions within school were overtly racist experiences. B6, a college graduate and from Kenya, mentioned how during her undergrad, she experienced a student devaluing her academic merit on the basis of her Blackness, “he’s like, ‘Yeah, you probably got into this school with Affirmative Action. And I’m like, I did not get into this school with Affirmative Action! I had good grades, I you know– I worked hard in high school, you know, I took AP classes. I did all this.” Both B4 and B6 share how their entire person was “othered” and effectively boiled down to their immigrant status (for B4) and race (for B6). Dawson found that as Black individuals were surveyed for linked fate, as the levels of education increased, so did the association between a linked fate and blackness. Even today, decades after that initial survey, almost every participant, both Black and Latinx/o/a had at least one connection between their feelings of persecution and being an immigrant of color.

Other barriers faced by Black participants came with the differences in technology between home and America. B7, an immigrant from Kenya, noted that the biggest challenge that immigrants like him in America face is the one about “understanding how the game in the U.S. is structured.” He goes on to expand that in terms of his education, “Even when you go through the education system, you still have a lot of gaps. It’s not straightforward, I was just fortunate that I had counselors that really looked out for me.” As B7 credits his college success to his counselors, one must reminisce on the experience that L5 had with her high school counselors telling her the complete opposite. B7, along with B4 and B5, who is a Nigerian immigrant to America, both underscored that they were seen as model children in their classrooms *because* they were from Kenya and Nigeria specifically. During B4’s college education, he felt as though

he was a “diversity card” and “poster student” for his fraternity, and effectively felt “othered” once again after his experience in grade school. This was the common theme that categorized B4’s overarching thoughts on immigration, every step at which he felt “other.” The internalized biases that come within the institution of education display the negative effects it has on people, more specifically the perception of different immigrants of color. The differences in outcomes for L5 versus B7 point to the emphasis of race and immigrant status on the application of racial or xenophobic biases held by people who are evidently critical to the outcomes of children seeking postsecondary education in California.

B5, as mentioned earlier, felt that the technological gap was a hindering factor to his education, pointing out that the “technological divide between myself and just everything that is in the U.S.” Although he was seen as a model student, he emphasized the social polarization that his immigration to America came with as he was beginning to adopt American social culture, “Humor was different, my classmates would make jokes and I’m sitting in there waiting for the punchline, and everyone is already done and laughing.” While humor is prone to misunderstanding, and it displays the eminent, “it is funnier if you get it” and layers of understanding that comes with American culture, what B5 found more troubling for his social situation was the difference in treatment between him, and his African-American peers. B5 was favored in classes because of his immigrant identity, and the “promise” he displayed to teachers, while he actively saw his African-American peers be treated differently. To expand on an earlier statement, B5’s account of this disparity in access and opportunity highlights the preference that people involved in the education system have towards selective members of racial and immigrant categories. It is interesting to see the stratification between African and African-Americans

within adolescence and young adulthood, and how that emphasizes the prominence of an immigrant identity shaping perceptions within Black immigrants.

Throughout the interviews for ILOL: Los Angeles, education remained a highlight for almost every single participant. Many of the struggles mentioned, like language barriers, were generally mentioned across the race variable. Having English as a second, or maybe even third or fourth language, brings its inherent challenges in an educational setting taught entirely in English. Participants across the two groups did acknowledge the importance of education, and the specific resources and experiences associated with it, to their feelings of overall preparedness for what they saw beyond education. ESL, or the English as a Second Language program, is available to students who are learning English as a language after being fully fluent in a different language. B4 saw ESL as important to the development and adaptation of immigrants in America, while L4 saw the same program as inhibiting. Folks who immigrate to the United States at an age appropriate to a K-12 education will normally have to take an English placement exam that assigns them to a level of proficiency in English, and subsequently decides if ESL is a program they should be enrolled in. Support that is seen for children at a young age expands on their ability to have less language barriers as they proceed through the education system.

Both groups generally agreed that the age at which one immigrated to the United States is also extremely indicative of their economic mobility or work potential because of the difference in educational capacity. When L3 mentions her mother, she puts up the retrospective solution that if America had accepted her Mexican education, or if it were easier for adults to obtain degrees beyond the “traditional” age. As mentioned earlier L5 felt that her “time to go to school” had passed, and that she was “barely starting her education now.” B1, who immigrated to the United States from Canada, but is originally from Nigeria, commented that the system makes it

intentionally harder for these folks, “it’s a lot harder for people who are not Americans to advance financially, even when they’re education, even when they have a ‘good head on their shoulders’ like they are just not going to advance past a certain point.”

The overarching sentiments that interviewees held when asked about the importance of age on the capacity to find financial/work success is that it rode heavily on specifically American education. Having an education that was from the country of origin meant that it was almost certain that immigrants were starting from scratch, even if the immigrant had the skills to prove that they could do more than the initial level of experience required for many entry level jobs offered to immigrants. So for those who are older than the age of K-12 students, it becomes increasingly harder to get a college education, as priorities shift towards keeping oneself and dependents financially stable in the American economy. Those who were able to enroll in K-12 education find themselves more likely to go to college than those who don’t. Additionally, participants explained that examples of persecution, from microaggressions to B6’s example of blatant racism in class, that racism and xenophobic messages reverberate from K-12, into college, and eventually the workforce. This is all perceived in the lens of someone who is aware of their immigrant identity, and how it changes their positionality in American society. L2, L6, B5, and B6 all reflected on how their lives would’ve been different if they were *born* in America, which created interesting responses because others tended to reflect on if *they had never left their country of origin*. L2, L6, B5, and B6 all posited that if they had not been an immigrant, that this pathway of education to economic mobility would have progressed much faster than how it takes a couple generations for immigrants to reach the same level of stability.

These stories, experiences, and perceptions of education serve as models for the development of the immigrant identity, its respective values or community, and most important,

their display of linked fate and group consciousness. By understanding better how one's perception of access and experience in the American education system influences their feeling of being fatefully attached to other immigrants, the groundwork is laid for further analysis to be conducted on the impacts of race and immigration onto future political decisions. What has been discussed so far shares the commonalities between Latinx/a/o and Black immigrants as one that is a collective struggle. The idea of generational mobility that begins at achieving an education highlights the burdens placed on the shoulders of first-generation immigrants in America. From the contrasts, it becomes evident that even though all the participants perceived their struggles as adjacent to those of other immigrants, there were still fundamental differences in the perceptions of persecution during the educational pathway. While Latinx/a/o participants feared the consequences that their specific pathway of immigration brought them (being undocumented or here on a student visa for example), Black immigrants tended to focus on the specific instances of racism that they faced during their K-12 and college pathways. Education therefore is perceived to be a large contributor to the feelings of socioeconomic mobility for immigrants, emphasizing the effects of linked fate on potential outcomes.

In the context of education policy and financial access, these perspectives play an important role to see the priorities within education that immigrants hold to make them believe their futures are tied together, both amongst each other, and vertically within generations. The political component, dealing with specific topics of legislation under immigrant access like the California Dream Act, can be geared to engage in the major role they play into relative group influence. Could immigrants and the impacts of their vote be significant to expand California's Dream Act access? How do the differences in educational experiences of participants like L6 differ from the ones that B7 mentions, and what is the middle ground for policy that emphasizes

access to financial aid for immigrants here on student visas? What do the differences in educational experiences between Black and Latinx/a/o participants have to say about implicit biases held by groups or individuals in power in the institution of education in California?

Economic Opportunity

Economic opportunity, or the abundance of potential jobs, financial resources, mobility available to an individual, is essential to the overarching feelings of success to immigrants, as it gets them steps closer towards establishing stability in their new home. Knowing that minority populations are largely marginalized intentionally through different types of financial suppression, it becomes eminent to understand how economic statuses influence the political identification of individuals in minority groups. Dawson posited in *Behind the Mule* that the significant differences within economic status of Whites and Black people contributes to the overarching feeling of linked fate amongst the later group. Unemployment, poverty, income-gaps are all indicative of the damage that legislation and its relative absence in some scenarios has had on the Black class. Deriving from this is the understanding that as economic stability changes for individuals in a group, especially in the negative direction, that they are more likely to begin exhibiting a bond of linked fate.

For immigrants, and what will be later found within this section, is that economic status is highly variable on the stability of your residency within the country. Some, like L4 and B2 would say that they're relatively stable in comparison to their other immigrant counterparts. Others, like L5 and L6 found themselves heavily identifying with the party of immigrants who largely struggle financially to gain stability. Nonetheless, each participant explained the common struggle for security and stability when it came to financial aspects of their journeys. Most participants did not have stable finances to begin with, being an originating reason for their trek to America in the first place. Six out of seven Latinx/a/o participants displayed this sentiment, while only three out of seven Black participants claimed any financial struggle in their country of origin. When asked for the specific systematic barriers that immigrants face in America

(Question 5), every single participant indicated that there was a barrier in place for immigrants to achieve equal economic opportunity as citizens. It becomes discernible that the "struggle for economic opportunity" is heavily nuanced throughout the participant's experiences.

Throughout this section, linked fate and group consciousness will be connected to the immigrant identity by identifying how heavily economic stability weighs on first Latinx/a/o participants, and then their Black counterparts. To what extent is economic opportunity impacted by their status as an immigrant, and where do immigrants feel that their economic struggles are a common, and *expected* experience for them in the future? After exploring these questions, and the specific sentiments in each of the two racial categories, the picture will then be expanded to include analysis of the commonalities between both groups, and how this displayed a specific form of group consciousness and identity that points further into the direction of a racially-charged immigrant experience that is specific to immigrants of color in California.

For Latinx/a/o participants, economic stability was to be *found* in America. When asked to share the overarching feelings associated with their immigrant experience to America thus far (Question 1), L1 ended her reflection with, "But yea, I think it's been hard just not knowing, I guess, what the future holds or not having security, like everyone (other immigrants) else does." The "like everyone else does" contributes to the understanding that each immigrant will be subject to some sort of economic barrier that keeps them from security. For L1, a good chunk of her *positive* experience revolved around her employment helping out with her citizenship process, but she acknowledged her age as a prime factor to why her experience is "unique" to others, with immigrants who are older tend to get jobs at employments who still discriminate more evidently towards them. For L1, working meant being able to pay for college tuition and helping out the parents, specifically clarifying that she felt that it, "wouldn't have been the case if

[her] parents basically were able to have better jobs if they weren't immigrants," which prods the idea that her economic opportunity was impacted not only by her being an immigrant, but also a compounding effect of her parents being immigrants with impacted economic opportunity as well. In essence, L1's story is not the only participant experience that resonated with this idea, here are some of the similar sentiments exhibited in Latinx/a/o interviews:

- L2 felt this similar compound impacting her daughter, who is first-generation Cuban-American, and her ability to afford school.
- L3 felt that she had to come to understand that her mother and her were going to face a level of economic discrimination based on the way her mother was no longer allowed to continue practicing accounting in the United States. She said that there was a, "lot of trust in us [young immigrants] to do well and improve the economic situation of the family"
- L5, to expand on an earlier section in "Education" of L5's experiences as an undocumented immigrant, she felt specifically that not having legal status directly impacted her economic mobility, and that "it's an obstacle that they make sure is in your way."
- L6's experience in its entirety has been associated with his significant financial struggles as he figures out his grounds in America. After transferring to his 4-year university, L6 said, "I stopped being able to afford food and all that since September of 2021. I've lost 70 pounds just because of food insecurity." To undergo such an extreme degree of food insecurity was heartbreaking to hear, especially with the follow up that, "I think many of the resources here that are available that cover basic needs are for citizens on purpose." After having exhausted all of the resources available to him on his campus, he continues to fear that his overarching economic wellbeing will only continue to get worse, all at the

> crux of his immigration to America. L6's experience highlights the individual struggle to uplift the collective for immigrants. His drive to give back to the community who supports him, his family, and everyone back in Colombia, are all beached until his individual financial insecurity is resolved.

Amongst Latinx/a/o participants, it was clear that being an immigrant led to compounding factors that ultimately impacted the amount of financial burden one was going to take, and how long (in the terms of *generations*) before economic stability would be reached. Each additional hurdle like being undocumented, having parents bring you here as a child, being here on temporary status, being Latinx/a/o, not getting an education, being discriminated against at work, could mean anywhere from not having dinner to not having a home.

I find it very important to highlight the experiences of L6 in this analysis, as it is rather extreme, but nonetheless a reality that immigrants feel and resonate with, and many experience. L6 is from Colombia, and came to the States on a student visa to go to college. During his experience at a California Community College, it became evident to him that economic barriers were going to keep him from just focusing on his studies. He worked as a waiter, in construction, and had picked up odd jobs to be able to afford his way to the university he attends today. His student visa prevents him from working outside of his institution, but it also prohibits him from being eligible for financial aid. As mentioned earlier, L6 owes his institution roughly $5,200 each month just to attend. This has pulled him in a cyclone of debt, loans, and fear for never reaching economic stability. He came around to reflect the following about his decision to legally come to the States:

> "But to come here legally was a bad decision. I know because of my involvement with

> nonprofits, how bad it can be for undocumented immigrants to live here, their life is really hard. But for what I came here to do, which was study, work, and hopefully succeed, it wasn't a good decision. I think as an undocumented immigrant, I would have been able to work out the system to get the benefits that some undocumented students are able to get, like financial aid for school, help with books, or food, or housing, anything like that. I wouldn't be in the financial hole that I'm in right now."

L6 has felt that his entire time in the United States has involved him walking on eggshells and carrying the burden of an economic crisis over his head. He experiences a lack of community, which will be analyzed in the following section, and it contributes to his political identity and how he perceives American politics in the terms of immigrants. He views the high levels of variability in support for citizens, and even within the different kinds of immigrants, as barriers that the country puts up to keep people like him, or immigrants from impoverished backgrounds, out of the pathway to the American Dream. The highlight of this idea is, "Immigration, like incarceration, is a for profit system in my opinion." To view immigration as a business parallels the ideas of incarceration, and the industry created from the low-waged or free labor, unethical practices in prisons, unjust and racist sentencing, and the creation of racist pathways that push Black and brown Americans into the system (eg. School to Prison pipeline). Prisons work their incarcerated individuals to produce revenue, with the largest two prisons earning $3 billion in just 2010 in revenue (ACLU 2011).

With this for profit system in mind, and L6's comparison with immigration, it begs a look into the way that economic opportunity for immigrants of color is sacrificed at the hands of economic gain for for-profit/private and public sectors. Immigrants have historically been victims of violation of American labor laws. A landmark 2009 study found that at least 37% of

all undocumented immigrants were victims of wage theft violations. Furthermore, 85% of undocumented and 67% of documented immigrants were victims of overtime violations (NELP 2013). When these are the baseline statistics when it comes to understanding the depth of labor exploitation from the most vulnerable members of society, it becomes clear how this is an avenue for immigrant exploitation. The Garment Workers Center in Los Angeles shares stories of undocumented immigrants in East Los Angeles, and their struggles with having their high-risk status being held against them to force them to work for bare-minimum wages. A similar pattern of exploitation can be seen across farming, factory work, and sweatshop labor in America. When immigrants are stripped of the credibility of their education, of their merit, capacity to do more fulfilling work, they are belittled into just manual labor and up for exploitation. Private companies benefit off of this, and inadvertently let it happen because it keeps revenue consistent. Immigrants are filed into these dangerous work environments, expose themselves to the potential for labor exploitation, which then turns into the ways in which they are "capped" at what their economic opportunity can become.

Nine out of fourteen participants cited that the reason they *had* to get an education was to prevent themselves from being funneled into these jobs mentioned. This sentiment in combination with the ideas that L6 brings forward points to another generalized belief that the fate of immigrants is the same when it comes to economic opportunity. There are feelings that there is a link between being an immigrant of color, and being funneled into farmwork, garment work, sweatshop labor, etc, as a vessel for manual labor. This feeling, coupled with the active political efforts to increase access to education, equal employment, etc, for immigrants contributes to the overarching cloud of linked fate observed within immigrants of color.

Question 9

"To what extent do you feel that your current economic situation has been influenced by your status as an immigrant? "

Black		Latinx/a/o
5.000	Min - 5.000	7.000
5.500	1st Q - 6.250	8.000
6.000	Median - 8.000	8.000
7.000	Average - 7.857	8.714
8.500	3rd Q - 10.000	10.000
10.000	Max - 10.000	10.000

Figure 1.1: Statistics on quantitative Question #9: “To what extent do you feel that your current economic situation has been influenced by your status as an immigrant?” Participants were asked to rank their answer on a scale of 1-10, and then to expand on their answer with justification.

When it comes to the question of, “To what extent do you feel that your current economic situation has been influenced by your status as an immigrant?” The results of Latinx/a/o participants were heavily unified. Participants were asked for the strength of the connection between their immigrant status and economic situation on a scale of 1, being that it had little to no connection, to 10, that it had a very strong connection between the two. Latinx/a/o placed higher numbers as their answers than their Black counterparts in all metrics. Knowing that the average participant felt that their economic situation and them being an immigrant was at an 8.714, quantifies the notion of an awareness that one’s immigrant identity impacts the way they are exposed to certain economic barriers that nonimmigrants aren’t, and how those impact the overarching situation that they have found themselves in throughout their experience. The statement made by L2 mentioned earlier about her feeling that her fate would’ve been different if

she had been born here ruminates on the sentiments shared by this average score. The 8.714 was found statistically significant on a t-test for significance, showing more prominently that the impacts of immigration make immigrants more likely to believe that their economic situation is directly because of their immigrant identity. To prove this more concretely, more studies need to be conducted, but nonetheless the grounds for further research on Latinx/a/o immigrants and their alignment with economics stands to be pondered on.

Here is the current picture for the Latinx/a/o participants: economic opportunity is greatly limited for immigrants like themselves, which changes the ability for them to reach an ideal economic situation that includes stability. Because of this, many of the Latinx/a/o participants understand that a lot of the resources available are unevenly distributed to Americans and citizens before available to them, leading to a largely unified political vote to political legislation and politicians who will ensure their success. For a large part, the immigrant vote was dissuaded from former President Trump because of his xenophobic attitude. A landmark Pew Research Center study found that in 2020, naturalized citizens made up ten percent of the national vote, and were proportionately more likely to exercise their right to vote in elections than US-born citizens (Pew Research 2020). Additionally, Latinx/a/o voters have historically held immigration reform and policy as a priority when it comes to political legislation (Patten 2020). The observations from the interviews of Latinx/a/o participants shares the sentiment that their economic fates are linked based on their immigration, and given their sense of community, they would be in favor of legislation that peaks their political interests, which in this case is immigration.

This will be expanded in the following section, but as all the participants had relationships with nuances with their countries of origin, the people, community, and culture,

were things they found themselves missing the most amongst economic struggle. There was a sentiment amongst participants that when one immigrated to the United States, loneliness made economic situations worse, and almost as detrimental, the impacts of mental and physical health more apparent. A cyclical pattern ensues, and participants like L6 begin to question their belonging in America beyond the terms of, "will I fit in" to "is this country rejecting me?" Immigrants who are pursuing their education will find economic barriers with being able to afford higher education. Others who have children and need to work find economic barriers inhibiting them from choosing being a parent over the stability of the household (like L5). Latinx/a/o participants expressed a collected idea that if one was going to stay on track with reaching economic and financial stability, that cultural aspects like family, religion, friends, leisure, etc, all came at the cost. L7, who identified himself as someone who feels pressure to do well economically, mentioned that it's important that if he were to raise a family, or contribute to his community, that he be in the economic situation to do so. The idea that participants feel that their own individual identity and working capacity or devotion to stability is indicative of the success of their community echoes the principles of group consciousness, strengthening the collective opinions exhibited by immigrants of color.

When it came to Black participants, sentiments of interviews also expressed that economic stability was key to perceived success in the United States and immigration. Each Black participant had moved to the United States to engage in the American economy to eventually support their family and community, similar to the Latinx/a/o participants. Participants B1, B2, B6, and B7 named specifically how their family has set expectations for them to use their immigration to the United States as grounds for upward economic mobility. Economic stability for many participants meant having a stable job in a consistent field, being

able to provide for their home and more importantly, extending economic opportunities to their people back in the country of origin. To better explain this, sharing B7's story will help. B7 is a Kenyan immigrant who came to America with his mother to pursue an education and economic lifestyle that could support his friends and family back in Kenya. He mentioned that the main motivation he has is the amount of work his community in Kenya put into him, "they put a lot of trust in me to make it and provide opportunities for them… so it's absolutely everything to me that I do well here." B7 feels like he owes it to his community that he navigate all the barriers he faces in his pathway towards economic success. It is important to note here that for B7, his definition of economic success includes his ability to create and extend economic opportunities to people back home. It does not necessarily stop at the idea that once he makes enough to keep himself on his feet that he has "made it" per se, but rather it expands to the idea that once he is on his feet, that he then feels that he has to help Kenyans back at home reach economic stability as well. This feeling of owing success to the community aligns with the sentiments of group consciousness. B7 is consistently aware that he is likely the only Kenyan that "most" will meet, which contributes to the difference in his behavior around his workplace. Working at a biomedical company now, a field that was starkly white as B7 noted, he felt that, "when I am the only one who is African working here, I'm thinking like, 'How I act is going to determine if the next African gets hired." It shifted his feeling of belonging at work because he contributed any potential action that could be ill-perceived as detrimental not just to him, but to any African immigrant who tries to work after him. When asked about how he feels "representing" all of the African immigrants around him, B7 states,

> "You want to be the best representative you can be, but you can't really be an ambassador to your whole people in America. Right? But you're a person, you have your faults, your

> bad days. It's like having a suit on all the time. You have to be pristine in every interaction you have with others because you're an immigrant."

With this, it becomes increasingly evident that B7 views his immigrant identity from the lens of group consciousness. From the idea that each of his social interactions in his workplace will inherently impact not only his economic mobility and potential for moving upwards, but also any other immigrant who plans on following his footsteps.

Luckily for B7, when his work began to expand into East Los Angeles, he was able to hire some of his African friends, get a raise, and seemed to be content with his workplace for now. Every time B7 spoke about being a part of the hiring process for the new branch, he explicitly smiled and laughed at the reality that he was now working with people who looked just like him, "being around African people, it (feeling of African immigrant pride) just naturally came back." B7's story is one of sharing resources, seeing personal success as success for the community, and an immense pressure to eliminate the barriers facing his people back in Kenya to keep them from becoming generational. He also saw the success of former President Obama, who had a Kenyan father, as one that his community took great pride in. B7 tends to joke, smile, and laugh a lot at the mention of his community, and jokingly said, "I'm Kenyan you know, and Obama has Kenyan ties. So I'm just thinking like, 'Man, we're all gonna go to America! This is what that means'[...] 'Just open the doors (American borders) right now'[...] 'You know we (Kenyans) are doing big things cause we really feel like that's our guy (Obama) in there.'" So it becomes evident that B7's feeling of expectation to lift a community comes from himself feeling lifted by the success of other Kenyans in America before him. His experience highlights that financial success is more than just stability, it is grounds for hope that following generations of African immigrants can achieve a future like him.

Many of the other participants reflected a similar feeling in their interviews. Here are some examples of a similar mentality to their immigration to the United States:

- Both B1 and B2 spoke more generally about experiencing a lot of pride in their Nigerian immigrant identity, and that it specifically made them happier that their success was constantly celebrated by those back home. B1 mentioned the feeling of being happy once her family was able to start helping other immigrants with gaining economic grounds in America.
- B5, mentioned earlier as a Nigerian immigrant, explained how his immigration from Nigeria meant that his economic success was being looked at by his community back home. When reflecting on what life would have been like had he been American-born, he mentioned "I just know if I was born here, I wouldn't be as hard-working as I am right now." B5's financial stability was to be an indicator for those back home, and majorly influenced the amount of effort he put into making sure that he got his education, got a job, and was able to support himself financially.
- B6, who is also a Kenyan immigrant mentioned, "When I'm talking to my Kenyan friends and they're like, 'Oh, what are you doing? Where like- where has life gotten you? Your economic stability, how is it' It adds a pressure to make sure I do well almost like– for them." B6 knows that her economic progress is being watched, and mentioned later that she felt that her immigration to America was a test for her community to understand their potential and saw B6 as a gateway to their own economic stability.

With these in mind, it points out that for Black immigrants, the economic situation that they find themselves in is not just pressured by the factors that drive most people to work for their basic needs, but also to show up as role models and representatives for those back home. They

function as mediators between fields of work, financial capital, and economic stability and the future of African immigrants. Each barrier they knock down, such as going to university or getting a job, signals that other Black immigrants can do the same and more. What seems rather wholesome, begins to also align with the ways in which group consciousness may positively impact experiences associated with immigration. Also conversely, the pressures and the stress of facing barriers in the first place, become some of the more negative characteristics associated with the immigrant identity in this case.

When it comes to the results of Question 9 (Figure 1.1), Black participants' responses tended to be lower on average and wider in range than Latinx/a/o participants. Based on the supporting qualitative data, it could be predicted that this difference is due to the difference in view of how economic opportunity is impacted by immigration, as well as what eventual financial stability means for the individual vs. the community. While Latinx/a/o saw that their economic situation was impacted by the different kinds of status they had, help for basic needs, and the jobs that they felt they were "funneled" into being the main reasons to feeling economically disadvantaged, Black participants tended to focus on how the pressure of doing well financially was largely fueled by community trust being placed on them to do well, and how that inherently makes them essentially a conduit (in B7's words) for immigrants to come after. There was also a difference in the way the question itself was taken in, with most Latinx participants understanding it as the way that their status as an immigrant as fueled external factors into barriers for them during they immigrant journeys, while four Black participants chose to look at the question from the idea of how things would have been different had they not been an immigrant, and rather *born* in the United States. In partial blame to the sample size, each Black participant that was selected for the study had a job at the time of interviewing them,

which wasn't a factor that was put into consideration during the selection process. In future studies that aim to seek more on the variability of economic experiences of immigrants in America, that there be more intentionality with the levels of education, income/work status, and immigration status of the participants.

Nonetheless, both Black and Latinx/a/o averaged an association between their current economic situation and being an immigrant as a number over five on the scale of one to ten, signifying that there are sentiments that the two are correlated at the very least. Unlike education, in which the perception of experience could be more easily identified as a concept that linked immigrants together because they saw their fate connected, economic opportunity projected more soundly the feeling that each individual participant had the awareness of their immigration from their home country, and that the way in which they chose to navigate the barriers imposed generally and specifically to their immigrant selves, ultimately affected their economic stability, as well as those in their community. This perception rings closer with group consciousness and shows that there is an eminent consciousness of the immigrant identity amongst the participants and what they see their future entailing financially. Linked fate can still be tied into the perspective, especially seeing the way that L3 sees her mother and Latinx/a/o community surrounding her as markers of what could also be her fate, or the way that B7 perceived Obama's election into the Oval Office as a gateway for the success of other Kenyan immigrants. Therefore, the sentiments surrounding economic situations pertains more closely to the psychological and sociological aspects of the immigrant experience, rather than political in terms of American politics and legislation. The concept of welfare was brought up in few Latinx/a/o interviews, but in the context of their survival in America, and part of the overarching idea of

reaching “stability” eventually, making it seem that federal, state, and educational institutional aid was more contingent on the individual’s specific status and existing situations.

In hindsight of the interviews, building an understanding of the analysis from what participants said in their interviews is much harder without knowing specific details about the participants such as their zip code for geographical determination, their status, or their current incomes. As it comes down to evidently being a barrier in the analysis, the quantitative data would have been much better supported with a side-by-side analysis of the answers of participants and the information mentioned above. Being eligible for financial aid is entirely based on status of the immigrant, as seen in the cases of L5 and L6. Perhaps L4’s identification as a “former immigrant” stems from him having reached economic stability and what he deems as “success” since becoming a citizen. In the future, studies with the intention of understanding the immigrant experience from the racialized lens should collect more data about the demographics of the participants so that the findings can be better nuanced and understood.

On Community

Community is a largely subjective term, encompassing anything and everything that an individual ascribes to it. In the context of ILOL: Los Angeles, participants were able to use the word community freely to discuss the people in their experience that bring them comfort or ground them, those they share identity with, and people who are associated with an institution. Community has been the foundation of political interest groups, of activism, of group ideology, and is an ode to the social intentions of human beings. When Dawson analyzes class, specifically the Black class, he emphasizes the importance that Black folks ascribe to their local communities, as well as the Black community at large. This importance of community is expanded to the idea that humans need social communities to retain sanity, salience, as well as have a general purpose to group survival. Aristotle said that those without the love and nurture of a supportive community cannot be human, "he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must either be a beast or god…" In essence, one must find a community to live purposefully and avoid the despair of solitude.

In modern society, community is all around, and works in more functions than just the space for social bonding. Networking is popular for job hunting, and requires intersegmental communities to align and push people into the parts of communities that will be more advantageous to their career goals. Finding specific people to bond with such as lovers or roommates or even friends in a new city requires communities that are *found* rather than *built*. In the context of a racialized immigrant identity, the communities of interests are the prior, or the ones that are *found* upon arrival to America. Community was by far the most popular topic that was discussed in almost every interview. At least two participants from each race group cited

community for each question asked, and more importantly, cited different kinds of communities. This section will dive deeper into the different kinds of institutional, identity-based, and social communities that immigrants found important to their overarching experience. Furthermore, the political aspects of community, and overarching perceptions of immigration that have not been shared yet will be placed into the picture. Lastly, these as well as the quantitative analysis from questions #2 and #10 will be analyzed first by Latinx/a/o participants, then Black participants, and finally compared and contrasted to find the differences in political identity being fueled by immigrant and racial awareness.

For Latinx/a/o participants, the importance of community was an eminent factor of perceived potential for survival in America. More specifically, community played a significant role in the way in which Latinx/a/o participants validated their hard work and service towards the future of the community. L3, an immigrant who came from Mexico as a child identified heavily with the importance of community in regards to her family's survival while undocumented during her childhood. She had an awareness that her family and their travel plans closer to the southern border in San Diego could not include her due to the danger of being around border patrol. In answering about the fear of being undocumented specifically, she mentioned that, "Since you were an undocumented immigrant, whenever you needed help where you'd normally go to law enforcement, I had to rely on my family and their friends, who were also Mexican immigrants." Because of this heavy reliance on surrounding immigrants who understood the dangers of her status, L3 continues to take pride in her community and takes xenophobic commentary in political media personally. To her, these are "her people" that are being targeted. L3 shares a heightened sense of identity awareness when it comes to her Latinx/a/o counterparts, which aligns closely with the variable of group consciousness. When it came to the people

around her, she found community in school, “within MECHA is where I built that community, and built that pride of being Latina.” For L3, having pride in being Mexican and Latina meant her pride in being an immigrant and protecting her family. She shared sentiments of understanding that her actions were going to directly affect those around her, as she shared in the context of her mother being exploited at work but being silenced out of the fear that other undocumented immigrants like her would face the retaliatory actions by the employer.

What L3 brings with this perspective is the heightened awareness of who is in the surrounding presence, are they someone immigrants can trust? If so, *why* can they trust them? *How* is the trust mutual? To *what* extent does trust benefit the individual’ economics, security, mentality, and political representation? These questions came up posthumously as participants answered actual questions at hand. When it came to community, both groups had the most amount of apparent overlap between their attachment to their community, as well as how their community served them. To expand on L3’s perspective, each of the Latinx/a/o participants explained their own connection to their community in their own contexts.

For L1, community comes in the form of people willing to understand and help to the best of their ability, even if it was limited to just understanding the hardships associated with her immigration to the United States from El Salvador. She mentioned the importance of having community to deviate the overarching feeling of not belonging in America, “... I feel like unless you're like surrounded by individuals that understand where you’re coming from, you probably won’t ever really feel that way (belonging in America).” L1 felt that it was so important that the absence of people who at the very least understand immigrants, begins to deteriorate at the immigrant’s experience from staying in America completely, “They end up like leaving right away, just because it’s so hard to even like, get settled in, and you know, finding a job and all of

the like [...] You really need, like a community to be able to feel that you can thrive where we are." In other words, L1 believes that in order to survive in America, one has to feel as though they belong, and more importantly, belong to at least something that validates their presence, hardships, and journeys.

Upon the request to expand on the different kinds of community L2 had found since moving to America (Question 6), she was extremely proud of the different friends she had made at work, all of whom were people of different backgrounds but all happened to be immigrants, "I have made a ton of friends from Mexico, Peru, Venezuela– my best friend is from Venezuela… Colombia, Vietnam… China too. Even though you know, from Colombia, Venezuela, or Peru, we all have the same challenge." L2 is proud to be an immigrant, and believes that immigrants make the foundation of the country, so her pride is fueled by her friends and their cultures and what they all bring together. She mentioned the fact that this community is all of her coworkers, and that because they get along, because they "get each other" that their work notices and *encourages* the community to cultivate. L2 brings an important factor to the idea of an immigrant linked fate, the fact that it does not have to be entirely within the racial/ethnic category of the immigrant, but could expand further. Both L1 and L2 are from countries that do not present as frequently in immigrant populations in Latinx/a/o communities in America, which meant for them, preserving their pride meant sharing it with others.

L2 expresses her passion for the immigrant community by defending them when she can from xenophobia, or political backlash, "But after that [2016 Election] yes, I see it on my Facebook people saying– I see it [xenophobic comments] everywhere. People, you know treating immigrants in a different way, and thinking about them in a different way, just because the way the language the politicians have been using for the last couple of years." When asked about the

reason why L2 feels so strongly about defending immigrants and preventing the people around her from agreeing with conservative opinions about immigration policy, she spoke about her experience in Cuba with more detail, comparing it with the recent presidency of Donald Trump. For her, her time in Cuba was cut short because of the Cuban dictatorship under Fidel Castro, and based on contexts in the interview, fled Cuba sometime between 1970 and 1980. This timeframe aligns with what is now called the "Cuban Exodus" or the fleeing of tens of thousands of Cubans from Cuba to the United States, mainly to the state of Florida. In the words of other Cubans, the political apparatus was described as one that did not allow defiance of the government, strict policies that prioritized people of certain economic statuses, and an authoritarian rule that people feared (Oliver 1999). L2's general sentiment of Cuba heavily resonated with this description, and claimed that she was getting a similar feeling by the way that Trump's presidency and xenophobic comments were being communicated with those around her. For her, defending immigrants came naturally because the last thing she wanted was a repeat situation of why she had to leave Cuba.

For L4, the idea of community came from people he surrounded himself with who would help him reach his individual goal while cultivating his pride for his Latino and Colombian culture,

> "I found a great community at work, also with other Latinos. And then I got used to the culture here without losing my own. I even made a good group of friends that were from all over the country, and from different parts of the world… I feel like our cultures were different, but there was still something similar with all of them."

He went on to mention that even though his friends and community were people from different backgrounds, the idea that they were not originally from America, and therefore had learned to

balance the multiple cultures, resonated with L4 and made him feel like he was understood. He would then go on to focus on how he felt like his Latino community was let down by the xenophobic rhetoric after 2015, “it just seemed like most of our Latino community was scared, and like, they didn’t feel safe.” Similar to the other participants, L4 shares an awareness of his immigrant experience, and how that is at the junction of the different communities he has found since immigrating to the United States. More importantly, he draws connections between political events and their sociological impact on his communities, emulating a linked consciousness amongst his social circle and self-perception.

The connection between social change and political pathways being improved for immigrants and the actual immigrant experience was more evident for L5. She saw her communities as multi-facetted and diverse groups she was a part of that empowered her to share and advocate for them. Politically, she knew her Mexican and Latinx/a/o communities had power, mentioning specifically the importance of the ‘immigrant vote’ and how politicians appeal to it. On a sociological level, L5 believed in the fundamental challenge that she and her community were facing, and what ultimately brings them together, “I’m sticking with my Mexican, or Latino friends like those are my people. I guess those are the people I build community with, we’re all in the same ‘boat’.” She spoke about the differences of being on a boat alone, versus with people with the same mission as herself. “There is only so far you can go if you are sailing alone,” she speaks when talking about the importance of community in the immigrant experience. She also felt that the empowerment she had received from her communities and the pride that was built from being a Latina in America drives her to hope for better political outcomes such as a pathway herself towards documentation. At the same time, she understands that what could benefit her and her immigrant community positively, also holds

the same truth in inverse. “For example, immigrants in my communities, some immigrants have gotten deported right? So I do feel like if it’s not my lucky day, that could happen to me.”

The extensive hardships that L6 faced have been mentioned earlier, he cited the Latino and immigrant communities as the main resource he has had in terms of finding a future in which he can survive more peacefully, “It’s a strong, ‘we’re in this trouble together’ and you cannot have feeling or sense of understanding if you haven’t actually lived our lives.” He then goes on to say,

> “The Latino and immigrant community has been my only community that has opened its doors to allow me to work, so that I can make ends meet. They’ve helped me get jobs– I’ve done construction work… it’s kind of a sad but also a very nice way of building community. It’s just very genuine.”

It is the fact that L6 believes that his fate is linked to those in his community, that he builds trust in understanding that immigrants around him understand his struggle and financial insecurity, and specifically “pull strings” to get him the actual resources he needs in order to make ends meet. In his community’s perspective as well, it can be projected that the trust goes both ways, and that the wealth of resources and opportunities gets passed down to others in the immigrant community who need the help that they once needed themselves.

Finally L7 actually speaks on a type of community that was most commonly referred to within Black participants: the Church. Upon his immigration to the United States, he developed a new consciousness of his immigrant identity, “I developed here like, ‘I am Latino’, and ‘I am Hispanic’ [...] so I was conscious of that new perception of me.” It all contributes to his feelings of being “labeled” in a negative way, pushing him to take part in the community of Latinx/a/o immigrants who would provide him the support he needed. At church, L7 truly feels at home and

closer to his roots, “I go to Latino Church. I speak in Spanish, and it’s easier for me to just establish relationships and help others who don’t speak English to organize too.” L7 spoke about organizing politically for action at his church, specifying that, “We [immigrants] are really good for voting, for those of us who can, we vote for each other [...] They [politicians] tell us they are going to help immigrants, but they are only saying that to win our votes.” He shares that this awareness is spread across the other folks like him who are politically active, and that he plans to turn the expectations that immigrants have on things like assimilating or looking for basic needs to a perception in which immigrants believe in their *power* politically and use it to demand a better treatment in the country. He feels that this community is the most important towards making his experience easier, “it’s easier to make friends with immigrants instead of citizens, because we are kind of same– the same experiences, the same barriers, we want the same thing. The challenge economically, or politically, is *our* challenge.” L7 specifically uses his group consciousness and evidence of immigrant linked fate to activate and advocate for his immigrant community through his church.

When it comes to community, that is where Latinx/a/o participants display the sentiments of an immigrant linked fate and group consciousness most strongly. The communities are critical regardless of where they find it, at work like L2, or at school like L3, or at church like L7, they all help validate the consciousness and experiences of immigrants, helping ease the transition and journey to the goals that immigrants have set for themselves upon arriving here. In Figure 1.2, where the quantitative results for Question 2 are, Latinx/a/o participants once again rated the connection between their immigrant identity and its impacts on their surrounding communities higher than Black participants. Looking closely at the individual scores (available in Appendix), participants L2, L4, and L7 ranked the question at the lowest scores, pulling into the specific

contexts necessary to understand why they didn't feel that their community linked them to each other. In L4's context, he specified in his interview that he didn't feel like he was an immigrant anymore, which could contribute to his lower ranking. Nonetheless, it overwhelmingly seems that Latinx/a/o participants average a number above 5, meaning that the 6.429 is statistically significant on a t-test that they feel more strongly associated with their community and being an immigrant than their Black participant counterparts.

Question 2

"I feel that my status as an immigrant affects those around me"

Black		Latinx/a/o
1.000	Min - 1.000	1.000
3.500	1st Q - 3.000	3.000
5.000	Median - 6.000	8.000
5.571	Average - 6.000	6.429
8.000	3rd Q - 9.750	10.000
10.000	Max - 10.000	10.000

Figure 1.2: Statistics on quantitative Question #2: "I feel that my status as an immigrant affects those around me." Participants were asked to rank their answer on a scale of 1-10, and then to expand on their answer with justification.

Results for the quantitative Question 10 (Figure 1.3) show a bit less variance in responses. Question 10 directly asked participants about the feelings they associated with their fate being linked to other immigrants, or the immigrant linked fate as discussed earlier. General medians and averages remain similar to each other, and neither are statistically significant in comparison to the other on a t-test. Nonetheless, both Latinx/a/o and Black participants rate their

connection between the feelings of link fate on their immigrant identity as 6.714 and 6.429 respectively, which could be translated to somewhat of a relationship connected between the two. One other unique quality to the results of this question is the fact that no participant responded to the question with a value of '10.' During the interviews, participants would sometimes give ranges of a score, for example "I'd say a nine or ten," but then would be asked specifically to choose one who integer as their result, so it could be that if the participant had been able to choose non-integer values that numbers could have shifted. Question 10 is unique to both Question 9 and 2 in the sense that there was the least amount of variance between the two groups, answers had the smallest range, yet averages remained high. These results will now be expanded based on the analysis for Black participants.

Question 10

"I feel that what happens to some immigrants in my communities is also likely to happen to me as well."

Black		Latinx/a/o
4.000	Min - 2.000	2.000
5.00	1st Q - 5.000	6.000
7.000	Median - 7.000	8.000
6.429	Average - 6.571	6.714
7.500	3rd Q - 8.000	8.000
9.000	Max - 9.000	9.000

Figure 1.3: Statistics on quantitative Question #10: "I feel that what happens to some immigrants in my communities is also likely to happen to me as well." Participants were asked to rank their answer on a scale of 1-10, and then to expand on their answer with justification.

Similar to Latinx/a/o participants, the Black participants tended to resonate with aspects of the community that revolve around understanding the immigrant experience. All Black participants but B3 and B4 were originally from an African country, and heavily resonated with the idea of being around other African people, as opposed to just Black people, as a way to connect with their African cultures. A sentiment that was also reiterated during this half of the interviews was the importance of having a community in order to create extensions of communities that existed back home as almost a form of expanding a network of African people willing to help one another. This was mentioned earlier in the section for Economic Opportunity, but B1 mentioned how her family now helps people who they see immigrate to the U.S. by themselves. In her own words, "...because it's just– there's just no way to make it in this country without help from other people."

A potential reasoning could be the fact that it is much harder to come across African immigrants in LA than it is Latinx/a/o immigrants, based purely on the smaller proportions of the prior in the area, given by B3. B3, an immigrant from Ireland, but who identifies more closely with her Nigerian roots, mentioned that because it is harder to find African people around her, that she had to be intentional in the way she surrounds herself with her Nigerian community, citing her university experience as the first time she was successful in her intentions to find them, "Since college, most of my friends are Nigerian-American. Yea, like we made our own club as well. I think being intentional about finding my own community when it isn't handed to me is nice. It makes you appreciate the difference in educational systems." However, B3 isn't alone in her experience of finding her community through school, B2 mentions , "I built community through education," and says that it becomes harder for those who have more responsibilities and aren't able to go to a "controlled environment" such as school to integrate into a community. For

her, this can lead to a feeling of desperation, “The desperation for a community can be so bad sometimes that you just take anything to come back.” For B4, this feeling of desperation is indicative of the absolute necessity of having an immigrant community, or at least someone who understands the struggles of the experience,

> “I can’t imagine if someone is moving into a new area, they won’t have any friends around, don’t have any community around, and that can be completely different, because at that point you’re completely alone. Economically, that's you. You don’t really have a support system… and hopefully you’re able to find a job soon enough for you to sustain yourself. If you aren’t able to do that, that’s a struggle. If you don’t have a community, that can be really tough on somebody’s mental state. That could make it really difficult for them to be able to, you know, pick themselves back up, and really have the drive to keep going and to not just say they’d rather go back.”

While explaining this scenario, B4 was in a shock at what it would have been like without the community he had upon arrival. It was evident that he had to imagine how hard and unaccounted struggles he would face if he did not have family or friends. In that train of thought, it became plausible to say that the feelings that B1, B2, B3, and B4 have surrounding their need to find the community intentionally, and the fear for those who aren’t able to be around a supportive immigrant community, could be showing the way in which they understand their positionality within the larger immigrant identity in America. Their consciousness of their immigrant identity makes them fearful of what happens to other immigrants in America who lack community, and believe the same will happen to them unless they intentionally go out of their way to avert this future.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of the Black participants mentioned that they had felt that the active desire to search harder to find African community was because it was less common to find Black immigrants than it was to find African-Americans, which participants like B3, B4, B5, and B7 made a clear note of. That being said, Black participants cited a number of environments that they intentionally put themselves in to find the community of Black immigrants they desired. B2, B3, B4, and B6 placed emphasis on an educational institution for finding other Black immigrants that were students similar to them. Students like B3 mentioned earlier created clubs, while students like B4 and B6 realized they needed to join the clubs at their schools to be connected to their groups. Identity-based student organizations allow communities to form that build longer-lasting connections beyond the reliance at the existing institution. Both L3 and B3 mentioned making their Latinx/a/o and Black immigrant communities respectively by being a part of Mecha and the Nigerian Student Association.

However, by far, the most common outlet for creating community that was mentioned and more so can be considered uniquely prioritized for Black participants was the attendance of church to find an immigrant community. Almost every participant mentioned church at one point during their interview as a place that either they had/are currently going to, or knowing people that find other Black immigrants like them are going to a Nigerian church for example. B2 mentioned that the desire to find a community can bring people to faith-based institutions because it can keep them more closely tied to their Nigerian roots, “One of my cousins was saying that, like for her, it's not like she's so like heavily invested in God, but like she really wants to go to like a Nigerian church, or like some black church or something like that, just so that she can have a sense of community and like, so her daughter can as well.” Similarly, B3 mentioned her experience going to a Nigerian church as specifically beneficial to the exact

desires that B2's cousin had, "I feel just being in a Nigerian church helped, and then, because our parents were able to connect with other Nigerians there, then we connect with their kids, and then it was just like familiar." B4 even felt that, "Like with church, it felt like I just truly just went back home to Nigeria." There is a collective sense that a Black immigrant could find a community that keeps them with other people of their culture if they attend a Black church. Unlike student organizations, which limit admission to other students, church is usually publicly advertised in a way that allows folks who come to the States past their education to still find a community organization that orients them with their language, food, and other associated aspects of their country of origin's culture. Connection with culture usually meant a feeling of safety, as being in an environment that reminded participants of home was important to creating a backbone structure of community support one knew they could rely on because they simply understood the Black immigrant experience.

This is where similarities can be drawn between both groups of participants. It was mentioned earlier the individual statements of importance that Latinx/a/o participants felt in their specifically *immigrant* communities, because it provides them with a genuine connection to home and people who would understand the emotional, psychological, social, financial, and other multi-dimensional struggles that came along with the immigrant experience. This same sense of belonging to an immigrant community is shared amongst Black participants,

> "Oh, my God! Engaging with people who are similar to you, similar-minded, and they've had similar experiences, you know in America. And I don't know it just feels like a warm embrace when you're with your people from the same culture as you. You don't have to perform, speak English, you can relax and talk in Swahili… if anyone gets me, it's them. They are my home away from home,"

Are the words of B6 upon being asked why she feels that she needs to go and find the relative community around her. Similarly B7 mentions, “But my experience is I couldn't stand not having immigrants around because it would make life… how do I even put it… so cold. It would make life so cold, like America actually feels very cold when you’re talking to ‘Americans’.”

Amongst both groups of participants could be found that general understanding of the different struggles that are specific to their country of origin’s communities and the larger immigrant community, especially in a political context. Multiple Black participants cited the struggles of Latinx/a/o participants as one they could understand even it was not directly felt, especially because some participants found community in Latinx/a/o groups before they could find their Black community. B4 and B7 both mentioned having found a “Latino” community first, “I think, as far as growing up around the Latino community, most of the time we were accepted because we are both technically minority groups,” which follows into the general awareness of their political struggles as B7 mentions, “So when I think of immigration and in the media, it was, basically, that you gotta stop it. You got to stop immigration. But it felt weird because I’m a result of immigration. So you know it is just a personal attack to me, even when it felt like it was being thrown at Latinos.” The feeling that B7 mentioned, that feeling attacked even when it was not his specific racial group under political fire, points to the larger immigrant identity being essentially linked, and the idea that the political fire that one subgroup within immigrants in America experienced, was one that other immigrant subgroups could also feel. In fact, B7’s sentiment is practically mirrored by L5 when she says, “Knowing that Latinos are down here (L5 motions to a lower level on a hierarchy), and knowing how like other minorities like African-Americans, you know, the struggles they have gone through for just being African-American… So just thinking like if this happens to them, and they’ve been here for such

a long time, how is this not going to happen to us?" Both of these quote share the general testament to the proposed immigrant linked fate, and its relative importance to an awareness of political positionality and activism. What participants are able to derive from the general awareness of being an immigrant in a racialized, as well as polarized American political sphere, is that they are interlinked. That there is a mutual understanding and predictable economic, educational, and community struggles and needs which make shared political struggle intertwined within the larger immigrant experience.

Perhaps the increasing intersectionality that is apparent within the larger immigrant community in immigrant-heavy areas like the Greater Los Angeles area, create a sense of the general political struggles that immigrants face, even with their varying specificities based on country of origin. L1's struggle with her Temporary Protected Status was one that is not exact like L5's undocumented status, or B7's direct struggle to gain status, but still lies in the political actions that could change it all, and the general shift needed in progressive legislation to be less xenophobic and allow more opportunities for immigrants to secure concrete status in the U.S. In the understanding of an immigrant linked fate, community is absolutely essential to the formation of a politically progressive and pro-immigrant body that is based on the importance of shared history which alludes to a shared future.

Conclusion

The conduction of ILOL: Los Angeles was to create the foundational evidence for an immigrant linked fate by looking specifically at immigrant communities in the greater Los Angeles area. It was to understand the immigrant experience within the contexts of the analytical framework provided by Michael Dawson to prove a racialization of the immigrant identity, and therefore a racialized immigrant experience. What comes from these fourteen interviews of immigrants across two racial groups is the preliminary evidence for the immigrant linked fate based on what makes the immigrants linked in the first place. It was found that there were three overarching concepts that tied the immigrant experience together, and served as the foundational basis for any sentiments that participants felt that their futures were therefore also linked. In this conclusion, there will be final comments on the categories of analysis, education, economic opportunity, and community, with a focus on the grander scheme of the research. Additionally, there will be commentary on the limitations of ILOL: Los Angeles, suggestions on how to change the structure if replicated, as well as next steps for researching the immigrant linked fate.

When it comes to the subject of education, it was an apparent cornerstone of the immigrant experience. Whether or not a participant was able to attain education prior to their immigration to America proved itself an event with little hope, as it seems more important to receive an education in the United States than back at home. This in itself proposes challenges to folks to immigrate at a later age or those with children and a family, who oftentimes find it harder to make the time to go to school such as L3 and her mother. In other cases, it proposes challenges of being able to afford school, in the unique and disheartening story of L7's severe financial struggle with affording his undergraduate education. In other contexts, the efforts in obtaining that education can include social complications, with participants like B2 or B6, who

have faced outward xenophobia and racism at their universities of attendance. In other words, education as a concept, its attainment, and further completion was shown to be a subject that participants felt were integral to their experience, as well as a general predictor of future success for immigrants as a whole. In the larger picture, access to education as well as a reduction in xenophobia experienced in education is integral to fixing a lot of the systemic barriers that immigrants face. These two goals are within the political awareness of participants from ILOL, and people like L5 or B5 are folks who make it a mission to politically activate centrally to these struggles that are seen as a collective immigrant experience.

Economic opportunity can be seen as a large piece of the immigrant experience as well, as economic salience contributes to the overarching ability for survival in the United States. Similar to education, many participants noted the disadvantages of coming to America without a strong financial background, and the specific struggles that come with starting new economically. Folks like L2, L5, and B7 talk about the economic stability aspect to their experience as one that is lifelong, filled with hurdles along the way. There was a specific emphasis on the need for connections to anyone who could provide help in functioning the job-acquiring process upon arrival. Similar to education, the struggle for economic stability came in multiple steps. Most immigrants face the initial struggles of finding work, oftentimes like L6 and L7, relying on other immigrants to provide a job that can hire them regardless of their immigration status. Other immigrants feel the pressure to maintain a picture perfect work appearance like B5 and B7, who mention being the only immigrant at their respective jobs, and therefore feeling responsible for the ability for other immigrants like them to eventually get hired. Almost all participants talked about the inequities that immigrants face within their places of employment, including exploitation like L2 and L5 or outward racism like B5 and L6. These

specific challenges present barriers to an equitable work environment, oftentimes putting the overarching economic opportunity that immigrants face at risk. Participants across the two racial groups shared similar feelings of stress when it comes to the sanctity of the work environment in any given employment they will have in the future on the basis of their immigrant status. When considering this belief in the grander scheme of the immigrant linked fate, it becomes clearer that it is a stressor and therefore an influential factor on their external perception of their positionality as a community of immigrants in America.

The final centerpiece to this inquiry of what creates the immigrant collective past, and what will indicate the salience of an immigrant linked future, was the existence and prevalence of community. It was a subject that was brought up in the questions that participants were asked, and one that was inherently tied to individual responses that aligned closer with one of the other topics. Throughout this work, community is critical to understanding the sociopolitical livelihoods of immigrants in the study. For most, community and some form or acquisition of it was absolutely essential if someone looked to have emotional or physical support of any type. For folks like L6, community was one of the stakeholders in what keeps him going today as having an immigrant community around him allowed for different opportunities he would not have been able to find as easily himself. Employment and education were also heavily influenced by the existence of community. Participants like L3 or B5 heavily credited their successes of getting an education and being in the workforce respectively to having that community to back them up.

However, as important of a factor as community might have played, it was not always guaranteed for participants. Many Black participants mentioned the weak numbers of other Black immigrant communities and mentioned having to explicitly find their communities. In

some cases such as B3's, she even made the community herself by creating a club at her university campus to find other Nigerian students. Humans have been creating and thriving in communities for eons, and in this context, it is important to look at the acquisition of community, and the active search for one that matches their immigrant identity, in the lens of looking at the shared sense of struggle and outreach that such communities bring to their members. If participants are looking specifically for others who will understand their shared collective past, then there is a feeling (as was previewed in interviews) that their collective future is reliant on what happens to one another. Similar to Dawson's study of Black folks in America, the fundamentals of community are predictors for unification, and furthermore, political output. As long as the immigrant identity persists in contemporary times, with the specific racialized contexts, it is likely that the future research done on this subject can get closer to proving an immigrant linked fate.

Although this research expanded over the course of nearly two years in its entirety, it only serves as the foundational information needed for studying the immigrant linked fate. This study was designed with the potential for an immigrant linked fate in mind, and specifically indicates the political potential of said term, while it is almost entirely sociopolitical and psychological in its current nature. When studying communities of color, and other forms of marginalized identities, there is a necessary record of the different struggles that are centric to the community itself, and as the research team was not Black nor Latinx/a/o, these interviews were critical towards understanding this dimension of social science research. There are, as with all research, specific limitations that must be addressed when looking at the results and analysis sections of this thesis. First and foremost, this project was conducted most seriously within a year's time, and the research team was heavily limited on the amount of personnel (being the team consisted

of Abeeha Hussain and her faculty mentor Dr. Natalie Masuoka), funding, and recruiting resources. Each of these factors individually limited the potential for maximum results to a certain extent. More funding and time could have allowed for translators to be hired so that a wider range of races and ethnicities could participate in ILOL: Los Angeles aside from the Black and Latinx/a/o groups as of now (who were required to already be fluent in English). Additionally, added personnel on the team could allow for a deeper contextual analysis, as well as more computational comprehension of numerical results, which could lead to a more satisfactory analysis of the existing transcripts of interviews (all numerical data is attached in the Appendix).

With this in mind, the structure of interviews and the study itself does retain merit in its results, and is replicable to other similar settings as the greater Los Angeles area. If this study were to be conducted again, areas of interest could be other metropolitan or urban city areas, as they are increasingly popular spots for immigrants of different races and ethnicities to move to and settle in. Pre-identified areas include the areas of New York City, New York or Chicago, Illinois. Repeating this study in such areas can provide richer context to back up the existing analysis of the collective immigrant past, and how it can further the necessity for research to be conducted on the current socio-political standings of immigrants in the United States as a whole. This, alongside other steps can be considered when looking into what is next for ILOL: Los Angeles and the study of the racialized identity of immigrants in the context of Michael Dawson's term of linked fate. Future research should include an increase of the quantitative analysis of how closely immigrants feel to their countries of origins, communities, education, employment opportunity, and should look further into other subcategories of what was identified in ILOL: Los Angeles to prove the salience of an immigrant linked fate. Additionally, the

experiments that were conducted by Dawson in his analysis of linked fate should be closer studied as potential changes to the structure of ILOL: Los Angeles to see just how these aspects can combine to prove better research in this general area.

After all, this country is made on the centuries of efforts that immigrants have made. Recent years of xenophobia, increased racialization, and regressive political atmospheres surrounding immigration are essentially limiting the power and purpose that immigrants hold within this country. The study of ILOL: Los Angeles clearly points to the ideas that immigrant communities within America are beginning to see a psychological and sociopolitical mindset change towards their trust within and outside of their immigrant communities. The establishment of an immigrant linked fate as practically essential to the conduction of progressive immigration reform, and the removal of xenophobia from media and government landscapes. Immigrants, their rights, their liberties, and their belonging in the United States should not be set within a piece of paper saying so, or a birth certificate, it should be set in the honest efforts to create equity and equality within our government and social systems in America. In the words of B5, “I just wish we would kind of focus more on humanity.”

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Throughout the time that I was aware that my final year at UCLA was going to include this thesis, I thought long and hard about what this project meant to me. It is in part this, and the fact that I simply cannot convey in words how much of a broken record I have been for the past two years, that I actively chose to leave this section to the end (also because I love being sentimental and it is going to be long). It is this thesis that has revived a resounding passion for research, education, and most importantly justice. Amongst the ups and downs of my undergraduate experience, I have a plethora of folks to thank for helping me get through it. For the next few pages, I hope those that know me personally will read this with the general voice and character I normally have, because this is one gigantic hug to every single person who has helped me finish the biggest project I have ever completed in my life.

When I enrolled at UCLA, my very first class I walked into was in Perloff Hall. My professor was Dr. Natalie Masuoka and the course was a special studies course looking into the impact of race and ethnicity in the law and politics of the United States. It was in this class that I learned about Michael C. Dawson and his concept, as at this point you are aware, of linked fate and the Black utility heuristic. Although I had done a good amount of personal research on race and its formative influence on American law, Dr. Masuoka was the first person to lay out the stones to show me the direct history and associated influence that these aspects have on political outcomes for marginalized communities in America. From the very beginning as I teetered in and out of her office hours poking and prodding at the concepts we talked about in class, Dr. Masuoka has kept an unwavering amount of support, and more importantly, trust, in my work and I. Her directness, dedication to racial justice, and invaluable expertise on the research subject made me the best prepared I could be to embark on this. I want to especially thank Dr. Masuoka

for sticking with me for the entire time I have been at UCLA, dealing with me rambling for nearly the full time we would meet, and always reassuring me that things would get done. She is quite the academic and is always rigorously engaged with her research, so being given the chance to be mentored by her as an undergraduate has been one of the cornerstones to my experience at UCLA. She is, in essence, one of the coolest professors I have met and gotten to learn from during my time here, and I cannot thank her enough for her mentorship.

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Next, I want to give an outstanding amount of gratitude to the one and only Dr. Scott C. James! I cannot help but laugh while I write this because Dr. James knows exactly how much finishing this project has meant to me. He has kept an unwavering amount of support and passion for a subject that he *chose* to learn about as I researched it myself in our Political Science 191H classroom. As a common trend, Dr. James is also another faculty member like Dr. Ardam and Dr. Masuoka, who I genuinely felt like I became friends with as I went along this process. It is because of the outstanding directorship of Dr. James that I am able to write this thesis as a part of

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I want to honor the vulnerability and strength of the fourteen people who agreed to let me take the time out of their day to interview them. This entire document would cease to exist without the wonderful stories, opinions, perceptions, and even at times, jokes that were made in our zoom interviews. Because of the nature of the interviews conducted in ILOL: Los Angeles, it was seldom I was able to poke in with my own responses after hearing these stories that at some moments had me in tears. In fact, after most interviews, I would write down my debrief and I would either cry or laugh at the content I was reviewing. I want to give a special note to the participants who made me laugh, especially when we were talking about a subject with incredible weight. My participants are indispensable and I cannot cherish the transcripts that I glossed over at least six times each as I prepared this document. Being able to speak to these folks was the highlight of this process, and will remain an integral part of who I am.

Now, to all the folks who did not necessarily help me with an aspect that is directly integrated with my thesis, but the ones who kept Abeeha alive during the cataclysmic events of my regular life. I want to thank Dr. Caroline Luce and Dr. Chris Mott for being a part of the tangential endeavor I took on alongside my senior thesis of creating and facilitating a course

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And for the folks who I know have skimmed through this entire section to see where they are: my friends. Anyone who knows me knows that I get my drive from my friends, whom I have a deep sense of admiration and love for. Nina, Crista, Kai, Carissa, Sydney, you all have literally no idea in what way I appreciate you five for actually helping me find participants when I asked y'all. You all, Hermán, Kayla, Lizeth, Valeria, Paola, Jasmine, Rissa, Alysa, Sukhi, and Milena, thank you for dealing with me nonstop talking about this, I promise the end of all that is near. I want to give special thanks to three folks who I genuinely do not think I could have continued this project without. First is Nina, I am so happy and grateful for whatever stars aligned on the first day of high school and I met you, you have been my rock since then, and I cannot emphasize enough how much it means to me that you listen, care, and support me in whatever Abeeha-esque craziness I throw at you. You are a part of my soul, my gym bud, and my best

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And now to the beautifully impatient people I know that *actually* skimmed this entire section to see if their Abeeha forgot about them, my family. God I love my family. If you know me, you know I run home nearly every two weeks to go back to them. They are my escape, they give me faith, guidance, unwavering amounts of love, they let me cry on their shoulders, spoil them with unlimited amounts of boba and fries, they are the fundamental reason I do anything I do, but most of all they are my home. My Dadi, who has always inspired me to be strong and go against the grain, and the one that never fails to make others laugh, and the actual reason I ever even wanted to go to UCLA, thank you. To the one who cannot even read this, Sukaina (informally known as Baby), I love the fact that you are unable to talk back, it is really what I

need most sometimes, your innocence, your purity, I live and love you for it. Rabab, who is my best friend built into my sister, I adore you every day and I promise everything will turn out to plan (including our next late-night rendezvous at In-n-Out). Finally, to the two most important people in my life, and ones I dedicate this thesis to, Mama and Baba. From a young age, I imagined my parents as two people who had superpowers and could always save me if I ever needed to. Although a layer of reality has shed upon me since then, they do not fail to continue being my superheroes in real life. Baba dropped everything he had in Pakistan and moved halfway across the world to America to prove a different and more fruitful life. As I have heard in the infamous stories he tells, he has worked hard beyond his years to pave the way and show me the American Dream in its most authentic sense. His dedication and resilience with my family and I shines through his hard work, even to the multiple visits to the ER I made a week out from my thesis being submitted. For the love you have given, and the life we will continue to grow in, thank you. Mama, I still do not understand why you underestimate your intelligence. You are one of the smartest people I have met in my life, you give me the inspiration and desire to remain faithful that things will always pan out in the way that they are meant to. Your unconditional love makes me work hard to make you proud, and I hope that you understand the magnitude of your intelligence and the kindness of your heart makes me a better person every day. Mama, for you *I ring the bell sharp in my heart until you know it is me*.

Appendix

Research Study Plan

Outreach Materials

Consent Script

Research Interview Structure

00:00-05:00	**Introductions + Consent Oration**
05:00-35:00	**Interview questions and answers**
35:00-40:00	**Wrap up** ● **Allow the interviewee to make ask any questions**
40:00-45:00	**Explanation of next steps** ● **Thank them for finishing the interview** ● **A reminder of their ability to view the transcription after it's done** ● **Copy of oral consent**
Post Interview	**Email follow up with transcription and a thank you**

Interview Questions

1. **Please share how you feel about being an immigrant in America from your country of origin?**
    a. A key aspect of linked fate is the constant reminder of the racial category that you belong to
        i. In that same aspect, we want to see if the black and latino/a immigrants also face a similar consistency in reminder that they are not originally from America.
        ii. Pulling into their self identity as an American or not.
2. **I feel that my status as an immigrant affects those around me.**
    a. Scale ranked 1-10
    b. An aspect of linked fate that Michael Dawson pokes into is the responsibility that black individuals feel to their general racial community (group consciousness)

        i. This question polls into that group consciousness aspect and checks to see that immigrants feel in terms of their reliance/responsibility to others in their group.
3. **Please share any experiences you have had with feeling or being persecuted during your time in America.**
    a. This is to get a general understanding of the immigrant's outlook towards immigration to America, introducing them to the idea of expanding to multiple perspectives.
    b. Ask follow up questions to check in about the following topics:
        i. Race & immigration
4. **In your point of view, how has the media changed the way you see your immigrant status, as well as immigrants like you regardless of race?**
    a. Dawson speaks heavily about the representation of black individuals in media being a heavy factor in the way that black people view their internalized and externalized perceptions
        i. Asking this question invites the interviewee to think about the way that immigrants have been spoken about in the media
            1. Assumption is that they'll think circa 2016 and sooner, with maybe pulling information from years prior closer to 2001.
5. **Do you feel that there are systematic challenges that most immigrants like yourself face during their transition to America?**
    a. To what extent are immigrants aware of their perceived challenges of being an immigrant to america?
6. **Share your experiences with building community in America, including any communities you have built surrounding work, home, culture, and education.**
    a. Interviewee expands on any sentiments/feelings they have towards others in the same immigrant journey (but from the same country). Emphasizes which aspects of immigration they most align with.
7. **Throughout your immigrant experience so far, how has your relationship with your country of origin changed and/or stayed the same?**
    a. Interviewee expands on any ideas or feelings they have about the country that they immigrated from.
        i. Get a better understanding of their ties to their ethnic community
8. **In your point of view, to what extent has the political climate surrounding immigration influenced the way you perceive yourself as an immigrant, as well as your perception of immigrants in general?**
    a. Differs from the media question in which they are more closely talking about the government/political influences on immigration.
9. **To what extent do you feel that your current economic situation has been influenced by your status as an immigrant? Please share any necessary experiences.**

   a. Scale ranked 1-10
   b. Interviewee expands on their economic situations, and why it does or does not align with their immigrant identity.
10. **I feel that what happens to some immigrants in my communities is also likely to happen to me as well. Please share any necessary experiences.**
   a. Scale ranked 1-10
   b. Ask for expansion on this one
   c. Interviewee expands on their potential application of linked fate

Quantitative Data by Participant

	Question 2	Question 9	Question 10
B1	5	7	4
B2	1	6	9
B3	3	5	7
B4	4	5	7
B5	9	10	5
B6	7	10	5
B7	10	6	8
L1	10	8	8
L2	1	8	9
L3	10	10	5
L4	3	7	2
L5	8	10	8
L6	10	10	7
L7	3	8	8

Interviewee Quotes by Participant

B1	“When I do tell people that I'm Nigerian, they've said, “Oh, do you live in huts? Did you have to walk 10 miles to school? Do you guys have water?”
	“ I think that the media has just made it very clear that if you are not from

	America you're never going to be seen as American. You can live here for 20 plus years. Have your citizenship, be paying taxes like everybody else, and you're never going to be seen as American because you immigrated here, however long ago that was, and I that I think that's a very like purposeful thing that the media is doing to show that there is a divide like they will never be like us.”
	“I think that it's [the awareness of being an immigrant as “other”] pretty much been a steady feeling this whole time. And then there have been times where it's kind of calmed down, I think 2016, just like was a resurge of like, okay, They- They want to differentiate us. They’re trying to show us what “white American culture” is.”
	“People [Immigrants] will move here and have to be in janitorial positions for years before they can even make us a stable in for themselves, and nothing wrong with being a janitor. But no one wants to leave their country and come here and be cleaning toilets for other people who don't even appreciate them.”
	“No one's gonna risk their life to come to a country if they didn't think it was going to be better. But I don't think people understand that”
	“I think I found my community within just other immigrant communities.”
	“In 2016, we had our new President, he was just talking about a lot of things, and we're like “we're green card holders, not real citizens yet, he might just send us packing up.”
	“I do think that there is a lot of uncertainty with immigrant communities, and, like you don't know– you have to always walk on eggshells. You have to tiptoe because there's constantly something new in the news that's talking about, “Oh, they're going to start doing this, They're gonna start doing that.” and there's really no security until you're a citizen.”
	“if I mess up one time like I could get sent back”
	“there's systemic things that make it so that it's a lot harder for people who are not Americans to advance financially, even when they're educated, even when they have a “good head on their shoulders” like they're just not going to advance past a certain point.”
	“So we definitely met a lot of people who immigrated here by themselves. My parents are like, “Oh, no! Now we're helping you. Now you're our cousin. Now you're my aunt. Now you're my uncle,” because it's just there's just no way to make it in this country without help from other people. And so I think it's really important that when people are immigrating, that there are other people that they can see around them who've immigrated too.”

B2	“Being in America, you become like aware of things that you probably wouldn't have been like not being here like. in the sense that, like things are like hyper divided, hyper-political, hyper racialized in a way that I've never seen before, and so sometimes I do have moments where i'm like. What kind of place is this like? Where where am I?”
	“I think, being from a place where everybody is black, race is not a big thing in your mind until you get to the place where everybody isn’t Black, and then you suddenly start to realize that you are the odd one out, and I think that was definitely my experience coming to America”
	“That is the only time in my life that I've been like, “Jesus Christ. I am not– not that I am not supposed to be here, but like, to some people i'm not supposed to be here like I'm ‘other.’” I'm not part of everybody else, and that really shocked me”
	[On challenges immigrants face] “it's from like the littlest of things like language to the biggest things like apartments that you can't get approved for because you don’t have xyz, or this thing that you can't do, because you don't have an ID.”
	“ I think also that a lot of the barriers are very intentional, and that's why immigrants feel so ‘other’ because it's just like– these are all things like– some of the hoops you don't even have to jump through. It makes you think like, “do they really want me out of their country so badly that every single thing has to be so hard?”
	“I built community through education.”
	“So one of my cousins was saying that, like for her, it's not like she's so like heavily invested in God, but like she really wants to go to like a Nigerian church, or like some black church or something like that, just so that she can have a sense of community and like, so her daughter can as well. “
	“ The desperation for a community [for immigrants] can be so bad sometimes that you just take anything to come back.”
	“You know because the more responsibility you have, the less of like a controlled environment that you're in, the harder it is for you as an immigrant to make a community.”
	“ I think Nigeria will always be the place where i feel the most secure.”
	“your postcode or what you guys call a “zip-code” like it really affects your economic and your educational opportunity. So I definitely think, like as an immigrant, your earning potential would definitely be a lot different from those

	who have, like, grown up in like certain spaces in America. Usually like a lot of immigrants, they come into America like they have to like, live in horrible areas, or like places that they normally wouldn't have. “But like being hate crimed I think definitely changed my view. At the end of the day, it doesn't matter where you're from. They don't see you, they don’t hear your voice. They don’t see your experiences, they just see you as a person of color. They see you as an immigrant. And so I think all immigrants, or anybody who isn't necessarily from America is living the same experience, no matter how much they would like to believe they are not.”

B3	“I had an accent when I moved here, so like once my accent kind of went away I was like, “Hey hey I feel like I’m really American””
	“I feel like it [the media] leaves out so much of the context as to why people come to the Us and seek what they do when they're coming here, so it's frustrating.”
	“ I think the shared identity as an immigrant in us kept from too much of a difference. I feel so it was always kinda easy to be like, “we are immigrants, you know, like I get you and you get me” So that would be it.”
	“ I feel like I love Nigerian culture more and more and I think I value the traditional Nigerian culture more and more. Immigrating has improved my relationship with Nigeria in that sense. “
	“ I feel like a lot of it [feeling linked fate] is just shared experience. And when I hear about things that happens to other people on this side, I think like, “What’s the difference between them and myself? Really?””
	“it's more so like my friends and my friends' families who, I know, have done illegal immigration. So I think there's like worry in that sense of just like not knowing what will happen to the people we are close to.”
	“I feel just being in a Nigerian church helped, and then, because our parents were able to connect with other Nigerians there, then we connect with their kids, and then it was just like familiar”
	“College, I think, has been the first time that I was super intentional about finding other Nigerian Americans. So since college, most of my friends are Nigerian American. Yeah, like we made our own club as well. I think being intentional about finding my own community when it isn’t handed to me is nice. It makes you appreciate the difference in educational systems.”

B4	“I think, as far as growing up around the Latino community, most of the time we were accepted because we are both technically minority groups.”
	“I would say that when I tell people, “oh, I wasn’t born in America” all of a sudden I am 100% looked at differently immediately. I'm looked at as Oh, wow! Like some kind of unicorn”
	“ Probably the first time I got pulled over I was just speeding and regular traffic stop, but I'm black like I was immediately looked at differently, because it was. Obviously it was post– like it was pretty close to after the whole black lives, matter, movements, and all that kind of stuff. So immediately in that moment I was like, “okay, this could, but I don’t think anything could go bad.” I told myself, “you know, don’t act out of a way out” I am not going to be disrespectful and stuff like that. But like I guess in that case, I put a natural prejudice onto myself that I was expecting the police officer to put on me as well.”
	“Some people just want to come here because of the place, that it is the fact that there's opportunity here, but they aren't. They don't have a problem keeping their culture. Some people are like completely running away from their entire lives and want to completely start new, and I feel like those people don't necessarily have the opportunity to do so, especially as they get older.”
	“You when older, say you’re making it here by 30, by the time you come over here you’re basically– you are who you are at that point and there is limiting room for growth. An so, you are kind of left on your own. If you aren’t able to be in the situations where you get those resources like ESL as a kid, you just flat out won’t fit in, and that’s the unfortunate truth”
	“Like with church, it felt like I just truly just went back home to Nigeria.”
	“I can imagine if someone is moving into new are, they won’t have any friends around, don't have any community around that it can be completely different, because at that point you're completely on your own. Economically, that's you. You don't really have a support system and hopefully you're able to find a job soon enough for you to be able to sustain yourself. If you aren’t able to do that, that’s a struggle. If you don't have a community that can be really tough on somebody's mental state. That could make it really difficult for them to be able to, you know, pick themselves up, and like really have the drive to keep going to just say they’d rather go back.”
	“But like when undocumented people move into communities where a lot of the people they are moving in with are under similar circumstances, the feeling of joint fate is much higher.”

B5	“I actually didn't know that I was black until I moved to the US.”
	“That was the first time I realized that the idea of like identity even presented itself to me like– you know, like before, I would describe people by their clothes and then now I'm describing them by their skin color.”
	“ It was a huge shock for me to this day. 12 years later and i am still experiencing culture shock. So it's an everyday thing for me. I learned something new every day.”
	“I feel American because I make myself feel American.”
	“My status as an immigrant definitely affects everyone around me because of my perspectives.”
	“So, the fact that I have to have something on for people to prove myself every single time, that's where the problem lies for me.”
	“Also there was a social barrier because of a lack of understanding, even something downright. So humor was different, my classmates will make jokes, and I’m sitting in there waiting for the punchline, and everyone is already done. “
	“ I faced a lot of roadblocks because of things that I naturally just didn't know, because the education system is different. And less people explain technologically, too. I think there was a huge technological divide between myself and just everything that's in the US. I probably didn't use a computer to type an essay until like, I want to say 2012; my peers have been doing that since they were born.”
	“But I literally started saying that you know what you know this is a challenge that we [Black kids in America] have. So that was that was a way that I kind of, you know, kind of helped to build community with folks genuinely”
	“I actually felt more persecuted by black people than I did from any other race.”
	“The American political media has reinforced my perception of immigrants, because at the end of the day, whether people come in here legally or illegally, the reason why they're doing it, the underlying reason is that they want a better life. “
	“If anything, it's soft in my heart more just to the things that people go through. I mean, we've seen videos, you know, children and things like that on the you know, on the borders in those cages and things like that. So now it's only made me softer.
	“The person that's in office definitely does affect immigration and other’s

	views on it. I personally still maintain the mindset of like, people are coming to this country because they want a better life. “
	“ I just wished we would kind of focus more on humanity.”
	“ I just know if I was born here I wouldn't be as hard-working as I am right now.”
	“ I am an immigrant. Yes. But I work for [High Ranked Politician] in California, and in the fourth largest economy in the world. So as much as yeah, so much as I want to say, we would have similar experiences. I think mine [immigrant journey] has been a lot easier, so I’m able to help others with my privilege.”

B6	“I feel as if I know that as much as everybody is accepting you, they still see the African-ess or the “otherness” in you. So it's like. Yes, i'm in America, but i'm still Kenyan. I'm still African. I'm still an “other” person”
	“When I'm talking to my Kenyan friends they're like, oh, what are you doing? Where like– Where it has life gotten you? Your economic stability. How is it? It adds a pressure to make sure I do well almost like– for them.”
	“and he's like, “Yeah, you probably got into this school with affirmative action. And i'm like, I did not get into this school with affirmative action! I had good grades, I, you know, I worked hard in high school, you know, I took AP classes. I did all this.”
	“I don't know what the reason is, they never tell you, but it [immigration] just takes long time.”
	“Oh, my God! Engaging with people who are similar to you, similar-minded, and they've had similar experiences, you know in America. And I don't know it just feels like a warm embrace when you're with your people from the same culture as you. You don’t have to perform, speak English, you can relax and talk in Swahili… if anyone gets me, it’s them. They are my home away from home”
	“It's like a, you know, like, I think one of the things [reasons why they want to move back to Kenya] is more like the community back in Kenya, and the social like, the social aspects of it. Because in Kenya you know the people in your neighborhood, you know the people who are around you here. Here It's so different like you can live in a house for 10 years and not know your neighbors, and they don't want to know you or your culture. It’s not like you can try, they just don’t want to know you. You can say “Hi,” but it’s more like the nicety of all of it. They don’t want to build a community like in Kenya. In Kenya, you can knock on your neighbor’s door and have dinner with them

	uninvited.”
	“they [political media and education] focused on like just immigration in general, and what I looked into was like immigration of people from mostly Latino countries, and it was like it was very different to see that how they would treat like somebody who's Who's Brown versus Black. I feel like Brown people when it comes to immigration, they are always pointed out and told that they do not belong here vs. I never experienced it as a Black person. “
	“ I feel like within the Kenyan community. It's usually I don't see it, immigrants being chased after. But within more Latino immigrants, there I do see that they are more likely to have the police go after them. You know, so I feel like a little safer, I guess, for being Black and not Brown. “

B7	“I have to do this for more than just myself after this, for everyone back home.”
	“ I don't think I'm American, but I'm definitely Americanized.”
	“they don't see themselves (community back in Kenya) being able to be in the U.S. so I’m almost a conduit. They put a lot of trust in me to make it and provide opportunities for them… So it’s absolutely everything that I do well here”
	“Now I haven't met a lot of Kenyans, so here's the interesting part. I've met a lot of a lot of other African nationality immigrants, Zimbabwean, Nigerian– and because we’re all immigrants, there is this– we band together. We’re even closer here than we would be if we met in Africa.”
	“The non-immigrant US is also a very different feeling, because this last year was the first year I had my green card. So before then, I felt like I was walking on eggshells, because any small thing, I was thinking, “they could just deport me” or “they could take me away” and then I’ve let my people down.
	“ I don’t know if it’s a mental thing, or it’s also probably mental, and also by the system, but I felt confined in a way. And so when I got my green card things I started thinking about things a lot different, like, okay, “now I wanna have a business, do all these things and invest” I've been a business in.”
	“I'm Kenyan, you know, and Obama has Kenyan ties. So i'm just thinking like “man we're all gonna go to America. That's what that means.” … “Just open the doors right now””... “You know we're doing big things cause we really feel like that's our guy [Obama] in there.”
	“So when I think of immigration and in the media, it was, basically, that you gotta stop it. You got to stop immigration. But it felt weird because I’m a result

	of immigration. So you know it is just a personal attack to me, even when it felt like it was being thrown at Latinos.”
	“For me to also experience it (immigration) myself, and see all this stuff that would not have been possible if I stayed in Kenya. The sacrifice. Because I missed a lot. I missed, birthdays, weddings, funerals. I missed so much. I came back to some people, not even knowing me anymore… And then to see it in the media. It's the exact opposite. It looks like the media just points out to be people trying to take something, take advantage of something.”
	“I’m probably the only Kenyan most will meet. You want to be the best representative you can be, but you can’t really be an ambassador to your whole people in America. Right? But you’re a person, you have your faults, your bad days. It’s like having a suit on all the time. You have to be pristine in every interaction you have with others because you’re an immigrant.”
	“I think the biggest challenge was really understanding how the game in the US is structured. I want to say education wise, it was tough. Understanding how things, how the system works, because there’s a lot of information with gaps in the US for us. Even when you go through the education system you still have a lot of gaps. It’s not straightforward, I was just fortunate that had counselors who really looked out for me, they were like, okay, Boom, You go to community college from there you do this, and you do that.”
	“when you get beyond the college pathway and you out in the working world. There’s a lot of gaps in information too. These people are happy to keep you at whatever level you start at. As an immigrant, you have to yank the information from people on how to be independent, how to be leveled up at a position. “
	“So my first ever community was actually Mexicans, because They're really great at soccer.”
	“Slowly, I got more and more rooted in my identity, and almost that African pride came back. It had to come back because for a while I would not talk about it as much. But being around African people, it just naturally came back.”
	“But my experience is I couldn't stand not having immigrants around because it would make life… how do I even put it… so cold. It would make life so cold, like America actually feels very cold when you’re talking to “Americans””
	“What with the media and the political side of things, painting immigrant immigrants to be is the opposite of my experience.”
	“but it's the fact that being an immigrant, it's almost like “I'll just take what you give me.”

	“when I'm the only who is African working here (At B7’s employment) I’m thinking, “how I act is going to determine if the next African gets hired”
	“In fact, I couldn’t fight for myself because again, I’m just boxed into that mentality of I’m just grateful to have this opportunity. “
	“And so part of being in this African community is that nothing’s really a secret. So if anything happens to one person, good or bad, it travels pretty quickly… And so it's that side of we all gravitate there if somebody makes it and does good, and also the same time the opposite, too. When someone goes to a bad experience that information gets spread across. So we also, fearful of that experience. I'm pretty sure me getting detained spread through everybody, and everybody was just more cautious and was probably a little bit more fearful of when they're traveling.”
	“ there's definitely, I think there's definitely that sense of we got to share these experiences. And if something good happens, that means something to somebody that's even more accessible for me. So if you’re on the right path and right trajectory. It's even more accessible for me to get there. And the same way for the opposite. So I do think we do have a shared sense of of fate, or like a destiny.”

L1	“ But yeah, I think just it's been hard just not knowing, I guess, what the future holds or not having security, like everyone else does. I’ve learned to rely a lot on others like me and in the same boat as me. “
	“ I feel like that even affects them just because it's like they try making plans like basically around what I'm capable of doing, and what i'm able to like travel to.”
	“ I feel like everyone basically ends up becoming like involved in what's going on and like TPS, just because of like my own status.”
	“People end up just finding out that, you know there's other people like them, and I feel like that also ends up making them feel like they have more of a community, or they usually feel like there's no one out there that is in the same situation as them”
	“You have to basically and just be like an outstanding citizen. And even then it's like you're still basically trying to send this back.”
	“You know, good status, and you, even though you weren’t a citizen or anything, or you had a green card. You still felt like you were doing something wrong just by being here just by how much it was talked about

	“Why are you saying these things when it's like everyone has basically started at the same point, and it's like everyone's trying to like, find a way to basically gain status.”
	“And immigration is like a big part of it, so I feel like the companies are doing like everything they can to sort of like, make everyone feel equal. Which I feel like it's still not the same at like companies where there everyone, there is more like older individuals”
	“ I feel like higher education in general is like a big one [challenges], just because I feel like– like I personally felt like I was like sort of stopped because of my status from pursuing higher education levels, even like getting my masters, especially during the Trump administration, just because I felt like with, you know the all the talks about them trying to end it. It sort of like felt like you know, like, “Why am I going to continue like going for my masters? If it's at some point I basically have to go back”
	“And I feel like my parents in general, like they never really even had the option of like higher education, just because I mean, yeah, they didn't come here when they were younger.”
	“You feel like you don't belong here. And I feel like unless you're unless you're like, surrounded by individuals that sort of like, understand where you're coming from. You probably won't ever really feel that way like you probably won't ever really feel like you fit in or like you'll always be reminded basically that you don't really belong here.”
	“it's like just having someone there, and it's like I feel like later on. When more of our family also started coming here, I feel like that also like helped a lot, just being able to, you know, like feel like there are other people that understand what you're going through, and just knowing that you can talk to them and like, you know, talk to them, and it's like a safe space. “
	“I feel like, if you come and you don't have, like any of that. I feel like it really does affect you. I feel like that's also why sometimes people I do end up coming. They end up like leaving like right away, just because it's so hard to even like, get settled in, and you know, finding a job and all of that like.
	“You really need, like a community to be able to feel that you can thrive where we are. “
	“ I feel like we don't know a lot of individuals that are Salvadorian. So I feel like that's also been like hard, just like, yeah. So I have I've never really felt. I think I've lost that connection.”
	“Why do these an individuals that have never, probably face any issues like,

	Why are they the ones sort of deciding this or like? Why is it? It's just of these, like white men basically that get to decide what happens to everyone– to all the immigrants.”
	“And so I feel like with the whole Dream Act they were able to create a lot more opportunities that I feel like I wouldn't have felt that I had I– I think, before the Dream Act. I feel like before that I always sort of did think about like you know. Should I go through with going to like college and what not?” I had to like work during I had to work during my college experience, just because to be able to like help my parents be able to like pay for like college tuition and what not and I feel like that wouldn't have been the case if my parents basically were able to have better jobs if they were like immigrants.” “I guess what happens with my future and what not, I feel like just because I have an education that it would be a different story if I- I didn’t have the whole Dream Act and I wouldn;t have been able to go through with college. I feel like I would feel less empowered to stand up for myself. “

L2	“ I mean, I came 20 something years old. I start from nothing, and I learn the language. I have to have new friends, I mean, you work. Oh, you know that was something new from everything. “
	“I say, i'm 199%. I'm you know 100% Cuban and 99% American.”
	“But after that [2016 election] yes, I see it on my Facebook people saying, saying– I see it everywhere. People, you know treating immigrants in different way, and thinking about them different way, just because the way the language they the politicians have been using for the last couple of years.”
	“They see that you’re Latina and they assume you are here to have kids, be on welfare, that is absolutely not true”
	“Sometimes they don’t even specify like Mexican or Salvedorean, He [Trump] was very general about things that should have been specific”
	“I have to put in 100– 150% to prove myself… I do the same work that all the people in my office do probably more than them, and because they are American, I mean, they make more money to me. I know that for a fact.”
	“I have made a ton of friends from Mexico, Peru, Venezuela– my best friend is from Venezuela, Colombia, Vietnam… China too… even though you know, from Columbia, Venezuela, or Peru, we all have the same challenge.”

	HER COMPARISON OF CUBA AND TRUMP
	“My current situation well, I believe sometimes if I maybe I was born in this country, and I grew up in this country, and I study in this country, I would be in the very different economic situation that I am right now. I– I went to a school in my country, but I mean it's not the same. But I work so hard, I work so hard, and I have– I mean I can pay my rent and pay my bills. And yeah, but I mean, I believe some nights, maybe, if I grew up in this country, it would be like a different way, you know. But I came like 27 years old, and when you came like that, you– you're thinking about working and helping your family, and you know. If I maybe, or maybe if I will come like a kid, or something like that, like younger– you know that you start studying here and go to college. “

L3	“When I was younger and an undocumented immigrant, there were certain places I knew I couldn’t go to, like San Diego because of the border. My family members, who were also immigrants, knew they couldn’t take me”
	“The thing of not telling anyone I was an immigrant because I was undocumented and because like, you never know who would tell the police or where they could be”
	“Since you were an undocumented immigrant, whenever you needed help where you’d normally go to law enforcement, I had to rely on my family and their friends, who were also Mexican immigrants”
	“He’s (Trump) like, “They’re criminals, they’re drug dealers, they’re rapists.”I think even the part of him saying we are rapists was hard to hear. Like you group all these people together, and like people believe that, they believe in Trump.
	“it's easier for immigrants to come, and there's already like the community of immigrants”
	“But again she can't say anything because she's an immigrant like and undocumented an immigrant at that point, so it's just like putting up with what they give you, because they know you can't say anything or fight it back because you don't have any protection here.”
	“So within MECHA is where I built that community, and built that pride of being Latina”
	“Republicans are blatantly anti-immigrant… and then there’s Democrats, who pretend to be pro-immigrant…There are so many politicians trying to win the immigrant vote”

	“It’s sad because we grow up being told that the news is true, but then you see them speaking of immigrants and politics so negatively, and it breaks my heart”
	“My mother had a degree– she was an accountant in Mexico. But when she came over here that was all gone right like they don't care what degree you have like– like here she was a waitress. She cleaned houses. She worked at a factory once…it's like very limited what you can do with your immigrant status, especially if you come at a much older age, where you can't really go back to school at in that degree”
	“They put a lot of trust in us to do well and improve the economic situation of the family”
	“I feel a lot more protected now because I am a citizen, but when I was undocumented, I felt like anything that happened to other undocumented people was going to happen to me… Like when I saw people being deported, I *knew* it would happen to me”
	“I’ve dealt with xenophobia from other Latino people… it's very like anti-black anti-indigenous.”

L4	“ I'm a dual citizen for a reason. So I can go back and forth as I want because I love going home (Colombia)”
	“It’s unfair how much immigrants have to pay in lawyer fees, how many processes they have to go through, even to get married in order to get citizenship in America… the barriers are there to weed out those who believe what Americans say that, “they don’t belong”.
	“The process to come here (from Colombia) is a lot longer and harder since Obama left for people to do it the legal way, which I’ve seen recently, and it sucks”
	“It can get to a person's mindset, and then they'll always feel like there's always someone coming up to them, or like a racist system is going against them… its discouraging really”
	“In America, it’s all about who you know really. So knowing other immigrants who can help you get a job makes it less of a problem”
	“I found a great community at work, also with other Latinos. And then I got used to the culture here without losing my own. I even made a good group of friends that were from all over the country, and from different parts of the world… I feel like our cultures were different, but there was still something similar with all of them”

	~ on when Trump was in Office “It just seemed like most of our Latino community was scared, and like, yea, they didn’t feel safe.”
	“but there is always a bit of racism that is, you know, hard to get away from.”

L5	“When those statements (by former president trump) came out, I was not as comfortable being open about it (being an immigrant), like there was this fear because it felt like we were being targeted”
	“When people say like, “well go back to your country” or things like that, it’s like, what country? At this point, you know, like I have no one there besides family. I have no home, no friends, you know– I have a home here, I have kids now and they are US citizens, this is my home”
	“We don’t travel… I don’t feel safe like I’m scared you know. So it’s that fear… I look Latina, I have an accent, I’m already walking around as an obvious immigrant. You know, I have kids, like I think about them, like they’re going to be left alone because I’m going to get taken away you know?”
	“I just barely started my education. You know I went to Community College 2 years ago, and that was because I found out that I could actually qualify to go to community college and transfer…Because when I graduated high school in 2008, there wasn’t the California Dream Act yet, there wasn't this other bill, I think– AB 705 was available”
	“They told me, “oh you’re undocumented, you would have to pay out of state tuition”
	“It (not having legal status) does affect, you know, my economic mobility, because it’s an obstacle that they make sure is in your way”
	“I know my own personal idea, my own character, so I’m gonna defend myself. But then, by defending myself, that will cause consequences, and you know, I will be put in a predicament where I can’t be”
	“Knowing that Latinos are down here (L5 motions to a lower level on a hierarchy), and knowing how like other minorities like African-Americans, you know, the struggles they have gone through for just being African-American… So just thinking like if this happens to them, and they’ve been here for such a long time, how is this not going to happen to us?”

	“Seeing street vendors getting attacked, and they are always immigrants, for being minorities, you know– like it brings fear.
	“Comments like the ones from the president on immigrants make me feel like, “Why am I an immigrant” you know? They make immigrants seem like bad people. I didn’t choose to be one, you know– like I don’t want to be an immigrant, I want to you know, become documented, I’m not a bad person. It’s not bad to be an immigrant either, I do the right thing.”
	“They (politicians and government) use immigration to like, get the vote.
	“The past president just saying like, “they’re rapists, they’re criminals” I feel like it’s a little shadow that follows Mexicans because of the way that people’s comments have such power over us”
	“If they’re an immigrant, they (their degrees/education in Mexico) don’t matter. I’ve seen doctors from home work in gas stations here”
	“I’m sticking with my Mexican, or Latino friends like, those are my people. I guess those are the people I build community with, we’re all in the same boat”
	“You have to share something in common, like being an immigrant, with people to be able to truly build community”
	“Hopefully my chance for a pathway will be there one day, and you know, I think it has also given me like sort of an empowerment to teach others about the immigrant experience”
	“I do feel that not having the right documentation prevents you from getting the job you want, or even the job you are capable of doing
	“For example, immigrants in my communities, some immigrants have gotten deported right? So I do feel like if it’s not a lucky day, that could happen to me.”

L6	“The financial aspect of me being here on a student visa and intending to not overstay it, but to get a work visa and a residency, it’s all an expensive investment. It’s all loans… I have 7 credit cards, 2 lines of private loans in the US, and my mom and dad have 8 lines of credit from different banks in Colombia, and it’s overwhelming, it’s terrifying… I have to pay [UNIVERSITY OF ATTENDANCE] $15,600 each quarter, I have to find $5,200 each month! My immigration doesn’t allow me to work anywhere but the university, and not full time either… My parents are strongly supportive, they’re always there to be positive… I know how much this affects us.”

	“After transferring to [UNIVERSITY OF ATTENDANCE] and moving to Los Angeles, I stopped being able to afford food and all that since September of 2021. I’ve lost 70 lbs just because of food insecurity”
	“But to come here legally was a bad decision. I know because of my involvement with nonprofits, how bad it can be for undocumented immigrants to live here, their life is really hard. But for what I came here to do, which was to study, work, and hopefully succeed, it wasn’t a good decision. I think as an undocumented immigrant, I would have been able to work out the system to get the benefits that some undocumented students are able to get, like getting financial aid for school, help with books, or food, or housing, anything like that. I wouldn’t be in the financial hole that I’m in right now”
	“It’s not that the system directly encourages illegal immigration, or maybe it does, I don’t know.. It makes it extremely difficult for people that are either talented or don’t have enough financial resources here but have other resources to come here and actually provide of the country itself”
	~ during racist accusation encounter “I told him, “you should be careful with the accusations that you’re making, because you don’t know the circumstances of the person you’re accusing” What I meant by that, and I didn’t tell him that to give him more tools to continue being like that, but it’s that if he got me in trouble, I’m gonna get deported, and it can’t end like that”
	“It feels like immigration law is enforced more than other laws. Drugs, crime, anything else, and person can get away with, but accidentally making the wrong person mad can get everything you’ve done thrown down the drain… people are always getting deported for the little, little, most little things”
	“They (right wing political media) think that we are less in all ways, that we are less knowledgeable, we are less capable, that there are certain types of jobs or certain lines of work that we belong to, and that we are here for their service. That we are on their land, under they’re roles, and that they are in control.”
	“I think political media bias has gone far in both directions”
	“Immigration, like incarceration, is a for profit system in my opinion. “
	“I think many of the resources here that are available that cover basic needs are for citizens on purpose. “
	“As an immigrant, when I know I am talking to an immigrant, and that other person knows that they are as well, there is certain type of

	understanding that we're in this together. It's a strong, "we're in this trouble together" and you cannot have that feeling or sense of understanding if you haven't actually lived our lives"
	"The Latino and immigrant community has been my only community that has opened its doors to allow me to work, so that I can make ends meet. They've helped me get jobs– I've done construction work… It's kind of a sad but also a very nice way of building community. It's just very genuine"
	"Donald Trump's presidency augmented that (racism in America).I understand that it was a part of his political strategy because that's what got him to office."
	"Learning about policy here has helped me understand how much less of a person I am for many, many people here"
	"I've seen it where immigrants that come here legally like me as a student are very wealthy or very prosperous from financial perspective… it's such a drastically different experience than mine it's like a fully different world"
	"Policy wise yes, it's always for generalizing the future of immigrants, so what happens to the minority will apply to most of us immigrants"
	"What happens to all the immigrants in my community, at least my community here in the US, will affect the immigration process for others back home because of how we act here"

L7	"I developed here like, "I am Latino" and "I am Hispanic" and there's a whole number of labels that come with that– people just automatically associate with you… so I was conscious off that new perception of me"
	"There are two sides: the "We are the citizens. We are the Americans. We are on this side. They are immigrants that are coming from different countries that we've never heard of before, and they come here and take your job, they are stealing from us and doing bad things" So obviously I feel attacked. I feel labeled.
	"Barriers include zoning like, if I'm trying to get my kids into a specific school, I have to live in that place… but most immigrants don't get to live in those areas… most economic boundaries are defined systematically"
	"There's a lot of things that no one tells you like you're gonna miss your family. You're gonna miss your friends. You're gonna miss eating the food. You are going to have to learn a new language and you're going to have to learn a set of skills, because otherwise this country is not welcoming…that's why we (immigrants) stick and trust each other"

	“I go to Latino Church. I speak in Spanish, and it’s easier for me to just establish relationships and help others who don’t speak English, to organize too”
	“I guess for me, it’s easier to make friends with immigrants instead of citizens, because we are kind of the same experiences, kind of the same barriers, we want the same thing. The challenge economically, or politically, is our challenge”
	“Yea they (immigrants like him) experience the same feeling of like not belonging to a specific country”
	“When Donald Trump was president, there was like this huge perception of if you were an immigrant, you were like a bad guy because you came here to America… So at least in my experience I will have to be extra careful with the words that I say and how I will approach people.”
	“We are really good for voting, for those of us who can, we vote for each other… They (politicians) tell us that they are going to help immigrants, but they are only saying that to win our votes”
	“When you are a part of the demographic (being Latino and an immigrant) you are being labeled, you are perceived in a certain way so it like doesn’t matter who you are individually, they see you as the same as everyone else, and they will like do what they’ll do to anyone else like you”

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