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Young and Undocumented:

The Impacts of Legal Status on the Incorporation of Immigrant Young Adults in California

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

by

Caitlin Cassidy Patler

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Young and Undocumented:

The Impacts of Legal Status on the Incorporation of Immigrant Young Adults in California

by

Caitlin Cassidy Patler

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Roger Waldinger, Co-Chair

Professor Min Zhou, Co-Chair

This dissertation investigates a critical paradox of contemporary U.S. immigration policy. On one hand, undocumented immigrants are legally excludable from the state, blocked from formal economic integration, and socially stigmatized. Yet they also have rights such as access to K-12 education for undocumented children. How do undocumented young adults experience this incomplete inclusion and what does it mean for their integration? What impacts does legal status have on their educational outcomes and social network formation? What tactics do they employ as they struggle for more formal inclusion? I seek to answer these questions in three empirical chapters. The first two empirical chapters draw principally from in-depth interviews with undocumented young adults in Los Angeles, as well as two samples of the 2011-12 California Young Adult Study: a random sample of 1.5-generation and second generation Latinos, and a listed sample of participants of immigrant student organizations. The final empirical chapter analyzes 125 anti-deportation campaigns led by national undocumented youth organizations.

Chapter two examines the educational impacts of legal status on young adults. Regression analysis reveals that undocumented youth face a penalty in educational outcomes, compared to their citizen peers, even after controlling for socioeconomic background and high school tracking. However, other non-citizen youth also face educational disadvantage, suggesting both undocumented disadvantage *and* citizenship advantage. Chapter three argues that the everyday experience of “illegality” comes to structure the social network formation and comfort in accessing school-based resources early in adolescence, even for members of immigrant rights organizations. However, I also find that the presence of other undocumented youth in the extended social network becomes a critical resource for navigating formal exclusion. Chapter four explores how some undocumented youth have resisted exclusion in much more public ways. I show how immigrant youth organizations advocate for young adults in deportation proceedings by deploying ideologies of citizenship that emphasize acculturation, civic engagement, and innocence. However, anti-deportation campaigns remain bounded by the government’s priorities for deportation, emphasizing a version of citizenship that may ultimately exclude many other immigrants.

Ultimately, I argue that existing assimilation theories, in their focus on social structures and shared group characteristics, do not fully account for the experiences of legal status at the individual level. I conclude that the incorporation of undocumented young adults remains incomplete, in ways that are enforced explicitly by laws and experienced by undocumented youth both directly and implicitly within schools and social networks. While some youth alter the course of their daily lives in order to avoid discovery, others find themselves making a claim against exclusion based on social citizenship, membership and belonging.

The dissertation of Caitlin Cassidy Patler is approved.

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2014

For the thousands of undocumented families who have touched my life through this project and beyond. On the border or the picket lines, in detention centers or the Halls of Congress, your strength and courage are immeasurable.

*“El mundo está en las manos de aquellos que tienen el coraje de soñar
y correr el riesgo de vivir sus sueños.”*

- Paulo Coelho

And for my family:

My grandmothers, Congetta Vilardi and Lucy Smith, who taught me, “do your share, fight for what is fair, and always care.”

My parents, Louis and Catherine Patler, who always said, “we’re proud of you.”

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“I learned...that a degree was not in itself a guarantee of leadership and that it meant nothing unless one went out into the community to prove oneself.”
- Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*

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*

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I first presented the concept of “enforced incomplete incorporation” at the 2011 Law and Society Association Annual Conference in San Francisco, CA.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Paradox of Undocumented Youth: Simultaneous Inclusion and Exclusion

Three Stories

The following stories are true. The first two are high profile stories of Sergio and Walter, undocumented young adults who, in spite of the odds, were able to complete university degrees in the U.S. However, upon embarking on their careers, Sergio and Walter suddenly found themselves at the edge of a dream: one was nearly barred from practicing his chosen career of law; the other was picked up by U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement and would be long-deported if not for the vocal opposition of immigrant rights groups. The third story never made it to the news. This story is of a young man who I will call Edwin, whose everyday experiences with “illegality” pushed him out of high school and started a long path in and out of GED programs, and into unemployment.

Sergio’s Story

On May 16, 2012, the Supreme Court of California was faced with a conundrum: they did not know what to do about Sergio Garcia. Sergio is an undocumented immigrant who was brought to the U.S. at only 17 months old. He attended and graduated from university *and* law school in California (despite not having access to financial aid), and then took (and subsequently passed) the California Bar Exam and the corresponding moral character examination. As with all lawyers fortunate enough to pass the infamously challenging California Bar Exam, Sergio’s case was sent to the state Supreme Court for approval, at which point the court was also notified of his legal status. At that point, the court, in a unanimous decision, ordered the Bar to explain why Sergio should be given a legal license and invited briefs from other parties as well. Specifically,

the court asked: does the issuance of a license imply that Sergio can legally work as an attorney; do other state agencies that license professionals also admit undocumented immigrants; and what are the legal and public policy limitations on an undocumented immigrant's ability to be certified to practice law.¹ The court noted that after reviewing the written arguments, it would hold oral arguments on the case.² Almost two years later, the court finally decided to grant Sergio permission to practice law. However, in a similar case in the state of Florida, the court denied the Florida Bar the ability to license undocumented immigrants.³

Walter's Story

On February 17, 2009, undocumented immigrant and university graduate Walter Lara was on a ferry to Fisher Island, FL. Due to his legal status, Walter was unable to get a job in business, his field of study, and was working as a cable technician. Just as the ferry was to embark, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) authorities came aboard and questioned passengers. When Walter, who had been in the U.S. since he was three years old, could not show proof of legal residence, he was arrested, sent to a detention facility, and eventually scheduled for deportation on July 6, 2009.

However, Walter was a long-time member of Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER), a Florida-based immigrant rights organization. Upon hearing of Walter's arrest, SWER contacted Dream Activist (DA), a national volunteer-led advocacy organization run by undocumented youth to advocate for undocumented students. Together, SWER and DA mounted

¹ Dolan, Maura. May 12, 2012. "Court Takes up Bid of Illegal Immigrant to Be Attorney." in *Los Angeles Times*. See <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/may/17/local/la-me-immigrant-attorney-20120517> (accessed 05/19/14).

² The Court's news release can be accessed here: see: http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/oc12-May_16SC.pdf

³ <http://www.miamiherald.com/2014/03/06/3978010/florida-supreme-court-rules-immigrant.html> (accessed 05/18/14)

a national campaign to free Walter from detention and to try to convince ICE to defer action⁴ against his deportation. They created a Facebook support group that quickly grew to 2,535 members. Using the online action alert system of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), with whom SWER had worked on immigrants' rights campaigns for years, they generated over 1,000 calls to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)—enough to overwhelm the DHS messaging system. They then tapped into SWER's long-standing political relationships to persuade Florida Congresswoman Corrine Brown to author a private bill to cancel Walter's deportation order and give him permanent residency.⁵ They also convinced Senator Bill Nelson to write a letter urging the Assistant Secretary of ICE to halt Walter's deportation. Finally, they disseminated Senator Nelson's letter through their organizational networks, quickly gathering over 3,000 co-signatures from supporters across the country. In his letter, Senator Nelson wrote:

This young man's story quite vividly illustrates the need for Congress passing the DREAM Act⁶... This bill would provide kids, like Walter, with a way to stay in the greatest country on earth. And Walter is exactly the kind of person the DREAM Act is intended to help. He came here at a very young age, possesses a solid record of academic achievement, has a strong work ethic and is of good character. While efforts to pass the DREAM Act continue, I ask that you defer action on Walter's deportation. He has earned the chance to live and work here and call America home.⁷

Senator Nelson's letter makes a case for Walter's continued residence, in spite of government efforts to deport him. By invoking Walter's young age of arrival, academic accolades, and his personification of what many to consider to be "American" values of hard work and good

⁴ Deferred action is a form of prosecutorial discretion in which the government chooses not to pursue the deportation of an individual, usually for one-year extendable periods of time.

⁵ <http://beta.congress.gov/bill/111th/house-bill/3111/text> (accessed 10/31/13)

⁶ The DREAM Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) is a legislative proposal first introduced in 2001. Most versions of this bill would provide conditional permanent residency to eligible undocumented young adults who came to the U.S. as children, graduated from U.S. high schools, and are of 'good moral character.' The bill would provide an eventual path to citizenship for undocumented youth who complete time in accredited institutions of higher learning or in the military.

⁷ <http://action.seiu.org/page/s/nelsonletterblog> (accessed 10/06/2013)

moral character, Senator Nelson urges ICE (and the public) to recognize membership as something more than nationality alone. As a result of this national campaign, Walter was released from detention on July 2, 2009, just two days before Independence Day. Though Representative Brown's bill did not pass, ICE granted Walter a one-year deferral of action against his deportation, which was later extended. Walter remains in the U.S. today.

Edwin's Story

Edwin is a 22 year-old undocumented young man from Mexico who came to the U.S. as a child. He dropped out of high school during his junior year—it wasn't for him, he said, and anyway, what could he do with an education if he didn't have papers? Edwin lives in the living room of his older brother's rented apartment in one of the lowest income neighborhoods of Los Angeles. He is fit and athletic, and can often be found jogging on sidewalks below the overpasses of the four major freeways that come together to strangle downtown Los Angeles. When he's not running, he's listening to music or flirting on Facebook through his smart phone. For almost a year, Edwin has been unable to find work. He searched online and went door to door. He asked around to friends and family. He filled out dozens of applications and interviewed several times, cheerfully and in perfect English, for jobs at McDonald's, Subway, and other fast food restaurants. Managers everywhere told him, "I'm sorry, but we can't hire you without papers."

In 2012, when President Obama announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program⁸, Edwin thought, "this is my chance." He went to the local community college where he'd been stopping in and out of classes for the past two years, and enrolled in a GED

⁸ Under DACA, undocumented youth (under 30 years old) who came to the U.S. as children, are attending (or have attended) school, and have a clean criminal record, may apply for deferred action from deportation and subsequent two-year work authorization.

program. Borrowing money from his brother, he put down a partial payment for the course, around \$75. For the first five weeks of class, he attended religiously. Sometimes he'd even jog to and from class so as not to sacrifice his training. But when it came time to pay the bill for the second half of the class, Edwin still didn't have a job, and with the balance on his record—"somewhere around \$120"—he was dropped from the class and, as a result, remained ineligible for DACA. "But I couldn't have afforded the application anyway," he says, sighing, and slowly puts his headphones back in his ears.

Dissertation Overview and Central Research Questions

Taken together, these stories provide a glimpse into the complex and diverse lives of undocumented young adults in the United States. They provide a context for the framing of this dissertation—how millions of young people are living daily lives characterized by simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. They arrive in the U.S. as minors, and incorporate into and contribute to this country's schools and communities. Yet their status can penalize their school performance, social network formation, and feelings of belonging, even after controlling for socioeconomic background and experiences with school tracking. Though other non-citizens experience educational penalties as well, what distinguishes undocumented youth from other non-citizens is their everyday experience of "illegality." This impact is not necessarily direct—say, through deportation policies, though many youth do face deportation—but rather through the "legal violence" that turns the mundane into the illicit (Coutin 2000, Menjívar and Abrego 2012). As I will show, legal status can structure the ways that undocumented youth interact with peers and school personnel, and seek (or refrain from seeking) educational resources. Undocumented youth must develop a system of tools to help them work within this paradox of simultaneous

institutional incorporation and marginalization to manage exclusion. Some, like Sergio and Walter, develop strategies to publicly fight for more complete inclusion in the nation. They must strategically project a version of themselves that emphasizes their *social* citizenship, in an attempt to blur the boundaries between citizen and non-citizen, between lawful and unlawful. Yet in the absence of a path to citizenship, the incorporation of undocumented young people remains incomplete. This paradox informed the following central research questions:

Central Research Questions

- 1) How does the migrant-receiving state create a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion in a segment of its immigrant population, thereby enforcing undocumented immigrants' incomplete incorporation?
- 2) How does enforced incomplete incorporation affect one of the most vulnerable segments of the immigrant population—undocumented youth who were brought to the U.S. as children?
 - i. How do undocumented young adults experience this incomplete inclusion?
 - ii. What impacts does legal status have on varying dimensions of young adults' social worlds, including educational outcomes and social network formation?
 - iii. How do the impacts of legal status change depending on individual, family, socioeconomic, and educational background, and other characteristics?
- 3) What tactics do undocumented youth employ as they struggle for more formal inclusion?

A Note about Terminology

To quote Julián Jefferies, and following Susan Coutin, Nicholas De Genova, Sarah Willen and others: “The use of the term ‘illegal immigration’ is problematic for its association with oppressive and hegemonic forces in host societies (Jefferies 2014:65).” In this dissertation, therefore, I follow Jefferies and “use the term undocumented in place of ‘illegal’ and always put

the terms... ‘illegality’ in quotation marks. I do so in order to highlight the political processes and the creation of discourses by which low-wage migrants have been historically criminalized. My intent is to ‘de-naturalize the reification of this distinction’ (Jefferies 2014: 65).”

Explaining the Paradox of the Undocumented: Simultaneous Inclusion and Exclusion

This dissertation analyzes how the migrant-receiving state creates a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion in a segment of its immigrant population—undocumented youth and young adults. As I briefly explain above, the paradox is this: On the one hand, undocumented immigrants are legally expellable (deportable) from the state, yet are still extensively embedded in its institutions and culture and are generally protected under the constitution. Undocumented immigrants who come to the country as children are a strong example of this paradox. While they do not have formal citizenship, they have access to many rights including the right to attend K-12 education; they come to identify as “American” through a mastery of English language and participation in institutions such as schools; and they become involved in their communities. However, in spite of having access to certain rights, undocumented youth face barriers to their advancement. Many give up on aspirations of good jobs or higher education. Yet in some cases, others are mobilized by their precarious circumstances to engage in collective action in order make claims on the government for more formal inclusion.

The remainder of this section will seek to answer the first research question, explaining how and why immigration and immigrants’ rights policies and law making in the U.S. lay the groundwork for ambiguities in membership, belonging, and citizenship. This framework, along with the following three empirical chapters, helps to set the groundwork for explaining for how

the incorporation of undocumented youth and young adults can be understood as incomplete in ways that are enforced by the state.

Citizenship, Membership, and Exclusion

Figure 1.1 illustrates the way rights and access to citizenship and membership are currently distributed in the U.S., both *de jure* and *de facto*. As Figure 1.1 shows, we might conceptualize residency and rights in the United States as a series of concentric circles. The inner circle represents the citizenry of the territory, with all the rights and privileges it confers. States decide how access to this exclusive membership space is defined and accessed (whether through *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis* citizenship, naturalization, etc.). In the U.S., this includes the right to vote, access benefits, and be generally free from deportability.⁹ The outer border represents the starting and ending point of a collective of individuals who automatically have “membership” in the territory.

[Figure 1.1 approximately here]

Between the two circles is a more nebulous area, containing all the noncitizens in the territory. “Americans in waiting” (Motomura 2006), nonimmigrant visa holders, and others in liminal legal statuses (Menjívar 2006) coexist in this territory. This space also includes a distinct category of noncitizen: undocumented immigrants who may have entered without inspection, entered legally and overstayed visas, or became undocumented in some other way. They are all protected by the constitution, but their rights may differ. Yet even undocumented immigrants have some legal rights. For example, the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) held that a state cannot deny a child access to K–12 public education based on her

⁹ A native-born citizen cannot be deported. Deportation of naturalized citizens is possible but very rare.

immigration status.¹⁰ In this case, the Court acknowledged the government’s role in creating the “problem” of undocumented immigration. Justice Brennan wrote: “the confluence of Government policies has resulted in the existence of a large number of employed illegal aliens [sic]... whose presence is tolerated, whose employment is perhaps even welcomed (1982).” Another important argument in the Court’s decision was that unlawful presence in the United States has little to do with whether a noncitizen will actually be deported—from the Court’s perspective, given that overall, deportations are *relatively* low when compared to the total number of people who could be deported.¹¹

The Boundaries of Citizenship, the Boundaries of Belonging

In liberal democracies like the United States, the boundaries between citizenship and membership have contracted and expanded, blurred and become more distinct over the years. Many people residing within the territory of the United States are noncitizens, with no foreseeable path to citizenship. However, they still exercise a great many rights, even exerting unique forms of civic engagement and membership (Bosniak 1988, Bosniak 2006, Brubaker 1989, Coutin 2000, Delgado 1993, Flores 1997, Guiraudon 1998, Milkman 2006, Milkman, Bloom and Narro 2010, Motomura 2010, Terriquez 2011, Varsanyi 2005, Varsanyi 2004). Recent studies have demonstrated that undocumented youth and young adults have been motivated by their precarious legal status to become more civically engaged and to fight for their rights (Abrego 2008, Gonzales 2008, Perez 2009, Rincón 2008, Seif 2004, Seif 2011).

¹⁰ At the sub-federal level, many states including California have passed laws providing in-state tuition at public colleges and universities for undocumented students who can show long-term residency and meet other criteria. A current list can be found in footnote 43 in chapter five. Additionally, two states (CA and IL) have passed bills allowing undocumented college students access to certain forms of financial aid.

¹¹ This was especially true in the early 1980s when *Plyler v. Doe* was argued. We have seen a dramatic increase in restrictive enforcement mechanisms in the past three decades.

Defining the boundary between citizenship and membership is a central dilemma for the modern nation-state. U.S. law makes two important distinctions regarding immigration: it delimits who will be granted admission and it distinguishes between citizens and noncitizens within the territory. There is much scholarly debate about the extent to which citizenship and membership should be exclusive. Some authors argue that the right of movement is a foundational right of liberal democracies; as such, only open borders affirm a commitment to justice (Carens 1987: 271). Others argue that nations must reserve the power to delineate membership in order to “preserve itself as a community of individuals who share interests and values” (Motomura 2006: 5) and ensure justice and equality (Walzer 1983). This view demonstrates an understanding of citizenship that goes beyond nationality, emphasizing an idea of membership as shared values and a collective destiny (Bosniak 2006).

Imbedded in debates about citizenship and membership is the question of whether and to what extent the state has the power to define boundaries between members and nonmembers, and whether government policies that regulate membership are susceptible to global politics, organized social movements, or individual claims. Some scholars argue that in an era of increasingly globalized commerce and regimes of international human rights claims-making, the state’s sovereignty to regulate admissions and membership is called into question (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield 1994, Koslowski 2004, Sassen 1996, Soysal 1994). Singer and Massey posit that the emergence of an undocumented migration industry—including vast social networks which can aid in clandestine border crossing—demonstrates a weakening of state mechanisms of control (1998). Additional scholars argue that while the state has the authority and sovereignty to define border policy, liberal democracies such as the U.S. are susceptible to humanitarian and

other claims by individuals already residing within the territory (Cornelius and Tsuda 2004, Ellermann 2005, Ellermann 2009, Freeman 1995).

Other scholars dismiss post-nationalist claims, arguing that nations retain the autonomous and sovereign ability to regulate their admissions policies (Brubaker 1992, Joppke 1998, Neumayer 2006, Zolberg 2000). The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly taken this position when deciding immigrant admissions and rights cases. Yet the Court also recognizes long-term residence as conferring some kind of membership in a national community. Indeed, in *Mathews v. Diaz*, which denied access to welfare benefits for certain noncitizens, the Court stated:

Neither the overnight visitor, the unfriendly agent of a hostile foreign power, the resident diplomat, nor the illegal [sic] entrant, can advance even a colorable constitutional claim to a share in the bounty that a conscientious sovereign makes available to its own citizens and some of its guests. The decision to share that bounty with our guests may take into account the character of the relationship between the alien and this country: Congress may decide that as the alien's tie grows stronger, so does the strength of his claim to an equal share of that munificence (426 U.S. 67 [1976]).

Thus, while reinforcing the role of state sovereignty in determining admission, the Court also accepts that noncitizens can and do earn *membership* over time.¹²

These views are found in case law and administrative policies regarding deportation. According to immigration law, it is legally “easier” to turn away someone determined inadmissible at the border, than it is to expel that person once he or she is within the territory. For example, in *Padilla v. Kentucky* (130 S. Ct. 1473 2010), the Supreme Court ruled against deportation, citing that it would be too harsh of a punishment for a long-time resident such as Padilla. These ideas are also reflected in memos published regularly by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) which create “priorities” for the enforcement of immigration law (Meissner 2000, Morton 2011a, Morton 2011b, Napolitano 2012). For example, in June 2011,

¹² For similar arguments regarding lawfully present noncitizens, see *Graham v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 365 [1971]; for arguments regarding the undocumented, see *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 [1982]

John Morton, Director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), released discretionary guidelines that included the following considerations, for the first time:

- The circumstances of the person's arrival in the United States and the manner of his or her entry, *particularly if the alien came to the United States as a young child*;
- The person's *pursuit of education in the United States*, with particular consideration given to those who have graduated from a U.S. high school or have successfully pursued or are pursuing a college or advanced degrees at a legitimate institution of higher education in the United States. (Emphasis added, See Appendix G).

The de-prioritization of certain deportations demonstrates that even the government entity charged with enforcing immigration laws will acknowledge that there is more to citizenship than nationality. Yet this ranking system also suggests that certain immigrant groups are more deserving of the right to stay (or at least not be removed) than others.

Context for Prolonged Undocumented Status: (Non)Implementation of U.S. Immigration Policy

Many authors have characterized the history of U.S. immigration policy as seeped in racist notions about who should have access to citizenship (Aleinikoff et al. 2008, Ngai 2004, Saxton 1974). Examples of such laws include the Alien and Sedition Acts (1790), the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), and the National Origins quota systems (1921 and 1924). More recently, there has been a dramatic increase in programs that regulate enforcement of immigration law, including Operation Gatekeeper (1994), Operation Hold the Line (1994), the Secure Communities Program (2008), and statewide measures like Arizona's SB 1070 (2010) or Alabama's HB 56 (2011). In addition, the Southern border has been fortified and deportation policies and procedures have become more streamlined (Gilbert 2012). In 2013, 368,644 individuals were removed from the United States.¹³

¹³ From "ICE Total Removals" for fiscal year 2013. See <http://www.ice.gov/news/releases/1312/131219washingtondc.htm> (accessed 5/18/14)

Yet scholars have argued that in spite of the increasingly restrictive nature of this enforcement regime, it actually remains relatively unenforced, under-enforced, and perhaps even unenforceable (Andreas 2000, Cornelius and Tsuda 2004, Cox and Posner 2006, Motomura 2006, Motomura 2008, Motomura 2010, Motomura 2011, Nevins 2002, Zolberg 2000).¹⁴ Cornelius and Tsuda posit that a “gap” exists between policy and enforcement due to the internal contradictions among the administrative departments that regulate and enforce immigration policy, and tensions between the federal and local governments (2004). Andreas argues that policy makers do not intend to actually enforce immigration policy; the country benefits too much from undocumented immigration to actually curb it (2000). Instead, the government engages in a “border game” characterized by extensive image management wherein the border is portrayed as an effective tool of exclusion (Andreas 2000, Nevins 2002). And this “border game” may not be unintentional; as Zolberg argues, “the absence of an effective regulatory system is itself a policy” (Zolberg 2000:80). Whether intentional or not, the unenforceability / unenforcement of U.S. immigration policy leaves extensive room for long-term residence without legal status, and the corresponding planting of roots by immigrants living in such status. Indeed, it creates the paradox of the undocumented.

Dissertation Chapter Summary

I now provide a summary of each empirical chapter, including data sources, key findings, and contributions to the literature.¹⁵

¹⁴ I am not suggesting that deportation and immigration law enforcement is not an enormous problem; on the contrary, scholars have documented the real and symbolic violence caused by these policies (see for example Menjivar and Abrego 2012; Dreby 2012). Yet many anti-immigrant laws may actually be unenforced or unenforceable, existing as lip service to voters at best, and as mechanisms of symbolic violence in immigrant communities at worst.

¹⁵ As these chapters are designed to be a stand-alone articles, each will also begin with a short abstract of data and findings. Tables and figures are found at the end of each chapter.

Chapter Two: Undocumented Disadvantage, Citizen Advantage, or Both? The Comparative Educational Outcomes and Aspirations of Undocumented, Lawful Permanent Resident, Naturalized Citizen, and Second Generation Young Adults in California

Sociologists have long demonstrated that educational attainment and aspirations are important indicators of integration and social mobility for the children of immigrants. Yet most studies of immigrant integration and educational stratification have been limited by an oversimplification of generational groups that does not distinguish between immigrants' legal statuses. I seek answers to the questions: What impact do legal and citizenship status have on the educational trajectories of young adults? How does long-term "illegality" impact not only educational outcomes, but also aspirations, as compared to documented immigrants (citizens and LPRs) and second-generation native-born peers? Do undocumented youth appear to be on a path of upward mobility, downward mobility, or working class stagnation? Using survey data from 2nd generation (2G), 1.5-generation citizens (1.5GC) and lawful permanent residents (LPR), and undocumented Latino young adults in California, I explore how legal status and citizenship impact educational pathways and aspirations for the children of immigrants. I specifically analyze the predictors of high school grade point average (GPA), likelihood of dropping out of high school, post-secondary enrollment (PSE), and educational aspirations.

I find evidence that undocumented legal status more than doubles the odds of dropping out of high school, compared to 2G respondents. Likewise, undocumented status reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by about 55%, compared to the 2G. However, LPR status *also* reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by a nearly identical amount, compared to 2G. Though the latter finding is just marginally significant, it suggests that college enrollment is impacted by citizenship status in addition to legality. In terms of GPA, I find that 1.5GCs greatly outperform all the other groups, suggesting an immigrant advantage, but one that appears to be limited to

citizens and which may not transfer into PSE enrollment, as native-born U.S. citizens are still most likely to enroll in PSE. Finally, I find no evidence of significant overall differences between citizenship and legal status groups in terms of overall educational aspirations, suggesting that the children of immigrants, regardless of citizenship status, are incorporating into U.S. educational systems, including developing educational aspirations that practically mirror their native-born peers.

Variables for high school tracking and exposure to peer networks (measured by participation in Honors and ESL classes during high school) are highly significant in most of the models. Honors participation in particular is consistently one of the strongest predictors of achievement (higher GPA, increased PSE enrollment, lower likelihood of dropping out, and higher aspirations) across the models. On the other hand, ESL participation increases odds of dropping out, decreases odds of enrolling in PSE, and reduces aspirations. Overall, these findings suggest that educational outcomes are not just influenced by a divide between legality and “illegality,” but also between citizenship and non-citizenship, as well as by school-based sorting mechanisms that may impact all students regardless of legal status.

Chapter Three: “Illegality” in Everyday Life: Social Networks, Institutional Participation, and Identity Formation among Undocumented Immigrant Young Adults

Sociological literature on immigrant integration posits that co-ethnic social networks can act as protective mechanisms for the children of immigrants, keeping them out of trouble and shielding them from the deleterious effects of discrimination. Other literature argues that legal status can constrain the spread of social capital in immigrants’ social networks. However, these theories do not adequately address the ways in which legal status impacts how young undocumented immigrants build their communities and participate in institutions such as schools

and community organizations. Drawing from survey and in-depth interview data from the California Young Adult Study as well as in-depth interviews with a snowball sample of undocumented youth in Southern California, I compare a random sample of undocumented young adults with individuals affiliated with undocumented student organizations, analyzing their decisions to reveal or conceal their status to peers and school personnel throughout young adulthood. Logistic regression analysis of data from a statewide survey of participants of undocumented student organizations (“Dreamers”) shows that the odds of feeling the need to hide status from high school personnel are impacted by age (pre- and post- in-state tuition policy in California), and region of origin. However, hiding status from peers in high school is influenced by socioeconomic background only (with higher income students reporting greater need to hide their status). As Dreamers approach college, their odds of hiding status are influenced by their age of arrival (with older arrivals more likely to hide status), socioeconomic background, and whether they hid their status from peers or personnel during high school. Hiding status from peers in college is also influenced by age of arrival, and whether respondents hid their status from peers or personnel in high school.

Interview data expand on these findings, revealing more about the mechanisms behind—and consequences of—hiding status. My data show that feeling the need to hide legal status constrains the social network formation of undocumented young adults in both samples, though in different ways, depending not just on organizational participation but also on the manner of arrival to the U.S., as well as on household dynamics, and institutional contexts. In addition, though previous research has described the constraints on social capital brought on by liminal legality for undocumented adults, my study shows that for undocumented youth, knowing other undocumented immigrants becomes an important resource in spreading out the acute impacts of

legal status and making youth feel more comfortable with their status. Other undocumented young people who have “made it” educationally become critical bridges to navigating the educational system—alongside or sometimes more so than teachers and counselors who undocumented youth may choose to avoid so as not to reveal their legal status. These findings expose some of the ways the immigration policies intrude into the lives of undocumented immigrants, with implications for their incorporation.

Chapter Four: Undocumented Youth Organizations, Anti-Deportation Campaigns, and the Boundaries of Belonging

Previous literature theorizes that deportation, as a coercive social policy, signifies acute costs on deportees and their communities, leading those affected to mobilize against deportations, with high success across national contexts. Yet this literature does not explain how claims are made or how they differ across immigrant groups. Through an analysis of 125 anti-deportation campaigns led by undocumented youth organizations in the U.S., I show how the organizations develop claims that purposefully link concerns for individuals to policy change. This nationally coordinated model strategically deploys ideologies of citizenship that emphasize acculturation, civic engagement, and innocence. By highlighting the *social* integration of undocumented immigrants, the campaigns blur the boundaries between citizen and noncitizen, and between lawful and unlawful, in an attempt to justify the grounds for ending *legal* exclusion. However, campaign tactics vary: immigrant students are described as high-achievers who would suffer greatly if deported, while campaigns for non-students emphasize the detrimental effects of deportation on others. These differing tactics are strategically deployed both in response to, and in order to influence, policy change. However, anti-deportation campaigns remain bounded by the government’s deportation priorities, potentially reifying existing boundaries of citizenship.

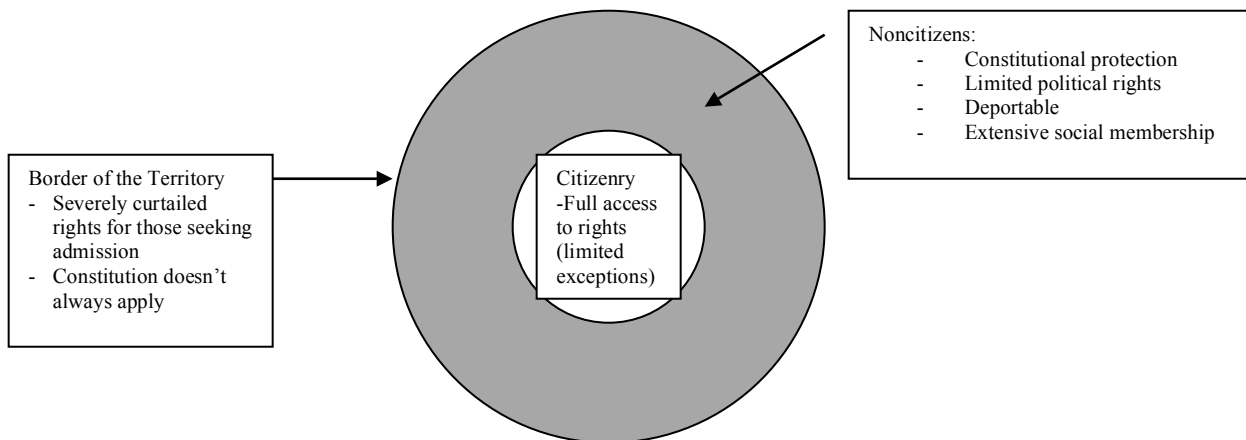
Conclusion

Through these chapters, I argue that existing assimilation theories, in their focus on social structures and shared group characteristics, do not fully account for the experiences of legal status at the individual level. I conclude that the incorporation of undocumented young adults remains incomplete, in ways that are enforced explicitly by immigration laws and experienced by undocumented youth both directly and implicitly within the various dimensions of their social lives (schools, social networks, families, organizational participations, etc.). While some youth alter the course of their daily lives in order to avoid discovery, others find themselves working to promote a strategically nationalistic version of membership and belonging in order to make the case against exclusion.

Finally, I hope that this dissertation is relevant today for reasons beyond the theoretical and empirical contributions I hope to make in the chapters below. There are over 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. today (Passel and Cohn 2011), including approximately 5 million undocumented children and young adults under the age of 30 (Fortuny, Capps and Passel 2007). Twenty-four percent of these individuals live in California, with approximately 10% residing in Los Angeles Metropolitan Area alone (Fortuny, Capps and Passel 2007). Yet, still relatively little is known about the impacts of legal status on the lives of the undocumented children as they make their way through adolescence and into adulthoods. It is estimated that an average of 65,000 undocumented youth graduate from U.S. high schools each year (Passel 2003), and thousands more leave high school before graduation. Yet, even for those with a high school diploma, legal status may disallow many undocumented youth from pursuing further education: indeed, the Immigration Policy Center estimates that only approximately 5 to

10 percent of undocumented high school graduates go on to complete college —“not because they don’t want to, but because they cannot afford it or because some schools will not allow them to enroll...even worse, there is often little incentive for them to finish high school, leading to high drop-out rates and the potential for them to become involved in gangs and illegal activities” (Immigration Policy Center 2010). Even for the select group who are able to access higher education and/or become extensively engaged in their communities, the future is far from certain (Abrego 2008, Abrego 2006, Gonzales 2007, Gonzales 2008, Gonzales 2011, Perez 2009, Seif 2004, Seif 2011, Terriquez and Patler 2012). Yet as the USC Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration notes in its 2012 scorecard, “with nearly half of California's children having at least one immigrant parent, successful immigrant integration is not a special interest: how those children and their parents do in our economic and civic life will help to determine the future of the Golden State and its regions” (Pastor et al. 2012).

Figure 1.1: Conceptualizing Citizenship, Rights and Membership¹⁶



¹⁶ Framework borrowed from Roger Waldinger.

CHAPTER TWO

Undocumented Disadvantage, Citizen Advantage, or Both? The Comparative Educational Outcomes and Aspirations of Undocumented, Lawful Permanent Resident, Naturalized Citizen, and Second Generation Young Adults in California

Chapter Abstract

Sociologists have long demonstrated that educational attainment and aspirations are important indicators of mobility for the children of immigrants. Yet most studies of immigrant integration and educational stratification have been limited by an oversimplification of generational groups that does not distinguish between immigrants' legal statuses. Using survey data from second generation (2G), 1.5-generation citizen (1.5GC), 1.5-generation lawful permanent resident (LPR), and 1.5-generation undocumented Latino young adults in California, I explore how legal status and citizenship impact educational pathways and aspirations for the children of immigrants. I find evidence that undocumented legal status more than doubles the odds of dropping out of high school, compared to 2G respondents. Likewise, undocumented status reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE, compared to the 2G. However, LPR status *also* reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by a nearly identical amount, yet this finding is just marginally significant. In terms of GPA, I find that 1.5GCs greatly outperform all the other groups, yet native-born U.S. citizens are still most likely to enroll in PSE. Finally, I find no evidence of significant overall differences between citizenship and legal status groups in terms of overall educational aspirations. Variables for high school tracking and exposure to peer networks are highly significant predictors of educational outcomes, with honors participation predicting achievement and ESL tracking predicting a penalty. Overall, these findings suggest that the children of immigrants, regardless of citizenship status, are incorporating into U.S. educational systems, including developing educational aspirations that practically mirror their native-born peers. However, educational outcomes are not just influenced by a divide between legality and "illegality," but also between citizenship and non-citizenship, as well as by school-based sorting mechanisms that may impact all students regardless of legal status.

The landmark 1982 Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe* guaranteed the rights of undocumented children to K-12 education in the U.S., yet did not address their access to postsecondary education (PSE). Now, more than three decades later, while 13 U.S. states allow undocumented youth to access public colleges and universities at in-state tuition rates, other states only allow undocumented students to enroll as foreign students (with correspondingly higher tuition rates), and some states have explicitly banned enrollment. For more than a decade,

debates have raged in Congress and in the media about whether undocumented young people who came to the U.S. as children should be allowed a path to citizenship unavailable to them through current family- and employment-based admissions categories. Legislative proposals such as the DREAM Act have been introduced time and time again—and have repeatedly failed. Then, in 2012, the Obama administration announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, targeted precisely at young undocumented immigrants. Under this program, eligible undocumented youth may apply for a deferral of action on their deportations and subsequent work authorization. As of March 2014, 642,685 youth had applied for this program, and 95% had been accepted (an average of 1,583 acceptances per day).¹⁷

Legislative proposals such as the DREAM Act, and administrative policies such as DACA speak to political and social relevance of addressing the inequalities faced by undocumented children and youth, who make up about a fifth of all arriving undocumented immigrants, and account for about 65,000 high school graduates each year (though thousands more drop out before graduating) (Passel 2003, Passel and Cohn 2011). Policy and media debates about undocumented youth emphasize their educational incorporation and contributions to the community (Patler and Gonzales n.d.). Yet, in spite of the level of political and public debate about the rights of undocumented youth and young adults, surprisingly little research exists about the educational trajectories of undocumented youth. In particular, there is a wide dearth of quantitative research in this area, likely due to a lack of precise survey measures that would allow statistical comparisons by legal status (notable exceptions include Greenman and Hall 2013, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

¹⁷ Data from U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services:
http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Resources/Reports%20and%20Studies/Immigration%20Forms%20Data/All%20Form%20Types/DACA/I821d_daca_fy2014qtr2.pdf

This chapter seeks to begin to fill this gap by addressing the following questions: What impact do legal and citizenship status have on the educational trajectories of young adults? How does long-term “illegality” impact not only educational outcomes, but also aspirations, as compared to documented immigrants (citizens and LPRs) and second-generation native-born peers? Do undocumented youth appear to be on a path of upward mobility (Alba and Nee 2003, Jiménez 2010, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008), downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993, Telles and Ortiz 2008), or working class stagnation (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014, Waldinger, Lim and Cort 2007)?

Using survey data from 2G, 1.5GC, LPR, and undocumented Latino young adults in California (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014), I explore how legal, citizenship, and generational status impacts educational pathways and aspirations for the children of immigrants. Comparing across citizenship and legal status groups, I analyze the predictors of high school grade point average (GPA), dropping out of high school, post-secondary enrollment, and career aspirations. I find evidence that undocumented legal status more than doubles the odds of dropping out of high school, compared to 2G respondents, even after controlling for personal and SES background, as well as exposure to different types of educational tracking. Likewise, undocumented status reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE, compared to the 2G respondents. However, LPR status *also* reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by a nearly identical amount, yet this finding is just marginally significant. Still, it suggests that college enrollment is impacted by citizenship status as well as by legality.

In terms of GPA, I find that 1.5GCs greatly outperform all the other groups, suggesting an immigrant advantage, but one that appears to be limited to citizens, and which appears not to transfer into PSE enrollment, as native-born U.S. citizens still remain mostly likely to enroll in

PSE. With regard to educational aspirations, I find no evidence of significant differences between citizenship and status groups in terms of overall educational aspirations, suggesting that foreign-born students (regardless of legal status) are incorporating into U.S. educational systems, including developing educational aspirations that practically mirror their native-born citizen peers.

Yet schools appear to be very strong sorting mechanisms for the children of immigrants in California, perhaps regardless of citizenship or legal status. Significantly, high school tracking and exposure to peer networks (measured by participation in Honors and ESL classes during high school) are highly significant in most of the models I will present herein. Honors participation in particular is consistently one of the strongest predictors of achievement across the models (predicting higher GPA and aspirations, increased PSE enrollment, and lower likelihood of dropping out). On the other hand, ESL increases odds of dropping out, decreases odds of enrolling in PSE, and predicts lower aspirations. These findings suggest that educational outcomes are strongly influenced by school-based sorting mechanisms that may impact all students regardless of legal status.

Taken together, these findings suggest that educational outcomes are not only influenced by a divide between legality and “illegality,” but also between citizenship and lack of citizenship, and by school-based sorting mechanisms. However, we also see evidence that immigrant youth are incorporating into U.S. educational systems, including developing educational aspirations that are shared across legal and citizenship status groups. Yet the educational incorporation of non-citizens remains incomplete, as the chances of going to college—perhaps the most important predictor of later mobility—are greatly reduced for both undocumented and LPR youth. In the absence of a path to citizenship for undocumented youth, these findings support the claim that

this group of young adults may be poised for working class stagnation and the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Bean et al. 2011, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

Background

The sociological literature on immigrant integration is broad and longstanding and has demonstrated that educational attainment and aspirations are important indicators of integration and social mobility for the children of immigrants. Yet much of the survey research on immigrant integration is limited by an oversimplification of ethnic/racial groups that does not disaggregate by immigrant generation or citizenship status, therefore preventing analysis of the impacts of these statuses at the individual level. Likewise, those studies that distinguish between immigrant generational groups are often unable to capture the experiences of 1.5-generation *undocumented* immigrants in comparison to their LPR and naturalized citizen peers, and to native-born citizens. In both the neoclassical assimilation model's focus on the social experiences of assimilation, as well as the segmented assimilation's focus on shared group characteristics, these individual differences are muted or ignored.

The Integration of the Children of Immigrants: Advantage, Decline, or Stagnation?

One of the primary concerns of the literature on immigrant integration is explaining the differences in educational attainment between ethnic and national origins groups. Theoretical differences have emerged about how the children of immigrants will fare compared to earlier generations of immigrants. Modern assimilation theory predicts that the children of more highly educated parents will do better educationally and, relatedly, that their educational levels will increase with each subsequent generation-since-migration, indicating a generally upward path to mobility via incorporation into the "mainstream" (Alba and Nee 2003). On the other hand,

segmented assimilation theory predicts multiple possible trajectories for the children of immigrants, depending on their modes of incorporation, broadly defined as a combination of parents' human capital, SES background including parents education, contexts of exit and reception (the degree to which immigrants' social and political reception is negative, neutral or positive), and the strength of the co-ethnic community into which immigrants settle (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Proponents of the segmented assimilation hypothesis theorize that those children of immigrants who will do best in school are those who come from higher SES backgrounds, face a positive context of reception, and have strong co-ethnic community ties (Zhou and Bankston 1998, Zhou and Kim 2006). According to this hypothesis, Latino immigrants in general are likely to show poor academic outcomes, given their generally lower SES backgrounds and the severe political exclusion of undocumented immigrants (theorized to negatively impact all co-ethnic community members).

Over the past decade, several surveys have set out to test the strength of the various assimilation hypotheses. One of the principal problems with these studies is a lack of a consistent reference category. Several studies have used non-Hispanic whites as a control group (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), while others have argued that a better suited comparison would be native-born ethnic minorities (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Telles and Ortiz 2008). However, regardless of the control group, these studies have largely lumped 1.5-generation immigrants with and 2G immigrants, and have not disaggregated by citizenship or immigrant legal status.

These studies have also come to conflicting conclusions about how the children of immigrants will fare over time. To paraphrase the astute observations of Kasinitz and his co-authors, there are several conflicting approaches to assimilation studies (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008:20-21). Early studies of assimilation assume that the second generation, by

outperforming and distancing themselves from their parents will come to share the *native advantage* of the majority—often assumed to be white, middle class, Anglo-Saxon, protestants (Alba and Nee 2003, Warner and Srole 1945). On the other hand, segmented assimilation has shown that children of nonwhite immigrants can come to share *native disadvantages* of racial minorities, yet can avoid downward assimilation by retaining the *immigrant advantages* of their parent’s SES background, optimism, and participation in their co-ethnic communities (Kao and Tienda 1995, Portes and Zhou 1993). However, their parent’s *immigrant disadvantages*—such as lack of English or low SES backgrounds, or dissonant acculturation, could also predict lower educational outcomes. Alternatively, members of the second generation may face a distinct *second generation advantage* that allows them to choose selectively the best traits from both their parents and native-born peers (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Waters 1999). However, especially for Mexican-Americans, these advantages may fade for the fourth and greater generations who face a *generational decline* due to ongoing racialization and an educational system that has failed them (Telles and Ortiz 2008).

Yet regardless of their theoretical starting or ending points, both classic assimilation and segmentation assimilation theories fail to account for the importance of legality and citizenship at the *individual* level. Straight-line and neoclassic assimilation theories focus on the social experiences of going from a “foreigner” status to a member of the “mainstream” over time. Segmented assimilation theory, on the other hand, acknowledges legal status, but only at the group level—hypothesizing, for example, that all Mexican-Americans, regardless of individual citizenship or legal status, will be negatively impacted by the prejudice (public and political) against undocumented immigrants. In other words, the prevalence of undocumented immigrants generates an overall negative mode of incorporation for *all* group members, regardless of

individual characteristics. In this chapter, I seek to compare educational outcomes by legal status and citizenship differences at the individual level. If indeed all members of this population have experienced a negative mode of incorporation, then we should expect to see little variation between status groups. However, this would contradict findings from previous studies that, for example, predict increases in average earnings between non-citizens and naturalized adults, even when disaggregating between LPR and undocumented non-citizens (Pastor and Scoggins 2012). This logic would also counter U.S. immigration law, which explicitly prioritizes citizens in family petitions, access to benefits, relief from the threat of deportation, and many other areas.

Existing Literature on Undocumented Youth in the U.S.

A growing body of scholarship on undocumented youth has emerged over the past decade, providing a critical lens into the lives of this population. Primarily due to issues of access and concern about legal vulnerability, most of this work has been qualitative and focused on undocumented students who are at least peripherally affiliated with immigrant rights organizations. Most notably, work by Leisy Abrego and Roberto Gonzales has exposed the ways that “illegality” comes to permeate the daily lived experiences, social network formation, mental health, and long-term decision-making and aspirations of undocumented youth (Abrego 2008, Abrego 2006, Abrego 2011, Gleeson and Gonzales 2012, Gonzales 2011, Gonzales and Chavez 2012, Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013, Menjívar and Abrego 2012). These studies explore the transitions to adulthood among undocumented youth, and find that undocumented youth face barriers similar to those of their native-born peers who share similar SES backgrounds and attend the same substandard schools. The authors find that youth “discover” their undocumented status later in high school, at which point they realize the barriers they face, and often give up on pursuing education. In other cases, this realization begins a long

and difficult path to college. Perhaps due to sampling on such a selective group of students, this literature concludes that undocumented youth are relatively “protected” in the K-12 educational context and that legal status is most salient as undocumented youth become adults (Gonzales 2011).

The literature on undocumented young adults has generally focused on immigrant student activists or college students, and not on high school students or young adults who may not be affiliated with undocumented student organizations. A notable exception is Jefferies’ ethnographic study of undocumented youth in Boston (Jefferies 2014). In this four-year ethnography, Jefferies found that legal status prevented undocumented young men from enrolling in K-12 education in the first place—not because they were economic migrants with goals set on the workplace, but because of fear of discovery combined with a lack of support and information about access and resources. In line with scholarship on “legal violence” and “illegality” (Coutin 2000, Menjívar and Abrego 2012), Jefferies concludes that laws and policies play an important role in “illegalizing” undocumented youth. On the other hand, pro-immigrant policies at the state level may help some undocumented youth succeed. Indeed, preliminary data show that immigrant youth living in states with instate tuition policies were more likely to enroll in college than similar youth in states without instate tuition policies (Flores 2010) and that these policies can bring about a more positive self-image for eligible youth (Abrego 2008).

The findings above illustrate the importance of exploring the impacts of immigrant legal status on educational outcomes in quantitative research. Two quantitative studies have emerged in the past year that address the barriers imposed by legal status as central research questions. Greenman and Hall use data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation to explore the impacts of immigrant legal status on high school graduation and college enrollment, comparing

undocumented to documented 14-24 year-old foreign-born youth and to native-born Latinos and whites (Greenman and Hall 2013). They find that undocumented students are less likely than documented students to graduate high school and enroll in college, and that differences in college enrollment are not fully explained by SES or other independent variables.

Analyzing data from the CYAS (from which I also draw), Terriquez compares first, second, and third generation Latinos' two-year and four-year college enrollment patterns, as well as their labor market outcomes (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Importantly, she finds that Latinos' PSE enrollment and employment do not differ by immigrant generation or citizenship status, but rather are explained by SES and individual background characteristics such as sex, income background, and parent's education. Given that Latino youth come from similar backgrounds, Terriquez concludes that Latinos in general may be on a path to working class stagnation. Both Greeman and Hall and Terriquez's studies have laid an important foundation for future quantitative work on educational and occupational outcomes for undocumented young adults. However, both studies have grouped 1.5-generation documented immigrants into one group, without disaggregating by citizenship status. This may leave out important variation in educational outcomes based on different contexts of arrival, human capital and SES background, and school curriculum participation.

Data and Methodology

This chapter draws from original survey data from the 2011 California Young Adult Study (CYAS) (Terriquez and Kwon Forthcoming, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). The CYAS explores the educational, employment, and civic engagement trajectories of California's diverse 18-26 year old population with the goal of identifying social inequalities and institutional resources that might ameliorate them. The CYAS included a random digit dial (RDD) phone

survey, from which I draw for this chapter. Eligible respondents were between 18 and 26 years old, currently living in California, and had attended at least one year of high school in California before the age of 17. Each phone survey lasted 20-25 minutes and respondents received a \$30 gift card for participating. Respondents answered questions about their high school and PSE experiences (if applicable), work experiences, and background. The CYAS includes 2,200 RDD phone surveys across California. Of these respondents, 783 identified as Latino (618 2G, 56 1.5GC, 53 LPR, and 56 undocumented). Though the small sample size for each of the foreign-born population groups prevents the development of population estimates, the CYAS is one of the first studies to allow statistically significant analysis by legal status (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

Survey Measures

My analysis was guided by existing empirical studies of surveys testing indicators of immigrant integration and educational achievement among immigrants (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Rumbaut 2006, Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008, Telles and Ortiz 2008, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Appendix B lists the CYAS survey questions from which I drew dependent and control variables. I use logistic and ordered logistic regression models to examine the predictors of four educational outcomes and aspirations/expectations: high school GPA, dropping out of high school, enrolling in PSE, and educational aspirations. GPA is scored on scale ranging from “Mostly D’s or lower” to “Mostly A’s.”¹⁸ Dropping out of high school was calculated from a series of questions about the highest degree earned. Those who reported no degree were counted as dropouts after excluding those

¹⁸ The CYAS asked respondents to categorize their grades along the following 7-point scale: mostly D’s or lower, mostly D’s or C’s, mostly C’s, mostly B’s or Cs, mostly B’s, mostly A’s or B’s, and mostly A’s. Because GPA is an ordinal variable (as opposed to continuous interval-ratio variable), I use ordered logistic regression to analyze its predictors.

currently in high school. Because one of the requirements to participate in the CYAS was to have completed at least one year of high school in California, the figures for dropping out are lower (and may be more accurate) than other national studies that are unable to distinguish between 1.5-generation immigrants and first generation economic migrants.

In terms of post-high school education, I focus on post-secondary enrollment as opposed to attainment, since the CYAS sample included many young adults who were too young to have completed college at the time of the survey (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Respondents were asked if they had enrolled in any higher education since graduating from high school. I created a dummy variable for anyone who reported enrolling in community college, vocational training, 4-year university, or graduate education, regardless of the highest degree attained. This variable excludes anyone currently in high school at the time of the survey as well as graduates of the class of 2011 who would have been too young to enroll in PSE, based on the time of year that the survey was conducted. Finally, I include a measure of educational aspirations with a dummy variable for whether respondents' expected occupation by the age of 30 would require them to have a B.A. degree.

Independent variables included individual characteristics such as sex and age, as well as the generational and legal status of respondents, divided into 2G, 1.5GC, LPR, and undocumented. Eighty-six percent of foreign-born CYAS respondents had arrived in the U.S. before the age of thirteen, the normal cut-off age for those traditionally theorized as belonging to the 1.5-generation (Rumbaut 2004). However, the remaining 14% total foreign-born respondents came to the U.S. before the age of 17 and had completed at least one year of education in U.S. high schools, which distinguishes them from economic migrants who may have come to the U.S. as teenagers but did not enroll in school. Given this unique and shared life stage of the

immigrants in the CYAS sample, “it makes practical as well as theoretical sense to aggregate them” into the 1.5-generation for the purposes of this study (Rumbaut 2004:1185).¹⁹

Unfortunately, I do not have data on parents’ legal status for any of the foreign-born respondents, therefore preventing me from creating a variable for parent’s legal status.²⁰

Undocumented status was computed deductively from respondents who answered “no” to a two-question series: Are you a U.S. citizen? Are you a permanent resident with a green card? I acknowledge that this measure is imperfect and may include people in other liminal legal statuses such as Temporary Protected Status or student visas (Menjívar 2006). However, of the in-depth follow-up interviews (analyzed elsewhere) completed with over a third of the undocumented sample, each respondent was indeed undocumented and had been for most, if not all, of their time in the U.S. Though the undocumented sample size is relatively small, as Terriquez has found (Forthcoming 2014), and as my results will also show, it still has predictive power.

My models also control for socio-economic status via income background and parental educational. I operationalize low-income background by eligibility for free/reduced lunch and/or family’s difficulties paying bills during high school. I chose a variable for parents’ education, based on the generally low levels of parental education observed in the sample. This variable is based on whether young adults were raised by at least one parent with a high school degree or higher, compared to those without a parent with a high school degree. Unfortunately, my dataset included this dummy variable, making it impossible to further disaggregate along parents’

¹⁹ In their study of immigrant incorporation in New York City, Kasinitz and co-authors included the children of Russian Jews who had arrived at 17 years old or younger, also grouping them into the 1.5-generation. (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008).

²⁰ Mixed status families are very common for immigrants from Mexico and Central America; therefore, using respondents’ status as a proxy for parents’ status would be an inaccurate measure. I do have data for 2G respondents’ parents’ legal status (in particular, whether or not they have at least one undocumented parent). A separate analysis (not included here) shows that SES background is greatly influenced by parents’ status, with a severe penalty for the children of undocumented immigrants (see also Bean et. al. 2011).

educational levels.²¹ I also include a control for whether youth came from intact families, operationalized by whether the respondent reported living with both parents (or parental figures) during high school. As with the other socioeconomic indicators I include, intact families have been found to predict higher levels of academic achievement and stronger educational outcomes than single-parent families (Kao and Thompson 2003, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Zhou 1997).

I also include measures of educational tracking that may also account for youth's exposure and access to mentorship, resources about college, and/or to high achieving or highly motivated peers (Ansalone 2001, Fernández-Kelly 2008, Fuligni 1997, Ream and Rumberger 2008, Smith 2008). In particular, I include participation in Honors/AP/IB courses on the one hand, and participation in ESL on the other hand. I hypothesize that honors classes will expose students to college-specific resources that ESL classes may not. I do not mean to suggest here that supportive ESL teachers are uncommon or that these classes cannot be empowering for students. Nor am I suggesting that there is something about ESL students that makes them less motivated or smart. On the contrary, existing research shows that they share the same educational initiative as their English-speaking counterparts (see for example Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). However, when understood as part of a *system* of academic tracking, ESL classes have been found to keep students in remedial tracks and away from college-specific resources available to students in other tracks (Ansalone 2001, Kao and Thompson 2003, Valencia, Menchaca and Donato 1991). In other words, these classes often become the basis of tracking systems that can predict later educational trajectories. In addition, studies have found that limited English proficiency negatively predicts educational attainment (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Zhou 1997). However, I note that there is some degree of overlap between the ESL and

²¹ For example, for a parent in the “no high school degree” category, I am unable to distinguish between, say, a parent with no formal education and a parent with 11th grade education. It is possible that with further disaggregation, this variable would be more significant in my models.

Honors categories in the CYAS sample: 26% of honors students were also in ESL and 44% of ESL students were also in honors, though bivariate analysis shows that the differences in rates of participation in these two programs are statistically significant.

The CYAS is one of the first studies to allow statistical comparisons by legal status groups (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). However, as with any dataset, these data have some limitations. For example, I am only able to make generational comparisons between two generational groups (1.5-generation and second generation) and do not have data beyond the second generation. Further, this data set focused mostly on youths' outcomes. As such, though calls for historical comparisons have been made (Telles and Ortiz 2008, Waters and Jiménez 2005), I use parents' educational attainment as control variables but do not have additional measures upon which to further compare youth to their parents. My dataset also does not include variables to test the racialization highlighted by Telles and Ortiz (2008) as predicting educational outcomes for Latino youth. Likewise, the data do not have measures of bilingualism and co-ethnic community strength, cited by Portes, Rumbaut, and Zhou as predictors of dissonant/ consonant/ selective acculturation (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Rumbaut 2006, Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008, Zhou and Bankston 1998). As such, I cannot directly test the validity of the segmented assimilation hypothesis for this group of youth. However, I am able to do what has been largely absent from studies of segmented assimilation: comparisons between generational and legal status groups. Finally, it's important to point out that this data, collected from young adults in California just as the Great Recession appeared to be abating, may reflect a specific historical moment, and therefore may not present as optimistic a snap-shot as previous studies of the children of immigrants conducted in other regions (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008). Yet this historic moment has tremendous implications

for the long-term mobility of young adults in the Golden State (Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Though California presents a specific racial context for Latinos (who share similar portions of the population as whites), and Latino immigrants in particular (who are more numerous here than in any other place in the country, though their numbers are growing elsewhere), California is known to be a bellwether state—in particular for how it treats immigrants, both legally and socially. As such, data that can account for immigrant legal status in predictors of integration could provide a critical context for the rest of the nation.

Findings

I begin my analysis with a description of the sample population, including both dependent and independent variables. I then turn to the results of logistic and ordered logistic regression models of dependent variables in order to analyze the educational pathways and aspirations of 1.5-generation and second generation Latino young adults.²²

Descriptive Statistics.

Table 2.1 shows descriptive and bivariate statistics for both dependent and independent variables, disaggregated by immigrant generation and legal status. Both Chi-squared and Fisher's Exact tests were used to explore bivariate relationships, with particular attention to Fisher's Exact results when cells included few cases. Overall, the data tell a story of incomplete incorporation. On the one hand, Latino undocumented youth come from far lower socioeconomic backgrounds and for the most part, face much more severe educational barriers when compared

²² I completed this analysis in two ways: first, by aggregating the 1.5-generation respondents (LPR and 1.5GC) into one group, and comparing to 2G and undocumented; and second, by disaggregating LPR and 1.5GC. For the sake of parsimony, I focus mainly on the latter analysis, which provides more nuanced results, but from time to time refer to the aggregated results as a comparison.

to their 1.5GC, LPR, and 2G peers. However, on some academic indicators such as GPA, undocumented youth lag equally behind their 1.5GC peers as do 2G and LPR respondents. In addition, there are no significant differences in the reported career aspirations between the legal status and citizenship groups.

[Table 2.1 approximately here]

Ninety-six percent of the foreign-born respondents were from Mexico and Central America. 1.5GC were much more likely to come to the U.S. before the age of 13 than the LPR or undocumented groups, though differences in age of arrival between the three 1.5-generation groups are not statistically significant in bivariate testing or regression models. Still, I acknowledge that someone who came to the U.S. at a later age may face different educational experiences; however, because this dataset includes only individuals who had completed at least one year of schooling in the U.S., I group them into the 1.5-generation which distinguishes them from, say, economic migrants (Rumbaut 2004). As such, age upon arrival can also be understood as a rough indication of how many years of formal schooling were completed in the U.S.

In terms of socioeconomic background, undocumented youth are much more likely to report coming from low-income families than their 1.5GC, LPR and 2G counterparts. In addition, they are significantly less likely than their citizen and 1.5-generation documented peers to report having a parent with a high school degree ($p < .001$). Foreign-born youth in general are also more likely to come from intact families, though these numbers are relatively high for all four groups, with 2G youth most likely to report coming from single-parent households.

1.5GC youth greatly outperform the undocumented, LPR, and 2G groups in terms of reported high school grades. They are around 25% more likely to report earning B's or better in high school than undocumented and 2G peers, and 15% more likely than LPRs ($p < .01$). In terms

of high school completion, undocumented youth are about three times as likely to drop out of high school than 2G or 1.5GC youth, and about twice as likely as LPR youth ($p < .01$). Still, these numbers are generally lower than the national averages for Hispanic-origin²³ and foreign-born individuals: in 2012, 9.8% of native-born Hispanic-origin individuals and 30.7% of Hispanic foreign-born individuals, aged 18-24, were counted as high school dropouts (National Center for Education Statistics 2012). I note, however, that Hispanic foreign-born individuals include a large population of labor migrants who were not in the U.S. educational system to begin with, making them a difficult comparison group for the 1.5-generation sample I analyze herein. The frequency of dropping out in my sample was also lower than the average for the state of California: in the class of 2012, 16.2% of Hispanic-origin students dropped out, along with 23.7% of English language learners, and 16.4% of students considered “socially disadvantaged” (California Department of Education California Department of Education 2013).

CYAS Latino respondents appear to be facing the same types of academic tracking documented in previous research (Kao and Thompson 2003, Valencia, Menchaca and Donato 1991), measured by their participation in ESL and honors classes. Undocumented youth are 22-38% more likely than their documented counterparts to report being in ESL during high school ($p < .001$). This may be partially due to the slightly later age of arrival of the undocumented sample, but is also likely linked to socioeconomic status and parental educational levels (indeed, over a quarter of native-born respondents were also in ESL in high school). Undocumented and LPR youth are approximately equally less likely than 1.5GC and 2G youth to have taken honors classes during high school, though these differences are not significant in bivariate analysis, with honors participation hovering around 50% for all three groups. As mentioned above, though

²³ “Hispanic” is the term used by the U.S. Department of Education.

there is some overlap between ESL and honors course participants, the difference in participation in these two programs is statistically significant.

My findings also support previous qualitative and quantitative studies documenting severe barriers to college enrollment and completion for undocumented young adults (Abrego 2006, Gonzales 2011, Greenman and Hall 2013, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Indeed, undocumented youth are much less likely to report having enrolled in any PSE than the other groups ($p < .001$), though LPR youth were not far ahead (only 66% had enrolled in some PSE, compared to 56% of undocumented, 74% of 1.5GC and 80% of 2G). However, in spite of the severe educational barriers they face, undocumented youth were no less likely to report expecting to have a job requiring a B.A. by the age of 30, with each generational/status group hovering around 63%. It is possible that their age makes these young adults unlikely to have realistic job expectations in the first place (Kao and Thompson 2003); as we'll see later, these expectations significantly decrease with age for the sample as a whole, but immigrant generation or legal status are not statistically significant.²⁴

Educational Outcomes and Aspirations of Latino Youth by Generation and Legal Status

High School Grades

Table 2.2 presents the results of ordered logistic regression for high school GPA. Model 1 includes only the citizenship/legal status variable, with several control groups to capture each possibility for internal variation. Though linear hypothesis tests reveal significant overall differences between the four groups on the odds of having different grades, Model 1 shows that

²⁴ It could also be the case that these strikingly similar aspirations can be explained by the fact that everyone in these three groups has at least one immigrant parent and therefore carry some level of immigrant optimism into their goals and expectations. However, as I do not have data beyond the 2nd generation, testing this hypothesis is outside of the scope of this chapter.

undocumented legal status is not a significant predictor of GPA. On the other hand, 1.5GC youth have much higher odds of having better grades than any of the other three groups (though the differences between 1.5GC and LPR immigrants in Model 1 is only marginally significant at $p=.068$).

[Table 2.2 approximately here]

Model 2 adds individual and socioeconomic characteristics into the picture. As with Model 1, being a 1.5GC young adult almost triples the odds of having better grades than 2G, LPR and undocumented. Here, the strength of the coefficients are much higher when compared to 2G and undocumented than when 1.5-generation documented respondents are condensed into one category, suggesting the added value of disaggregating this group by citizenship status.

Model 2 also shows that the odds of females having better grades than males are about 46% higher, net of the other variables in the model, supporting previous findings of gender differences in educational outcomes (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006, Fuligni 1997, Kao and Tienda 1995). In line with an extensive body of sociological literature on immigrant and native minority communities, there is a severe grade penalty for low-income students (Kao and Thompson 2003, Zhou 1997). Indeed, the odds of low-income students having better grades than non-low-income students are reduced by about 40%. Finally, youth from intact families are also statistically more likely to earn higher grades in high school.

Model 3 includes all the variables from Model 2, but also brings in the two high school curriculum/tracking variables for participation in ESL and/or honors classes. As Table 2.2 shows, even with the addition of these two variables, and controlling for all the other variables, 1.5GC have higher odds of having a better GPA than any of the other groups. Females in Model 3 remain more likely to report higher grades than males ($p=<.001$). In addition, Model 3 shows

an even sharper GPA penalty for low-income respondents, whose odds of having higher grades than non-low-income students are 45% lower. Finally, being from an intact family continues to predict academic performance (though less strongly than in the previous model), with students coming from two-parent families more likely to get higher grades than students from single-parent families.

As Table 2.2 shows, the effect of high school curriculum in Model 3 is quite profound. Though ESL has no effect on GPA, the odds are almost six times as high that students enrolled in honors courses will report higher grades than non-honors students ($p < .001$). Because the CYAS GPA variable is ordered and not continuous, this dramatic effect of honors coursework cannot be explained simply by the fact that honors and Advanced Placement (AP) courses carry with them a numerical increase in GPA. A more likely explanation is that honors classes expose students to mentorship and “really important others” who can provide guidance and motivation which may transfer into higher grades (Fernández-Kelly 2008, Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008, Smith 2008). It is also possible that honors courses provide more structured class environments, where students are surrounded by higher achieving peers, and therefore are more motivated to do better (Ansalone 2001, Fuligni 1997, Ream and Rumberger 2008), but testing this hypothesis is outside the scope of my data.

[Figure 2.1 approximately here]

To illustrate the findings in Model 3, Figure 2.1 shows a series of predicted probabilities of earning “mostly C’s or D’s”, “mostly B’s or C’s”, or “mostly A’s or B’s,” disaggregated by generation/legal status group. The age variable was set at its mean, and the remaining variables—all dummies—are at their observed values.²⁵ As Figure 2.1 shows, undocumented and

²⁵ I was also interested in stratifying my data by those whose grades would indicate better chances of eventual admission to a University of California (UC) or California State University (CSU) campus. As CSU’s are less

2G young adults' high school grades remain strikingly similar (which likely explains their lack of statistical significance in the model). However, 1.5-generation young adults are more likely to be in the highest grade category than both their undocumented and 2G peers, net of the other factors in the model, with 1.5GC statistically more likely to outperform each of the other groups. This data seem to point to an immigrant advantage (Fuligni 1997, Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou and Bankston 1998), at least in terms of high school grades, but one that appears available only to those immigrants with citizenship status. Indeed, when I run an analysis without disaggregating 1.5-generation respondents, the differences in the odds of having high school grades between 1.5-gen doc and undocumented is only marginally significant ($p=.07$).²⁶

Dropping Out of High School

According to Portes and Rumbaut, dropping out of high school is the single most important predictor of downward assimilation at this stage of life (2001:252). Table 2.3 shows odds ratios from a series of nested logistic regression models of dropping out of high school for Latinos in the CYAS sample. Model 1 includes only the citizenship/legal status variable, with several control groups to capture each possibility for internal variation. Results show that undocumented youths' odds of dropping out of high school are more than three times that of 2G Latinos ($p<.01$), while LPR youth's odds of dropping out are 2.32 times as high as for 2G youth,

competitive than UC's, I focused on the minimum GPA necessary to apply to a CSU. According to the CSU Admissions Handbook for 2014-2015, the minimum GPA for CSU admissions without submitting additional testing results is 3.0, which roughly (albeit imperfectly) translates into the CYAS category of B's or better. I therefore created a dichotomous variable for B's or better and ran a series of logistic regression models to determine predictors of these higher grades. My results align rather closely with the ordered logistic regression results for the entire GPA variable. For this reason, and for the sake of parsimony, I do not describe these results here.

²⁶ Some of the variation between 1.5-generation groups could be explained by their legal status upon arrival. For example, in-depth interviews with LPR youth (not analyzed here) revealed that many had arrived to the U.S. without legal status, but had adjusted status by high school. However, I do not have data on context of entry for the survey sample; therefore, testing this hypothesis is outside of the scope of this chapter, though an important consideration for future research.

yet at only marginally significant levels ($p=.055$). Interestingly, 1.5GC, though reporting higher overall grades than their peers, are more likely than 2G to drop out of high school, though still less likely than undocumented or LPR youth (results n.s.). Overall, with no other control variables, these results suggest a penalty for foreign-born respondents in terms of high school completion, with the strongest and most severe penalty for undocumented immigrants.

[Table 2.3 approximately here]

Model 2 brings individual and socioeconomic characteristics into the equation. As we see, the effect of undocumented status is reduced, though undocumented youth's odds of dropping out are still almost three times higher than those of the 2G. LPR's odds of dropping out are more than twice as high as for 2G, though about 30% lower than for undocumented youth (though the results are again only marginally significant at $p=.068$). Additionally, Model 2 shows that having a parent with a high school degree decreases the odds of dropping out of high school by 53%, net of the other variables.

Model 3 includes all the variables from Model 2, but adds in the two high school curriculum/tracking variables for ESL and honors participation. Again, undocumented immigration status remains a significant predictor of dropping out, net of the other variables. Indeed, Model 3 shows that undocumented youth remain more than twice as likely to drop out of high school than their 2G counterparts. In addition, the previously observed marginal significance of LPR status disappears in this model. Overall, linear hypothesis tests reveal that the overall differences among the four status variables are not significant in Model 3, as they are in Model 1 and 2.

Having a parent with a high school degree remains significant in Model 3, reducing the odds of dropping out of high school by 48%. I note that low-income status is not statistically

significantly in any of the Models, which may be explained by the high percentage of low-income students in the sample. On the other hand, the effect of high school curriculum in Model 3 is large and significant. Participation in honors courses reduces the odds of dropping out by a full 88% ($p < .001$). As with high school grades, this may be because honors classes expose students to more engaged teachers, ambitious peers, and increased information about college, all of which may make them less likely to drop out. It is also possible that honors students are also a more highly motivated group and therefore are less likely to drop out, regardless of personal obstacles, though school quality is surely a stronger predictor of tracking into honors courses than personal background (Kao and Thompson 2003).²⁷ On the other hand, ESL participation is also predictor of dropping out of high school in this model. Indeed, the odds of dropping out almost double for those who reported taking ESL classes in high school. This may be because ESL students are not exposed to the same resources, support, and peer networks that higher tracked students might receive (Kao and Thompson 2003, Valencia, Menchaca and Donato 1991).

Likelihood-ratio tests reveal that Model 3 is the best fit for the data. Overall, it shows that legal status is an important predictor of dropping out of high school, with odds of dropping out more than double for undocumented youth than for 2G youth. These findings may partially compliment Greeman and Hall's conclusions from SIPP data that both authorized and unauthorized 14-18 year old Mexican and Central American immigrants face barriers to high school completion in comparison to native-born peers (Greenman and Hall 2013:1486). While I find that undocumented youth are statistically less likely to complete high school than 2G youth, I don't observe statistically significant differences between documented and undocumented youth (though non-significant results reveal that undocumented youth are still much more likely

²⁷ My data do not include information about the location or quality of respondents' schools.

to drop out). Consistent with Greenman and Hall's findings, my models also show that SES background matters, with parental education significantly reducing the odds of dropping out of high school by 45%.

Finally, high school tracking is very important in this model, with honors students' odds of dropping out almost 90% lower than those who are not in honors, controlling for other factors. On the other side of the spectrum, ESL students are almost twice as likely to drop out as those who were not in ESL.

Post-Secondary Enrollment

Table 2.4 shows odds ratios from logistic regression analysis of enrolling in PSE for respondents who were not still in high school and who had graduated (or would have graduated, in the case of dropouts) before the class of 2011. As with the preceding findings, Model 1 includes only the independent variable for legal and citizenship status, without any other control variables. We can see here that being foreign-born reduces the odds of post-secondary enrollment, though in different amounts and to varying degrees of significance depending on legal and citizenship status. The odds of enrolling in PSE are almost 70% lower for undocumented youth than for 2G youth ($p < .001$). The odds of LPR youth enrolling in PSE are also lower than for 2G youth, but less so (52%), and with slightly less predictive power ($p = < .05$). Though 1.5GC are slightly less likely than 2G to enroll in PSE (n.s.), their odds of PSE enrollment are more than twice as high as for undocumented youth (marginally significant at $p = < .076$, though this effect disappears in Models 2 and 3).

[Table 2.4 approximately here]

Model 2 introduces additional individual and socioeconomic background variables into the model. As Table 2.4 shows, even with the introduction of these control variables,

undocumented and LPR youth remain statistically less likely to enroll in PSE than 2G youth. Indeed, the odds of enrolling in PSE are about 66% lower for undocumented youth, and about 58% lower for LPR youth, than for 2G youth. In addition, males' odds of enrolling in PSE are 45% lower than females', consistent with overall patterns of PSE enrollment and completion documented in other research on both immigrants and native-born students alike (Buchmann, DiPrete and McDaniel 2008, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Yet these findings also contradict other research that has found that Mexican-origin females have fewer years of education and are less likely to enroll in college than males (Kao and Thompson 2003, Telles and Ortiz 2008). Notably, Model 2 also reveals that parents' educational status has no significant impacts on likelihood of PSE enrollment.

Model 3 includes all the variables found in Model 2, but introduces the two variables for tracking/curriculum: participation in honors and ESL. As Table 2.4 shows, the impacts of citizenship and legal status remain significant with the inclusion of these variables, though their predictive power is reduced. The odds of enrolling in PSE are about half for both undocumented and LPR youth, as compared to the 2G (55% and 51% less, respectively). However, the effect of LPR status is just marginally significant ($p=.057$), yet this may be due to small sample sizes.²⁸ This finding is inconsistent with Terriquez's findings from CYAS data that the odds of 2-year and 4-year college enrollment are not impacted by legal status, yet could be explained by Terriquez's inclusion of third+ generation youth in her sample, her aggregation of 1.5-generation documented immigrants, or by the fact that my PSE variable includes vocational training as PSE, where hers excludes it (Forthcoming 2014). My results also partially compliment Greenman and Hall's findings that documented Mexican and Central American youth were 40% more likely

²⁸ As I mention above, it is also possible that many LPR respondents entered the U.S. as undocumented immigrants, creating an educational penalty earlier in life that cannot be measured with this data.

than undocumented youth to enroll in PSE (2013). Though 1.5GC in my sample have almost 50% higher odds of PSE enrollment, LPR youth's odds of PSE enrollment are only about 8% higher than for undocumented youth, and neither finding is statistically significant. However, it is possible that differences by legal status may be obscured by my small sample size. In any case, it appears that foreign-born advantage by documentation status may again be exclusive to naturalized citizens.

As with Model 2, Model 3 shows that being male continues to reduce the odds of PSE enrollment by nearly half, and with approximately the same predictive power, again supporting previous findings of gender differences in educational outcomes (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006, Fuligni 1997, Kao and Tienda 1995). In addition, educational trajectories are extremely significant in this model. My hypothesis was that ESL participation would predict lower likelihood of PSE enrollment, as an indicator of a tracking system that forces immigrant students into less competitive classes. On the other hand, I hypothesized that honors participation would increase PSE enrollment. My findings appear to confirm these hypotheses. The odds of enrolling in PSE drop by almost 60% for ESL participants ($p < .001$). On the other hand, honors participation increases the odds of enrollment by almost 470% ($p < .001$). As with my previous findings, this may be because honors classes increase exposure to supportive teachers and ambitious or like-minded peers (Ream and Rumberger 2008), and college-specific resources. It may also be because honors courses can boost GPA, making college admissions slightly more accessible.

Educational Aspirations

Table 2.5 shows logistic regression models for the odds of expecting to have a job requiring a B.A. degree by the age of 30, which I include as a proxy for educational aspirations.

As we can see, generational, citizenship, and legal status are not significant indicators of aspirations across any of the three models.²⁹ Indeed, linear hypothesis tests of the three models do not reveal significant overall differences between the generational/legal status groups on the odds of expecting a job requiring a B.A. by the age of 30. This finding is noteworthy, given how distinct educational trajectories can be across immigrant status groups (see Tables 2.3 and 2.4 in particular). Of course, these results align with other research showing that adolescents' aspirations are high overall—much higher than their education or socioeconomic levels would predict (Kao and Tienda 1998). However, from an immigrant integration perspective, this finding is striking for what it tells us about 1.5-generation immigrants and their acculturation patterns: they share the same aspirational patterns as native-born Latinos (Gleeson and Gonzales 2012).

[Table 2.5 approximately here]

So what factors influence aspiration levels if they are not influenced by immigrant generation or legal status? Model 2 in Table 2.5 shows that age is an important predictor of aspirations: indeed, as age increases, the odds of aspiring to a job requiring a B.A. decrease significantly ($p < .001$). This may be partially explained by the fact that as CYAS respondents approach 26 years old (the older cutoff for survey participation), they are simply closer to 30 and further from their last educational experience, thus giving them more realistic educational expectations. Model 2 also shows that coming from an intact family increases the odds of expecting a job requiring a B.A. by the age of 30 by about 50%.

Model 3 includes all the variables in Model 2, and adds four additional educational variables. The first is the dummy variable for high school dropout. This model also includes the

²⁹ For the sake of parsimony, in Table 2.5, I include only 2G as the reference category since none of the results are even marginally statistically significant using other groups as the reference category.

proxy variables for high school tracking: honors and ESL participation. Finally, the model includes a dummy variable for PSE enrollment.³⁰ As Table 2.5 reveals, age remains highly significant in Model 3, indicating a steady decrease in aspirational levels as respondents get older. Figure 2.2 illustrates not only how drastic this decline is, but also how the slope of the decline is approximately equal across generational/legal status groups.

[Figure 2.2 approximately here]

Coming from an intact family also significantly increases the odds of expecting a B.A. by the age of 30. In terms of educational trajectory, honors program participation remains highly powerful and highly significant, more than doubling the odds of high educational aspirations ($p < .001$). ESL participation decreases these odds by around 30%, though it is only marginally significant ($p = .071$). Finally, respondents who reported some PSE enrollment were about 60% more likely to report expecting a job requiring a B.A. by 30 than those who had not enrolled in PSE.³¹

Overall, Table 2.5 reveals that educational aspirations are not predicted by generational or legal status; instead, variation is consistent across these groups. On the other hand, aspirations are most strongly affected by age (declining with each year—see Figure 2.2), household dynamics (coming from an intact family), participation in honors classes, and PSE enrollment.

Discussion and Conclusions

The sociological literature on immigrant integration is broad and longstanding, as is the literature on educational stratification. These bodies of literature have long demonstrated that

³⁰ With the addition of the PSE variable, all current high school students are dropped from Model 3, which reduces the sample size, thus making likelihood-ratio tests impossible. I therefore include BIC values to demonstrate the added predictive power of Model 3 over Models 1 and 2.

³¹ Again, by virtue of including the PSE variable, Model 3 excludes current high school students.

educational attainment and aspirations are important indicators of integration and social mobility for the children of immigrants. Yet most studies of immigrant integration are limited by an oversimplification of generational or ethnic/racial groups that are unable to disaggregate by immigrant generation or immigrant legal status. Those surveys that do disaggregate by generational status often lump 1.5-generation documented immigrants into one group, without accounting for potentially important differences in citizenship status. Using survey data from native-born U.S. citizens, 1.5-generation naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, and undocumented Latino young adults in California, I explore how legal and generational status impacts educational pathways and aspirations for the children of immigrants. I compare across generational, citizenship, and status groups, specifically analyzing the predictors of high school grades, dropping out of high school, post-secondary enrollment, and career aspirations.

My results tell a story of undocumented disadvantage in relation to citizen peers, especially 2G peers. However, my data also reveal that LPR young adults face similar disadvantage, suggesting that legal status *and* U.S. citizenship are both important factors in predicting educational outcomes for the children of immigrants in California. Indeed, I find evidence that undocumented status significantly increases the odds of dropping out of high school. These findings partially compliment Greeman and Hall's conclusions from SIPP data that both authorized and unauthorized 14-18 year old Mexican and Central American immigrants face barriers to high school completion in comparison to native-born peers (Greenman and Hall 2013:1486). While I find that undocumented youth are statistically less likely to complete high school than 2G youth, I don't observe statistically significant differences between documented and undocumented youth (though non-significant results reveal that undocumented youth are still much more likely to drop out). Consistent with Greenman and Hall's findings, my models also

show that SES background matters, with parental education significantly reducing the odds of dropping out of high school by nearly half. I also find that documentation status reduces the odds of enrolling in post-secondary education (PSE), even after controlling for SES and school context. Yet LPR respondents are almost equally unlikely to enroll in PSE as undocumented youth, compared to their citizen counterparts. Non-significant findings reveal that 1.5GC are more likely to enroll in PSE, though less so than 2G. Because PSE completion is such an important predictor of later mobility, this non-citizen disadvantage is quite alarming. However, as I note above, it is possible that some LPR respondents are penalized for earlier unauthorized legal status or parents' undocumented status, though I cannot test this with my data.

In terms of high school GPA, we observe significant differences across the legal status and citizenship groups, but one that appears to most significantly benefit 1.5GC youth. Indeed, 1.5GC immigrants are statistically more likely to have higher grades than all three other groups (see Figure 2.1). At least for this sample, then, we would more accurately call this a *citizenship* advantage than an immigrant advantage. Finally, I find no evidence of significant overall differences between generational and status groups in terms of overall educational aspirations. Instead, it appears that SES background, combined with placement within the educational tracking system become a critical indicator of better educational outcomes and higher aspirations across generational and legal status groups.

To my knowledge, the present study is one of only a handful of quantitative studies of the impacts of legal status on educational outcomes (Greenman and Hall 2013, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). Several insightful qualitative studies of undocumented youth provide a useful context for the mechanisms through which undocumented youth experience simultaneous inclusion and exclusion (Abrego 2006, Gonzales 2011), but these studies are unable to

statistically isolate these impacts. In this vacuum of quantitative research, therefore, my initial findings that undocumented young adults exhibit higher odds of dropping out of high school, and that both undocumented *and* LPR respondents shower lower odds of PSE enrollment, are very troubling. My finding that legal status predicts the odds of dropping out of high school differ from results by Greenman and Hall who found that undocumented youth in their sample did not drop out of school at significantly different rates from their documented counterparts, though they were much more likely than respondents in my sample to drop out in the first place (2013). This may be due to sampling, as Greenman and Hall's sample likely includes a portion of economic migrants.

My results align with Greenman and Hall's assessment that legal status significantly predicts college enrollment, yet my findings complicate the notion of undocumented disadvantage by showing that LPR youth are also penalized in PSE enrollment. My findings also differ somewhat from Terriquez's findings, who found that undocumented immigrants are less likely to enroll in PSE than their 2G peers, though not at statistically significant levels, before or after controlling for SES background (Forthcoming 2014). However, it's possible that with the introduction of the 3+ generation, as in Terriquez's study, the significance of legal and citizenship status may lessen.

That there are no significant differences in educational aspirations by legal status is striking and may contradict previous literature that theorizes that the penalties for "illegality" are experienced much more distinctly as undocumented youth age into the majority (Abrego 2006, Gonzales 2011, Gonzales and Chavez 2012). This finding should not be read to suggest that undocumented youth do not face severe barriers to college and labor force participation—this has been well documented by other scholars (Abrego 2006, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

However, it does suggest that the aspirations acquired in K-12 education fade over time—but fade *equally* across generational groups. It may also be possible that these generally high educational outcomes can be explained by the fact that all respondents in my sample have immigrant parents. As such, there may be something particular about the immigrant optimism carried over from parents (Kao and Tienda 1995) that drives these findings. Further research across multiple generations would help to explicate these hypotheses. Relatedly, research that explores, for example, subjective understandings of the values and meanings of education among members of these groups would also be insightful. Indeed, as Kao and Thompson astutely point out:

Immigrant and minority families may work differently in translating aspirations into achievement and attainment. Although parental SES accounts for a substantial portion of the racial and ethnic gaps in achievement and attainment, there is clearly a place for explanations that do not rely solely on social class. Finally, researchers might consider how immigrants and minority families and youth contribute to our knowledge of how individuals succeed in light of great obstacles. Most of our studies consider minority and immigrant status as liabilities to overcome, but it is likely that there are benefits to minority and immigrant group membership (Kao and Thompson 2003:436).

Additional study of the ways that immigrant parents contribute to the success of their undocumented children, or how undocumented youth mobilize their resources in spite of great odds, would provide valuable theoretical and empirical contributions (Abrego 2008, Gonzales 2008, Patler n.d., Seif 2011, Terriquez 2011).

My findings also add a set of control variables absent in previous studies of legal status and educational outcomes: participation in high school curriculum. In particular, as we see in Tables 2.2-2.5, enrollment in honors courses significantly improves educational outcomes and aspirations for youth. Indeed, this variable remains one of the most powerful in any of the models, often trumping the power of SES altogether. This could be because honors classes

increase exposure to supportive teachers, ambitious peers, and college-specific resources that motivate students and keep them on track. As far as PSE enrollment and aspirations, honors courses can boost GPA, making college admissions slightly more accessible. In any case, further research could expose some of the processes through which students in honors courses, *in spite of legal or generational status*, are so much more likely to enroll in college. On the other hand, ESL participation positively predicts dropping out and negatively predicts PSE enrollment. This may be due to the fact that language becomes a line upon which educational segregation persists (Ansalone 2001, Valencia, Menchaca and Donato 1991), isolating Spanish speakers—and Latino students in general—from the type of supportive teachers and college-specific resources available to students in higher tracks.³²

These findings are striking for a state like California which has had an instate tuition policy—Assembly Bill 540—since 2001. However, my results may suggest that instate tuition policies, though critically important in creating a more pro-immigrant policy atmosphere, do not go far enough in addressing the financial barriers faced by undocumented families which, in spite of lower tuition rates, still keep college out of reach for many young people (Terriquez and Patler 2012, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). I note, however, that the data analyzed herein were collected in 2011, just before the passage of the California Dream Act, a series of two bills that open up many sources of financial aid to undocumented students in the Golden State. It therefore remains to be seen whether undocumented youth will now be more likely to enroll in college.

³² As I explain above, I do not mean to suggest here that supportive ESL teachers do not exist or that these classes cannot be empowering for students. Nor am I suggesting that there is something about ESL students that makes them less motivated or smart. On the contrary, existing research shows that they share the same educational initiative as their English-speaking counterparts. However, when understood as part of a system of academic tracking, ESL classes have been found to keep students in remedial tracks and away from college-specific resources available to students in other tracks.

In any case, the dropout rate for undocumented students is still very high, and the college enrollment rate very low for undocumented youth. Additional research into the reasons behind these findings would be crucial and important additions to the literature. Indeed, the Immigration Policy Center estimates that only five to ten percent of undocumented high school graduates go on to college:

...not because they don't want to, but because they cannot afford it or because some schools will not allow them to enroll...even worse, there is often little incentive for them to finish high school, leading to high dropout rates, and the potential for them to become involved in gangs and illegal activities (Immigration Policy Center 2010) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) (Immigration Policy Center) .

Other studies confirm the finding that perceived barriers to college can affect future plans among undocumented youth (McWhirter, Ramos and Medina 2013). Even for the select group who are able to access higher education, the future is far from certain (Abrego 2011, Gleeson and Gonzales 2012, Gonzales 2011, Gonzales and Chavez 2012, Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014). If legal status is a significant predictor of educational outcomes, then it stands to reason that allowing undocumented youth the opportunity to shift from a state of "illegality" to full political participation could have tremendous implications for their educational trajectories, which in turn could influence their communities for generations to come. However, with LPR students also showing practically equally low rates of PSE enrollment, it is clear that legal status alone will not be enough. Access to *citizenship* from an early age will be critical to the success of foreign-born students across the board. Without additional options for full access to citizenship, these findings support the claims of existing research that this group of young adults may be poised for working class stagnation and the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Bean et al. 2011, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics for Latino Young Adults by Immigrant Generation & Citizenship Status (Ages 18-26)

| | <u>2G</u> | <u>1.5GC</u> | <u>LPR</u> | <u>Undoc.</u> | <u>Comparison By Status</u> |
|--|-----------|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Individual Characteristics | | | | | |
| Male | 47% | 50% | 38% | 45% | |
| Age | 20.8 | 21.5 | 21.8 | 20.8 | |
| Age of arrival to the U.S. | | | | | |
| 5 or younger | - | 54% | 58% | 45% | |
| 6-12 years old | - | 39% | 27% | 38% | |
| 13 years or older | - | 7% | 15% | 18% | |
| Country of Origin | | | | | |
| Mexico | - | 78% | 75% | 13% | |
| Central America | - | 13% | 23% | 13% | |
| Socioeconomic & Household Characteristics | | | | | |
| Low-Income background | 71% | 77% | 72% | 89% | * |
| Parent(s) has a HS degree or higher | 65% | 55% | 49% | 41% | *** |
| Two-parent household | 74% | 82% | 85% | 79% | |
| Educational Trajectory & Aspirations | | | | | |
| HS Grades: B's or better | 46% | 70% | 55% | 45% | ** |
| HS Drop-out | 6% | 7% | 13% | 18% | ** |
| HS Curriculum/tracking | | | | | |
| Honors/AP/IB | 51% | 55% | 43% | 45% | |
| ESL | 26% | 30% | 42% | 64% | *** |
| At least some PSE enrollment+ | 80% | 74% | 66% | 56% | *** |
| 30 Expects job requiring 4-year degree by age | 63% | 66% | 66% | 61% | |
| Sample Size | 618 | 56 | 53 | 56 | 783 |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011 (N=783). Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (Chi-squared and Fisher's Exact tests)

+PSE enrollment includes vocational/technical programs, community college, 4-year universities, and graduate programs. Respondents who graduated in 2011 are excluded (N=597).

Table 2.3. Odds Ratios from Ordered Logistic Regression Analysis of High School Grades among Latinos (Ages 18-26), California Young Adult Study (CYAS), N=779

| | <u>Model 1</u> | | <u>Model 2</u> | | <u>Model 3</u> | |
|---|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| Legal/Generational Status+ | | | | | | |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. 2nd generation) | 2.49 | *** | 2.71 | *** | 2.55 | *** |
| | (.66) | | (.74) | | (.70) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. 2nd generation) | 1.29 | | 1.26 | | 1.47 | |
| | (.34) | | (.34) | | (.41) | |
| Undocumented (ref. 2nd generation) | .91 | | .97 | | 1.10 | |
| | (.23) | | (.24) | | (.29) | |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. Undocumented) | 2.73 | ** | 2.80 | ** | 2.32 | * |
| | (.95) | | (.99) | | (.84) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. Undocumented) | 1.42 | | 1.30 | | 1.34 | |
| | (.49) | | (.46) | | (.48) | |
| 1.5 Generation LPR (ref. 1.5-Gen citizen) | .52 | ++ | .46 | * | .58 | * |
| | (.19) | | (.17) | | (.21) | |
| Individual & Socioeconomic Characteristics | | | | | | |
| Male | | | .56 | *** | .59 | *** |
| | | | (.07) | | (.08) | |
| Age | | | .95 | ++ | .97 | |
| | | | (.03) | | (.03) | |
| Low-Income background | | | .61 | *** | .55 | *** |
| | | | (.09) | | (.09) | |
| Parent(s) has a HS degree or higher | | | 1.06 | | .92 | |
| | | | (.15) | | (.13) | |
| Two-parent household | | | 1.52 | ** | 1.40 | * |
| | | | (.23) | | (.22) | |
| High School Curriculum | | | | | | |
| Honors/AP/IB | | | | | 5.74 | *** |
| | | | | | (.84) | |
| ESL | | | | | .82 | |
| | | | | | (.12) | |
| BIC | 2533.5 | | 2527.0 | | 2381.0 | |

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses.

++p< .10; *p< .05; **p< .01; ***p< .001

+Linear hypothesis tests reveal significant overall differences among the four generational/legal status groups in the odds of being in a higher GPA category for Models 1-3. None of the 3 Models violate the proportional odds assumption.

Figure 2.1. Predicted Probability of High School Grades, by Citizenship/Legal Status

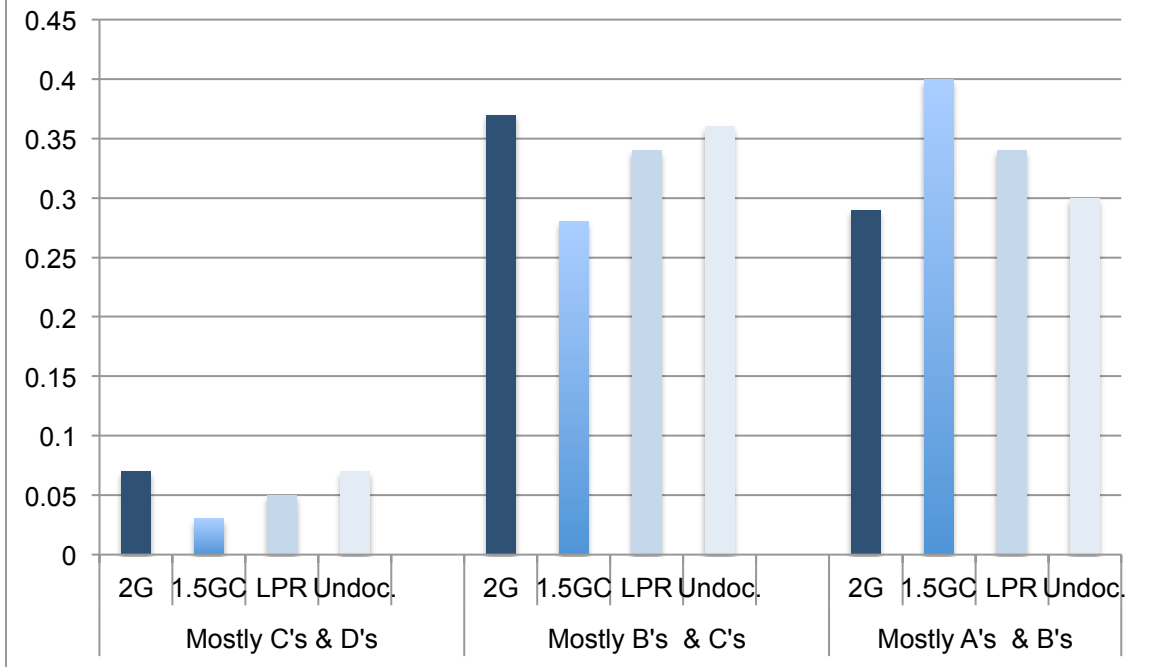


Table 2.3. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analysis of Dropping Out of High School among Latinos (Ages 18-26)

| | <u>Model 1</u> | | <u>Model 2</u> | | <u>Model 3</u> | |
|---|----------------|----|----------------|----|----------------|-----|
| Legal/Generational Status+ | | | | | | |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. 2nd generation) | 1.17 (.64) | | 1.08 (.60) | | 1.22 (.70) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. 2nd generation) | 2.32 (1.02) | ++ | 2.28 (1.03) | ++ | 1.93 (.92) | |
| Undocumented (ref. 2nd generation) | 3.32 (1.28) | ** | 2.70 (1.07) | * | 2.32 (.99) | * |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. Undocumented) | .35 (.22) | ++ | .40 (.25) | | .52 (.35) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. Undocumented) | .70 (.37) | | .85 (.46) | | .85 (.49) | |
| 1.5 Generation LPR (ref. 1.5-Gen citizen) | 1.98 (1.30) | | 2.11 (1.41) | | 1.62 (1.12) | |
| Individual & Socioeconomic Characteristics | | | | | | |
| Male | | | 1.49 (.42) | | 1.36 (.40) | |
| Age | | | 1.01 (.06) | | 1.00 (.06) | |
| Low-Income background | | | 1.78 (.69) | | 1.70 (.68) | |
| Parent(s) has a HS degree or higher | | | .47 (.14) | ** | .52 (.15) | * |
| Two-parent household | | | .74 (.23) | | .76 (.25) | |
| High School Curriculum | | | | | | |
| Honors/AP/IB | | | | | .12 (.05) | *** |
| ESL | | | | | 1.94 (.59) | * |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011 (N=783). Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses

++p<=.10; *p<=.05; **p<=.01; ***p<=.001

+Linear hypothesis tests reveal significant *overall* differences among the four generational/legal status groups in the odds of dropping out of HS in Models 1 and 2 only. Likelihood-ratio test of Model 1 vs. Model 2 prefer Model 2 (p=.0175); Model 2 vs. Model 3 prefers Model 3 (p=0.000)

Table 2.4. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analysis of Post-Secondary Enrollment among Latinos (Ages 18-26)

| | <u>Model 1</u> | | <u>Model 2</u> | | <u>Model 3</u> | |
|---|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| Legal/Generational Status+ | | | | | | |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. 2nd generation) | .71 (.25) | | .68 (.25) | | .66 (.25) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. 2nd generation) | .48 (.16) | * | .42 (.15) | * | .49 (.18) | ++ |
| Undocumented (ref. 2nd generation) | .32 (.10) | *** | .34 (.11) | *** | .45 (.16) | * |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen (ref. Undocumented) | 2.24 (1.02) | ++ | 2.02 (.94) | | 1.47 (.73) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR (ref. Undocumented) | 1.53 (.68) | | 1.24 (.56) | | 1.08 (.53) | |
| 1.5 Generation LPR (ref. 1.5-Gen citizen) | .68 (.32) | | .61 (.29) | | .74 (.37) | |
| Individual & Socioeconomic Characteristics | | | | | | |
| Male | | | .56 (.11) | ** | .55 (.11) | ** |
| Age | | | 1.05 (.04) | | 1.07 (.05) | |
| Low-Income background | | | .67 (.16) | ++ | .74 (.18) | |
| Parent(s) has a HS degree or higher | | | 1.16 (.23) | | .96 (.20) | |
| Two-parent household | | | 1.34 (.29) | | 1.33 (.31) | |
| High School Curriculum | | | | | | |
| Honors/AP/IB | | | | | 4.67 (1.04) | *** |
| ESL | | | | | .41 (.09) | *** |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011 (N=658). Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Models exclude respondents who graduated high school in 2011.

++p<=.10; *p<=.05; **p<=.01; ***p<=.001

+Linear hypothesis tests reveal significant overall differences among the four generational/legal status groups in the odds of PSE Enrollment in Models 1-3. Likelihood-ratio test of Model 1 vs. Model 2 prefer Model 2 (p=.0094); Model 2 vs. Model 3 prefers Model 3 (p=0.000)

Table 2.5. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analysis of Expectations of Having a Job Requiring a B.A. by the Age of 30, among Latinos (Ages 18-26)

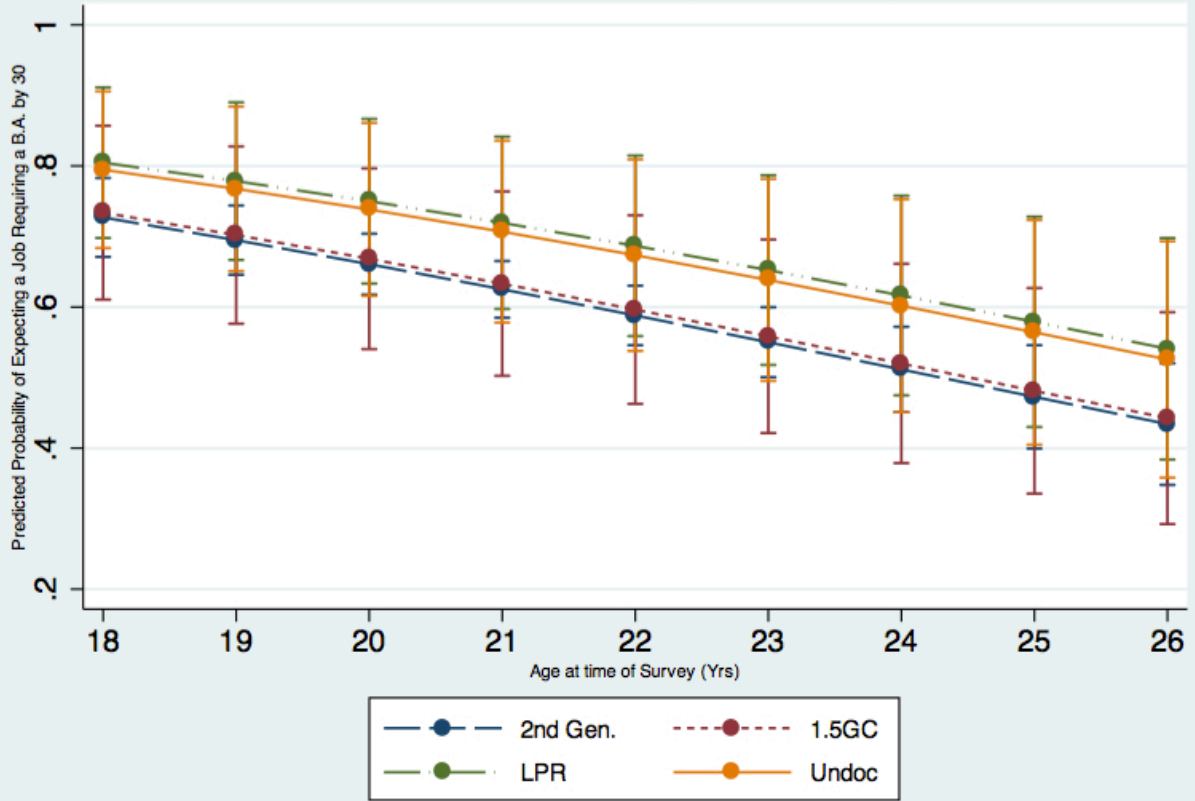
| | <u>Model 1</u> | <u>Model 2</u> | <u>Model 3</u> | |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----|
| Legal/Generational Status (ref. 2nd generation)+ | | | | |
| 1.5-Generation Citizen | 1.15 (.34) | 1.27 (.38) | 1.04 (.35) | |
| 1.5-Generation LPR | 1.14 (.35) | 1.24 (.39) | 1.61 (.57) | |
| Undocumented | .91 (.26) | .91 (.27) | 1.51 (.55) | |
| Individual & Socioeconomic Characteristics | | | | |
| Male | | .80 (.12) | .84 (.15) | |
| Age | | .86 (.03) | .84 (.03) | *** |
| Low-Income background | | .87 (.16) | .94 (.19) | |
| Parent(s) has a HS degree or higher | | 1.03 (.17) | .86 (.16) | |
| Two-parent household | | 1.50 (.26) | 1.59 (.19) | * |
| Educational Trajectory | | | | |
| HS Drop-out | | | .59 (.19) | |
| HS Curriculum/Tracking | | | | |
| Honors/AP/IB | | | 2.38 (.43) | *** |
| ESL | | | .69 (.14) | ++ |
| Post-secondary enrollment | | | 1.59 (.36) | * |
| BIC | 1056.2 | 1058.4 | 880.7 | |
| Sample Size | 783 | 783 | 664 | |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011 (N=783). Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses

++p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

+Linear hypothesis tests for Models 1-3 do not reveal significant overall differences among the four generational/legal status groups in the odds of expecting a job requiring a B.A. by the age of 30.

Figure 2.2. Predicted Prob. of Educational Aspirations, by Age & Citizenship/Legal Status (w/ 95% CI)



CHAPTER THREE

“Illegality” in Everyday Life: Social Networks, Institutional Participation, and Identity Formation among Undocumented Immigrant Young Adults

Expanded Abstract

Literature on immigrant integration posits that co-ethnic social networks can act as protective mechanisms for the children of immigrants, yet other literature argues that legal status can constrain the spread of social capital in immigrants’ social networks. Yet these perspectives do not fully address the ways in which legal status impacts how young undocumented immigrants build community and participate in institutions such as schools and community organizations. Drawing from survey and in-depth interview data, I compare a random sample of undocumented young adults with individuals affiliated with undocumented student organizations, analyzing their decisions to reveal or conceal their status to peers and school personnel throughout young adulthood. Regression analysis of survey data from participants of undocumented student organizations (“Dreamers”) shows that feeling the need to hide status from high school personnel is predicted region of origin and childhood political context (growing up pre- and post- instate tuition policy in California). Yet, hiding status from high school peers is influenced by socioeconomic background only. As Dreamers approach college, hiding status is influenced by their age upon arrival (with older arrivals more likely to hide status), socioeconomic background, and past experiences concealing status. Interview data expand on these findings, revealing that feeling the need to hide legal status constrains the everyday social network formation of undocumented young adults in both samples, though in different ways, depending not just on organizational participation but also on the manner of arrival to the U.S. and on household dynamics. In addition, my study shows that for undocumented youth, knowing other undocumented immigrants becomes an important resource for undocumented youth. These findings expose some of the ways the immigration policies intrude into the lives of undocumented immigrants, with implications for their incorporation.

This chapter seeks to explain how “illegality” (De Genova 2013, De Genova 2002, Gonzales 2011, Jefferies 2014, Sigona 2012, Willen 2007) impacts the everyday experiences of undocumented immigrant young adults as they transition through adolescence and into adulthood. It interrogates how legal status permeates the lives of undocumented youth, impacting their decisions to reveal and conceal their status, with implications for the ways in which they form social networks and participate in their communities, and for their overall social and economic mobility.

Social scientists have begun to explain the many ways in which “illegality” impacts the experiences of undocumented immigrant youth. Zhou and co-authors posit that “legal status upon migration is perhaps the most powerful structural difference that separate[s] [immigrants’] mobility paths from the outset” (Zhou et al. 2008:51). Scholars have shown that immigration laws and policies targeting undocumented communities create so much fear and stigma as to alter the everyday experiences of entire undocumented families and communities (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). Undocumented youth struggle to fit in, to grapple with their identities, and to manage the stigma attached to their legal status—and that of their parents and families. Their potentially dangerous formal identity influences their daily lived experiences, from how they form social and peer networks, the type of support they expect and seek in school, and their civic engagement and organizational participation. Some literature has documented the positive impacts of pro-immigrant policies on the lives of undocumented youth (Abrego 2008), and the extensive agency of these youth in making claims for their rights (Seif 2011). However, much of this literature describes undocumented youths’ experiences as a “nightmare” at best and “violent” at worst (Gonzales and Chavez 2012, Menjívar and Abrego 2012).

In a variety of contexts, and on an almost daily basis, undocumented youth must decide whether to reveal or conceal their legal status to others who do not share it. They make difficult choices about whether or not to disclose their status to friends, teachers, counselors, bosses, and others. Fear of discovery keeps many undocumented youth “in the shadows,” even those who are engaged with undocumented student organizations that have received extensive media and political attention for their campaigns for the DREAM Act and to stop deportations (Nicholls 2013, Patler and Gonzales n.d.). These organizations have adopted the slogan of “undocumented and unafraid” to demonstrate a claim to continued residence and full inclusion (Olivas 2011).

However, as I will show, nearly three-quarters of undocumented youth who were affiliated with undocumented student organizations felt the need to hide their status from peers and school personnel during high school and nearly half continued to feel the need to hide status in college. Interview data supplement these findings by illustrating some of the concerns undocumented youth express about revealing their status, which in turn structures the ways they form relationships and social networks, seek out resources, and advocate for themselves.

Given the risks associated with coming out, many undocumented young adults in my sample chose not to disclose their status to peers, teachers and school personnel, often with the unintended consequence of missing out on valuable information and resources. For these youth, then, immigrant legal status is directly associated with access to resources, which can have significant consequences for social and economic mobility. However, these constraints vary based on several factors including social class, ethnic and national background, migration background, family dynamics and participation in undocumented student organizations.

Liminal legality has been theorized to interrupt the daily life, aspirations, and overall mobility of immigrant adults (Menjívar 2006, Menjívar 2008). Likewise, undocumented legal status is highly correlated with poverty and lower educational outcomes across generations (Bean et al. 2011). Additionally, authors have found that legal status can constrain the strength of social networks for undocumented adults (Menjívar 2000, Yoshikawa 2011). My data provide evidence of these findings for undocumented youth as well. However, perhaps paradoxically, I also find that knowing other undocumented immigrants is a critical resource for undocumented youth as they make their way through adulthood. Knowing others who share this formal status can help shield undocumented youth from some of the barriers they encounter; it can make them feel “safer” in their status knowing that the costs of legal status are shared by others in their

communities. It can also provide them with important weak ties as they seek out other undocumented youth who have “made it” educationally or who have access to information about jobs and other resources. As Yoshikawa (2011) has found, this effect can vary by the density of undocumented immigrants in the co-ethnic community. For example, non-Latino undocumented youth in California, who make up a much smaller portion of the undocumented population than Latinos, report greater barriers to talking about their status and seeking help or resources related to their legal status. Yet both Latinos and non-Latinos report the importance of knowing other undocumented youth (usually, but not always, co-ethnics) who act as mentors, brokers, and bridge builders.

Because undocumented youth who come from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds may be less likely to know other undocumented people, their feelings of isolation can be more pronounced, therefore making them more likely to hide their status. Indeed, I find that undocumented immigrant youth who are *not* from low-income backgrounds are significantly more likely to feel the need to hide their status from peers and school personnel, potentially limiting some of the resources available to them through schools and in their social networks. My data also show that revealing status can also be related to the proximity of the migration experience, with respondents who migrated to the US at an older age—and often under extremely challenging circumstances—expressing greater concerns about exposure and therefore greater likelihood of hiding status. Family dynamics, including caregiving responsibilities for younger siblings or children, also enhanced concerns about discussing legal status with teachers or peers. However, once again, other undocumented young people who have “made it” educationally become critical “bridges” to navigating the educational system—often more so

than teachers and counselors who undocumented youth may choose to avoid due to fear of discovery of their legal status.

My interview data also reveal that individuals who are affiliated with undocumented student organizations are more likely to site that these organizations provide a space to be open about immigration status, acting as a buffer to fear and stigma. Respondents report that being part of these organizations—which often encourage them to share their stories with other youth—is empowering and gives them a sense of helping others. However, feelings of helping others can quickly turn into feelings of obligation or responsibility to other undocumented youth who remain “in the shadows.” Likewise, organizational participation can also generate an increased salience of “illegality” in everyday life, as it becomes a constant source of discussion and activism. On the other hand, undocumented youth who were not affiliated with student organizations followed two different paths depending on their background and family contexts: some go to great lengths to conceal their status due to fear and stigma; others report that disclosure is less of a problem or that legal status has little tangible impact on their daily lives.

Background

This chapter contributes to sociological literature in several ways. First, it advances theory on immigrant incorporation by providing a case study of “illegality” as a formal status that disrupts the patterns of co-ethnic social support observed by previous research focused predominately on informal statuses such as ethnicity or national origin. Second, it extends existing literature on social networks and legal status by showing that access to other undocumented people—as opposed to limiting the spread of social capital—can also be an critical resource in the social networks of undocumented youth. Third, it extends the literature on

immigrant incorporation by looking at the ways in which variation in contexts of arrival influence social networks and institutional participation for undocumented youth in particular. Each of these related areas of study of immigrant incorporation have received extensive scholarly attention; however, more research is needed in order to capture the experiences of undocumented immigrants. Yet with an estimated undocumented immigrant population of nearly 12 million and making up nearly one-third of the U.S. foreign-born population (Passel and Cohn 2011), theories of immigrant incorporation must include undocumented immigrants. Likewise, with more than 20% of the undocumented population having entered the country as children, this issue merits examination across immigrant age cohorts.

“Illegality”, Fear, and Stigma

Using survey data analysis and in-depth interview findings, this chapter tests the extent to which undocumented youth felt the need to conceal their status from peers and school personnel in the educational context, and how this is impacted by various factors. As I show, nearly three-quarters of the sample felt the need to hide their status from peers and personnel in high school, and nearly half of respondents hid their status in college. Existing literature explores the implications of living with undocumented legal status over a prolonged amount of time. De Genova (2002) finds that “revocability of the promise of the future”—the knowledge and fear of one’s own deportability—is consistently present in the lives of the undocumented and influences their daily practices. That undocumented immigrants live in fear of deportation also impacts their life trajectories. For example, Nuñez and Heyman (2007) found that increased border enforcement “traps” and “immobilizes” undocumented immigrants. However, the authors also find that undocumented immigrants exhibit tremendous amounts of agency in avoiding

confrontation with police and other state agents in making claims in the workplace, and organizing for their rights (Delgado 1993, Milkman 2006, Patler 2010, Terriquez 2011).

Many undocumented immigrants face fear and stigma and even change the course of their daily lives to avoid detection. In her ethnographic study of undocumented Salvadorans, Coutin (2000) documents several ways in which undocumented status turns the mundane into the illicit—for example, undocumented immigrants are faced with the daily predicament of unlicensed driving, employment, and restricted social mobility. In his study of undocumented families in Boston, Jefferies shows that parents often make decisions about children’s education for fear of discovery (Jefferies 2014). Scholars have also documented the fear and stigma that parents’ legal status can create in the lives of children as they grow into adulthood, and its negative impact on developmental outcomes (Suárez-Orozco 2000, Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011, Suárez-Orozco 1998, Yoshikawa and Way 2008, Yoshikawa 2011). These authors argue that fear and stigma surrounding legal status, as well as the resulting barriers to good jobs and social capital, impede the cognitive development of children of undocumented immigrants.

Menjívar and Abrego zero in on the impacts of legal status on undocumented immigrants through case studies of undocumented Central Americans (Abrego 2011, Menjívar 2006, Menjívar and Abrego 2012). Menjívar (2006) finds that long-term living in stages of liminal legality produces uncertainty and insecurity, and limits social and kin networks. Menjívar and Abrego explore the convergence of immigration law and criminal law and the ways these laws make immigrants—both documented and undocumented—vulnerable by criminalizing their quotidian practices in a publicly sanctioned way (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). They find that “legal violence” negatively impacts immigrants in varying contexts by normalizing under the guise of “law” what might otherwise be considered inhumane policies:

In the case of immigrants in tenuous legal statuses, legal violence is rooted in the legal system that purports to protect the nation but, instead, produces spaces and the possibility for material, emotional, and psychological injurious actions that target an entire group of people with a particular set of shared social characteristics (Menjívar and Abrego 2012: 1414).

Menjívar and Abrego conclude that the exclusion caused by legal status—both real and threatened—can “thwart” immigrant integration (2012: 1414). As such, both the reality and the threat of policy implementation enforce the exclusion of the undocumented, despite their extensive embeddedness in communities.

Although most of the aforementioned studies focus on adults or older young adults, it’s reasonable to suppose that undocumented youth would be similarly affected by the constraints of their status, yet might also develop different strategies of resistance. Indeed, Abrego (2011) showed that “illegality” was experienced differently by 1st generation undocumented immigrants than by undocumented youth (the 1.5-generation): while both groups reported barriers to claims making and collective action, the 1st generation reported the salience of fear in their daily lives, while their undocumented children reported struggling more with stigma from their peers at school. These experiences greatly impact the everyday lives of undocumented youth, with implications for their incorporation. Gonzales and co-authors predict that undocumented immigration status will have detrimental impacts of the mental and emotional health of undocumented youth, and may cause some undocumented youth to retreat from their peer and social networks (Gonzales 2011, Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013).

“Illegality,” Contexts of Reception, and Social Networks

Debates have played out about whether the children of immigrants in the U.S. are following an eventual upward path of cultural and structural integration into a “mainstream,” or

whether their paths are more segmented, depending on household characteristics as well as political and institutional contexts (Alba and Nee 2003, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2006, Telles and Ortiz 2008, Waldinger, Lim and Cort 2007). I accept as a starting point that modes of incorporation (defined as parental human capital, family situation, and political and co-ethnic community contexts of reception) are important predictors of social mobility for immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Rumbaut 2006). As such, I agree that “illegality” as a legal status can and should be understood as negative context of reception, associated with hostility by both authorities and the public (Menjívar 2008, Zhou et al. 2008). Yet these premises assume all members of an ethnic community share the negative context of reception; I argue that undocumented status confers a set of disadvantages experienced distinctly by undocumented immigrants and their families. Indeed, existing literature has not fully addressed the quotidian impacts of “illegality” on undocumented immigrants—for example, how “illegality” might impact the everyday decision-making of undocumented youth. In this chapter, I explain how legal status as a formal status shapes undocumented youths’ participation in their peer and school-based social networks, measured by the extent to which they feel they need to hide their status from peers and school personnel. Analyzing differences in the contexts of reception—for example, the ways in which undocumented children arrived in the U.S., I find that undocumented youth who migrated as pre-teens or adolescents often have vivid and painful memories of that experience that keep them deeper in the shadows than some of their peers.

Supportive co-ethnic social networks are theorized to shield immigrant children from some of effects of discrimination in the U.S. context, improve educational outcomes, and contribute to overall social mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou and Kim 2006). In other

words, in mobilizing the resources of their ethnic communities, and retaining an affiliation with their immigrant identities, the children of immigrants may be able to distance themselves from the damaging effects of the U.S. racial system. As such, co-ethnic social networks become important sites of resistance and mobilization against discrimination. Yet the support available in these networks may be thwarted by legal status. Sigona interviewed undocumented immigrants in the UK and found that legal status “can and does impact social relations” in several “pervasive” ways (Sigona 2012). The fear of deportation creates a lack of trust in undocumented migrants’ lived environments, causing them to limit their social networks. Sigona finds that respondents in his sample avoid formalized support organizations and groups so that their status will not be discovered. On the other hand, Yoshikawa’s study of undocumented immigrant parents in New York showed that the barriers imposed by undocumented status were enhanced when undocumented immigrants did not live in co-ethnic communities and therefore did not have access to the weak ties provided by acquaintances and community organizations common in such communities (Yoshikawa 2011).

Educational institutions are important spaces of incorporation and network formation, yet legal status can be a barrier to accessing and excelling within such institutions. Existing literature has shown that legal status imposes tremendous barriers to planning, aspirations, and the spread of important information about educational resources (Jefferies 2014, Menjívar 2006, Menjívar 2008). For example, in Menjívar’s sample of Central American adults, legal status comes to constrain the available information about educational resources: “In this social milieu, information about higher education does not circulate easily” (Menjívar 2008:184). Menjívar concludes that immigration policies constrict adult immigrants’ educational aspirations, shaping in fundamental ways their perceptions of educational goals and potential trajectories and

achievements. Jefferies' extended ethnography of undocumented youth in the Boston area also confirm that immigrant parents make decisions about their children's education based on fear of discovery—often choosing not to enroll older, recently-arrived children in school at all (Jefferies 2014). My sample includes only youth who had participated in educational institutions (and therefore have some access to information about higher education). However, they often refrained from seeking resources due to fear of discovery.

Portes and Fernandez-Kelly underscore the importance of “really significant others” who can act as bridges to mobility in the lives of second generation immigrants (Fernández-Kelly 2008, Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008). These individuals are often teachers, counselors, or leaders of special educational programs who can provide “exceptionally good mentoring” (Smith 2008:274) or important information about higher education. Really significant others are especially important for youth whose parents may be able to offer less “cultural capital” in the form of information and strategy around pursuing educational advancement (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008). Menjívar states that the adult Central Americans in her sample often “find themselves in a vacuum of bridges that might connect them to the appropriate resources to advance themselves” (Menjívar 2008:183). The youth in my sample reporting feeling concerned about approaching teachers and counselors about educational opportunities due to their legal status. However, I also show that other “successful” undocumented youth become critically important bridges to information and resources for undocumented youth, more so than even than teachers or counselors in some cases. These findings align with Hagan's study of Mayan immigrants in Texas who applied for legalization under IRCA. Though Hagan's focus was on the extent to which the spread of social capital was constrained by employment structures, which were themselves constrained by gender, the most critical element in successfully seeking legal

status was access to information from *other undocumented immigrants* who had already gone through the process of adjusting status (Hagan 1998).

Data and Measures

Methodology

This chapter draws from original survey data and semi-structured in-depth interviews from the 2011-12 California Young Adult Study (CYAS)³³ (Terriquez and Kwon Forthcoming, Terriquez Forthcoming 2014) as well as from snowball sampled in-depth interviews with undocumented youth in Southern California. The CYAS explores the educational, employment, and civic engagement trajectories of California's diverse 18-26 year old population with the goal of identifying social inequalities and institutional resources that might ameliorate them. The CYAS included a random digit dial (RDD) phone survey, a web survey, and follow-up in-depth interviews. This chapter draws from primarily from the web survey and follow-up interviews.

RDD phone surveys were conducted between March and August 2011. Eligible respondents were between 18 and 26 years old, currently living in California, and had attended school in California before the age of 17. Each survey lasted 20-25 minutes and respondents received a \$30 gift card for participating. Respondents answered questions about their high school and postsecondary experiences (if applicable), work experiences, and background. The CYAS includes 2,200 RDD phone surveys across California of whom, 783 identified as Latino (including 618 second generation, 119 documented 1.5-generation, and 56 undocumented respondents). While the undocumented sample size is too small to generate population estimates, it does allow for statistically significant analysis (see for example Terriquez Forthcoming 2014).

³³ For more on the CYAS, please visit: <http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~vterriqu/#>

The CYAS also included an online survey of young adults (18-30 years old) who participated in undocumented student and community organizations across California in the year preceding the survey. We label these respondents “Dreamers” due to their participation in undocumented youth organizing groups affiliated with efforts to pass the DREAM Act (Nicholls 2013). The web survey included many of the questions found on the CYAS RDD phone survey, with additional questions specific to the immigrant and undocumented immigrant experience. This survey generated responses from 410 undocumented young adults. Survey responses were collected from August 2011 to January 2012 and participants were entered into drawings to win \$15 and \$30 gift cards. My analysis compares undocumented respondents from the random sample and the Dreamer sample.

This analysis also draws heavily from in-depth interviews. Nineteen interviews were completed with undocumented respondents from the CYAS RDD sample in 2011 and 2012. These interviews were conducted as part of the CYAS in-depth interview process, which generated over 175 in-depth interviews across California.³⁴ An additional 32 interviews were completed in 2010 and 2011 through a separate snowball sampling method commencing with undocumented young adults affiliated with undocumented youth organizations in Southern California. Snowball sample interviews were recruited by the author, along with a research team of immigrant student activists involved in Southern California immigrants’ rights organizations. Interviews lasted between 48 minutes to well over 2 hours. All CYAS RDD respondents received a \$30 gift card incentive; snowball sample respondents did not receive incentive payments. All interviews follow a general protocol with questions about background, high school and any postsecondary experiences (civic engagement and academic), work experiences, and

³⁴ The author conducted eighteen interviews with the undocumented RDD sample. A member of the CYAS research team conducted the final interview.

immigrant background. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, and were coded and analyzed using Dedoose.³⁵ All snowball sample respondents live in Southern California (Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, and Ventura Counties). Most RDD respondents also resided in Southern California; however, I also completed interviews with one respondent in San Jose and two in the Central Valley. This local context is important, given Southern California's high density of immigrant communities, as well as its minority-majority demographics.

Measures and Analysis

I begin by presenting descriptive statistics from undocumented RDD and Dreamer survey respondents. Though the remainder of my quantitative analysis includes only the Dreamer sample, I include the undocumented RDD sample characteristics both as a comparison and as a means to describe the in-depth interview findings presented below. Dreamer respondents directly self-identified as undocumented through questions about current legal status as well as whether they were undocumented during high school (for initial results, see Terriquez and Patler 2012). In the RDD sample, undocumented status was computed deductively from respondents who answered “no” to a two-question series: Are you a U.S. citizen? Are you a permanent resident with a green card? I acknowledge that this measure is imperfect and may include people in other liminal legal statuses such as Temporary Protected Status or student visas (Menjívar 2006). However, of the in-depth follow-up interviews completed with over a third of the undocumented sample and analyzed herein, each respondent was indeed undocumented and had been for most, if not all, of his or her time in the U.S. Though the undocumented sample size is relatively small,

³⁵ The CYAS research team transcribed and completed broad topical coding of the RDD interviews. The author later conducted a separate coding according to my research questions. Snowball sample interviews were transcribed and coded by the author, along with a team of research assistants.

as Terriquez has found, and as my results also show, it still has predictive power (Forthcoming 2014).

After presenting descriptive statistics, I proceed with logistic regression of the predictors of concealing status in the educational context, among the Dreamer sample. Court cases such as *Plyler v. Doe* have allowed undocumented 1.5-generation immigrants to access public K-12 education; therefore, much of their “learning to be ‘illegal’” tends to center around educational institutions (Gonzales 2011). I seek to explain how legal status impacts the peer and social network formation of undocumented youth and with what consequences. To begin to answer this question, I selected four dichotomous dependent variables based on questions that were asked of Dreamer survey respondents³⁶:

1. Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from school personnel (teachers, counselors, administrators)? (in high school/college)
2. Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from peers? (in high school/college)

Responses to these questions help illustrate the ways in which legal status comes to structure the everyday experiences of undocumented youth, with implications for their social network formation and access to resources.

Independent variables were selected based on their prevalence in the literature as predictors of social mobility for among the children of immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Telles and Ortiz 2008). I include individual demographic background variables including sex, age at the time of the survey and age upon arrival. I created a dichotomous variable for respondents aged 26 and older (versus everyone aged 25 or younger) at the time of the survey. This age distinction is not arbitrary: those aged 26 or above at the time of the survey (2011-2012)

³⁶ These questions were not asked of RDD respondents. However, I discussed the topic of revealing and concealing at length with in-depth interview respondents from both samples. I present in-depth interview findings below.

grew up in the era of Proposition 187 during grade school. Likewise, many had already graduated from high school when AB 540 went into effect in 2003. As has been postulated in the literature, these laws may have a positive impact on youth's perceptions of their educational opportunities (Abrego 2008, Greenman and Hall 2013), and could make them less likely to feel the need to hide their legal status.³⁷ However, even after AB 540 became law, it took years for high school teachers and guidance counselors to receive the training and information necessary to address the needs of undocumented students.

I also created a three-category variable for age upon arrival, with respondents divided between arriving in the U.S. before the age of 6 (and therefore completing all formal education in the U.S.), ages 6-12 (most of middle school and beyond in the U.S.), and 13 and over (all of high school in the U.S.). This variable allows me to test not only the level of U.S. schooling, but also whether legal status might hinder youth with potentially different memories of the migration experiences.³⁸

Though much of the literature on undocumented youth has focused on Latino-origin youth, it is possible that diverse youth experience and react to their status differently. As such, I also explore their region of origin (divided into two categories: Mexico and Central America, and Asia and the Pacific Islands).³⁹ I also include measures of socio-economic status via income background and parental educational. I operationalize low-income background by eligibility for free/reduced lunch and/or family's difficult paying bills during high school. Based on the generally low levels of parental education observed in the sample, I include a dichotomous

³⁷ In addition, A.B. 540 requires students to file an affidavit with their university stating they will make every effort to become legal residents if possible. Therefore, it is also possible that respondents' answers to questions about concealing status from college personnel may be skewed by the fact that they have had to "come out" to school officials via this affidavit.

³⁸ I do not include this variable in logistic regression results for high school as Wald tests reveal it does not add predictive power to the models.

³⁹ Additional countries of origin were omitted due to few cases in any other category.

variable for whether young adults were raised by at least one parent with a high school degree or higher versus those with no parent(s) with a high school degree.⁴⁰

After presenting descriptive statistics and results from logistic regression, I present the results from an analysis of 51 in-depth interviews. These interviews expanded on these concepts of revealing and concealing status and help explain both the reasons behind, and consequences of, hiding status. I use pseudonyms to preserve respondents' confidentiality.

Findings from Survey Data Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3.1 presents descriptive statistics comparing the undocumented RDD sample and the Dreamer sample (see also Terriquez and Patler 2012). While the entire RDD sample came from Mexico and Central America, 8% of Dreamer survey respondents were from Asia or the Pacific Islands. Dreamers came to the U.S. at slightly younger ages than their peers in the RDD sample, with 53% of Dreamers and 45% of the RDD sample arriving before the age of 6 and therefore completing most, if not all, formal education in U.S. schools. The literature on undocumented youths' high school experiences has often found that many undocumented youth do not know they are undocumented until they begin the college application process—presumably around 16 or 17 years old (Gonzales 2011); however, more recent work has shown that this is not the case for all—perhaps most—undocumented youth (Jefferies 2014). In the Dreamer sample, the average respondent in the Dreamer sample found out she was undocumented before the age of 9 and 75% knew by the age of 13.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Descriptive statistics include measures for educational outcomes, which may predict the level of in-school support and peer networks available to respondents. These include H.S. grades (which I condensed into a dummy variable representing grades of B's or higher, versus lower than B's), and PSE enrollment. This sample is too young to include educational attainment as an outcome. I do not include these variables in logistic regression models as Wald tests reveal that they do not add predictive power to the models.

⁴¹ This question was not asked of RDD sample respondents.

[Table 3.1 approximately here]

Further, and as would be expected from a sample of mostly college students, Dreamer respondents performed more highly in high school and in overall educational attainment. In addition, though almost the entire Dreamer sample (97%) had enrolled in post-secondary education (PSE) at some point, only about two-thirds of the random sample had enrolled in some type of PSE (for more on how undocumented youth compare to U.S.-born, legal permanent resident, and naturalized citizen Latino youth, see chapter one). Across both samples, undocumented respondents cited financial circumstances tied to their immigration status as barriers to completion. Table 3.1 also reveals that nearly 9 of 10 undocumented youth from both samples come from low-income backgrounds. In addition, respondents both samples have parents with generally low levels of education, though Dreamers were less likely to have a parent with a high school degree or higher than their peers in the random sample (47% vs. 59%). Finally, of Dreamer survey respondents, almost three-quarters reported hiding their status from school personnel and peers during high school, and slightly less than half continued to conceal their status during college.

Logistic Regression Analysis

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below present odds ratios of predictors of feeling the need to hide to status in the high school and college settings, respectively. As Table 3.2 demonstrates, overall, I found little variation by gender in the odds of hiding status by gender across each of the four dependent variables. However, as predicted, respondents aged 26 or older had much higher odds of hiding their status from school personnel in high school (odds ratio 2.9, $p < .05$), as well as from peers (1.73, n.s.). However, this effect does not persist into college, perhaps partially explained by the fact that these students would have entered college around the time of the

implementation of A.B. 540, and therefore become less distinguishable from their younger peers. However, there is a statistically significant difference ($p=.000$, not shown here) in bivariate analysis of the rates of post-secondary enrollment between respondents who were 25 or younger (96%) and 26 or older (79%) at the time of the survey.

There is some surprising variation by region of origin in hiding status from school personnel: respondents from Asia or the Pacific Islands had significantly lower odds than Mexicans and Central Americans of hiding their status from school personnel in high school. Bivariate analysis (not shown here) reveal that Asian respondents' parents tended to be much more highly educated than respondents from other parts of the world, and at statistically significant rates: 62% of Asian respondents had a parent with a B.A., compared to only 16% of Mexican respondents ($p=.000$). This suggests that Asian respondents may have additional access to college-related resources at home and may be able to more smoothly navigate the process of discussing legal status with teachers and school personnel.

[Table 3.2 approximately here]

However, hiding status from peers may be a different story. During high school, Asian respondents were slightly less likely to hide their status from peers than Mexicans or Central Americans, though not at statistically significant rates. However, during college, the odds of Asian respondents hiding status from peers were nearly double those of Mexicans and Central Americans (odds ratio of 1.83, n.s.). Though not statistically significant, these findings may suggest that Asian undocumented students may be less likely to have a peer group made up of other undocumented people, causing many to be more cautious about disclosing status (Patler Forthcoming).

[Table 3.3 approximately here]

Socioeconomic background was correlated with concealing status during high school and college. The odds of low-income high school students hiding their status from school personnel were about half those of non-low income students (n.s.), and the odds of hiding status from peers were about 60% lower ($p < .05$). Likewise, the odds of low-income college students hiding status from college personnel were about 70% lower than those of non-low-income students ($p < .01$), and the odds of hiding status from peers were about 46% lower (n.s.). Parents' educational attainment was only marginally significant in predicting the odds of hiding status from peers during high school and personnel during college ($p < .08$).

Though age of arrival is not a statistically significant predictor of high school concealing, there is a statistically significant difference in the odds of hiding status in college: the odds of hiding status from both college peers and personnel are nearly twice as high for those who arrived after the age of 13 as compared to those who arrived before the age of 6. As in-depth interview responses will show below, it was common for respondents who had completed all or most of their formal education in the U.S., and had no audible accent in English, to describe hiding their status as a form of passing for a native-born member of their co-ethnic group. In addition, those who migrated later, and who often have vivid memories of dangerous border-crossing experiences, were more likely to cite that experience as an important barrier to revealing status and asking for resources. As I will show, this context of arrival greatly influenced the ways in which respondents decided to reveal or conceal status.

Finally, there is large drop in reported frequencies of hiding status—from peers as well as school personnel—between high school and college. This is likely influenced by the fact that the Dreamer sample is made up of participants of undocumented youth organizations, making them much more likely to have revealed their status to others by virtue of being part of organizations

centered on this issue. Secondly, because California has an in-state tuition law (A.B. 540 of 2001) and, more recently, laws granting access to financial aid for undocumented students (A.B. 130 and A.B. 131 of 2011), undocumented youth who want to benefit from these policies must disclose their status to school administrators via affidavits. However, as Table 3.3 reveals, those who hid their status from peers and school personnel in high school remain statistically more likely to continue hiding their status in the college context, than those who didn't hide their status in high school. This suggests that even participation in Dreamer organizations does not fully mitigate the need to hide status in the educational context.

Findings from In-Depth Interviews

Logistic regression analysis of CYAS survey data about hiding status in high school and college indicate that undocumented students are extremely careful about revealing their legal status, with some important variations across individual and household characteristics. In this section, I will elaborate on these quantitative findings using data from in-depth interviews with more than 51 undocumented youth across California. In-depth interview findings about revealing and concealing status suggest that legal status may severely constrain the social network formation of undocumented young adults in both the random and Dreamer samples, though in different ways, depending on context of reception, household dynamics, and institutional contexts including school context and organizational participation. I show that legal status as a formal status interrupts full membership in other social groups, such as co-ethnic or peer groups. In addition, and perhaps paradoxically, knowing other undocumented immigrants becomes an important resource for undocumented youth.

Context of Arrival

The context of arrival faced by undocumented youth in my sample greatly influences how these young people make decisions about whether or not to reveal their status, and to whom, which in turn can influence their social network formation and access to resources. Age of arrival determines how long they have spent in U.S. schools and approximates their overall acculturation patterns. Likewise, the context of arrival appears to influence how and under what circumstances undocumented youth will reveal their status. Undocumented youth who came to the U.S. at slightly later ages, especially those who had memories of difficult or traumatic border-crossing experiences, were often more careful about talking about their legal status with school personnel and teachers. Finally, the ethnic makeup of their communities, as well as the density of the immigrant population in those communities, appears to be influential for undocumented youth.

Respondents who came to the U.S. at an early age had done most, if not all, of their formal schooling in the U.S. They regularly mentioned how they could speak English with no audible accent and were able to blend in with their documented peers, therefore escaping confrontations that might come up about immigration status. The following quote illustrates how perceived acculturation helped people keep their status a secret:

Even though I am not American, I feel American, simply because I've been here all my life...I studied here, I know my constitutional rights...I don't know *all* my presidents, but I could name you, you know, I could name you presidents...So, like I said, I mean, normally, most people think I have my documents and everything. Maybe it's the way I express myself, or the fact that I'm able to just talk to someone without complications or anything like that. (Wilbur, 21 years old, Los Angeles, RDD)

This respondent associated acculturation (education, understanding of rights, English abilities) as signifiers of belonging. This impacts both how he feels about himself (as “American”) as well as how he perceives others to view him. Indeed, he is able to “pass”

for being documented because of these things. Another RDD respondent echoed this sentiment when I asked her why she had hidden her status from peers during high school:

It's just that they see you different. I don't know. Besides, when I went to high school I was already...I know English already, so it was like ...if you tell them that [you] don't have [papers], they see you different. (Nancy, 21 years old, Los Angeles, RDD)

This respondent alludes to the immense stigma she feels about revealing her status (Abrego 2011). Like many other respondents, she was worried about being seen as “different” if her peers found out about her status. However, she realized that speaking English allowed her to blend in and avoid this potentially negative exposure. Yet for many respondents, hiding status also led to feelings of shame and isolation, even causing some respondents to retreat from peer groups or from asking for academic resources. Jayson told me:

I'm almost positive [my status] has an impact on every aspect of my life. It's not about these stuff like not having a job or anything, it's in my everyday interactions, it's in my vocabulary, it's in my everything...Honestly, in high school I spoke to no counselor, I had no counseling in anything about college. I don't know if it's my fault or if it's the college counselor's fault, I'm not sure. (Jayson, 20 years old, Carson, snowball sample)

Knowing other undocumented people was a great resource for undocumented youth.

Several respondents described other undocumented people who were mentors and bridges to resources who could help them navigate the tough waters of “illegality.” This often softened the fears of discovery, especially these individuals had succeeded academically and could provide insight and hope that educational or employment success is indeed possible. Nancy described a manager she had at McDonalds who was able to go to college and therefore offer Nancy important insight about the process:

Interviewer: Was there anyone else that you talked to about college or options after school besides teachers or?

Interviewee: She's a manager at McDonalds. So she also doesn't have papers. But she managed to go to college and was able to juggle both things at once effectively. So she was able to take her courses and get a job and earn enough money to do certain things. (Nancy, 21 years old, Los Angeles, RDD)

Dulce, a 19 year-old from Los Angeles, described a similar mentor:

Interviewee: I call her my cousin but she's not really my cousin. I think she has made a very positive influence because she's like me: she doesn't have papers. She was born in Mexico. She went to Diansa [Community College]. She just graduated from there last week...She has taught me things that I had never knew.

Interviewer: Like what's an example of something [she has taught you]?

Interviewee: She has taught me how to value my life. How to do everything. Like don't think things twice...

Interviewer: Did she teach you a little bit about college?

Interviewee: Yeah (Dulce, 19 years old, San Jose, RDD)

Another respondent described how her undocumented friends helped her find work when she needed it:

Other people that are in my same situation sometimes would recommend like a one week job where you could go for a week and get paid in cash or a friend that needs help and then you just help them move stuff. It's usually people that you know that are willing to help you (Jessica, 19 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample).

In each of these cases, undocumented youth benefited tremendously from the guidance and support of other undocumented immigrants. In the educational context, they often discussed these individuals as far more important to their educational success than teachers or counselors who they did not always trust with information about their legal status.

Context of Reception and Household Dynamics

Older respondents who could recall border crossing experiences (which were almost always traumatic) were often more wary of law enforcement in general, and had very real fear of

ever having to cross the border again. These individuals often reported trying to keep their heads down and their mouths closed in order to avoid discovery. Consider the following excerpt from Enrique, who crossed the border at age 14 with his mother and two younger sisters:

We weren't really sure we were going... At some point we got to a dirt road. This time the guy told us to run across it, and to hide behind the bushes near the other side. When we finally hid, the guy took a small bush and swept the road erasing our tracks, and his at the same time. He then started to walk faster and told us to keep up, he said he saw the border patrol coming, and then he pointed to a big cloud of dust coming towards us. We started to walk faster than before. My mom couldn't carry my sister anymore, and had to make her walk. Unfortunately my sister couldn't keep up, and [she] fell. The second time she fell, I picked her up and put her in my shoulders just to keep up. I don't know how much time we spent walking, I just know that the trip seemed forever. One of the things that scared me the most was the ground. I had read a book on nature not too long before we decide to come [to the U.S.], and I learned to identify snake holes, and tarantula holes. During the trip I saw a lot of those holes and I was very concerned about our safety. We finally got to small area full of bushes. In the middle of it you could find a lot of empty water bottles. You immediately notice that more people had pass by this area before. (Enrique, 26 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample)

This memory, recalled by Enrique 11 years after it had occurred, reveals how vividly he remembers his border-crossing experience. Especially during high school, Enrique's memories of his migration experience, combined with the fact that he went to a very diverse Los Angeles school and did not have other undocumented friends, made him very wary of revealing his legal status to his friends. He told me, "Well my friends didn't know until I was...until we were seniors, that I was undocumented...I would lie at first."

In addition, respondents who could remember growing up in an era of Proposition 187 enforcement also learned at a young age to be careful about whom to reveal their status. 23 year-old Dolores, now an immigrant rights activist from the snowball sample, vividly recalls being in elementary and middle school and fearing that she would have to carry papers from now on:

When prop 187 was happening, I was in middle school, I was in elementary school...I remember my teachers telling anyone that if you don't have papers you're going to be required to carry [some paperwork]. Everyone was talking about it, so since then I knew that if you're undocumented that means you have to carry stuff. *Middle school is when I knew I was undocumented.* (Dolores, 23 years old, snowball sample, emphasis added).

For Dolores, Proposition 187 made her realize that she was different from everyone else and solidified her understanding of the potential danger of her status.

Concealing and revealing status was also influenced by family composition. Native-born younger siblings were a source of both pride and dismay for respondents in both samples. Several respondents said that they felt responsibility for their citizen younger siblings, and therefore exercised increased caution when talking about their status. Consider this excerpt from an interview with Jayson, a 20 year-old undocumented immigrant from Mongolia.

Interviewer: Have you ever had to hide your family's or your immigration status from anybody?

Interviewee: Yeah, of course. I would say anybody—from students at my school to teachers to neighbors. A lot of people.

Interviewer: Why did you feel like you had to do that?

Interviewee: Cause I don't want to have my mom ... or my younger sisters being unsafe.... I just don't want to have to go over that line. I don't have the chance to stop [others] from screwing with us if they have the opportunity. (Jayson, 20 years old, Torrance, snowball sample).

In Jayson's case, his sense of responsibility to his family—in particular his younger sisters—kept him from talking about his status with teachers or counselors. In fact, though he graduated high school with a 3.9 GPA, he was so afraid of the potential consequences of being undocumented that he avoided seeing his guidance counselor during high school. As a result, Jayson never discussed his options for college with anyone in his high school.

Other respondents were more comfortable than Jayson revealing their status to school personnel, but usually only to one or two trusted teachers and counselors who were gatekeepers to information about higher education and other opportunities for advancement. They often

worried a lot beforehand about whether or not to tell. For example, Christina, a 20 year-old undocumented student from Porterville, recalled her experience finally “coming out” to her teachers.

Interviewee: [In] high school applying to colleges, I was really scared. Actually when we started applying, which was senior year, that’s when you start doing all your paperwork and everything like that, that’s when I was kind of like – in a sense I was kind of scared. I was like, how am I gonna let them [teachers] know that I can’t do this? How am I gonna do this?

Interviewer: And when you say let "them" know, who do you mean?

Interviewee: The counselor, my teacher, which was my AVID teacher, so it’s kind of like – in a sense it was like, how do I come out to them about my status? (Christina, 20 years old, Porterville, RDD)

This anxiety about revealing status to teachers and school administrators was echoed across respondents. Many of the youth I interviewed reported discrimination from peers, teachers, and counselors alike. For example, Enrique, the young man who had crossed the border with his mom and sisters at age 15, recounted his experience meeting with his guidance counselor on the first day of ninth grade:

This is like the first day of high school that she tells me ... “yeah don’t worry, you’re Hispanic so you’re going to take ten years to graduate, so it’s ok. Or at least the majority of you won’t graduate.” To me it was a little bit insulting, but I didn’t say anything because she’s my authority, so if I disrespect her, I get in trouble. So I don’t want to get in trouble on my first day of school. (Enrique, 26 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample)

Because Enrique had come to the United States as an adolescent, he vividly recalled his experience crossing the border, and tried hard not to “get in trouble” in school. However, the counselor’s stereotype of Enrique affected his educational outcomes, in particular the classes in which he was allowed to enroll.

The first couple years [of high school] it wasn’t very good ... the same counselor kept giving me—and I’m sorry [to use this language]—but the “bullshit classes.”... I was just doing ceramics for two full semesters. Instead of taking any other classes, I was

doing ceramics. Partly because I probably didn't know enough English, but also the counselor didn't want to give me any more classes besides that. (Enrique, 26 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample)

This experience was particularly disempowering for Enrique because he repeatedly asked the counselor to help him enroll in higher-level courses.

Experiences with unsupportive school personnel were common among respondents. For example, respondents told story after story of counselors who were unconcerned about their progress to begin with, but then shunned students further when they came for help around legal status. Most counselors were under-informed (and many were completely uninformed) about laws and policies, such as AB 540. Instead of seeking help or information for the students, many counselors advised them to give up on the idea of higher education altogether. Several students recounted that they found out separately about AB 540 and often had to teach counselors and administrative personnel about the policy, at times facing criticism and snub these individuals. Felicia, a twenty-year-old undocumented student from Mexico, described being "humiliated" when she went to the financial aid office at her local community college to ask about AB 540. She stated that the woman working at the window had no idea about the policy and began to question Felicia and look at her skeptically. After noticing all the students in line behind her craning their necks to hear the disagreement, Felicia left the office in tears. Experiences like Felicia's and Enrique's were recounted by many respondents, especially those who were not high-performing students. Although current college students tended to recall at least one supportive counselor or teacher as helpful on their path to college, respondents regularly described teachers and school personnel as having "low expectations" of them and often turned instead to other undocumented students for support and guidance instead of school personnel.

Co-Ethnic Social Networks

Peer networks were often influenced by ethnic and national affiliations, as well as income status. Latino-origin respondents were more likely to report attending predominately Latino high schools where they could “blend in” with their documented peers. Individuals who reported a peer group made up mostly of co-ethnics or of other undocumented people were much more likely to be open about their status among friends.

Interviewer: Did most of your friends [in high school] have their papers?

Interviewee: Yeah, they do. I’m the only one [undocumented]

Interviewer: Do you feel comfortable telling them?

Interviewee: Yeah, but like only with them. With other people, like, I don’t like to talk about it. It’s just like my personal stuff.

Interviewer: So when you’re deciding whether you’re gonna tell somebody, how do you make that decision? What factors do you weigh?

Interviewee: Well, I have to know that person for a long time. I don’t trust people that easily. For example, I’ve known [my friend] since sixth grade, and I’m like that’s why – ‘cause I’ve known her for seven years and I can trust her. But other people like I cannot trust... Well, some of my friends are Hispanics, and like Hispanics, like one or two of their family, like they don’t have paper, like their parents. Maybe they were born here – their siblings – but their parents were not, so they can understand. I feel more comfortable with people that can understand me. You know? (Female, 19 years old, Tustin, RDD)

In this case, the respondent felt that even though she was the only undocumented person in her group of friends, they could still understand her because of their shared ethnic background.

Likewise, consider the following quotes from Nora, Carlos, and Dolores in Los Angeles:

I have friends that are undocumented, but most of them are citizens of the United States, but they’re still Latinos, it’s the same, we go through some of the same challenges but I just have to work harder, sometimes. (Nora, no age given, Los Angeles, snowball sample)

Interviewer: Do you mostly hang out with other people who are like you?

Interviewee: Yeah, most of the time.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Cause I guess, uh, you know, the neighborhood I live in is Latino and most of my friends were from school, Latino, so... yeah, because of that. (Carlos, 20 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample)

Most of my high school was 99.9% Latino, so race wasn't a big part of it because everyone was Latino and if you weren't Latino you were like undercover. And most of it was majority Mexican so there wasn't even like a huge Central American or Salvadoran or Latin American influence. We were all *Mexicanos*. (Dolores, 23 years old, snowball sample)

In contrast, 23 year-old Jeremiah was born in Panama but grew up in a family where his mother was married to a native-born African American man. The respondent was the only undocumented person in his family, was raised mostly in African American communities, and all of his friends were native-born. No one else he knew could relate to his situation. He confessed to me that he had never told *anyone* in high school about his status, but worried about it everyday. He described his life in high school as a “web of lies” that he felt he had to tell to avoid discovery:

To tell you the truth, I've been lying for a long time just to certain people – even my best friend – my best friend ever since preschool, I didn't even tell him until a year or two ago... Yeah – it's like, I would think that would be my best friend and I would tell him, but I'm just so embarrassed of it (Jeremiah, 23 years old, San Bernardino, RDD).

While he is now more open about his status to his longtime girlfriend, it took him two years to finally tell her. In fact, he was too nervous to do our interview at a Starbucks coffee shop; he finally talked openly about it once we were outside and out of earshot of anyone else.

Many respondents reported worrying about the stigma they might encounter if their peers found out they were undocumented (Gonzales 2011). These students just wanted to fit in, to be like everybody else. As such, they would at times hide their status in order to appear less

different from everyone else. Hugo, a 21 year-old Latino university student from the RDD sample, said:

It does kind of feel like sometimes you've just got to hide it because you don't -- maybe because you don't want people to see you less or *you just want to feel the same as them*. So it kind of sucks (Hugo, 21 years old, San Diego, RDD, emphasis added).

However, in spite of this feeling, this same respondent reported that he was also relatively open about his status with their friends and peers—so many of whom share his ethnic and socioeconomic background—even though it sometimes became the source of jokes:

Yeah, I was kind of like ashamed telling them that I didn't have papers but like they knew 'cause I told them. And I remember that like one of my friends they would pick on me, they would make fun of me...., they would just mess around like that because they knew I didn't have papers. They would just pick on me... Oh and then I knew my other friend, he was an AB 540 student. He was pretty smart too. He went to Cal State too but he dropped out because he didn't have money too. And they would pick on him too. But he would just do it because he would just be messing around. It was funny, though. [laughs] It was so hilarious. He would pick on everyone. He would make fun of everyone (Hugo, 21 years old, San Diego).

Even though this student's immigration status became the butt of jokes between friends, he reassured me over and over that his status really isn't "that big of a deal" in his everyday life. He goes to college, plays for a soccer team, and was even awaiting a work permit through the DACA program at the time of our interview. A handful of respondents reported rarely feeling the need to hide their immigration status from their friends or peers.

Interviewee: Sometimes I even forget that oh, wait. I wasn't born here. I can't do this.

Interviewer: Yeah, so on a day to day basis, it doesn't impact you much?

Interviewee: No, it doesn't so far. (Jorge, 20 years old, Ontario, RDD)

Patler finds that the many undocumented youth find themselves at the intersection of racialization and anti-immigrant discrimination, in ways that play out differently for those from different racial and country of origin background. Unlike their Latino counterparts, Asian and

Pacific Islander (API) undocumented students say they are not regularly presumed to be undocumented. However, many API respondents report spending time in co-ethnic social groups, they are uncomfortable revealing their status (Patler Forthcoming). As Samuel, a 24 year-old undocumented student from Indonesia told me, “I know there have been some Asians that are more understanding, but when it comes to undocumented status, it’s something you don’t say, it’s just, you don’t talk about it.” Colleen, an undocumented university student from South Korea, told me I was the first person outside of her family that she had ever told about her status. She expressed deep dismay about feeling like she was the only one in her situation.

Institutional Context: Undocumented Student Organizations

Membership in Dreamer organizations served as a buffer to the fear and stigma associated with undocumented legal status. These organizations allowed undocumented youth to find a community of like-minded people with whom they could share and relate (Nicholls 2013). I asked one young woman from the random sample, who happened to be part of the undocumented student organization at her community college about how she decides whether to reveal or conceal her status:

Interviewer: You said...you didn’t really talk to anybody about it before. How comfortable do you feel talking about it now?

Interviewee: It’s more like now it’s more open. Like I don’t know. Maybe cause I got involved with people like me. So it’s like now I don’t see it that bad. It’s like there’s people like me too. (Jennifer, 22 years old, Los Angeles, RDD)

For Jennifer, participating in her undocumented student organization was critical to feeling more open about status. Other youth expressed similar sentiments:

Just the fact about speaking your voice, not being afraid, knowing that you can do the things if you want to do them, and getting support from other people.

Sam: What kind of help did they provide you? Emotional? Financial?

Rosa: Both. I think the most important one is the emotional. Because for me it is important that someone trust that you can do something. That someone tells you, “you

can do it” and you just find your way and you know you are going to do it. And yes, financial as well. (Adelina, 21 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample).

Organizational participation made a great difference to respondents. Those who participated in immigrant rights organizations tended to have a structural analysis of the conditions of their undocumented experience. They often spoke of their status as something imposed upon them, rather than something they should hide or be ashamed of. Dolores, an undocumented activist from the snowball sample, discussed her thoughts on what it would take to get more undocumented youth to go to college:

Seeing the high school that I went to, over 5,000 students, people could easily fall through the cracks... I saw a lot of my [undocumented] friends dropping out and I knew it wasn't because of their fault, it was because they saw, even if they graduated high school they saw no futures... So I think [we really need to] fund our public education system and not putting the blame on the students, or the teachers, or the parents, but on the institution. Keeping the institution accountable. (Dolores, 23 years old, snowball sample).

Having this type of structural analysis helped students like Dolores feel more comfortable talking about their status because they were able to see and understand it not as a personal deficit, but as a form of oppression.

Organizational participants were also more likely to have spoken publicly about their status. This ranged from within the school context, to in the community or to the media, or in front of legislators and/or other stakeholders. Only one person from the RDD sample reported speaking about his status at a rally at his university; the rest of the RDD sample tended to say they're not likely to reveal status in a public way, though they admire those who do.

Organizational participants also reported regular participation in marches and rallies for immigrants' rights and some had even participated in civil disobedience. While many RDD respondents had gone to immigrants' rights marches, none had participated in civil disobedience.

When asked about their motivations to speak publicly, organizational participants were likely to site a sense of responsibility and obligation to others. Many stated that they wanted to share their stories in the hopes that they might influence others to feel less afraid or, maybe, to come out of the shadows. Dolores, who had become an activist around the DREAM Act at 17 years old, described how important it was for her not just to take charge of her own future, but also to help others:

Interviewee: I thought the Dream Act would pass by the time I went to college. Or at least by the time I graduated. So I think I couldn't wait around for somebody. I needed to really get involved myself and bring up leadership along the way. I had to make it happen, I couldn't just sit on the sidelines; I had to really be involved...

Interviewer: What was the reason that you got involved in these organizations?

Interviewee: ...I wanted my brothers to grow up in a different educational system that I grew up in, so I really kind of wanted to make sure that things were better for them than they were for us. And I was tired of year after year seeing tons of my friends drop out from high school and me literally seeing their lives go to waist. I was just tired of it and needed to do something. (Dolores, 23 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample).

Likewise, Nestor, a 28 year-old undocumented activist chose to get involved in efforts for the DREAM Act in order to help others, even though he would not personally benefit from the DREAM Act because he had come to the U.S. after the cutoff age for eligibility:

By making calls, by attending to some of the events, or like showing the resources or some of my knowledge or helping other students, other members in the community, I think that's the way I'm doing it. (Nestor, 28 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample).

“Doing well for others” inspired undocumented youth to continue to take risks by coming out more publicly. This feeling of service was a source of empowerment for many undocumented organizational participants. No one in the RDD sample reported a similar sense of empowerment or obligation. However, there is another side to organizational participation.

Respondents who participated in undocumented student organizations also reported that legal status was more salient in their everyday lives, precisely because of their activism. Indeed, working on immigrants' rights issues on an almost daily basis, and constantly sharing and hearing stories of the challenges of legal status, kept those challenges right in the forefront of their minds. Consider the following quotes from two undocumented activists:

I feel limited. I feel that we want to go out and have fun, go visit places, but we can't. I feel that a lot in my AB540 club because a lot of students, we just do fundraisers. We don't do anything fun. (Felicia, 20 years old, Carson, snowball sample)

Interviewer: How often do you get involved?

Interviewee: Everyday. I think like Dream Act Work and working with undocumented youths is my life. I have my job but I do stuff all the time. (Dolores, 23 years old, Los Angeles, snowball sample).

This round-the-clock activism, combined with the constant reminder of the limitations of status brought up by such activism, wore on respondents. One long-time activist told me: "I have to convince myself to get out of bed every morning. Sometimes it's just so heavy. It's like drowning in a cup of water." (Adrian, 24 years old, snowball sample).

Discussion and Conclusions

The literature on immigrant integration has argued that co-ethnic social networks can provide important resources and opportunities for the children of immigrants. Yet these theories do not provide sufficient empirical examples to test the experiences of undocumented youth. Likewise, while existing literature has shown that liminal legality can limit the spread of important information in immigrants' social networks, most scholarship has focused on undocumented adults who may not have participated in acculturating institutions such as schools.

As such, still little is known about how undocumented youth's social and peer networks may be influenced by "illegality", and with what consequences.

Using survey and interview data from the California Young Adult Study and a snowball sample of undocumented youth adults in Southern California, this chapter sought to analyze undocumented youths' decisions about whether to conceal or reveal their status in the high school and college contexts. My data reveal that nearly three-quarters of undocumented youth in my sample, *despite* being part of undocumented students organizations, had felt the need to hide status from peers and school personnel in high school, and nearly half continued to hide status in college.

Logistic regression analysis of data from a statewide survey of participants of undocumented student organizations ("Dreamers") shows that the odds of feeling the need to hide status from high school personnel are impacted by age and region of origin. Specifically, those who grew up in the era of Proposition 187, and who completed high school prior to the implementation of A.B. 540, California's in-state tuition policy, were more likely to report hiding status from school personnel in high school. In addition, respondents from Asia and the Pacific Islands were less likely to report hiding their status during high school than Mexican and Central American counterparts, perhaps due to parents' overall higher human capital backgrounds and ability to help them navigate educational challenges related to their status. In contrast, hiding status from peers in high school is influenced by socioeconomic background only.

As Dreamers approach college, their odds of hiding status are influenced by their age of arrival (with older arrivals more likely to hide status), socioeconomic background, and whether they hid their status from peers or personnel during high school. Hiding status from peers in

college is also influenced by age of arrival (with older arrivals again much more likely to hide their status), and whether respondents hid their status from peers or personnel in high school.

These findings are alarming for several reasons. First, they indicate that schools may not be equipped to fully address the needs of undocumented pupils, even in states like California with prodigious immigrant populations. Though many undocumented respondents described supportive school personnel, many others described teachers and counselors as uninformed at best and downright discriminatory at worst. Reported rates of hiding status from peers also indicates that schools may not be providing non-undocumented students with a sufficient understanding of the structural causes of undocumented immigration, therefore allowing stigma of undocumented peers to persist.

Indeed, my interview data show that undocumented immigration status can thwart full membership in peer groups for undocumented youth, especially those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds where there are fewer undocumented people. Because socioeconomic background is often tied to national origin backgrounds (and therefore contexts of exit and reception), these patterns are also observable across ethnic groups. Although undocumented youth with more educated parents may be able to harness some of the “cultural capital” (Zhou et al. 2008) their parents’ possess about higher education, and therefore may be less likely to shield status from teachers and peers, these youth are simultaneously much more likely to hide their status from peers. In this case, the co-ethnic social network becomes a purveyor of shame and stigma, as opposed to a supportive mechanism that can lead youth towards paths of mobility.

However, across the board, other undocumented youth who have “made it” academically become critical “bridges” to information about higher education, sometimes more so than

teachers and counselors. This suggests that in absence (real or perceived) of formal educational support mechanisms, undocumented youth turn to each other for guidance. Undocumented student organizations also make a great difference in the lives of undocumented youth. These organizations provide “safe” spaces for undocumented youth, mitigating some of the daily negative impacts of status. However, these organizations can also make status more salient in everyday life, causing stress and anxiety for participants.

Decisions to reveal and conceal status are also influenced by youths’ contexts of arrival to the U.S., as well as family dynamics. Respondents who migrated at older ages often carried memories of traumatic migration experiences, making them less likely to feel comfortable talking about their status with peers and school personnel. Likewise, undocumented youth who reported responsibilities caring for others were also more wary about discussing their status at school. This sentiment was especially expressed by female respondents and may account for the consistently higher likelihood of female respondents to report feeling the need to hide their status at school.

Of course, undocumented youth in the U.S. are a very diverse population and as such, face an array of experiences when deciding how and to what extent to share their legal status with others. The CYAS Dreamer survey, though one of the first quantitative surveys of undocumented youth in the country, is still limited by the fact that respondents are all participants in undocumented student organizations and therefore may be selective across several characteristics. In addition, though the CYAS RDD sample is one of the first random samples of undocumented young adults, it is still too small to draw population estimates. Future quantitative work would do well to explore patterns of incorporation across legal statuses. Finally, California’s unique status as home to more undocumented immigrants than any other state, and

the minority-majority demographics of Los Angeles in particular, may make it difficult for my results to apply to undocumented youth in other contexts. As such, further research in other geographic areas will be critical to test the conclusions I have presented herein.

Chapter 3 Tables

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics, CYAS Random and Dreamer Undocumented Samples

| | <u>RDD Sample</u> | <u>Dreamer Sample</u> |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Male | 45% | 42% |
| Region of Origin | | |
| Mexico & Central America | 84% | 92% |
| Asia & Pacific Islands | 4% | 8% |
| Average Age | 20.8 | 21.3 |
| Age Upon Arrival | | |
| 5 or younger | 45% | 53% |
| 6-11 years old | 32% | 32% |
| 12 years or older | 23% | 16% |
| Average Age Found out about Status (N=407) | n/a | 8.5 |
| Educational Outcomes | | |
| High School Grades: B's or Better | 45% | 82% |
| <i>Educ. Attainment</i> | | |
| Still in H.S. | 16% | 2% |
| At least some PSE enrollment (N=411) | 66% | 97% |
| Socioeconomic Background | | |
| Low-income while in HS | 89% | 89% |
| Parent(s) have a HS degree or higher | 59% | 53% |
| Felt the Need to Hide Status from: | | |
| HS personnel (N=412) | - | 73% |
| HS peers (N=412) | - | 75% |
| College personnel (N=396) | - | 41% |
| College peers (N=396) | - | 49% |
| Sample Size | 56 | 421 |

Data Source: 2011-2012 California Young Adult Study (CYAS), Random Sample & Dreamer Sample, Random Sample results unweighted. Dreamer sample includes Mexican, Central American, and Asian or Pacific Islander origin respondents who were undocumented at the time of the survey, or at some point during high school.

Table 3.2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analysis of Dreamers who Concealed Immigration Status in High School

| | <u>Hid Status from</u> <u>School</u> <u>Personnel</u> | | <u>Hid Status</u> <u>from Peers</u> | |
|--|---|---|--|----|
| Male | 1.04 | | .87 | |
| | (.24) | | (.20) | |
| Region of Origin (Mexico/Central America Ref. Category) | | | | |
| Asia & Pacific Islands | .36 | * | .52 | |
| | (.16) | | (.24) | |
| Age 26 or older at time of Survey | 2.90 | * | 1.73 | |
| | (1.43) | | (.75) | |
| Socioeconomic Background | | | | |
| Low-income while in HS | .56 | | .38 | * |
| | (.24) | | (.19) | |
| Parent(s) have a HS degree or higher | 1.41 | | 1.57 | ++ |
| | (.33) | | (.37) | |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011-12 Dreamer Sample. Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Sample includes Mexican, Central American, and Asian or Pacific Islander origin respondents who were undocumented at the time of the survey, or at some point during high school.

++p<=.08; *p<=.05; **p<=.01; ***p<=.001

Table 3.3. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analysis of Dreamers who Concealed Immigration Status in College

| | <u>Hid Status from School Personnel</u> | | <u>Hid Status from Peers</u> | |
|---|---|----|----------------------------------|-----|
| Male | .77 (.18) | | .65 (.15) | ++ |
| Region of Origin (Ref. Category: Mexico/Central America) | | | | |
| Asia & Pacific Islands | .37 (.21) | ++ | 1.83 (.98) | |
| Age Upon Arrival (Ref. Category: 5 years or younger) | | | | |
| 6-11 years old | 1.04 (.27) | | 1.01 (.26) | |
| 12 years or older | 1.96 (.67) | * | 2.08 (.72) | * |
| Age 26 or older at time of Survey ⁺ | .49 (.21) | | .88 (.36) | |
| Socioeconomic Background | | | | |
| Low-income while in HS | .32 (.13) | ** | .64 (.25) | |
| Parent(s) have a HS degree or higher | 1.56 (.36) | ++ | 1.27 (.29) | |
| Felt the Need to Hide Status During High School from: | | | | |
| School Personnel | 2.77 (.93) | ** | 2.22 (.67) | ** |
| Peers | 2.73 (.18) | ** | 3.42 (1.09) | *** |

Source: CA Young Adult Study 2011-12 Dreamer Sample. Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Sample includes Mexican, Central American, and Asian or Pacific Islander origin respondents who were undocumented at the time of the survey, or at some point during high school.

++p=<.08; *p=<.05; **p=<.01; ***p=<.001

+There is a statistically significant correlation between PSE enrollment and age at the time of the survey (p=0.000)

CHAPTER FOUR

Undocumented Youth Organizations, Anti-Deportation Campaigns, and the Boundaries of Belonging

Abstract

Previous literature theorizes that deportation, as a coercive social policy, signifies acute costs on deportees and their communities, leading those affected to mobilize against deportations, with high success across national contexts. Yet this literature does not explain how claims are made or how they differ across immigrant groups. Through an analysis of 125 anti-deportation campaigns led by undocumented youth organizations in the U.S., I show how the organizations develop claims that purposefully link concerns for individuals to policy change. This nationally coordinated model strategically deploys ideologies of citizenship that emphasize acculturation, civic engagement, and innocence. By highlighting the *social* integration of undocumented immigrants, the campaigns blur the boundaries between citizen and noncitizen, and between lawful and unlawful, in an attempt to justify the grounds for ending *legal* exclusion. However, campaign tactics vary: immigrant students are described as high-achievers who would suffer greatly if deported, while campaigns for non-students emphasize the detrimental effects of deportation on others. These differing tactics are strategically deployed both in response to, and in order to influence, policy change. However, anti-deportation campaigns remain bounded by the government's priorities for deportation, with potentially negative consequences for those immigrants considered less "desirable."

Recall the story of Walter L. that opened this dissertation. Since Walter's release from detention, national undocumented youth organizations have mounted hundreds of public anti-deportation campaigns for undocumented immigrants across the country. These campaigns began by employing tactics to stop the deportations of high-achieving students like Walter, and then spread to include low-wage workers, parents of U.S. citizen children, and even detainees with criminal records. In many cases, the campaigns have won immigrants' release from detention or reprieve from deportation.

This chapter seeks to examine and deconstruct the selection of campaigns, the claims made in the course of the campaigns, and the ways in which campaigns about individuals are linked to broader efforts for policy change. The organizations use several strategies, starting with

a tactical choice about which campaigns to make public, and which to keep out of the public eye. Through an analysis of 125 action alerts from public anti-deportation campaigns, I show how undocumented youth organizations make moral claims against deportation in strategic and highly consistent ways. By highlighting the *social* integration of undocumented immigrants (acculturation and civic participation), the campaigns blur the boundaries between citizen and noncitizen, and between lawful and unlawful, in an attempt to justify the grounds for ending *legal* exclusion. Likewise, the campaigns focus on certain personal characteristics in order to portray subjects as innocent victims who—precisely because of their innocence—are therefore inappropriate targets of a coercive social policy like deportation. The goal of each campaign is to draw attention to the negative aspects of immigration law enforcement and, therefore, to build support for pro-immigrant policies. In order to do so, the organizations intentionally link the stories of individual immigrants to the government’s stated priorities for deportation, employing slightly different tactics depending on the political moment and the subject of the campaign (students vs. non-students). Indeed, each campaign uses what I call *strategically nationalistic* frames to emphasize ‘good’ citizenship and deservingness to stay. However, these frames have the potential to be quite limiting, in particular for immigrants deemed less desirable. Moreover, although these campaigns may appear to challenge the government’s ability to enforce its immigration laws, even in winning campaigns, subjects’ continued residence is tenuous at best, and is subject to the discretion of immigration authorities.

Theoretical and Legal Framework

Existing literature explains why deportation policies inevitably bring about protest, yet does not address how claims-making against deportation takes place, nor the content of the

claims. The work of Mae Ngai and others argues that immigration control inherently creates undocumented immigration, which triggers policy responses in the form of enforcement policies such as deportation programs (Massey, Durand and Malone 2002, Ngai 2004). In turn, deportation programs produce counter-protests by migrant groups and their supporters. Indeed, because noncitizens (including the undocumented) develop extensive social ties, the threat and harm of deportation is experienced across entire communities, regardless of citizenship status. Because the costs of deportation are shared, those affected will mobilize on behalf of individuals in deportation proceedings (Ellermann 2009). These mobilizations are effective because government bureaucrats and political elites are susceptible to claims made by humanitarian case mobilization at the stage of immigration policy *implementation* (enforcement) in ways they are not at the *policy-making* stage of the policy process (Ellermann 2005, Ellermann 2009). While this scholarship explains *why* government bureaucrats may be susceptible to humanitarian claims-making, it does not analyze *how* claims to suspend deportations are made, nor does it fully explore the context of claims-making and how it may be linked to social movement organizations.

In this chapter, I describe and analyze the function and operation of anti-deportation claims-making strategies by national undocumented youth organizations. I show that protest does not occur on an isolated, case-by-case basis, but rather is the result of an organized social movement, seeking both to defend individuals *and* affect policy change. My analysis shows that this movement mobilizes the cases of particular immigrants with certain characteristics—those who meet popular definitions of a ‘good’ citizen—and that this affects the claims made in order to garner public support. By highlighting the impending exclusion of model community members, undocumented youth organizations aim to build support for more expansive

immigration policies. However, I find that while the organizations have been able to win prosecutorial discretion for youth in deportation proceedings, they are only able to do so within a narrow strategic framework, one which mirrors—and is mirrored by—the state’s own enforcement priorities. In addition, the selective attribution of deservingness to certain groups may ultimately reinforce the alienation of other immigrants considered “less desirable” (Yukich 2013).

This research also adds empirically to a body of literature on mobilization against coercive social policies, such as deportation. Though anti-deportation campaigns are a “ubiquitous feature” in Europe (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011b, 558), they are vastly underexplored in the U.S. Antje Ellermann’s work is one of the only examinations of anti-deportation mobilization in the U.S. context (2005; 2009). Yet Ellermann’s findings may be empirically outdated, as her research took place prior to the formal establishment of the Department of Homeland Security in 2002. As such, the present work provides an update of the literature to mobilizations taking place under the current enforcement regime, in which hundreds of thousands of noncitizens are detained and deported each year.

In addition, existing research on anti-deportation campaigns has focused on particular groups of vulnerable migrants such as refugees or children of *sans papier* (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011a, Bosworth 2011, Freedman 2011). However, the migrants at the center of the campaigns analyzed herein are almost exclusively undocumented immigrants who, arguably, face a unique type of stigmatization due to their status. Finally, though recent research has highlighted the expansion of activism by undocumented students in certain U.S. states (Nicholls 2013), my analysis is one of the first to demonstrate a coordinated form of resistance across the national undocumented student movement, and extending into states with both pro-and anti-

immigrant political climates.

Deportation and Anti-Deportation Campaigns

Deportation is an important area of study in that it symbolizes the ultimate and final act of restriction: a decisive implementation of exclusion from legal and social citizenship and membership (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011b). As Ellermann has shown, at the policy-making stage, legislators “face strong incentives to endorse proregulatory policies” (Ellermann 2009:15). However, as the process turns to the implementation or enforcement of immigration law, the costs of deportation become more salient. Indeed, deportation imposes extreme costs on deportees and their communities, even violently disrupting everyday life (De Genova 2002, Gonzales and Chavez 2012, Hagan, Rodriguez and Castro 2011, Kanstroom 2007, Menjivar and Abrego 2012). While many immigrants may suffer this plight in relative isolation from the public (Bosworth 2011), high profile cases in which organized publics mobilize for particular immigrants have garnered broad public attention (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011b, Ellermann 2005, Ellermann 2006, Ellermann 2009, Freedman 2011, Statham and Geddes 2006). As these cases expose the costs of deportation, public opinion changes to favor the rights of potential deportees (Ellermann 2009). Politicians (including those who support restrictive legislation in the first place) are especially susceptible to the claims made by anti-deportation campaigns, and may in turn actively urge immigration officials to suspend the deportation of particular individuals. Depending on the level of political pressure, immigration bureaucrats will often refrain from pursuing the deportation (Ellermann 2009).

Though literature on anti-deportation mobilization has focused little on the content of claims-making, scholarship on mobilization of noncitizens has highlighted the importance of

discourses of innocence and victimhood for immigrants petitioning for permanent status. Indeed, the production of innocence, deservingness vis-à-vis victim status, and the deployment of ‘good citizens’ discourse has been documented in literature on claims-making by petitioners for humanitarian visas in the U.S. (Lakhani 2013), participants in the New Sanctuary Movement (Yukich 2013), children of *sans papier* in France (Freedman 2011), and for Turkish refugees in the Netherlands (Walaardt 2013). Anti-deportation cases mobilize notions of citizenship and community contributions as well as humanitarian concerns (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011b, Freedman 2011). Drawing on the cases of asylum seekers, Anderson and co-authors argue that anti-deportation campaigns allow organized publics to express normative notions of membership in which immigrants are acknowledged as contributing community members. In this way, notions of citizenship extend (and sometimes trump) legal definitions.

Overall, the literature on anti-deportation case mobilization generally falls short in describing the nature of case mobilization—how does it work and to what extent is it coordinated?—as well as the content of the claims themselves, beyond short qualitative descriptions. The present study analyzes anti-deportation case mobilization led by national undocumented youth organizations. These cases may also be understood as social movement organizations employing certain frames (Benford and Snow 2000, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996) in their efforts to defend undocumented immigrants in the face of government efforts to deport them. In particular, undocumented youth organizations strategically deploy notions of citizenship that go beyond citizenship-as-nationality to include broader conceptions of membership, rights, and belonging. Herein, I accept social movement framing as a starting point, but center my work in citizenship and legal theory. I find that anti-deportation campaigns, though they may appear to directly challenge government power, do not ultimately disrupt existing legal

power dynamics; indeed, their claims align with existing government guidelines for discretion in immigration policy enforcement.

Post-Nationalism Revisited

Anti-deportation cases speak to debates about states' sovereignty to define its admissions and membership categories. Defining the boundary between citizenship and membership is a central dilemma for the modern nation-state. Some scholars argue that in an era of increasingly globalized commerce and "regimes" of international human rights claims-making, the state's sovereignty to regulate admissions and membership is called into question (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield 1994, Koslowski 2004, Sassen 1996, Singer and Massey 1998, Soysal 1994). Other research posits that while the state has the authority and sovereignty to define border policy, liberal democracies like the U.S. are susceptible to claims by individuals already residing within the territory (Cornelius and Tsuda 2004, Ellermann 2005, Ellermann 2009, Freeman 1995). Still others dismiss post-nationalist claims, arguing that nations retain the autonomous and sovereign ability to regulate their admissions and rights policies (Brubaker 1992, Joppke 1998, Neumayer 2006, Zolberg 2000). The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly taken this view in decisions on immigrant rights. For example, in *Mathews v. Diaz*, which denied access to welfare benefits for some noncitizens, the Court stated:

Neither the overnight visitor, the unfriendly agent of a hostile foreign power, the resident diplomat, nor the illegal entrant, can advance even a colorable constitutional claim to a share in the bounty that a conscientious sovereign makes available to its own citizens and some of its guests. The decision to share that bounty with our guests may take into account the character of the relationship between the alien and this country: Congress may decide that as the alien's tie grows stronger, so does the strength of his claim to an equal share of that munificence (426 U.S. 67 [1976]).

While reinforcing the state’s sovereignty to determine admissions through the plenary power doctrine, the Court also promotes the idea that noncitizens can and do earn *membership* over time.⁴²

In liberal democracies like the United States, the boundaries between citizenship and membership have contracted and expanded, blurred and become more distinct over the years (Bibler Coutin 2011). Many people residing within the United States are noncitizens, with no foreseeable path to citizenship. Despite this legal “otherness,” these immigrants become extensively incorporated into communities and schools, and many come to identify as American (Gonzales 2011, Jiménez 2010, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Perez 2009, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Telles and Ortiz 2008, Zhou et al. 2008). In addition, although noncitizens—especially the undocumented—face distinct disadvantages, they also claim and exercise many rights, even exerting unique forms of civic engagement and membership (Bosniak 1988, Bosniak 2006, Brubaker 1989, Coutin 2000, Delgado 1993, Flores 1997, Guiraudon 1998, Milkman 2006, Milkman, Bloom and Narro 2010, Motomura 2010, Varsanyi 2005). As I will show, anti-deportation campaigns assert a subjective right to remain for those who meet a certain carefully constructed set of characteristics. Though case selection was quite constrained at first, as advances were made for the rights of undocumented students, and as ICE expanded its own guidelines for prosecutorial discretion, DA and UWD began to take on much riskier campaigns for non-students and even detainees.

Discretion in US Immigration Law

Anti-deportation cases tap into the discretion available within existing immigration laws. As detailed above, the U.S. Supreme Court has acknowledged humanitarian considerations in its

⁴² For similar arguments regarding lawfully present noncitizens, see *Graham v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 365 [1971]; for arguments regarding the undocumented, see *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 [1982])

extension of rights, ruling for example that while the state has the right to exclude noncitizens, it may choose to extend the right to remain (or the right to have rights) to certain groups of immigrants with particular characteristics such as long-time residents or children who did not make the decision to migrate (see for example *Mathews v. Diaz* 1976 and *Plyler v. Doe* 1982).

Beyond the courtroom, procedural guidelines within the government's immigration enforcement arm have historically created a prioritization system for enforcement (Meissner 2000, Morton 2011a, Napolitano 2012). For example, these guidelines specify a low priority for those who came to the U.S. at young ages, as well as the elderly, the sick, and other groups. During the course of my research, prosecutorial discretion guidelines were altered in unprecedented ways that corresponded to increases in activism around the DREAM Act as well as around anti-deportation case mobilization. In June 2011, for the first time in history, the Director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, John Morton, included in the 'low priority' category immigrants who had completed high school or college education in the US (herein "the Morton Memo;" see Appendix G). Although the U.S. government rarely decides to defer action on deportations (Sivaprasad Wadhia 2013), the cases staged by undocumented youth organizations have been very successful in winning prosecutorial discretion, even for some immigrants who are not straight-A students or valedictorians. However, these victories are tenuous, as a grant of prosecutorial discretion is not equivalent to winning formal legal status. On the contrary, ICE retains the power to deport these immigrants.

Then, in June 2012, the Obama administration issued guidelines for an unprecedented procedural program targeted specifically to undocumented youth: the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. Under DACA, undocumented youth (under 30 years old) who came to the U.S. as children, are attending (or have attended) school, and have a clean

criminal record, may apply for deferred action from deportation and subsequent two-year work authorization. DACA was brought about by an upsurge in activism by undocumented youth organizations, including civil disobedience as well as the anti-deportation campaigns I analyze herein. Though similar types of temporary protected statuses have been issued over the years, this program is the first to target youth. DACA's eligibility criteria suggest that those immigrants who are acculturated, long-time residents, and blamelessness for their legal status, are somehow more deserving of rights.

Data and Methodology

This chapter is based on a content analysis of the online action alerts of anti-deportation campaigns led by two main national organizations of undocumented youth: United We Dream (UWD) and Dream Activist (DA), as well their local organizational affiliates. UWD and DA evolved in response to growing efforts to coordinate activities between local campus- and community-based groups and to amplify their effectiveness on a national scale. Much of their work is volunteer-driven, and organizational leaders are predominately current or formerly undocumented students. While UWD and DA have worked with longstanding national immigrants' rights organizations, their strategies evolved largely separately from—and sometimes in opposition to—the larger movement (Nicholls 2013). From 2009-2012, UWD and DA worked with organizational partners to mount a series of anti-deportation cases, resulting in the successful win of release from detention, deferred action on deportation, or in some cases, permanent cancellation of removal for many of the immigrants they represented.

I gathered data on 125 public anti-deportation campaigns for undocumented individuals that took place between January 2009 and December 2012. Using online action alerts released via email or publicized on the websites of UWD and DA, I created a database of cases that

included information about the subject of the case (name, country of origin, student status, and education level). I also tracked whether the subject was living in a U.S. state that had existing laws or policies allowing—or barring—undocumented students to pay in-state tuition rates at public colleges and universities.⁴³ These policies are highly contested and often mirror the type of local political climate that might allow anti-deportation campaigns to garner more or less support from the public, the media, and from political elites.

Action alerts were coded for representations of citizenship as acculturation, civic engagement and deservingness vis-à-vis innocence. Codes were also applied for campaign tactics (specific calls to action, DHS and Congressional targets, mention of pro-immigrant policies) and outcomes (how many petitions were signed and whether the case generated media attention). However, at least in the case of UWD, no formal records were kept in the first few years of the campaigns, making outcome data available for only about half of the cases. Finally, action alerts were coded for explicit mention of any of ICE’s “priorities” for prosecutorial discretion (see Appendix G). This allowed me to test the extent to which anti-deportation campaign strategies align with existing government policies and priorities for deportation. To ensure consistency, each action alert was coded by the author as well as by a research assistant. The results were analyzed using Stata. An example of an online action alert can be found in Appendix F.

While my sample may not be representative of all anti-deportation campaigns during this time period, it encompasses the types of cases that these organizations strategically choose to

⁴³ As of 2012, the following states had laws or educational policies which allow undocumented students who meet a series of residency criteria to pay in-state fees/tuition at public colleges and universities: California (as of 2001), Connecticut (2011), Illinois (2003-4), Kansas (2003-4), Maryland (2011-12), Nebraska (2006), New Mexico (2005), New York (2002), Oklahoma (2003-4), Texas (2001), and Utah (2002). States that have barred access to in-state tuition or enrollment via laws or policies enacted by Boards of Governors include: Arizona (2006), Colorado (2008), Georgia (2008, 2010), Indiana (2011), South Carolina (bars enrollment, 2008), and Alabama (bars enrollment, 2011). By 2014 (and after my analysis concluded), the following states had allowed in-state tuition or enrollment via laws or policies by Boards of Regents or Boards of Governors: Colorado (previous decision reversed), Florida, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington. For more information, see: <http://nilc.org/basicfactsinstate.html> (accessed 5/20/14).

promote publicly, a process I describe below. My sample also captures the strategic framing that was utilized consistently in campaigns led by DA and UWD. This was in part due to the training of national affiliates in how to take on such cases. Indeed, during the course of my research, DA helped to publish a publicly available guidebook detailing how to carry out anti-deportation campaigns. The guide includes instruction on things like how to create an online petition, how to write an action alert (including the use of photography and video to promote sympathy), and how to talk to the media (Asian Law Caucus 2011).

This chapter also draws on participant observation and unstructured interviews with leaders in DA, UWD, and their affiliates. This includes in-person conversations and email correspondence with anti-deportation campaign coordinators in each national organization, as well as conversations with field coordinators who were heading anti-deportation campaigns in Southern California in 2010 and 2011. I also attended two training workshops, led by these coordinators, on how to conduct anti-deportation campaigns. These individuals shared with me an extensive set of document and notes on case selection and mobilization—materials created to train and prepare local affiliates to take on anti-deportation campaigns. I also volunteered on several Southern California anti-deportation campaigns during 2013, allowing me unique exposure to the tactics and strategies of organizational affiliates.

Findings

Case Selection

Campaigns are strategically planned through a two-step process: the identification of the campaign subject, and a decision about which type of campaign to implement—private, semi-public, or public. Cases are selected in two ways. The first, and less common, way is for

organizational leaders or affiliates to hand-pick a subject. This generally occurs when activists hear of an immigrant in deportation proceedings and reach out to that person or her family to participate in an anti-deportation campaign. I did not observe direct outreach in my field observations, though campaign coordinators recalled instances in which individuals—often other activists—were approached after being put into deportation proceedings. More commonly, individuals facing deportation (or their supporters) contact the organizations directly and request help with their case. This can happen through a local affiliate or directly through the national organizations. For example, on its website, UWD has a “Get Help” tab which includes a link for anyone in deportation proceedings.⁴⁴ The link leads to a questionnaire about the subject’s schooling, community and religious involvement, and so on. As I will show below, in the early stages of the campaigns, the vast majority of cases were for undocumented young adults who would qualify for the DREAM Act if it were to pass. This meant most candidates had come to the U.S. at a young age, had a strong record of academic achievement, and could demonstrate “good moral character”—in other words, no criminal record.

Once a case has been identified, the next step is to decide what type of campaign to wage: public, semi-public, or private. Though my analysis includes only public cases, I describe the other two types briefly here. Public campaigns employ strategic advocacy efforts including online petitions, social media, outreach to local media, public events including press conferences or rallies, and calls or faxes to ICE or DHS. Semi-public campaigns include only online petitions, social media, and calls and faxes to DHS and ICE. Private campaigns are waged out of the public eye and contain none of the aforementioned components. There are several reasons why a campaign may not be fought publicly. First, the subject and her family must be comfortable being at the center a public case. DA and affiliates’ guide for youth in deportation

⁴⁴ <http://unitedwedream.org/> (accessed 10/31/13)

proceedings states: “By going public you are willing to share your name as well as pictures of yourself. You are willing to create short 2-3 minute video clips with your story or an update on your situation (Asian Law Caucus 2011; 32).” UWD’s training materials also note that the comfort and safety of the subject and her family are important and might preclude a public case. Cases may also be fought privately if the subject has a criminal record. Immigrants with criminal records, in particular those who have convictions that make them subject to mandatory detention (most drug offenses, for example), are much harder to represent, since they fall clearly outside ICE guidelines for prosecutorial discretion. Moreover, it often makes sense to keep the details of a criminal record out of the public eye, as these may be viewed unsympathetically. Finally, certain cases may be waged privately so the organization can strategically use the potential to go to the media as a “threat” to DHS or ICE.

If a case is selected to go public, a team is formed within the first few days to handle different components of the case including social media, media and public event organizing, and interfacing with high-level stakeholders such as politicians and ICE Field Officers. The organizations also secure legal support from a list of pro bono attorneys willing to take on the cases. Attorneys are especially helpful in instructing the organizations and the subjects of the case about the precise type of relief or discretion to request. They also prepare legal documents including letters to DHS and ICE on behalf of the subject. Next, the organizations identify Congressional and ICE targets, create online petitions and social media sites, and seek support from organizations and individuals familiar with the subject’s case. For example, a teacher might be asked to draft a statement in support of a former student who is in deportation proceedings.

Action Alert Content Analysis

I present the results of my content analysis in four parts. First, I describe the characteristics of the subjects of public campaigns, as well as the campaigns themselves. I then show evidence of the three main ways that campaign action alerts exhibit notions of citizenship, membership and belonging: citizenship as acculturation and civic engagement, and deservingness of membership vis-à-vis innocence. Third, I present an analysis of campaign tactics and outcomes, including observations about the ways the cases have changed over time. Finally, I compare the campaigns of students vs. non-students in order to illustrate how tropes of citizenship and innocence are used in strategically different ways that still achieve a concrete goal of influencing both policy enforcement (stopping the deportation) and policy production (targeting key stakeholders and overtly linking campaigns to policy proposals).

[Table 4.1 approximately here]

Table 4.1 describes the individual characteristics of those for which anti-deportation were waged. Men were highly overrepresented in the campaigns, making up 78% of the targets of the cases. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that men are more likely to face police scrutiny that can lead to arrest and ultimately, deportation proceedings. DA and UWD organized 85% of the cases in the sample, with an increase in the number of cases each year. More than half of the cases (64%) were lead by DA alone. Approximately 26% of cases were “group campaigns” for more than one individual—most often a family group (for example, a mother and daughter or two brothers) or a group of detained immigrants.

Case subjects were very diverse; hailing from 26 countries across 5 continents, 30% were from Mexico, followed by 7% from Guatemala and 6% from Colombia. In 14% of cases, the action alert did not include information on country of origin. This is perhaps surprising, given that Mexicans make up a much larger percentage of the undocumented population in the U.S.

The diversity of cases is used strategically by the campaigns. In their online guide, DA and affiliates emphasize the importance (and success) of “breaking stereotypes” and highlighting diversity. In describing an exemplary case, they write: “the unexpected/unusual situation of a young man of Chinese heritage facing deportation to his native Peru helped drum up initial press interest” (Asian Law Caucus 2011; 61).

Anti-deportation cases reflected the geographic dispersal of contemporary immigrant settlement. Campaigns took place in 24 U.S. states, with three states accounting for just under half of the cases: 26% in Florida⁴⁵, 14% in California, and 7% in and Texas. These states are home to large and settled undocumented immigrant populations, as well as a dense grouping of immigrant rights organizations, including undocumented youth organizations. These states have been historic sites of political contestation about the rights of immigrants. Both California and Texas have enacted restrictive anti-immigrant legislation as well as more expansive legislation including in-state tuition laws for undocumented students. Overall, 35% of campaigns took place in the 11 states with state laws or policies granting in-state tuition to undocumented students as of 2012, while 11% of cases took place in the 6 states with laws explicitly barring in-state tuition. Overall, 46% of all the campaigns took place in the 17 states with these highly contested policies in place (both pro- and anti-immigrant). However, I found no statistical significance between case outcomes and local political context. This somewhat paradoxical finding may be explained by the fact that the campaigns are nationally coordinated using social media, perhaps indicating a muting of some of the impacts of the local political context.

For more than a decade, undocumented youth organizations have waged campaigns for the DREAM Act and other pro-immigrant legislation that would benefit undocumented youth

⁴⁵ Florida was overrepresented in the sample due to a group campaign by DA for detainees held at the Broward Detention Center. This campaign began in July of 2012, immediately following the passage of DACA. In addition, DA worked closely with SWER to identify student cases in Florida.

and students (Gonzales 2008, Nicholls 2013, Rincón 2008, Seif 2004). While the focus of these organizations has expanded beyond the undocumented student population, students were the target of organizing and policy work for many years. Not surprisingly, then, over half of the cases in my sample (63%) focused on current and former immigrant students.

Citizenship as Acculturation

I coded action alerts for mention of two main indicators of acculturation: educational status and accomplishments, and subjective understandings of membership—feelings of belonging or of ‘Americanness.’

[Table 4.2 approximately here]

Educational trajectories are widely studied as indicators of immigrant integration (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2008, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Telles and Ortiz 2008, Zhou et al. 2008). To test whether the anti-deportation cases reflected the idea that educational success equals integration, I coded for whether action alerts mentioned the subject’s student status, as well as if alerts mentioned the type of school the student had attended (high schools vs. universities, for example). As Table 4.2 shows, 63% of action alerts mentioned the education or educational status of the subject. Of anti-deportation campaigns for students, 33% were for high school students and 60% were for college students (in community college or universities). In addition, 34% of action alerts mention a specific educational accomplishment—for example, getting good grades, passing Advanced Placement tests, or receiving a scholarship. The following excerpt comes from an action alert for 19 year-old Herta Llusho, an Albanian national:

Herta has lived in Detroit since she was 11...Herta excelled in everything during high school, graduating with a 4.05 GPA and has continued to excel after high school.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ <http://www.dreamactivist.org/save-herta/> (accessed 10/06/2013).

Here, emphasis is placed on Herta's long-time residence, high GPA, and academic excellence. As I will describe below, these characteristics (age at arrival, length of presence in the U.S., and educational pursuits) are all included in ICE's guidelines for prosecutorial discretion as of 2011.

Feelings of membership and belonging are a more subjective indicator of acculturation (Brubaker 1989, Gonzales 2011, Perez 2009). For example, Gonzales (2011) finds that many undocumented youth spend so much of their lives in the U.S. that they come to "feel" American. The following quote comes from an action alert for community college student Jennifer Abreu:

Jennifer is like an *all-American girl*. She was on the dance team and performed many times at a local Festival Latino traditional Brazilian and Colombia dances. She plays the piano, and her true dream is to become a journalist and work within criminal justice (emphasis added).⁴⁷

My analysis reveals that 24% of the action alerts used terminology like "all American" or "true American" to describe their subjects and make the case for their continued residence.

Citizenship as Civic Engagement

Existing literature shows that immigrants (even the undocumented) exhibit high levels of civic engagement, in spite of their lack of access to formal political rights such as voting (Delgado 1993, Terriquez 2011, Varsanyi 2005). The Morton Memo includes "ties and contributions to the community" as a factor in the de-prioritizing the deportation of certain immigrants. I coded action alerts for a mention of civic engagement indicators including volunteering, participation on a sports team, community involvement such as church attendance, or other non-academic achievements. As Table 4.2 demonstrates, 38% of the action alerts described subjects' community ties. For example, university student Mario Perez's campaign boasted that he had contributed over "1,400 volunteer hours to his community."⁴⁸ Likewise, an action alert for Herta Llusho stated: "[Herta] has been very active in our community,

⁴⁷ <http://www.dreamactivist.org/action-jennifer-abreu-home/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁴⁸ http://wfc2.wiredforchange.com/o/8496/p/dia/action/public/?action_KEY=341 (accessed 10/06/2013)

volunteering at homeless shelters, summer day camps, and tutoring programs, in addition to a lot of other things with her church.”⁴⁹

The highlighting of civic engagement attributes alludes to a more expansive definition of ‘good citizenship’ than a divide based solely on legal documentation. The U.S., along with other liberal democracies, is known for its widely held belief in meritocracy. Common tropes such as ‘immigrants just come here to work’ or ‘immigrants are hard workers’ reflect this sentiment. I found that 33% of action alerts invoked this sentiment. For example, Elier Lara is described as having an “undying work ethic.”⁵⁰ The presentation of immigrants as hard workers reflects more than just citizenship as an objective legal status or a nationality. It also reflects what it means to be a particular type of citizen—a ‘good’ citizen.

Innocent, Deserving, and Victimized

In general, the most sympathetic stories are selected for case mobilization (Bosworth 2011, Keck and Sikkink 1998). Existing scholarship has illustrated how both legal advocates and organized publics have worked to portray certain immigrants as innocent victims in order to promote their right to remain in the country (Freedman 2011, Lakhani 2013). These same sentiments are reflected in court cases, as well as various criteria laid out in the Morton Memo (see Appendix G). In the case of anti-deportation campaigns, tropes of innocence are used to undermine the counterclaim that the legal status of campaign subjects means that they have violated the law or done something wrong. Action alerts presented undocumented youth in deportation proceedings as innocent victims who are in legal limbo for reasons beyond their control. My analysis suggests that particular circumstances or attributes are emphasized more than others in anti-deportation campaigns. Indeed, nearly three-quarters of the alerts (74%)

⁴⁹ <http://www.dreamactivist.org/save-herta/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁵⁰ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/elier/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

mentioned that the individual had arrived in the U.S. as a child, or had spent a significant part of their childhood or youth in the U.S. In addition, 32% of alerts stated explicitly that the individual was “brought” to the U.S. by family or friends, thus presenting a lack of choice regarding the decision to migrate in the first place. For example, the following action alert describes subject Balal Parveez as follows:

Balal embodies the idea of a model American. He was *brought* to the U.S. from Pakistan *when he was five*. He was a good student, played on his high school football team, went to community college, and married his high school sweetheart. Balal has no criminal record whatsoever (emphasis added).⁵¹

Balal’s petition was wildly successful, gathering over 13,000 online petitions. However, while the alert may remove the blame for unauthorized status from the individual, it may inadvertently place it on others (such as parents), with potentially negative consequences (Yukich 2013).

Balal’s petition also includes an explicit mention of his clean criminal record. Criminal history is one of the main criteria for immigration enforcement and around 17% of the campaigns made sure to point out that the subject had no such record.⁵²

[Table 4.3 Approximately here]

Action alerts also told stories of the interpersonal costs of deportation, espousing notions of innocence and suffering (and therefore, a sense of deservingness to stay). Half of the alerts mentioned that the individual doesn’t know or doesn’t remember his country of origin or that he would suffer in some way if deported. For example, an action alert for Julio Martinez included the following: “He barely knows his family in Honduras...Also, there is a lot of crime in

⁵¹ <http://www.change.org/petitions/release-dreamer-balal-parveez-to-his-family-and-stop-his-deportation> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁵² This does not mean other subjects had a criminal record; however, it indicates that the organizations focus mainly on notions of ‘good’ citizenship. In addition, leaving out mention of criminal records may also be a way for the organizations to reconcile the problematic elements of campaigns that are so strategically nationalistic. Indeed, they have been subject to criticism from other immigrant rights organizations for focusing too much on students, to the detriment of other, less privileged immigrant groups.

Honduras and his family is scared for his safety.”⁵³ In addition, almost a quarter of the action alerts described the subject as a victim of domestic violence, trafficking or some other crime. This language implies that the subjects would suffer greatly if deported, and therefore should be allowed to stay. This reasoning aligns with ICE’s priorities for prosecutorial discretion; for example, the Morton Memo explicitly mentions “the circumstance of the persons’ arrival in the U.S...particularly if the alien came to the United States as a child” and “ties to the home country and condition in the country,” for example (see Appendix A).

Action alerts also tended to focus on subjects’ vulnerable family members and the broader impact of the impending deportation. As Table 4.3 demonstrates, half of the alerts also mentioned that family or friends in the U.S. would suffer if the individual were deported, demonstrating undocumented immigrants’ extensively ties to their communities. For example, we learn of Marlen Moreno’s traumatic arrest:

In 2008, as she slept with her 8-month old son in her hands, ICE showed up at her house...She would spend the next four months in jail and detention all because she needed to work to provide for her family. She now faces deportation from the only country she knows. Worst of all, she faces separation from her husband, a legal resident, and her two sons, both American citizens.⁵⁴

This alert invokes the innocence of the subject (by mentioning that her only crime was trying to work), yet it also underscores the harsh consequences for her husband and U.S. citizen children. Nearly a quarter of the campaigns were carried out for parents of U.S. citizen children. A smaller percentage of alerts mentioned that the subject had suffered from an illness (10%) or was the caretaker for a sick family member (8%), both considerations set forth in the Morton Memo. As in Marlen’s action alert, the conditions of the arrest were often cited: 25% of action alerts mentioned that the subject was placed in deportation proceedings due to routine traffic

⁵³ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/petition/Julio/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁵⁴ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/marlen/Organization%20Sign%20on%20letter.pdf> (accessed 10/06/2013)

violations, and another 15% due to immigration checkpoints or raids on homes, workplaces, or public transportation. The following three quotes appeared action alerts:

Mario has no criminal record but came to the attention of ICE due to traffic violations.⁵⁵

Deyvid, who dreams of becoming a Christian pastor, was on his way to Bible College in Louisiana when immigration agents boarded his Greyhound bus and detained him.⁵⁶

On a September morning, just before dawn, ICE came knocking on Fredd Reyes' door. It was 5 a.m. and Fredd was asleep after a long night of studying for his exam at Guilford Technical Community College that very same day.⁵⁷

The inference from these quotes is that deportation is an extraordinarily harsh punishment for something as minor as routine traffic violations, or being in the wrong place at the wrong time. In addition, raids and checkpoints are portrayed as surprise assaults on the immigrants in question, furthering a sense of empathy for the individuals involved. The campaigns go to great lengths to portray undocumented immigrant youth as innocent victims who are therefore inappropriate targets for the social coercion entailed in deportation.

Campaign Tactics and Outcomes

The action alerts I analyze here are not just sympathetic stories about campaign subjects. They also employ clear tactics and calls to action, and regularly include information about broader immigration policy. Table 4.4 shows that the vast majority of action alerts include specific calls to action in the form of online petition (92%), calls or faxes to a campaign target (70%), and/or requests to share the case information using email or social media such as

⁵⁵ http://wfc2.wiredforchange.com/o/8496/p/dia/action/public/?action_KEY=341 (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁵⁶ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/morales/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁵⁷ <http://www.dreamactivist.org/bring-fredd-home-thanksgiving/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

Facebook or Twitter (28%). Taking action requires supporters to do something beyond reading about the case; and in many cases, to do something outside of the internet such as make a call.

[Table 4.4 approximately here]

The calls to action usually mention a DHS or Congressional target by name (74% and 30%, respectively). This difference in frequency of campaign targets is striking. While Ellermann's work hypothesized that it is politicians who put the pressure on immigration bureaucrats to ultimately stop certain deportations, in this case, it appears that pressure is being exerted directly onto DHS and ICE officials. For example, Hadi Zaidi's supporters were encouraged to make direct calls to the offices of ICE Director John Morton and DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano. Phone numbers were provided, as well as a sample script:

*"I am calling to ask that the deportation of DREAMer Hadi Syed Zaidi be stopped. Hadi has been living in the U.S. since he was 4 years old and is currently working towards obtaining a degree in Industrial Design. Hadi is DREAM Act eligible and should be allowed to stay in the country with his family. Don't deport Hadi."*⁵⁸

In the above quote, Hadi's acculturation and long-time residence are invoked as important components of his case. But the alert also mentions the DREAM Act. Therefore, even though the specific ask is to help stop his deportation, it also serves as an important educational tool, linking the acute injustices faced by Hadi to a larger policy solution. Indeed, as demonstrated in Table 4.4, this tactic was used regularly in the cases I analyzed: 51% mentioned the DREAM Act and 30% mentioned comprehensive immigration reform (CIR). Yet references to these policies were employed strategically, depending on the political moment. For example, 13 of the 20 cases from 2010 were waged in the five months leading up to Congress' December vote on the DREAM Act (which ultimately failed). Likewise, 30 of the 44 cases in 2011 took place immediately following the release of the Morton Memo in June. Seventy-eight percent of all cases occurring after that

⁵⁸ <http://www.change.org/petitions/stop-the-deportation-of-pakistani-dreamer-hadi-zaidi> (accessed 10/06/2013)

point referred directly to the memo. For example, Maria Gonzalez's July 2012 action alert mentions several criteria listed in the memo:

According to the memo issued by John Morton, Maria is a low-priority case and should be granted favorable exercise of prosecutorial discretion. Maria has no criminal record and helps provide for her family, which includes a U.S. citizen husband.⁵⁹

While most of the cases until 2012 focused on immigrant students facing deportation, after the Obama administration announced the DACA program in June 2012, the campaign tactics took a marked shift: of the 26 cases that took place after June 2012, only 4 were for students. Indeed, after the announcement of DACA, DA's campaigns turned almost exclusively to adult, non-student immigrants. For example, one of DA's July 2012 campaigns was for Maximino Hoz, who was detained at Broward Detention Center in Florida:

On January 2012, Maximino Hoz was fishing with his children ... when a Forest Guard came over to inquire about his name and immigration status. Clearly racially profiled, Maximino was then sent to Broward Transitional Center where he has spent the past eight months... Maximino, who was born in Mexico, has been living in the United States for the past nineteen years... According to the memo issued by John Morton, Maximino is a low-priority case and should be granted favorable exercise of prosecutorial discretion. Maximino has no criminal record and instead is the main provider for a wife and five children, who also depend on him as a caregiver. Please help keep Maximino in the country that he considers home so that he can remain with his family and help take care of them.⁶⁰

This alert reveals familiar themes of citizenship as acculturation (long-time residence) and innocence (he has no criminal record, he was racially profiled, and his wife and children would suffer greatly if he was deported). In addition, the alert specifically mentions the Morton Memo. The alert contains an online petition to ICE, as well as to Florida Senator Bill Nelson. However, it employs slightly different tactics for Maximino than those found in student campaigns. Instead of emphasizing Maximino's individual

⁵⁹ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/florida/maria/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

⁶⁰ <http://action.dreamactivist.org/florida/max/> (accessed 10/31/13)

innocence and the personal suffering his deportation might cause, it focuses instead on his role as a caregiver and the negative impact his removal would have on his family. I discuss these subtle differences in more depth below.

DA and UWD did not consistently publicize the outcomes of the cases—whether or not the subject was allowed to stay in the U.S. of 35 public cases. Of the 35 cases for which I was able to track down the campaign result, 27 subjects (77%) were allowed to stay in the country through prosecutorial discretion or release from detention, while only 8 (23%) were deported. While these numbers are too small to be representative of the cases overall, they suggest a very high level of success. Likewise, while case outcomes are not always publicly available, some petitions were generated using software that displayed the total petition count per case. As such, I was able to track the total number of petition signatures on 56 cases. My analysis shows that petitions received between 158 and almost 39,000 signatures, with a median of 1,834 signatures. High petition counts are quite common, and understood by the organizations to be critical to campaign success. Indeed, UWD now requires field coordinators to commit to collect a minimum of 1,500 signatures per campaign.⁶¹ Targeted calls and faxes have also generated extensive support. Organizers of Herta Llusho’s case released a video detailing one of her mandatory visit with the ICE Field Officer assigned to her case. An enthusiastic Herta describes how the officer told her he’d received a “Nine-plus inches [stack] of faxes” from her supporters.⁶²

Finally, the cases received extensive media coverage. In an analysis of the mainstream print, radio, and online news coverage of these campaigns, Patler and Gonzales find that 43% of cases received news coverage that reflected the same notions of citizenship I present herein

⁶¹ Personal correspondence with Southern California campaign coordinator, 2/26/13.

⁶² <http://www.dreamactivist.org/save-herta/> (accessed 10/06/2013)

(Patler and Gonzales n.d.). These findings are striking, given the previously documented proliferation of news with a decidedly anti-immigrant frame (Chavez 2001, Chavez 2008). However, media coverage was not consistent across cases: indeed, those whose cases contained each of the components of the citizenship frames (acculturation, civic engagement and innocence), were much more likely to receive coverage. These findings underscore both the undocumented youth organizations' media know-how, as well as the news media's important role in reproducing subjective meanings of national membership and belonging.

Comparing Cases: Anti-Deportation Campaigns for Students vs. Non-Students

I have demonstrated that anti-deportation campaigns by DA and UWD employ notions of citizenship as acculturation and civic engagement, while highlighting victimhood and innocence. I have also shown that these campaign tactics strategically align with the government's stated priorities for deportation in order to stop the subject's deportation, but also to bring about policy change. Finally, I have illustrated that these tactics change depending on the political moment (before or after the Morton Memo, the implementation of DACA, etc.). I now turn to the variation between portrayals of 'good' citizenship between student and non-student campaign subjects.

[Table 4.5 approximately here]

Table 4.5 shows that while anti-deportation campaigns rely on specific tropes of citizenship and belonging, there are some notable differences between cases for students and non-students. This suggests that DA and UWD are aware that public sympathies may vary across immigrant groups, necessitating slightly different tactics. For example, many non-student campaign subjects had come to the U.S. as adults; therefore, their cases could

not emphasize the story of the straight-A student, the childhood arrival, or the deeply integrated ‘All-American’ kid. For example, roughly four times as many student campaigns described the subject as “All-American” or “just like everyone else,” while only 7% of non-student campaigns employed this tactic. On the contrary, while 26% of student campaigns described the subject as a “good worker” or “hard worker,” this number jumped to nearly half (46%) for non-student campaigns. Though both types of campaigns emphasize acculturation and civic engagement, they do so differently across student and non-student groups.

As demonstrated above in Maximino’s case, notions of innocence also varied between students and non-students. In order to test this, I created two indices of innocence. The first index includes each of the variables of individual innocence as highlighted in the Morton Memo and described in Table 4.3 (childhood arrival, whether the individual would suffer in the country of origin, etc.). The second index includes the variables representing subjects’ families’ innocence or victim status (whether family in the U.S. would suffer if the subject was deported, whether the subject has U.S. citizen children, spouse or parents, etc.). A two-tailed t-test of the difference in mean scores between students and non-students reveals that tropes of individual innocence are statistically more likely to be used for students than non-students (2.1 vs. 1.4). On the other hand, tropes of family suffering were almost twice as likely to appear for non-students than for students (1.3 vs. 0.7).

As I describe above, information on case outcomes was available for only 35 public cases: sixty-five percent of which were for students and 35% for non-students, which approximately reflects the distribution of educational status in the overall sample. I find that

campaign outcomes varied between students and non-students: while 95% of students whose campaign outcomes were available were allowed to stay in the U.S., only half of non-students were allowed to stay. Though these numbers may not be representative of the sample overall, they were statistically significant within the 35 cases for which data was available. Student and non-student cases also displayed variation in the median number of petitions collected. However, these differences were not statistically significant, suggesting that student status does not necessarily predict the level of support for a campaign. However, we can observe statistically significant differences in the percentage of media coverage of the cases: while 54% of student cases received media hits, only 24% of non-student cases received media hits. These differential findings suggest that generating—and receiving—public sympathy requires different tactics for students and non-students.

Discussion and Conclusions

Immigration control efforts have expanded significantly over the past quarter-century, resulting in a vast increase in undocumented immigration and, in turn, the further expansion of enforcement programs such as detention and deportation. Yet debates about deportation policy often fail to recognize that undocumented immigrants do not exist in isolation. Quite to the contrary, they develop extensive ties to citizens and non-citizens alike. Therefore, when immigrants are threatened with deportation, the costs of expulsion are experienced by a much larger group of people than the deportee alone, and will lead those affected to mobilize. As previous literature has shown, these mobilizations can be very effective because they target immigration bureaucrats who are susceptible to claims-making, as well as elite politicians who have little to lose in advocating against individual deportations, even while promoting broader

enforcement policies (Ellermann 2009). However, existing literature has paid little attention to the strategies and tactics of case mobilization, especially in the current context of heightened immigration enforcement in the U.S. under the regime of DHS.

This chapter sought to explain the nature and context of anti-deportation claims-making by national undocumented youth organizations. Through an analysis of 125 anti-deportation campaign action alerts, I highlight how the organizations make moral claims against deportation in highly coordinated ways that are linked to policy-making. Though recent work has highlighted the expansion of the undocumented student movement in states like California (Nicholls 2013), to my knowledge the present study is one of the first to demonstrate a coordinated form of resistance utilized across the national undocumented student movement. Indeed, I show that protest does not occur on an isolated, case-by-case basis, but is the result of an organized social movement, seeking both to defend individuals *and* affect policy. By linking the direct costs of deportation to efforts for more expansive policies such as the DREAM Act, the organizations channel outrage about immigration policy *enforcement* (deportation) to activism around *policy-making*. In particular, by underscoring the *social* integration of undocumented youth, the organizations attempt to justify the grounds for ending *legal* exclusion. They do so by highlighting the practices and standings associated with citizenship (acculturation, civic engagement) to blur the boundaries between legal and illegal, and therefore to lay claim to a right to continued residence.

Anti-deportation campaigns led by undocumented youth organizations highlight certain characteristics of campaign subjects that align with popular and legal notions of ‘good’ citizenship and innocence. As I have shown, campaigns for subjects around the country tell the story of acculturated, civically engaged “Americans in waiting” (Motomura 2006), whose

deportation would negatively impact entire communities. The campaigns also underscore subjects' youth and age upon arrival, portraying them as innocent victims who would suffer greatly if deported. In these ways, the organizations strategically position campaign subjects as inappropriate targets for the harm associated with deportation.

This presentation of undocumented youth as 'good' citizens is strategic in two ways. First, it addresses the counterclaim that deportable immigrants are law violators. By presenting subjects as innocent victims, undocumented youth organizations position this group of deportable migrants as lacking responsibility for law-breaking, which in turn makes them undeserving of the punishment of expulsion. Second, the campaigns purposely present subjects with 'citizen-like' attributes, in order to align with ICE's stated priorities for the apprehension and removal of non-citizens. As such, the tactics employed by undocumented youth organizations in the U.S. may be understood as *strategically nationalistic*. This is especially true when compared with immigrant rights advocacy in Europe and Canada, which is mostly led by citizens, and has been more likely to focus on frames of international human rights, rather than claims to citizenship.

As Table 4.5 demonstrates, I observed statistically significant differences between the tactics and outcomes of student vs. non-student campaigns. I conclude therefore that there is something particular about student status that often becomes a proxy for young and vulnerable, and therefore undeserving of government regulation. Non-students are less likely to benefit from these stereotypes—a reality DA and UWD are aware of. As such, non-student campaigns are much more likely to focus on the suffering that deportation would cause *others*, as opposed to the subject himself. In this way, the campaigns strategically spread the costs of deportation over entire families and communities, allowing for increased sympathy for the subject's case.

As I have shown, campaign tactics are constrained by the government's deportation priorities. However, the tactics also changed both in response to policy changes and in order to influence such changes. For example, student cases were predominate in the months and years leading up to the historic Morton Memo, in which student status was—for the first time—considered as a factor against deportation. After the Morton Memo was released, campaign tactics took a marked shift, in particular by bringing in cases of non-students. After the DACA program was announced in June 2012, student cases practically disappeared, as that program brought about a categorical option for relief for young undocumented students in deportation proceedings. These tactical changes suggest political savvy on the part of the organizations, as well as creativity and flexibility. To be sure, the campaigns are just one strategy in a large toolbox of tactics employed by undocumented youth organizations to win policy change. For example, both UWD and DA have also staged massive acts of civil disobedience to bring attention to the plight of undocumented immigrants. For example, in an event covered extensively by the media in 2013, DA brought a group of 9 deported students (now known as the DREAM 9) to the U.S.-Mexico border and demanded entry. Taken together, these strategies make known and publically recognizable the plight of undocumented immigrants—particularly undocumented youth. They paint a picture of a group of would-be citizens who should be allowed to remain in the U.S.

However, though the notions of citizenship reflected in the cases I analyze may appear generous, they necessarily and purposely align quite precisely with the government's stated priorities for deportation. Therefore, the campaigns may ultimately (if unintentionally) suggest that those who do not meet such criteria are somehow undeserving of the right to remain (Yukich 2013) or, potentially, to have rights at all. When examined in this way, the campaigns may also

reify the notion that the nation-state has the right to exclude particular immigrants with certain undesirable criteria. This perhaps ironic finding illuminates the contradictory, but also contested and malleable nature of the rights regime impinging on non-citizens in the U.S.

Finally, the success of the anti-deportation campaigns I document here may also create a false perception that immigrants have more control over their deportations than they actually do. As Sivaprasad Wadhia (2013) has shown, immigration authorities appear very unlikely to defer action on deportations, though the government keeps very incomplete records of prosecutorial discretion cases. As such, further research on prosecutorial discretion for undocumented immigrants would be informative and useful. In particular, research on anti-deportation mobilization could explore the nature of claims-making across private and semi-public campaigns, compared to the public campaigns I have analyzed here. Likewise, research that explores the success of deferred action claims across legal contexts would be helpful. For example, such research could explore whether Immigration Judges are more or less susceptible to humanitarian pressures than ICE officers, or whether they exercise additional discretion by considering certain background characteristics of the noncitizens in their courtrooms. In an era of ever-expanding immigration enforcement programs, such research would speak directly to Congressional policy debates and grassroots organizing efforts alike.

Table 4.1. Anti-Deportation Campaigns Led by National Undocumented Youth Organizations, 2009-2012 (n=125)

| Individual Characteristics | |
|---|-----|
| Median Age (n=49) | 24 |
| Male | 78% |
| <i>Most Frequent Countries of Origin+</i> | |
| Mexico | 30% |
| Guatemala | 7% |
| Colombia | 6% |
| Not Stated | 14% |
| Former/Current Student | 63% |
| Campaign Characteristics | |
| <i>Cases per Year</i> | |
| 2009 | 6% |
| 2010 | 16% |
| 2011 | 35% |
| 2012 | 42% |
| <i>Organization Running Campaign</i> | |
| Dream Activist | 64% |
| United We Dream | 21% |
| Other | 15% |
| Group Campaign | 26% |
| <i>Most Frequent U.S. State of Campaign++</i> | |
| Florida | 26% |
| California | 14% |
| Texas | 7% |
| <i>Political Climate</i> | |
| State has In-State Tuition Law/Policy | 36% |
| State has Policy Banning In-State Tuition | 11% |

+ Individuals came from 26 different countries on 5 continents

++ Individuals came from 24 different U.S. states (including Washington, D.C.)

Table 4.2. Anti-Deportation Campaign Presentation of Citizenship as Acculturation and Civic Engagement (n=125)

| | |
|--|-----|
| Acculturation | |
| Student status | 63% |
| <i>Type of School Attended/Attending</i> | |
| High School/GED | 33% |
| Community College | 25% |
| University | 35% |
| Multiple | 7% |
| Educational accomplishments | 41% |
| "Feel American" / "All-American" / "like everyone else" | 19% |
| Civic Engagement | |
| Volunteering or community involvement (sports/church etc.) | 38% |
| "Good worker" / "works hard" | 33% |

Table 4.3. Anti-Deportation Campaign Representation of Innocence / Deservingness (n=125)

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Individual Characteristics (matching criteria in Morton Memo)</i> | |
| Childhood arrival to U.S. or extended time in U.S. | 74% |
| Subject would suffer in country of origin / "doesn't know" country of origin | 50% |
| Subject was "brought" to U.S. | 32% |
| Explicit mention of no criminal record | 17% |
| Subject was victim of domestic violence, trafficking, or other crime | 22% |
| Subject has/had illness | 10% |
| <i>Family Circumstances (matching criteria in Morton Memo)</i> | |
| Family in U.S. would suffer if deported | 50% |
| Subject is parent; children would suffer | 23% |
| Subject has U.S. Citizen Family members (spouse, child, parent) | 22% |
| Subject is caretaker for someone with illness | 8% |
| <i>How Arrested / Got into Deportation Proceedings</i> | |
| No mention | 32% |
| Routine traffic violations | 25% |
| Raid on job or in home | 9% |
| ID check on transportation (airports/buses) | 6% |
| Arrest (DUI etc.) | 6% |
| Other (including Asylum denial) | 19% |

Table 4.4. Tactics & Outcome of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (n=125)

| Campaign Tactics | |
|---|------------|
| <i>Explicit Calls to Action</i> | |
| Sign Online Petition | 92% |
| Call or Fax Target | 70% |
| Email to a Friend / Post to Social Media | 28% |
| <i>Campaign Target</i> | |
| DHS (Napolitano, Morton, ICE Regional Director/Field Officer) | 74% |
| Politician (Member of Congress) | 30% |
| <i>Policy Mention</i> | |
| DREAM Act | 51% |
| Morton Memo or Enforcement Priorities (after June 2011) | 78% |
| Comprehensive Immigration Reform | 20% |
| Campaign Outcome | |
| <i>Outcome of Case</i> | |
| Released from detention/granted prosecutorial discretion | 22% |
| Deported | 6% |
| Unknown (not published) | 72% |
| <i>Petition Signatures*</i> | |
| Mean | 4,773 |
| Median | 1,834 |
| Range | 158-38,983 |
| Case Received Media Hit | 43% |

*Petition data publically available for 56 cases

Table 4.5. Anti-Deportation Campaign Tactics and Outcomes by Student Status (n-125)

| | <u>All Cases</u> | <u>Students</u> | <u>Non-Students</u> | <u>Comparison of Students vs. Non-Students</u> |
|--|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--|
| Individual Characteristics | | | | |
| Median Age (n=48) | 23 | 22 | 26 | * |
| Acculturation | | | | |
| "Feel American" / "All-American" / "like everyone else" | 19% | 27% | 7% | ** |
| Civic Engagement | | | | |
| Volunteering or community involvement (sports/church etc.) | 38% | 45% | 28% | |
| "Good worker" Or "works hard" | 33% | 26% | 46% | * |
| Innocence Indices (Mean Scores) | | | | |
| Individual innocence/suffering index (range 0-5) | 1.9 | 2.3 | 1.6 | *** |
| Family innocence/suffering index (range 0-4) | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.3 | *** |
| Campaign Outcome | | | | |
| Released from detention/granted prosecutorial discretion+ | 77% | 95% | 50% | ** |
| Median petition signatures++ | 1,834 | 2,080 | 1,002 | |
| Case Received Media Hit | 43% | 54% | 24% | ** |

+Release data only available for 35 cases.

++Petition data publically available for 56 cases.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Enforced Incomplete Incorporation

This dissertation sought to examine a critical paradox of contemporary U.S. immigration policy. On the one hand, undocumented immigrants are legally expellable (deportable) from the state, yet are still extensively embedded in its institutions and culture and are generally protected under the constitution. Undocumented immigrants who come to the country as children are a strong example of this paradox. While they do not have formal citizenship, they have access to many rights including the right to attend K-12 education; many come to identify as “American” through a mastery of English language and participation in institutions such as schools; and they become involved in their communities. However, in spite of having access to certain rights, undocumented youth face barriers to their advancement. They face stigma and fear of exclusion (formal and symbolic), causing many to give up on aspirations of good jobs or higher education. Yet in some cases, others are mobilized by their precarious circumstances to engage in collective action in order make claims on the government for more formal inclusion.

This paradox inspired the focus on the following *central research questions* that I sought to answer in one theoretical and three empirical chapters:

- 4) How does the migrant-receiving state create a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion in a segment of its immigrant population, thereby enforcing undocumented immigrants’ incomplete incorporation?
- 5) How does enforced incomplete incorporation affect one of the most vulnerable segments of the immigrant population—undocumented youth who were brought to the U.S. as children?

- i. How do undocumented young adults experience this incomplete inclusion?
 - ii. What impacts does legal status have on varying dimensions of young adults' social worlds, including educational outcomes and social network formation?
 - iii. How do the impacts of legal status change depending on individual, family, socioeconomic, and educational background, and other characteristics?
- 6) What tactics do undocumented youth employ as they struggle for more formal inclusion?

The Paradox of the Undocumented

The first chapter explained the socio-legal origins of the paradox of the undocumented in the U.S. I showed how policies and court cases, while underscoring the importance of national sovereignty in determining access to citizenship, have also regularly considered conceptions of citizenship that are broader than nationality (for example, long-term residence, innocence, and belonging) in granting rights to immigrants. In addition, I presented literature exposing the often unspoken policy of non-enforcement of certain components of immigration law (Massey, Durand and Malone 2002). Of course, even under-enforced, these laws are still real, creating the legal violence that normalizes the cumulatively injurious effects of the law, and causing tremendous distress in immigrant communities (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). As such, and taken together, these laws, court cases, and policies have promoted the growth and expansion of a large and long-term undocumented population; yet have also solidified its exclusion. And this population has grown to include millions of children and young adults who have spent the majority of their lives in the U.S. in precarious legal statuses. The empirical chapters of this dissertation sought to examine the consequences of such a phenomenon.

Undocumented Disadvantage, Citizen Advantage, or Both? The Comparative Educational Outcomes and Aspirations of the Children of Immigrants in California

Sociologists have long demonstrated that educational attainment and aspirations are important indicators of integration and social mobility for the children of immigrants. Yet most studies of immigrant integration and educational stratification have been limited by an oversimplification of generational groups that does not distinguish between immigrants' legal statuses. Chapter two sought to determine the impact of legal and citizenship status on the educational trajectories of young adults, analyzing how long-term "illegality" might impact not only educational outcomes, but also aspirations, as compared to documented immigrants (citizens and lawful permanent residents—LPR's) and second-generation native-born peers. Using survey data from the CYAS, I compared second generation (2G), 1.5-generation citizens (1.5GC), 1.5-generation LPR's, and undocumented Latino young adults in California. I specifically analyze the predictors of high school grade point average (GPA), likelihood of dropping out of high school, post-secondary enrollment (PSE), and educational aspirations.

I find evidence that undocumented legal status more than doubles the odds of dropping out of high school, compared to 2G respondents. Likewise, undocumented status reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by more than half, compared to 2G youth. However, LPR status *also* reduces the odds of enrolling in PSE by a nearly identical amount, compared to 2G youth. Although this finding is just marginally significant (likely due to small sample sizes), undocumented and LPR status appear to predict educational outcomes, even after accounting for SES background and school-based tracking. Overall, the findings provide evidence of both an undocumented disadvantage *and* a citizen advantage in PSE enrollment.

In terms of GPA, I find that 1.5GCs do much better than each of the other groups. This again suggests a *citizen* advantage, as GPA benefits appear to be limited to citizens, yet these benefits may not transfer into PSE enrollment, as native-born U.S. citizens (2G's) are still most

likely to enroll in PSE. Finally, I find no evidence of significant overall differences between citizenship and legal status groups in terms of educational aspirations, suggesting that the children of immigrants, regardless of citizenship status, are at least partially incorporating into U.S. educational systems, including developing educational expectations and aspirations that practically mirror their native-born peers.

Variables for high school tracking and exposure to peer networks (measured by participation in Honors and ESL classes during high school) are very powerful and highly significant in my analysis. Honors participation in particular is consistently one of the strongest predictors of achievement (predicting much higher GPA and aspirations, vastly increased PSE enrollment, and much lower likelihood of dropping out). On the other hand, though slightly weaker in the models, ESL participation increases odds of dropping out, decreases odds of enrolling in PSE, and reduces aspirations. Overall, these findings suggest that educational outcomes are not just influenced by a divide between legality and “illegality,” but also between citizenship and non-citizenship, as well as by school-based sorting mechanisms that may impact all students regardless of legal status.

“Illegality” in Everyday Life: Social Networks, Institutional Participation, and Identity Formation among Undocumented Immigrant Young Adults

Sociological literature on immigrant integration argues that co-ethnic social networks can act as protective mechanisms for the children of immigrants, keeping them out of trouble and shielding them from the negative impacts of discrimination. Literature on immigrant adults finds that legal status can constrain the spread of social capital in immigrants’ social networks and prevent them from accessing education. In addition, research on legal violence finds that liminal legality can cause great stress for students when seeking educational resources. However, these

theories have largely existed in a vacuum of one another, and have not fully addressed the ways in which legal status impacts how young undocumented immigrants build their communities and participate in institutions such as schools and community organizations. This chapter draws from survey and in-depth interview data from undocumented respondents from the CYAS (including both a random sample and a listed sample of participants of immigrant student and community organizations—“Dreamers”), as well as in-depth interviews with a snowball sample of undocumented youth in Southern California. I analyze undocumented youths’ decisions to reveal or conceal their status to peers and school personnel throughout their young adulthood.

Logistic regression analysis of data from the CYAS Dreamer sample shows that the odds of feeling the need to hide status from high school *personnel* are impacted by youths’ context of reception, including region of origin (Mexico/Central America versus Asia/Pacific Islands) and whether students were in high school before or after the passage and implementation of California’s in-state tuition policy (with older students more likely to report needing to hide status). However, the odds of hiding status from high school *peers* appear to be influenced by socioeconomic background only. As Dreamers approach college, their odds of hiding status are again influenced by their age of arrival (with older arrivals more likely to hide status), socioeconomic background (with higher income students more likely to hide their status). Hiding status from peers in college is influenced by age of arrival, with teenage arrivals more likely to conceal their status than those who arrived before the age of six. Likewise, hiding status in college from both peers and school personnel is strongly predicted by whether respondents hid their status from peers or personnel in high school, suggesting a long-term impact of stigma beginning with early educational experiences. Though much of the literature on undocumented students’ high school experiences describes youth as “finding out” about their status in their late

teens (Gonzales 2011, Menjívar and Abrego 2012), the average respondent in my sample knew about their status before the age of 9.

Interview data expand on these findings, revealing more about the mechanisms behind—and consequences of—hiding status. As with other studies, my data show that feeling the need to hide legal status can keep undocumented young adults from seeking educational resources (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). However, I also show that legal status impacts how they form peer and social networks. And these impacts vary depending not just on organizational participation but also on the manner of arrival to the U.S., as well as on household dynamics (such as having children or younger siblings to care for), and institutional contexts (whether or not respondents were part of community organizations). In addition, though previous research has described the constraints on social capital brought on by liminal legality for undocumented adults (Menjívar 2000, Menjívar 2008), my results show that the presence of other undocumented youth in the extended social network becomes a critical resource for navigating formal exclusion. Knowing other undocumented immigrants helps to spread out the feelings of fear and stigma brought on by legal status, making undocumented youth feel less isolated. My data also reveal that other undocumented young adults who have “made it” educationally become critical bridges to navigating the educational system—alongside, or sometimes more so, than teachers and counselors who undocumented youth may choose to avoid so as not to reveal their legal status. These findings expose some of the ways the immigration policies intrude into the lives of undocumented immigrants, with implications for their incorporation.

Undocumented Youth Organizations, Anti-Deportation Campaigns, and the Boundaries of Belonging

Previous literature theorizes that deportation, as an example of a coercive social policy, signifies acute costs on deportees and their communities, leading those affected to mobilize against deportations, with high success across national contexts. Yet this literature does not explain how claims are made or how they differ across immigrant groups. Through an analysis of 125 anti-deportation campaigns led by undocumented youth organizations in the U.S., I show how the organizations develop claims that purposefully link concerns for individuals to policy change. I document a nationally coordinated model that strategically and repeatedly relies upon ideologies of citizenship that emphasize acculturation, civic engagement, and innocence. Campaign tactics purposely play into existing socio-legal ambiguities of membership and belonging described in chapter one. Indeed, by highlighting the *social* integration of undocumented immigrants, the campaigns blur the boundaries between citizen and noncitizen, and between lawful and unlawful, in an attempt to justify the grounds for ending *legal* exclusion.

Chapter four also shows that campaign tactics vary depending on the subject, and likely responding to current public understandings of undocumented immigrants and undocumented immigration: immigrant students are described as high-achievers who would *personally* suffer greatly if deported, while campaigns for non-students emphasize the detrimental effects of deportation on *others*. These differing tactics are strategically deployed both in response to, and in order to influence public opinion and policy change. However, anti-deportation campaigns remain bounded by the government's priorities for deportation, emphasizing a version of citizenship that may ultimately exclude immigrants who may be considered less "deserving."

Conclusion: Enforced Incomplete Incorporation

Figure 5.1 illustrates the causes and consequences of *enforced incomplete incorporation* (Patler 2011), as well as the factors that mitigate its severity and, I hope, make the concept applicable to other non-citizen groups. This general argument behind this concept is that the incorporation of undocumented young adults remains incomplete, in ways that are enforced explicitly by laws and experienced by undocumented youth both directly and implicitly within the various dimensions of their social lives (schools, social networks, families, organizational participation, etc.).

[Figure 5.1 approximately here]

As I showed in chapter one, U.S. immigration policy is the product of a long history of defining the “other.” Court cases, while underscoring the importance of national sovereignty in determining access to citizenship, have also regularly considered conceptions of membership that are broader than nationality in granting rights to immigrants (for example, long-term residence, innocence, and belonging). Over the past three decades, state and federal law has cracked down greatly on the undocumented admissions and rights, yet pro-immigrant policies have also emerged (e.g. instate tuition laws). Even laws that are under-enforced or unenforced can impact immigrant families. As Figure 5.1 shows, these laws and cases create ambiguities between who belongs and who doesn’t, creating a paradox in which undocumented immigrants are granted certain rights and generally protected under the Constitution, yet still experience “legal violence” in their families, communities, workplaces, and schools.

The paradox of the undocumented translates into incomplete incorporation, which can be characterized by its impacts on the various dimensions of social life—specifically in this dissertation, constrained social networks and detrimental educational outcomes. Existing

assimilation theories do not fully account for this incompleteness, as they do not go far enough in emphasizing the role of laws and policies in impacting incorporation outcomes (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). These theories do not explicitly consider “illegality” (or liminal legality) as a socially constructed category upon which people are divided (Menjívar 2006, Menjívar and Abrego 2012). Likewise, their focus on social structures and shared group characteristics by national origins groups cannot account for the experiences of legal status at the individual level.

As Figure 5.1 shows, the paradox of the undocumented produces incomplete incorporation to varying degrees according to the mitigating factors I mention. Some undocumented youth alter the course of their daily lives in order to avoid discovery. Yet others—such as the young adults who have mounted national anti-deportation campaigns—find themselves making claims against exclusion by emphasizing the same notions of social citizenship, membership and belonging found in existing laws and policies. As such, these claims may unintentionally reinforce the very categories that construct “illegality” in the first place.

But enforced incomplete incorporation is not experienced uniformly. In this dissertation I have documented several mitigating factors that can impact undocumented youths’ incorporation patterns. Chapter two showed that SES background and school tracking were also predictors of integration, as measured by educational outcomes. Chapter three showed that family background (including age of migration and political context of migration, in addition to caregiving responsibilities) impacted the likelihood of revealing or concealing status to others, which in turn impacts the social network formation of undocumented youth. Likewise, I showed that participating in community organizations could both temper and reinforce the prevalence of legal status in the lives of organizational participants. Finally, I showed that knowing other

undocumented immigrants—in particular, undocumented peers who have “made it” educationally—can be a critical resource in helping undocumented youth feel less isolated.

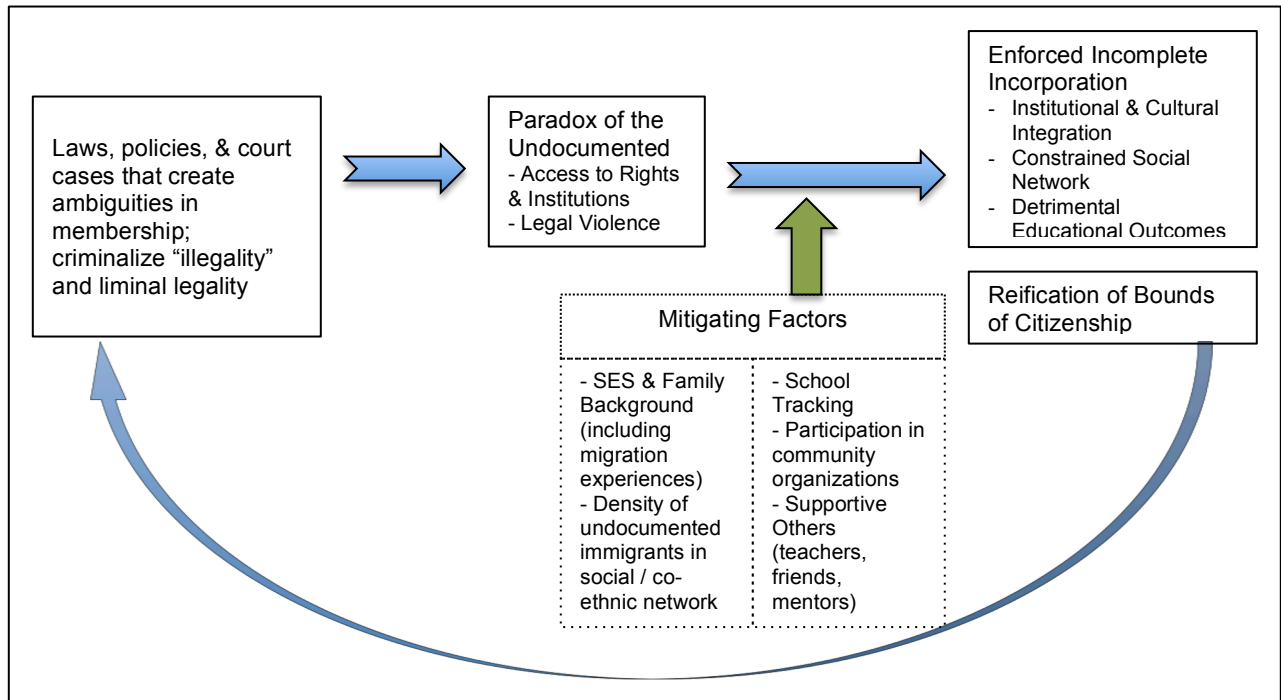
The idea that incomplete incorporation is *enforced* by laws and policies should make clear that undocumented youth are not accountable for the outcomes of incomplete incorporation, including the reification of existing bounds of citizenship. Instead, their lives are shaped by an existing political structure that does not grant them the power to negotiate status on their own terms. To be clear, however, they are not without agency; on the contrary, their impressive activism has been documented extensively (see chapter four herein; see also Gonzales 2008, Nicholls 2013, Patler and Gonzales n.d., Seif 2004, Seif 2011). Yet they must still work within an existing legal framework.

So how might we apply the concept of enforced incomplete incorporation elsewhere? For one thing, the concept may be useful for thinking through the impacts of other liminal or ambiguous legal statuses. Chapter two clearly revealed an undocumented disadvantage in terms of educational outcomes, yet it also showed a *citizenship* advantage, especially in terms of PSE enrollment, with LPR’s about equally unlikely to go to college as their undocumented peers. How do we explain this? The mitigating factors illustrated in Figure 5.1 may also allow the use of the framework of enforced incomplete incorporation to capture the experiences of other non-citizens such as LPR’s. For example, as Menjívar has documented extensively, immigrants in differing stages of liminal legality may also face detrimental impacts to their social networks and access to resources based on the same factors I outline here (socioeconomic and family background, lack of access to weak ties who can provide information about educational opportunities, etc.) (Menjívar 2000, Menjívar 2006, Menjívar 2008, Menjívar and Abrego 2012). Likewise, Yoshikawa has demonstrated that U.S. citizen children of undocumented parents may

be impacted by their parents' limited social networks, but that these effects can be mitigated through organizational participation (Yoshikawa 2011). Additional research on immigrant youth in varying legal status would be an important contribution to the literature.

This dissertation is one of the first that I am aware of to consider the presence of undocumented immigrants in the social network as a resource for undocumented youth. Additional research that maps the social networks of undocumented youth could confirm or dispute this finding. In addition, my focus on the impacts of educational tracking for undocumented students begins to fill a missing link between literature on educational stratification and immigrant integration. However, more research—especially work that which can compare immigrant students by legal *and* citizenship status—would be very helpful in expanding on these findings. Finally, a focus on immigrants outside of California is critical, as it is possible that some of my results are specific to this state in which Latinos, immigrants, and undocumented immigrants, respectively, are much more numerous than elsewhere in the country. Finally, the outcomes of enforced incomplete incorporation are surely more expansive than constrained social networks and detrimental educational outcomes. In particular, there is a wide dearth of literature on the long-term health and mental health outcomes of legal status that could bring together existing literature on immigrant integration and public health (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013). As people around the world continue to migrate in search of a better life, studying the causes and consequences of who is allowed to belong will remain both academically relevant and politically important.

Figure 5.1. Enforced Incomplete Incorporation: Causes, Effects & Mitigating Factors



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CYAS RDD Phone Survey Summary

CYAS Random Sample Telephone Survey Methodology

This study relies on telephone survey data collected through landline telephone and cell phone interviews with 2200 randomly selected youth, ages 18-26, who attended school in California at any point before the age of 17. Due to the importance of our sample having exposure to educational programs and resources available to youth in the state, adult immigrants and foreign college students were excluded from the study. This survey was administered in English and Spanish from April-August 2011 by the Cal State Fullerton Survey Research Center. Phone interviewers used CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) software during the interview in order to easily navigate skip patterns. This CATI software enhances data accuracy and contributes to the efficiency of interviews. Telephone surveys lasted an average of 25 minutes. Survey respondents received a \$30 gift card. Potential study participants were called up to 36 times in order to secure their participation.

The survey sample was drawn by a Research Triangle Institute consultant using a dual frame design of landline and cell phone numbers. The sampling process accounts for people possessing only landline telephones, only cell phones, and both landlines and cell phones. A two-stage cluster sampling method was implemented for the landline sample. During the first stage, a set of households using random digit dial (RDD) telephone sampling was selected. During the second stage, one age-eligible young adult was selected from each household. If there was only one age-eligible young adult in the household, then that young adult was selected. If there was more than one, then the young adult who had the most recent birthday was selected.

Over two fifths of respondents come from low-income backgrounds, meaning they were eligible for free or reduced lunch during high school (or that their families received public assistance while they were in high school). To obtain a sufficient number of low-income respondents, we oversampled landline numbers from homes in census tracts at or below the 20th percentile for median household income in California. Landlines are attached to households that are geocoded to census block groups, enabling the identification of households located in low-income neighborhoods. Telephone numbers were purchased through Marketing Systems Group, a contractor that provides samples with a high percentage of working numbers and a high geographic coverage.

The cell phone sample was drawn using a RDD one-stage sampling method because cell phones are primarily used by individuals rather than households. Both landline and cell phone samples were monitored while the survey was in the field in order to ensure the efficiency of the samples for the four strata (1. high status, 2. low status 3. landline and 4. cell phone). The response rates for the cell phone and landline samples were 56.1% and 58.5%, respectively.

Sampling weights that account for the sampling frame, household size, number of phone lines per household, and non-response are used in analyses to create population estimates. The 2010 American Community Survey data were used to calculate weights that account for non-response.

CYAS Phone Survey Questionnaire Overview

The CYAS telephone questionnaire is divided up into 6 parts: 1) warm up questions; 2) high school experience; 3) postsecondary educational experience; 4) employment; 5) civic engagement; 6) demographics.

CYAS Outcomes

The CYAS questionnaire measures the following outcomes:

Educational Outcomes

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| PSE Enrollment by type of institution | Educational expectations |
| Persistence vs. Stopping-Out | (Expected) time to degree completion |

Employment Outcomes

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Employment Status | Wages and Health insurance |
| Career expectations | |

Civic Engagement

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Organizational membership | Volunteering/Community Service |
| Community problem solving | Participation in protest activity |
| Online political expression | Voting |

Demographic Groups

Survey questions will be used to identify the following groups of interest:

- Low-Income/Poverty Background
- First generation college students
- Men & Women
- Racial/Ethnic groups underrepresented at 4 year colleges
- Whites, Asian-Americans, Latinos, African-Americans
- Youth from immigrant families
- Undocumented youth
- LGBTQ identified youth

Barriers to and Resources for PSE Enrollment and Degree Attainment

The survey aims to measure the extent to which stop-outs experience some key barriers to PSE enrollment and degree completion. It also polls stop-outs about the types of resources that might facilitate PSE enrollment and degree completion.

Barriers:

- Financial barriers
- Lack of child care
- Lack of preparation
- Insufficient guidance/direction

Resources that may facilitate PSE enrollment & completion

- Funding/Financial Aid
- Child Care

- Information/Counseling
- Transportation

Institutional resources

A key objective of the project is to explore the extent to which school, government & community-based resources mediate youths' outcomes. The survey measures access to the following institutional resources:

Resources accessed while in high school

| | |
|--|---|
| Career preparation and work experience | School, community, and church organizations |
| College prep programs and services | After-school/ weekend extra-curriculars |
| Mentors | |

PSE resources accessed as a young adult

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Academic & career counseling | Financial aid |
| Job search, job placement, & internships | Transfer services |
| Tutoring | |

High School Academic Achievement & Other Intervening Mechanisms

The survey measures the below and other intervening mechanisms shaping young adults' outcomes:

- High school GPA range
- AP/Honors/Career Education/SPED/CAHSEE prep course participation
- Highest math course in high school
- High school degree attainment
- Family background & current family composition
- Parents' legal status and other immigrant characteristics
- Criminalization
- Access to internet
- Access to a car
- High school characteristics
- Geographic proximity to PSE institutions & job clusters
- Neighborhood characteristics (Urban, suburban, rural residence)

| Appendix B. Educational Outcomes Variable List, CYAS 2011 | | |
|--|--|--|
| <i>Dependent Variables</i> | <u>Description</u> | <u>Value/Coding</u> |
| High School GPA of Mostly B's or Better | What kind of grades did you get/are you getting in high school? Would you say? 7. Mostly D's or lower 6. Mostly C's or D's 5. Mostly C's 4. Mostly B's or C's 3. Mostly B's 2. Mostly A's or B's 1. Mostly A's | Answer choices condensed to (3) and above and made into a dummy variable; coded 0/1 |
| High-School Dropout | What type of high school degree? 1. Still in H.S. 2. Regular H.S. Degree 3.G.E.D. 4. No degree | Dummy variable for selection of answer choice (4); coded 0/1 |
| Post-Secondary Enrollment | Which of the following types of schools have you attended since graduating or leaving high school? 1. Adult School 2. Vocational or Trade school 3. Community College 4. Four-year college or University to earn a Bachelor's degree 5. Graduate/ Professional School | My dataset contained a variable for any postsecondary education (PSE) which included respondents who reported attending school since finishing HS and chose answer choice 2 and above; coded 0/1 |
| Plans to have a job Requiring a B.A. by the age of 30 | Does this job require you to have a four-year college degree? | Respondents were asked what job/type of work they planned to do by the age of the 30, followed by the level of education necessary for that job. My dataset included a dummy variable; coded 0/1 |
| <i>Independent/Control Variables</i> | | |
| Legal/Generational Status | Were you born in the United States? [If not US:] Are you a U.S. Citizen? Are you a legal resident with a green card? [Parents]: In what country was your mother/father born? | Respondents who were born in the US but had at least one parent born abroad were coded as 2nd Generation. Those who reported non-US birth but were now citizens or legal residents were coded as 1.5-generation documented, and those who were not born in the US and did not report being US citizens or permanent residents were coded as 1.5-generation undocumented. |
| Sex | I am required to ask the following question. What is your gender? | Created a dummy variable for male; coded 0/1 |
| Age | In what month and year were you born? | Subtracted birthdate from date of survey. Answers: 18-26 |
| Low-Income background | While in high school were you ever eligible for free or reduced lunch? While you were in high school/between the ages of 14-17, was there ever a time when your parents or guardians received any form of public assistance from the government like CALWORKS, public housing, Section 8 housing, MediCal, or food stamps? | Respondents were coded as low-income if they answered yes to one or both of these questions; coded 0/1 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Parent(s) has a HS degree | What is the highest level of education completed by your father /mother/the person that acted as a father/mother to you? | My dataset included a cleaned variable for respondents who reported at least one parent without a high school degree. I inverted it to include at least one parent who does have a high school degree; coded as 0/1 |
| Parent(s) has a B.A. degree | Same as above | My dataset included a cleaned variable for respondents who reported at least one parent with a B.A. degree; coded as 0/1 |
| Two-parent household | While in high school/Between the ages of 14 and 17, did you live in the same house with both of your biological or adoptive parents? | Dummy variable; 0/1 |
| High School Curriculum: Honors/AP/IB | <p>I am going to read a list of courses and programs offered in some high schools. Please tell me if you were (have been) in any of them while in high school.</p> <p>a. Advanced Placement (AP) b. IB Program (International Baccalaureate) c. Honors program d. A course to prepare for the CAHSEE (High School Exit Exam) e. English as a Second Language f. Special Education g. A job placement or internship program h. Career and Technical Education courses or ROP classes</p> | I created a dummy variable for honors participation that included answer choices a-c in order to account for different programs at different high schools; coded as 0/1. |
| High School Curriculum: ESL | Same as above | I created a dummy variable for answer choice (e); coded as 0/1. |

APPENDIX C: CYAS core in-depth interview protocol

CORE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I. BACKGROUND

Let's start with a few quick questions about your background.

Who raised you? Did the adults in your household have jobs most of the time while you were growing up? [If yes] What were their jobs? [If not] What did they do instead [e.g. stay at home mom]?

Who did you live with while growing up? [If 1.5 or 2nd generation ask]: Did you have any language barriers or difficulties communicating in the same language with your parents?

Growing up did you have to help a lot around the house or help bring in money for the family? Did you have more or less responsibilities than your brothers/sisters?

II. HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMICS

Now I'm going to ask you about your academic experience in high school.

Did anybody at your high school ever talk to you about your plans after high school? How about anybody outside of your high school? If so, who did you talk to? What did they suggest you do? Was it helpful?

Overall, how did you do academically in your high school? Why do you think you did well/OK/not well? What did you find hard about going to school? What did you find easy about going to school?

[Ask if this person did OK/Well in school]: Were you involved in any programs that helped prepare you for college? How, if at all, did these programs help you? [*Probe*: like PSAT prep, tutoring, GATE classes, AP/Honors/IB classes, etc.]

Do you think [having/not having] a high school diploma] has made a difference in your life since high school? How would your life be different if you [had/didn't have] a high school diploma? What makes you think that? How different is your experience from people [who did/did not] get a degree?

Is there anything that you wish you had done differently while in high school, in terms of your academics? Is there anything else more generally that you wish was different about your school?

Some people tell us that they have felt like they were treated unfairly at school because of who they are or what they look like. Do you feel you have ever been treated unfairly at school by peers, teachers, administrators or anybody else? If so, can you tell me about what happened? [If suspended ask]: Was discipline administered fairly at your school? Or do you think that was a double standard?

III. POSTSECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

At the end of high school, were you planning on pursuing any type of education? Could you tell me about your schooling experience in school since you left high school?

Was/Is there anything that makes/made it hard to [go to/stay in] school? [Probes: for example, is it difficult to pay for school? get the classes you need? figure out which courses count towards a degree? Find child-care, etc.?)

ASK IF CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL OR GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE:

What do/did you do to make sure you stay(ed) in school? What are you doing/did you do to make sure you finish(ed) your degree?

Who at the school can/did you turn to for information about what you need to do to complete your program? Who do/did you turn to for help with any challenges that come/came up?

In the survey you told us that you used [tutoring, counseling, financial aid counselor etc.]. Were any of these services helpful? Why or why not?
How do you pay for school?
Do you think that your school/program is preparing you for a future career – how so?

ASK IF NOT A STUDENT AND/OR DID NOT GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE:

[If appropriate ask:] In the survey you told us that you went to school for a while and used [tutoring, counseling, financial aid counselor, other services]. Were any of these services helpful? Why or why not?

There are many reasons people take a break from school. Could tell us some of the main reasons you are not in school?

Do you want to go to school in the future? Why or why not? [If yes] What type of school do you want to attend?

What things need to change for you to go back to school? [Probe, if necessary]

What kind of information do you need so you could make an informed decision about going back to school? Where (from whom) would you get that information?

[ASK ALL]

In general, when thinking about or making decisions about your education, who would you ask for advice? [For example, family, friends, peers, teachers, counselors, after-school programs, community organizations, religious organizations, etc.]

How far do you expect to get in school? Why do you give this answer?

How far do your parents expect you to go in school? Would their expectations be any different if you were a [man/woman]? Why do you say this?

IV. CURRENT CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In the survey, you told us that you were involved in ____ organizations. Could you tell me what they are? [OR ASK]: In the survey, you told us you were not involved in any organizations at this time. Is that correct?

[IF INVOLVED IN AN ORGANIZATION ASK BELOW. For people involved in many organizations, focus on 2-3 organizations that take up the most time]

What is the purpose of this organization? What does the organization do?

[If service, social, ethnic, or political organization ask:] What are some of the main activities that your organization sponsors? Who, if anybody, would disagree with the goals of this organization?

How did you learn about it?

Why are you involved?

What is your role in the organization?

How often are you involved?

What do you think you are learning, if anything, from being involved?

Is any of your current involvement connected to your involvement in high school?

[IF NOT INVOLVED IN ANY ORGANIZATIONS]: Are there any issues or concerns that you care about in your community or in society more broadly? [If yes] What are they? If the opportunity presented itself would you get involved in an organization that dealt with these issue?

[ASK IF REPORTED VOLUNTEERING] Could you talk about any volunteering you may have done in the last year or so? How did you get involved with this? Why did you get involved? Who invited you to get involved? What was your role?

[IF NOT INVOLVED IN ANY VOLUNTEER/COMMUNITY/POLITICAL ACTIVITIES]: Other people tell us they aren't involved in volunteer, community, or political activities because of time. Some don't know about any opportunities to become involved, or they just aren't interested. How does this compare with your own experience?

[ASK ALL] Do you think that you or other people around your age can make a difference in the community? Or in politics? Why do you think that? Could you give examples of how you or people your age have made a difference?

In your own words, what do you think it means to be politically engaged or involved in political issues?

V. EMPLOYMENT

Have you participated in any job training programs or internships in high school or since you've left high school? [If yes] What did you learn? Did it help you with choosing or preparing for a career? Getting a job? Did this experience motivate you to go back to school?

[ASK IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED]

Could you tell me about your job? What do you do? How did you get this job?

Do you feel like people like you get treated you fairly and with respect at the job?

Do you work as many enough hours at this job as you would like?

Does your job cover your bills for your basic needs like rent, food, shelter, transportation/car, health insurance, etc.? [If not: how do pay your bills? [For example, parental support, cost sharing, childcare within the family, etc.]

[ASK IF CURRENTLY NOT EMPLOYED]

Are you looking for a job? If yes, what are your strategies for finding a job? If no, why not?

What has made it difficult to find a job?

How do you pay for your expenses? [For example, parental support, child support, welfare, food stamps, other governmental programs, cost sharing (such as living with roommates), childcare within the family, etc.]

[ASK ALL]

In general, when making decisions about a job, or trying to find one, where do you go to for advice or help?

[Examples: work source centers, school counselors, family members, etc.]

In the survey, you told us you wanted to be a _____ by the time you turned 30. Why are you motivated to pursue this type of career or job? How are you going to go about trying to get this goal? To what extent do you think it's realistic that you will meet this goal? Why do you say that?

What kind of job do your parents want you to have? Would their expectations be any different if you were a [man/woman]? Why do you say this?

In general, where do you see yourself by the time you are 40?

APPENDIX D: Children of immigrants in-depth interview protocol

IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

1. Were you born outside of the USA?
 - a. How old were you when you came to the USA? Who did you come with? Did your family come to the U.S. together or did different members come at different times?
 - b. Can you tell me a little about your first experiences in the USA? Probe: Were you ever in ESL or ELL classes?
 - c. Were your parents or any other family members born outside of the USA? If so, who? Where were they born?
 - d. Has your or your family's immigration status changed over time?
2. Do you have any children or other financial dependents? Were they born in the USA?

SELF-PERCEPTION

1. Some people tell us that they feel sad sometimes when they think about the challenges their families face because they are immigrants, especially if they're undocumented. What kinds of challenges do you think immigrant families face?
 - What impact do these challenges have on their life trajectories? On their self-esteem?
 - Has your family faced any of these difficulties? Could you give me any examples?
2. *[If they haven't yet mentioned undocumented family members, probe, if appropriate. For example: We know there are a lot of challenges that undocumented people have to face. One of the things we hope to do with this study is to show that undocumented immigrant families work hard and are contributing members of the community. That's why we're asking some questions about whether you or someone in your family is undocumented. It helps us to understand some of the challenges you've faced. And, of course, everything you tell me is completely confidential.]*

For anyone with undocumented family members or undoc self]

- a. What is the current legal status of your parents? Were either of them ever undocumented? What about siblings? *[Get legal status breakdown of family members]*
 - b. *[If anyone undocumented (including respondent)]*: Did living in a family that includes undocumented members make it difficult for you or your family? If so, how? *[Sample probes: were your parents able to get jobs easily? To keep jobs? Did they ever have any issues renting an apartment or driving? What are other significant barriers (i.e. what does your undocumented status prevent you from doing)?*
3. Have you ever felt shame about you or your family's immigration status? Have you ever hidden your or your family's immigration status from anyone? *[For example, friends, bosses, mentors, romantic partners, etc.]*
 4. *[For undocumented only]* Now I want to ask you a couple questions about your status that will help us better understand the challenges & opportunities that undocumented youth/young adults face. Remember everything you tell me is confidential—no one outside of my research team will ever see your answers.
 - a. Some people tell us they don't know about their status until they apply to college or for a job. Other people know since they were kids. When did you first start to think about your status? *[Probes: At what point in school did you find out/realize you were undocumented? How did you discover it? If you already knew, when did you come to realize what it meant for your future? Did it affect your plans after high school? Were you able to talk to anyone about it?]*

Do you know about AB 540? *[If not, explain briefly. If yes: When did you first learn about AB 540? Did learning about AB540 impact your motivation to attend college?]*

- b. Have you had problems with any of the following? If so, what were they and how did you overcome those problems? *[Probe for examples]*

Getting a drivers license or driving
Getting a job
Getting healthcare
Any other barriers?

- c. How comfortable do you feel about telling people about your status now? Does anybody outside of your family know about your status [probe: who]? What kinds of things do you consider when deciding whether or not to tell someone?
- d. Have you ever talked about your status in public, like at a rally or educational event? If yes, what was it like to talk about it for the first time? What is it like now?
- e. Have you ever hidden your status from anyone? [For example, friends, bosses, doctors, professors, teachers, mentors, romantic partners, etc.]
[If yes] Could you give me an example of when you felt like you had to hide your status?
- f. Has your status ever impacted your social or personal life? [If yes] Could you give me an example?
[Probes: dating, among friends, in groups, etc.]
- g. Could you tell me about any other fears or concerns undocumented young adults face?

For All:

4. [For all] Some people tell us that there are stereotypes about their racial group. What are some of the stereotypes about your racial group? Have you ever felt discrimination based on your race? Are there any stereotypes about *immigrants* in your racial group? What are they? Do you think people ever assume you are undocumented because of your race? Can you give me examples of any of this?
5. Do you know anybody who has been deported? If so, who? Can you tell me about what happened and what effect it had on you or your family?
6. What would you say are some of the benefits of growing up with parents who were immigrants (or being an immigrant yourself)? If so, what are they?

APPENDIX E: CYAS Dreamer Survey Family Background & Immigration Questions

USBORN Were you born in the United States? [If NO [SKIP TO DEPORT]]

CNTRY In what country were you born?

1. Mexico
2. El Salvador
3. Guatemala
4. China
5. Taiwan
6. Korea
7. Vietnam
8. Cambodia
9. Philippines
10. Russia
11. Other (Please Specify): _____

YRSUSA How many years have you lived in the United States? (Drop-down list)

STATUS What is your current immigration status?

1. U.S. CITIZEN
2. NATURALIZED US CITIZEN
3. LEGAL PERMANENT RESIDENT
4. OTHER

[ASK ONLY IF STATUS=123 AND USBORN=no]

EVERUND Have you ever been undocumented at some point?

DEPORT Do you know anyone who has been deported? (i.e. friend, family member, co-worker, or acquaintance)?

NUMDEP How many people do you know have been deported?
[IF YES is SELECTED for DEPORT, then DISPLAY NUMDEP]

WHODEP What was your relationship with the people who were deported? Select all that apply.

1. Parents
2. Siblings
3. Other family members
4. Friend
5. Neighbor
6. Co-Worker
7. Other (please specify)

[IF YES is SELECTED for DEPORT, then DISPLAY WHODEP]

[ask KNEWST-COMEOUT if STATUS=4 and/or EVERUND=1]

KNEWST How old were you when you first learned about your immigration status?

REQ540 Where did you **first** learn about the requirements of AB 540?

1. Teacher
2. Counselor
3. Friend

4. Parent
5. Sibling
6. Other family member
7. TV/Media/Radio
8. Community Organization (Specify which one)
9. Other (Please Specify)

HIDEHS Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from school personnel (teachers, counselors, administrators) in HIGH SCHOOL?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

HIDEPHS Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from peers in HIGH SCHOOL?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

HIDECOLL Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from school personnel (teachers, counselors, administrators, etc.) in COLLEGE?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

[IF SOME COLLEGE, or VOCATIONAL TRADE CERTIFICATION, or ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE, or BACHELOR'S DEGREE, or MASTER'S DEGREE, or PHD/EDD/MD is SELECTED for DEGREE, then DISPLAY HIDECOLL]

HIDEPCO Have you ever felt the need to hide your immigration status from your peers in COLLEGE?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

[IF SOME COLLEGE, or VOCATIONAL TRADE CERTIFICATION, or ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE, or BACHELOR'S DEGREE, or MASTER'S DEGREE, or PHD/EDD/MD is SELECTED for DEGREE, then DISPLAY HIDEPCO]

[SKIP IF USBORN=NO]

MOTHBRN In what country was your mother born?

1. USA
2. MEXICO
3. EL SALVADOR
4. GUATEMALA
5. CHINA
6. TAIWAN
7. KOREA
8. VIETNAM
9. CAMBODIA
10. PHILIPPINES
11. RUSSIA
12. Other (Please Specify): _____

13. I don't know

MOTHEd What is the highest level of education completed by your mother/mother figure? If you aren't sure, select your best estimate.

1. NONE
2. GRADE SCHOOL/MIDDLE SCHOOL (GRADES 1-8)
3. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
4. HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
5. GED OR EQUIVALENT
6. SOME COLLEGE
7. VOCATIONAL TRADE CERTIFICATION
8. ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE
9. BACHELOR'S DEGREE
10. MASTERS DEGREE/PROFESSIONAL DEGREE/JD
11. PHD/EDD /MD
12. NOT APPLICABLE

[SKIP IF USBORN=NO]

FATHBRN In what country was your father born?

1. USA
2. MEXICO
3. EL SALVADOR
4. GUATEMALA
5. CHINA
6. TAIWAN
7. KOREA
8. VIETNAM
9. CAMBODIA
10. PHILIPPINES
11. RUSSIA
12. Other (Please Specify): _____
13. I don't know

FATHED What is the highest level of education completed by your father? If you aren't sure, select your best estimate.

1. NONE
2. GRADE SCHOOL/MIDDLE SCHOOL (GRADES 1-8)
3. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
4. HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
5. GED OR EQUIVALENT
6. SOME COLLEGE
7. VOCATIONAL TRADE CERTIFICATION
8. ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE
9. BACHELOR'S DEGREE
10. MASTERS DEGREE/PROFESSIONAL DEGREE/JD
11. PHD/EDD /MD
12. NOT APPLICABLE

APPENDIX F: Sample Anti-Deportation Campaign Action Alert

 **UWD** United We Dream

Home Who We Are Our Work Affiliates Media Blog Tools **Contact**

Go Back: [Home](#) » [Contact](#)

[DONATE NOW](#)

Stop the Deportation of Mario Perez



Mario is among the thousands of undocumented students who could benefit from the passage of the DREAM Act. But three months after the DREAM Act failed in the U.S. Senate, an immigration judge in Houston **threatened Mario's American dream.**

Mario has no criminal record but came to the attention of ICE due to traffic violations. On March 9, 2011, the immigration judge ordered him removed from the United States. He could be deported as early as April 2011.

Mario came to this country at an early age and was raised in the Houston area. **America is all he has ever known.** This is Mario's home. He did not understand that he was undocumented until he was applying to college and learned he did not have a social security card. Like many DREAMers, his persistence paid off and he was able to pursue a college education. He is currently a senior at Stephen F. Austin State University majoring in mathematics and statistics. **As a proud member of the legendary Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Mario has contributed more than 1,400 volunteer hours to the community, and he planned to pursue a career in engineering.**

Unfortunately, unless Mario's deportation is stopped, his hard work and dedication could have been in vain. Sign this petition to ask the Department of Homeland Security and the White House to immediately halt Mario's deportation.

Here are some things you can do to help:

1. Sign this petition: <http://tinyurl.com/StopMarioPerezDeportation>
2. Email a link to this petition to 5 friends: <http://tinyurl.com/StopMarioPerezDeportation>
3. Tweet about it: Mario Perez could be deported as early as April 5! Help stop his deportation. Sign the petition: <http://tinyurl.com/StopMarioPerezDeportation>
4. Join the facebook group: [Stop the Deportation of Mario Perez](#)
5. Change your facebook status to: Stop the Deportation of Mario Perez <http://tinyurl.com/StopMarioPerezDeportation>

Appendix G: Selected excerpts from Immigration and Customs Enforcement Memo (June 2011): “Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion Consistent with the Priorities of the Agency for the Apprehension, Detention, and Removal of Aliens.”⁶³

When weighing whether an exercise of prosecutorial discretion may be warranted for a given alien, ICE officers, agents, and attorneys should consider all relevant factors, including, but not limited to—

- Length of presence in the United States;
- The circumstances of the person's arrival in the United States and the manner of his or her entry, particularly if the alien came to the United States as a young child;
- The person's pursuit of education in the United States, with particular consideration given to those who have graduated from a U.S. high school or have successfully pursued or are pursuing a college or advanced degrees at a legitimate institution of higher education in the United States;
- Criminal history, including arrests, prior convictions, or outstanding arrest warrants;
- Immigration history, including any prior removal, outstanding order of removal, prior denial of status, or evidence of fraud;
- Whether the person poses a national security or public safety concern;
- Ties and contributions to the community, including family relationships;
- Ties to the home country and condition in the country;
- Age, with particular consideration given to minors and the elderly;
- Whether the person has a U.S. citizen or permanent resident spouse, child, or parent;
- Whether the person is the primary caretaker of a person with a mental or physical disability, minor, or seriously ill relative;
- Whether the person or the person's spouse is pregnant or nursing;
- Whether the person or the person's spouse suffers from severe mental or physical illness;
- Whether the person is likely to be granted temporary or permanent status or other relief from removal, including as a relative of a U.S. citizen or permanent resident; an asylum seeker, or a victim of domestic violence, human trafficking, or other crime;
- Whether the person is currently cooperating or has cooperated with federal, state or local law enforcement authorities.

⁶³ See: <http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf>.

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