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RACIST NATIVISM AND NATIONALIST RHETORIC: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
MENTAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF DEFERRED ACTION FOR
CHILDHOOD ARRIVAL (DACA) STUDENTS

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my participants, their families, and the entire undocumented immigrant community. I am honored to have been able to hear your unique stories. Your strength and resilience are what continue to move us forward. El sueño sigue.

Acknowledgements

To my husband, Craig: thank you for always supporting me and encouraging me to go for my dreams. Your unconditional love and support have been essential to my sanity the last few years. I could not have done this without you by my side.

To my parents and stepparents: thank you for encouraging me to dream big. To my sister, Rosa: you have been my inspiration. I would not be who I am or where I am today without your continued support and love. To my brother, John: thank you for all of your encouragement and for always believing in me. To my nieces and nephews: this is for you. Do not forget that your dreams can come true. Together, we will create generational change.

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ABSTRACT

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University of Houston-Clear Lake, 2019

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The political discourse since Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign and election victory has focused increasingly on Latinx immigrants. This election victory and the campaign preceding it has been a historical moment with long lasting impacts and effects on today’s Latinx undocumented youth including those with Deferred Action for Child Arrivals (DACA) status. This thesis draws from Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latinx Critical Theory (LatCrit) to build upon existing research concerning racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism and discrimination that recognize immigration, language, ethnicity, and culture. More specifically, this study examines DACA students’ perceptions of racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism, as well as perceptions of their mental health and well-being since the 2016 presidential election. Additionally, there is an examination of DACA students’ perceived sense of protection from the current sociopolitical climate through involvement in institutional support programs. This

study analyzes qualitative interview data from thirteen DACA students within the University of Houston system. The themes that emerged from the interview data demonstrate perceptions of increased racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism experienced by DACA students despite residing in the most racially and ethnically diverse city in the nation, Houston, Texas. Not only did DACA students in this study perceive a heightened amount of racist nativism and nationalism, they also perceived negative mental health and well-being since the 2016 presidential election. In spite of these perceived negative effects, DACA students displayed a great deal of resilience and persistence throughout their studies. This thesis concludes with a discussion on the perceived benefits of DACA specific university support programs including peer support, empowerment, and access to resources. This research reveals important findings and implications for theory, practice, and policy concerning undocumented students and the intersection of legal status.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Researchers have shown that adolescents and young adults are influenced by the social, political, and historical environments in which they grow up (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Elections and social movements that adolescents and young adults experience can have long-term effects on their social and political attitudes, sense of identity, and behaviors (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). President Donald Trump's 2016 election victory and the campaign preceding it could very well be a historical moment with long lasting impacts and effects on today's Latinx adolescents and young adults in particular. Immediately after his inauguration, Trump began to outline and enact plans to reduce immigration from Mexico and Central American Latinx countries by creating a U.S.-Mexico border wall, increasing detainments and deportations for Latinx immigrants, and reducing opportunities for immigrants overall (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). In addition, the Trump administration attempted to dismantle the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, questioning the status of many undocumented adolescents and young adults (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Utilizing racist nativism and nationalist rhetoric, the Trump administration stated that DACA was "an unconstitutional exercise of authority by the executive branch" that "denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same illegal aliens to take those jobs" (Romo et al., 2017).

With the increase of anti-immigration sentiments after the 2016 presidential election, it would be useful for colleges and universities to examine how anti-immigration sentiments affect DACA students on their campus (Muñoz & Vigil, 2018). Policy that is introduced and/or enacted has the ability to influence institutions that effect both academic and social outcomes for DACA students, especially with the current anti-immigrant climate (Allen-Handy & Farinde-Wu, 2018). While Latinx students are

generally less likely to persist through college than any other racial or ethnic group due to experiences prior to college that place them at a disadvantage (socioeconomic background and social and cultural capital), undocumented Latinx students have the lowest persistence rates (Baker & Robnett, 2012; Allen-Handy & Farinde-Wu, 2018). In addition to factors like socioeconomic background and social and cultural capital, undocumented students' educational performance is also associated with foreign birth and language background (Baker & Robnett, 2012). Not only do undocumented students face particular challenges in navigating higher education, but their experiences with racism lead to an increased risk for mental health effects such as low self-esteem, depression, stress, and substance use (Wray-Lake, 2018; Cadenas et al., 2018).

Although there is much research on the effects of racism, few studies have examined associations of racist nativism and nationalist rhetoric on DACA students in particular. While literature typically centers on Latinx DACA students' experiences of racism during their university or college experience, studies rarely examine the effects of racist nativism (Duran, 2017). There are even fewer studies that have examined those effects after the 2016 election and during the Trump administration. No studies have examined the effects of racist nativism and nationalist rhetoric during the Trump administration on Houston area DACA students' mental health and well-being. As the nation's most diverse city, this study will inform Houston area educators, practitioners, and policy makers effective ways to support undocumented Latinx adolescents and young adults.

This study assesses the impact of racist nativism and nationalist rhetoric that aims to exclude and/or marginalize immigrants in the United States. This study also provides insight into mental health issues in the United States that need further investigation and, possibly, clinical intervention. This study's aims were to examine the effects of perceived

racist nativism and nationalist rhetoric on DACA students' mental health and well-being. More specifically, research questions included: 1) Do Houston area DACA students perceive elevated rates of racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism and/or discrimination and perceive their mental health and well-being as changing (positively, negatively, or no change) since the 2016 presidential election? and 2) Does being involved in a student or university support organization provide DACA students with a perceived protection from the current sociopolitical environment?

Theoretical Framework and Terms Defined

In order to better understand the specific experiences of DACA students, this study utilized racist nativism and nationalism as the theoretical framework. This study also utilized the term “Latinx” in order to capture the intersectional identities of DACA students.

Racist Nativism

This study utilized racist nativism as the theoretical frameworks to understand how people perceive and understand U.S. immigration and the justification of native (white) dominance (Huber, 2008). This was a necessary framework for this study due to the current sociopolitical climate and rhetoric on immigration in the U.S.. Racist nativism was developed from Latinx critical theory (LatCrit), which was further developed as a branch from Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Huber, 2016). While CRT is a framework that exposes racism in the everyday lives of people of color, LatCrit extends this by providing a framework that reveals the particular forms of racism that stem from debates around immigration (Huber, 2016). Not only is LatCrit a more focused assessment of the unique forms of oppression experienced by the Latinx population, but it also acknowledges specific issues like immigration, language, ethnicity, and culture (Huber, 2016). Racist nativism, as developed from LatCrit, extends on definitions of race and racism by

highlighting the attribution of inferior values to the Latinx population that are solely based on a “perceived differential status of whiteness” that has historically characterized U.S. nativeness and belonging (Huber, 2016). Although racist nativism has affected various groups throughout U.S. history including Italian immigrants in the nineteenth-century and Asian Americans in the twentieth-century, racist nativism is built off CRT and LatCrit due to the current target being the Latinx population, and Mexicans in particular (Huber, 2016).

Huber et al. (2008) theorized and defined racist nativism as “the practice of assigning values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify the superiority of the native, to the benefit of the native, and at the expense of the non-native, thereby defending the native’s right to dominance” (p. 42). Providing a distinction between native and non-native (or foreign) is important in this definition because it centers on natives’ identity and potential to oppress others based on their perceptions of being native (Huber et al., 2008).

Racist nativism is a form of discrimination based on the perception that someone is an immigrant (Duran, 2017). It assigns both real and perceived inferior values to Latinx immigrants in particular in order to further justify non-native status to the group and reinforce perceived white superiority (Huber, 2016). Racist nativism also provides an examination of the links between race and immigration status by reviewing the historical racialization of immigrants and analyzing increased anti-immigrant rhetoric (Huber, 2016). Although racist nativism is a term that allows for the naming of a particular form of racism in current immigration discourse, the term is also an extension of a deep-rooted racist history built upon white supremacy (Huber, 2016). Huber (2008) made a point to state that white supremacy and white privilege were fundamental to the conceptual framework of racist nativism.

Nationalism

Nationalism is significant to nativism because it supports defending national identity from perceived threats as well as promotes a sense of fear about foreigners (Huber, 2008). Huber (2008) suggested that “nationalism functions as the ideological core of nativism” (p. 41). Nationalism and nationalist rhetoric has been defined as more than “a radical political movement,” but “also a set of cognitive frames through which people perceive their relationship to the nation, with the latter being not only an object of identification, but also a deeply meaningful cultural construct” (Bonikowski, 2017, p. S188). Nationalism promotes the idea that legitimate membership in the U.S. is “limited to those with the appropriate immutable, or at least highly persistent, traits, such as national ancestry, native birth, majority religion, dominant racial group membership, or deeply ingrained dominant cultural traits” (Bonikowski, 2017, p. S188). More specifically, nationalism under Trump has been suggested to appeal to people that believe they never take handouts, are hardworking, and rule-abiding, but also have been falling behind economically and socially (Post, 2017). The blame for this decline is often attributed to “line jumpers” like African Americans, Latinx, undocumented immigrants, and refugees (Post, 2017). A study by Bart Bonikowski (2017) found that by targeting ethnic and racial minorities, Trump gained support among whites who were experiencing a perceived sense of status threat.

Latinx

In order to incorporate the intersectional identities of DACA students, this study also made a point to use the gender neutral term “Latinx,” which is seen as being less marginalizing than terms like Hispanic or Latino/a (Duran, 2017). “Latinx” is utilized as a gender-neutral term that “challenges the gendered nature of Spanish that creates a masculine/feminine binary” (Duran, 2017). The term “Latinx” is based on inclusion that

encompasses all members of a diverse and complex ethnoracial group (Vidal-Ortiz & Martínez, 2018). By providing recognition of nonbinary gender identifications, “Latinx” has become an increasingly utilized term among both students and academics (Torres, 2018).

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Background

In 2012, President Barack Obama, offering a temporary status to young unauthorized immigrants, initiated the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. The program offered certain undocumented people that met specific requirements to be eligible for a temporary two-year work authorization and deferment of deportation (Gomez & Huber, 2019). To be considered for DACA, one had to be at least fifteen years old, prove that they arrived in the U.S. before age sixteen, have continuously lived in the U.S. since arriving, and was under age thirty-one as of June 15, 2012 (U.S. Customs and Immigration Enforcement, 2019). Not only must the applicant not have been convicted of any felonies or misdemeanors, they must also be in school, have already graduated or obtained a GED, or be an “honorably discharged veteran” (Gomez & Huber, 2019). According to Schwab (2019), DACA recipients are 6.5 years old, on average, when arriving to the U.S., two-thirds of them are currently under age twenty-five, and 53% of DACA recipients are female, resulting in a slightly higher female DACA population. While DACA recipients come from more than 200 countries, 80% of them are from Mexico (Schwab, 2019).

While DACA was a federally mandated executive order, the enactment and application of the program was delegated to the states (Celbulko & Silver, 2016). State policies regarding DACA have been suggested to be a reflection of each state’s political climate (Celbulko & Silver, 2016). For example, in certain states, DACA has allowed for obtaining a driver’s license, eligibility in in-state tuition, work authorization, and the protection from deportation for two years (Siemons et al., 2017). A 2016 study by Kara Celbulko and Alexis Silver suggested that receiving benefits on the state-level provided

inclusion, while national-level rhetoric and policy provided DACA recipients a sense of exclusion. The authors also argued that the simultaneous sense of inclusion and exclusion complicate DACA recipient's lives (Celbulko and Silver, 2016). DACA recipients are suggested to experience inclusion through states' proposals of in-state tuition and driver's licenses for recipients, and DACA recipients experience exclusion through the limitation of resources for immigrants, the inability to travel internationally, the lack of protection to family members, and the temporary position of DACA (Celbulko & Silver, 2016).

A 2017 study by Atheendar Venkataramani, Sachin Shah, Rourke O'Brien, Ichiro Kawachi and Alexander Tsai found that the increases in employment and income after DACA was implemented could be linked to social determinants of health. For example, the authors suggested that economic opportunities might raise DACA recipients' aspirations of the future, which may ultimately affect health outcomes (Venkataramani et al., 2017). Additionally, the researchers also suggested that by eliminating the risk of deportation, DACA recipients might experience reduced psychosocial stress, which could directly improve mental health and indirectly improve physical health (Venkataramani et al., 2017). Although benefits of the DACA program are clear, critics of the program have mentioned that DACA is not a long-term solution because it was an executive order, rather than a law, that does not offer a pathway to citizenship (Benuto et al., 2018).

DACA and Views of Immigrants in Houston, Texas

In 2015, a study by Randy Capps, Michael Fix, and Chiamaka Nwosu found that Houston, Texas was the most diverse city in the United States. Houston's Latinx population has nearly doubled since 2000, and El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico have been the largest countries of birth for many migrants (Capps et al., 2015). Immigrants in Houston are less likely to be U.S. citizens than immigrants elsewhere in

the United States with an estimated 34% of the population becoming naturalized citizens, compared to 44% of the totally U.S. foreign-born population (Capps et al., 2015).

A report by Center for Houston's Future (2019) stated that Houston is affected by immigration more than any other region in the United States. While Harris County held 1.7 million residents in 1970, the population grew to include more than 4.6 million residents by 2017 (Center for Houston's Future, 2019). Out of the 4.6 million Houston area residents, 1.6 million are immigrants, accounting for nearly a quarter of the population (Center for Houston's Future, 2019). Not only did Harris County grow at an annual rate of 2.2% since 1970, but the demographics of Harris County changed dramatically as well (Center for Houston's Future, 2019). From 1970 to 2017, the population of Harris County changed from 69% Anglo, 20% African American, 10% Latinx, and 1% Asian to 30% Anglo, 20% African American, 43% Latinx, and 7% Asian (Center for Houston's Future, 2019). If immigration continues at its current pace, the Houston area's foreign-born population is expected to double by 2020 (Center for Houston's Future, 2019). It is also expected that the number of immigrants will rise 95% by 2036 (Center for Houston's Future, 2019).

Due to the large population of immigrants, approximately 15% of Houston's unauthorized residents are eligible for DACA (Capps et al., 2015). As of 2018, it was estimated that approximately 77,000 undocumented immigrants in the Houston area were eligible for DACA (Capps & Ruiz Soto, 2018). Data from U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) revealed that out of 31,000 DACA applications in the Houston area between August 2012 and September 2013, 26,000 were approved (Capps et al., 2015). In 2018, there were almost 36,000 DACA recipients in the Houston metropolitan area (Capps & Ruiz Soto, 2018). Houston is home to about 5% of DACA recipients across the U.S., which ranks the city at fifth place in terms of the number of

DACA recipients after Los Angeles, New York, Dallas, and Chicago (Capps & Ruiz Soto, 2018). In Houston, DACA-eligible individuals are more likely to be from Mexico and Central America, but include individuals from Korea and the Philippines as well (Capps et al., 2015).

It was reported in 2008 that only 2% of Americans believed immigration to be the biggest problem in America, but by 2017, 12% of those surveyed believed that “immigration and illegal aliens” were the most important problem facing America (Bjorklund, 2018). Houston, however, appears to think differently in response to immigrants. According to the 2018 Kinder Houston Area Survey, Houston area residents express increasingly favorable attitudes about immigrants and refugees (Klineberg, 2018). More specifically, in questions aimed at respondents’ feelings toward immigrants, Houston residents have increasingly and consistently provided positive ratings (Klineberg, 2018).

While some cities across the nation have labelled themselves as “sanctuary cities” that do not assist federal immigration authorities, Houston has yet to do so (Center for Houston’s Future, 2019). Although Houston is not technically a sanctuary city, Houston mayor, Sylvester Turner, has stressed that Houston is a welcoming city (Center for Houston’s Future, 2019). Contrary to that opinion, Texas is one of the leading states in having the highest number of ICE facilities (115 facilities in Texas) and detainees (43.6% of total detainee population) (Ryo & Peacock, 2018). In Houston in particular, all counties fully cooperate with ICE (Capps & Soto, 2018). The average number of detainees in the 12-county Houston metro area rose from 246 in fiscal year 2016 (some months under the Obama administration) to 545 in just the first seven months of fiscal year 2018 (Capps & Soto, 2018).

Although residents of Houston may have positive views of immigrants, there continue to be state and federal policies that counter those views. It is important to note that Texas was among six other states to sue the federal government arguing that the creation and implementation of DACA was unlawful and unconstitutional (Pierce et al., 2018). Due to state policies, Houston, with four immigration detention centers within 75 miles of downtown and a total bed capacity of 4,114, fails to completely provide a sense of safety and inclusion for its large and expanding undocumented population (Houston Immigration Legal Services Collaborative, 2019).

Racist Nativism, DACA, and Immigration Policy in the Trump Era

On September 5, 2017, after winning an election with a platform largely based on the vilification of immigrants, President Donald Trump instructed his Attorney General to rescind the DACA program and bring it to an end by March 2018 (Gleeson & Sampat, 2018). That same day, the Acting Secretary of Homeland Security issued a memorandum directing the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to reject all initial DACA applications received after Sep. 5, 2017 and to reject all renewal applications from DACA recipients (National Immigration Law Center, 2019). A federal court sided with DACA recipients in January 2018 allowing for the continued renewal of DACA applications (Gonzales, 2018). In February 2018, a federal judge in New York blocked the Trump administration from ending DACA, and in April 2018, another federal judge ruled against the administration and initiated a separate lawsuit to proceed with initial applications as well as renewal applications (Gonzales, 2018). In November 2018, a three-judge panel of the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in California, ruled in favor of the lower courts' preliminary injunction against the Trump administration's attempt at ending DACA (Gonzales, 2018). The Department of Justice has asked the Supreme Court

to intervene and review the rulings from the lower courts, but the high court has not yet responded (Gonzales, 2018).

A study by Laura Wray-Lake, Rachel Wells, Lauren Alvis, Sandra Delgado, Amy Syvertsen, and Aaron Metzger (2018) suggested that, throughout Trump's campaign, there was an emphasis on the explicit and implicit anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx rhetoric, which has ultimately threatened the health, safety, and psychological wellbeing of the Latinx community. Throughout the campaign and well after DACA was initially rescinded, it has been suggested that the Trump administration promotes "U.S. First" policies, racism, and xenophobia (Gleeson & Sampat, 2018). Not only have hate crimes increased since the 2016 presidential election, but students of color have also reported increasingly hostile school environments, negative socio-emotional outcomes, and negative academic outcomes resulting from current political rhetoric (Gomez & Huber, 2019)

According to Huber (2016), the Trump administration specifically pointed to undocumented Latinx immigrants as the criminals that threaten the nation. Evident in the proposed immigration reform, the Trump administration's rhetoric has suggested that the nation is in decline due to perceived invaders (Huber, 2016). Current rhetoric under Trump has also gone on to racialize all undocumented immigrants as Mexican regardless of their actual national origin (Huber, 2016). By "demonizing and scape-goating" Mexican immigrants specifically, Trump was able to fuel and exploit white America's anxiety about the expanding ethno-racial diversity in the nation (Bobo, 2017). While the Trump administration's rhetoric synonymizes "Mexican" with "undocumented immigrant," undocumented Mexican immigrants only make up about half of the entire undocumented immigrant population in the nation (Romero, 2018).

The Trump administration has also increased detainments across the United States (Ryo & Peacock, 2018). Although much rhetoric has concentrated on the Mexican immigrant population, the Trump administration has targeted all undocumented immigrants (Ryo & Peacock, 2018). Through this strategy, the administration has expanded the use of detention and deportation as a means of immigration enforcement strategy (Ryo & Peacock, 2018). The number of people booked into ICE custody has greatly increased under the Trump administration, leading to more fear of detainment and deportation in the undocumented community (Ryo & Peacock, 2018). There are no previous administrations throughout U.S. history that have placed such a high priority on exclusionary and restrictive immigration policies as the Trump administration (Pierce et al., 2018).

The Southern Poverty Law Center (2016) penned the term “The Trump Effect” to recognize the effects of the administration on the lives of undocumented individuals and people of color in general. “The Trump Effect” is described as the impact that the presence of Trump and his anti-immigrant and discriminatory rhetoric during the 2016 presidential election has had on immigrants (Southern Poverty Law, 2016). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (2016), “The Trump Effect” led to increases in verbal harassment on immigrant students, increased anxiety in immigrant students, and heightened fears associated with deportation and separation from one’s family. In a second report, The Southern Poverty Law Center (2016) expanded on their first statement by stating that “The Trump Effect” was “nothing short of a crisis and should be treated as such.”

Psychosocial Implications of Racist Nativism and Nationalist Rhetoric

In the U.S., the Latinx population experiences racist nativism that is rooted in white supremacy (Huber et al., 2008). The media and public accept and view negative

portrayals of Latinx immigrants, which typically depict them as being criminals, invaders, and enemies (Huber et al., 2008). Researchers have found significant effects of discrimination on mental health problems (Finch et al., 2001). Studies have linked discrimination to high levels of stress, anxiety, depression, paranoia, and psychoticism (Finch et al., 2001). There have been direct links found between discrimination and depression, further demonstrating psychological distress (Finch et al., 2001). Anti-immigrant rhetoric and discrimination has also been linked to both physical and mental illness for immigrant groups (Filion et al., 2018).

Undocumented students have reported living in constant fear of their status being disclosed, being deported, and being ostracized and stigmatized (Bjorklund, 2018). Along with the continuous fear of being deported, DACA recipients have also experienced various psychological and social difficulties on campus (Bjorklund, 2018). DACA recipients' perceptions of being seen as an outsider and inferior to their white, native peers has triggered some students to feel humiliated and helpless (Bjorklund, 2018). Not only have undocumented students reportedly experienced shame and powerlessness, they have also gone on to internalize feelings of stigma and embarrassment about their status (Bjorklund, 2018). More specifically, some DACA recipients have discussed feeling isolated, stressed, and suicidal due to the restrictions of their legal status and the perceived racism they experience (Siemons et al., 2017). Along with feelings of isolation from fear of status disclosure on campus, DACA students have also reported isolation due to barriers associated with lack of community and limited institutional support (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). The feelings of shame, stigma, humiliation, and stress often manifest as anxiety or depression among undocumented students (Bjorklund, 2018). Previous studies have found that experiencing racial discrimination was strongly associated with depression in undocumented students (Bjorklund, 2018). One study by

Potochnick and Perreira (2010) examined first-generation immigrant youth and found that anxiety was strongly associated with legal status, whereas depression was strongly associated with experiencing discrimination.

While researchers have reported that DACA students experience stress related to job insecurity, perceptions of discrimination, parental and sibling immigration statuses, and ambiguous immigration statuses, stress often manifests as both emotional and health problems (Gámez et al., 2017). Long periods of stress have the ability to decrease cognitive performance, decrease short term and working memory, as well as decrease impulse control (Gonzales et al., 2013).

Despite these challenges, the “immigrant paradox” demonstrates that immigrants typically exhibit better health and mortality outcomes than native-born individuals (Filion et al., 2018). According to a study by Gomez and Huber (2019), DACA students maintained a sense of hope despite their extensive experiences with racist nativist and anti-immigrant rhetoric on campus and in public. With a more divisive nation and heightened racist and nationalist rhetoric, it remains unclear how any protective factors play out in terms of immigrant populations at risk for heightened mental health symptoms (Filion et al., 2018).

DACA and Institutional Support Organizations

While most research has pointed out that universities are not equipped to support undocumented students and they often fail at making inclusion and diversity a priority, some DACA students join organizations on their university campus that are specifically aimed at supporting DACA recipients (Muñoz & Vigil, 2018). Despite research suggesting that undocumented immigration status is associated with a decline in student performance, many undocumented students are resilient and cope with marginalization by creating networks that advocate for their rights (Cadenas et al., 2018). Safe spaces,

such as organizations specifically aimed at supporting undocumented students, provide DACA students with the opportunity to connect with other DACA or undocumented students, find allies, and locate resources relevant to their status (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015).

After participating with DACA specific organizations or groups, participants in a study by Siemons et al. (2017) mentioned that their support networks were expanded, and they were provided with a chance to connect with other students going through a similar experience. Students described that the opportunity to have a shared experience with a peer provided them with validation and support (Siemons et al., 2017). For undocumented students, social support and supportive peer relationships are associated with psychological and academic resilience (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). Not only does bonding with other students provide a sense of belonging, empowerment, and motivation, but it also provides information about resources including jobs, classes, and community activities (Bjorklund, 2018). Similarly, a study by Suarez-Orozco et al. (2015) found that students involved in organizations that presented as a safe space for DACA students reported that the support from the organization was “very” or “extremely important” to them.

Although DACA recipients receive a select amount of social and educational support, some students do not feel that there is someone on campus they can trust (Bjorklund, 2018). In a study by Suarez-Orozco et al. (2015), the researchers concluded that over half of all undocumented students, including DACA students, felt they did not know any staff or faculty that could understand and discuss financial issues related to their status. When undocumented students do disclose their status on campus, they are often met with confusion and a lack of knowledge about how to assist them (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). There appear to be gaps and misunderstandings around what DACA

students and undocumented students need and experience (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). In one study, undocumented students with various statuses specifically requested that administrators and staff adhere to the following: 1) listen, understand, and become aware of the experiences and concerns of undocumented students, 2) have empathy and be respectful, 3) train staff on how to serve undocumented students, 4) treat undocumented students the same as any other student, and 5) be respectful of privacy and demonstrate discretion (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015).

While some undocumented students have expressed a need for their college or university to take more responsibility in providing a safe space, others have expressed cynicism about higher education by arguing that higher education institutions are self-serving and would not lead the way in undocumented student equality without pressure from students (Santellano, 2019). Colleges and universities that do provide a welcoming school climate with peer, staff, and faculty support networks reduce stigma associated with undocumented status, and instead provide students with a sense of pride or empowerment about their status (Santellano, 2019). By providing support networks and safe spaces for undocumented students, colleges and universities may facilitate a sense of belonging, legitimize students' presence on campus, and place students in a setting that encourages educational success (Santellano, 2019).

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative study that utilized individual interviews and participant observation as the sources of data collection. Qualitative design allows researchers to capture the experiences of individuals as well as the impact of those experiences and the world around them (Munoz & Vigil, 2018). According to Shazia Jamshed (2014), qualitative research design is appropriate when researchers examine a new field of study, or when there is small sample size. Due to the limited amount of studies on DACA students after the Trump campaign and presidency, a qualitative design was appropriate for this study to assess the experiences of DACA students for further studies that may go on to examine this population through quantitative means. This study specifically utilized a semi-structured interview format with interviews lasting from approximately sixteen minutes to fifty-six minutes. By utilizing a semi-structured interview format, researchers are able to examine participants in a systematic and comprehensive manner that allows the interview to remain focused on the topic (Jamshed, 2014). Through the semi-structured interview design, this study had the opportunity to respond immediately to participant comments through tailored subsequent questions, or probes. (Guarneros, 2017). Semi-structured interviews, and especially the probes in these interviews, allow researchers to examine underlying factors, beliefs, or assumptions among a diverse group of people (Guarneros, 2017). This study, while utilizing a qualitative, semi-structured interview with open-ended questions, allowed participants to discuss the issues and factors that were most important to them (Guarneros, 2017).

Along with semi-structured interviews, this study also utilized participant observation. Participant observation allowed for the observation of how DACA and institutional support organizations impact the daily lives of DACA students (Elias, 2016).

Participant observation occurred through attending various political events in the Houston area that centered on immigrant rights, attending university student organization meetings, and attending community DACA organization meetings. By utilizing participant observation at these events and meetings, I was able to better understand aspects of DACA student's lives that they may not have shared in the semi-structured interview and that they may have only revealed through interaction with peers or in meetings (Elias, 2016). These events and meetings also assisted in determining what support was offered to members and undocumented youth.

This study received Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS) approval in January 2019. Participants were recruited by distributing flyers on three campuses of the University of Houston system: University of Houston-Clear Lake campus, University of Houston-Downtown campus, and University of Houston main campus. Participants were also recruited via email and through in-person presentations and announcements in undergraduate courses. Lastly, participants were also recruited after participant observation at institutional DACA meetings.

Although this study recruited from three of the University of Houston system campuses, the University of Houston system is comprised of four campuses, the University of Houston (main campus), University of Houston-Clear Lake, University of Houston-Downtown, and University of Houston-Victoria. While serving more than 72,000 students, the University of Houston system is the region's largest provider of comprehensive university services (University of Houston System, 2017). As one of the nation's most ethnically diverse university systems, the University of Houston system has no majority race and includes students from over 130 nations (University of Houston System, 2017).

This study concluded with 13 DACA recipient participants. The small sample size was due to the difficulty in gaining access to this particular population. When attempting to find DACA informants or participants, one problem that arises is gaining trust (Elias, 2016). It is often difficult for researchers to apply random sample techniques to undocumented immigrants due to the difficulty in locating them (Elias, 2016). Typically, the challenges in accessing this particular population leads to a smaller sample size than other qualitative studies regardless of the sampling technique (Elias, 2016). Due to the recent sociopolitical climate, the number of respondents or participants in this study is smaller than other research method techniques (Elias, 2016).

Participants completed the semi-structured interview in person ($n = 13$). Before participation in the study, participants were given a copy of the informed consent to read and verbally confirm that they met inclusion criteria and understood the terms of the study. Participants were not asked to sign the consent forms in order to further ensure confidentiality. Due to the sensitive nature of immigration status, all participants' names and personal identifiers such as place of employment, student organization, and community have been replaced by pseudonyms. Participants were told they could withdraw their interview data at any time. The duration of the recruitment period for participants was open from February 2019 to April 2019. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire (Appendix A) first, followed by the semi-structured interview (Appendix B). Upon consent from each participant, a digital voice recorder was used to record each interview. After each interview was transcribed, the recorded file was deleted to ensure thorough confidentiality.

Inclusion criteria for this study included: 1) the participant to have current DACA status, 2) be at least 18 years old, and 3) have a Latinx country of birth. Participants ages ranged between 18 and 25 (mean age = 20.8). Ten of the participants were female and

three participants were male. Eleven participants were born in Mexico, one participant was born in Honduras, and one participant was born in El Salvador. It should be noted that although 77% of the participants were female, this study equally sought participants that were male. The high percentage of female participants could be attributed to higher levels of female involvement in immigrant activism organizations, females' greater population among the broader college and university population, and female's greater likelihood of having DACA status (Gonzales et al., 2014). It should also be noted that although 91% of the participants were born in Mexico, this study equally sought participants that were from other Latinx and Central American countries as well. For demographic data, see Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Participant	Age	Gender	Age at arrival in U.S.	Country of birth
Sierra	18	Female	3	Mexico
Adriana	25	Female	7	Mexico
Marisol	22	Female	7	Mexico
Maya	20	Female	5	Mexico
Valarie	19	Female	3	Mexico
Camila	24	Female	1*	Mexico
Maria	20	Female	4	Mexico
Carlos	23	Male	4	Honduras
Miguel	23	Male	3	Mexico
Rosa	18	Female	5	El Salvador
Carla	19	Female	1	Mexico
Ana	23	Female	2	Mexico
Alejandro	22	Male	5	Mexico

Note. * Rounded up from 11 months

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

After transcribing and coding each interview for key themes, four themes emerged from both observational data and interview data: 1) perceived examples of racist nativism, 2) perceptions about Houston, 3) perceptions and experiences with mental health, and 4) perceived support from DACA, undocumented, and/or Latinx institutional organizations. In each theme, there were also various sub-themes that emerged. For main themes and sub-themes, see table 2.

Perceptions and Examples of Racist Nativism

While analyzing the interview data and code into thematic response patterns, the discussion of instances in which DACA students perceived racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism was consistent. Subthemes that emerged were general perceptions of racist nativism and nationalism, perceptions of racist nativism in terms of colorism, perceptions of racist nativism in terms of language, and in-group Latinx bias between citizens and immigrants.

Racist Nativism and Nationalism

Similar to other qualitative studies, participants in this study were negatively impacted by how other people perceived their undocumented status (Benuto et al., 2018). A reoccurring theme throughout interviews was the perception of discrimination that participants believed to stem from how others perceived them. One participant, Miguel, stated, “You can already feel the racism without anybody actually stating anything, but by the way somebody looks at you. The unpleasant look of ‘he doesn’t belong here.’” - Miguel, April 24, 2019. The perception that people look at him as not belonging in the U.S. is a clear demonstration of perceived racist nativism and nationalism. Miguel, while discussing an instance where he and his family were pulled over by Houston police, also

Table 2

Themes and Sub-themes

Main Theme	Sub-themes
Perceptions and Examples of Racist Nativism	Racist Nativism and Nationalism
	Passing for White
	Language
	Latinx In-Group Bias
Perceptions about Houston	Ethnic Enclaves
	Houston Resources for Immigrants
Perceptions and Experiences with Mental Health	Trauma and Negative Life Events
	Liminal Legality and Living in Limbo
	Impact on Mixed-Status Families
	Mental Health Stigma and Latinx Machismo
Institutional Support Organizations	Peer Support, Mutual Understanding, and Shared Experiences
	Activism and Empowerment Through Status
	Access to Resources
	"If I Never Joined"

mentioned that he felt profiled based on his skin color and based on the perception that he and his family were immigrants. Miguel stated:

He pulled us over. He didn't even give us a reason, but I guess he thought, "I'm going to push these people around because they look like this skin color." The first thing he asked, he didn't ask us for license and registration, he didn't give us a reason, he asked, "Where are you from? Are you from Mexico? Are you from here? Do you have papers?" That's the first thing he said. – Miguel, April 24, 2019

It is common for immigrants to experience what Miguel discussed, which is also known as spatial profiling (Ehrkamp, 2017). Spatial profiling, or the policing of neighborhoods where immigrants live, has increasingly become a part of immigration enforcement and has harmful effects on immigrants' well-being (Ehrkamp, 2017).

In some instances, racist nativist rhetoric centers on the United States economy and the perceived sense of status threat felt by Caucasian Americans (Huber, 2008). A common belief held by racist nativists and nationalists in the U.S. is the idea that immigrants are taking jobs from citizens (Huber, 2008). One participant, Valarie, captured this when stating:

There are spaces where there are people that I can probably assume don't want me here. I feel the tension, and I feel like I have to act a certain way and I have to be a little bit politer, you know? I work in a retail job, so it's like, we get those occasional customers where I feel like I have to act nicer just because I'm Hispanic. And I feel like that's very tense, or like, I'm being judged, or that like we're taking your jobs thing. – Valarie, April 3, 2019

While racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism blame immigrants for economic instability in the U.S., Valarie captured her perception of being stereotyped as an immigrant in regard to her employment.

Passing for White

Participants mentioned that having a lighter or paler skin tone serves as a privilege in comparison to immigrants that may have a darker skin tone. The reference of “light” skin, or passing as white, is built on the idea of racist nativism and white supremacy, and assigns proximity to whiteness (Hall & Alhassan, 2017). While skin tone was not a topic in the interview script, four participants made a point to mention that light skin tones provide themselves and/or family members with a protection from racist nativism and anti-immigrant racism. As one participant, Adriana, stated:

I think I’ve been one of the lucky ones, because I’m not really dark skinned. So, I’ve never really experienced it firsthand. With my parents, my mom is very light skinned, very fair, so she has never really got that type of treatment, and I think it has to do with her skin honestly. But my dad is darker and he’s always been looked at differently and told things, like passive aggressive. – Adriana, March 8, 2019

Another participant, Rosa, also mentioned perceptions about skin tone and even explicitly mentioned colorism. Rosa stated:

My dad, you know, he’s darker skinned than I am, so definitely there is some colorism involved. It makes me feel really bad because I am fair skinned, and people, they look at someone like my dad, you know, they don’t say anything, but I feel really bad because I know they are judging or looking at him in a racist manner. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

Similarly, another participant, Carla, discussed her feelings about presenting as a lighter skin tone. Similar to other participants, Carla mentioned that she does not believe she is a target of racist nativism due to her skin tone and ability to speak English. Carla stated:

I feel like I've never experienced that because I look white. And honestly, it kind of sucks saying this, but I'm really happy that I look white sometimes because I feel like if I presented like a tanner skin tone or if I had an accent, a thicker accent like my mom, I would have that kind of discrimination. I don't know how I would put up with that. – Carla, April 26, 2019

With an increasing Latinx population in the U.S., the Black/White dichotomy of racism is obsolete (Hall, 2018). Colorism, racism that does not include the limitations of the Black/White dichotomy, utilizes observable skin tone as the basis of racism (Hall, 2018). Like the participants in this study noted, colorism functions as the denigration of dark skin tones (Hall, 2018).

Language

While racist nativism incorporates immigration status, it also incorporates language (Huber, 2008). More specifically, due to racist nativism's deep roots of white supremacy, there has historically been disapproval toward languages other than English and toward those that spoke those languages (Huber, 2008). Like Carla above, another participant, Sierra, discussed her experience with language as a perceived example of racist nativism. Sierra, stated:

So, I'll go to the mall [in a predominantly white area] and it's like, "Wow, who are they?" Because of my skin color or because I talk Spanish. And they even look at you weird because you just speak Spanish. And they're like, "Why are you speaking Spanish?" – Sierra, February 20, 2019

Similarly, another participant, Alejandro discussed perceptions of racist nativism and the use of language. Alejandro, stated:

My mom, I think she went to the store one time, and there was a lady there. My mom doesn't speak English very well. She can understand it, but speaking it is kind of difficult for her. I think she was just asking where the coffee machine was, and there was a lady who started complaining like, "Why did you people come here? These people can't speak English." – Alejandro, April 26, 2019

As suggested by participant narratives, speaking Spanish was perceived negatively and led to perceptions of racist nativism. While there is no national language in the U.S., it can be assumed that racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism target Spanish speakers in general.

Latinx In-Group Bias

Participants also spoke about in-group biases within the Latinx community as a whole. Because racist nativism and nationalism are based on the perception that someone is an immigrant, one can also conclude that this form of racism can also occur within the Latinx community in terms of citizens and undocumented individuals (Duran, 2017).

While discussing division among the Latinx community, Rosa stated:

It's a time when even Hispanics can be separated. It's been mentioned that there is racism among Hispanics, like the Central Americans having to seek asylum in Mexico, and Mexicans here and there saying, "You don't belong here." It's very weird, because they are adopting Trump's beliefs and Trump doesn't like them either. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

Similarly, another participant, Miguel, discussed what he described as the worst part about racism:

Sometimes it's not even people who only speak English or Caucasian or white people, whatever you want to call it. Sometimes even Hispanics or Latinos, they walk in the elevator [at work]. They're speaking Spanish. They see you, you know, you have your stereotype like, "He's only doing cleaning work," and they will switch their gears to only speaking English. – Miguel, April 24, 2019

Racist nativism has the ability to develop within the Latinx population when individuals have assimilated into the broader American culture (Knoll, 2012). While Rosa and Miguel discussed examples of perceived in-group racist nativism, Miguel made a point to mention that in-group bias was the worst part of racism. Although one may perceive mental health effects from racist nativism from Caucasians, it is curious how perceptions of racist nativist in-group bias could impact individual's mental health.

Perceptions about Houston

Another topic that was consistently brought up by participants was the discussion of Houston as a diverse and accepting city for immigrant populations. Although there is conflicting research that Houston's institutional policies at the state and federal levels are anti-immigrant, students in this study discussed how being in a diverse city like Houston has helped them and their families (Houston Immigration Legal Services Collaborative, 2019). Subthemes that emerged in discussions about Houston included ethnic enclaves and resources for immigrants.

Ethnic Enclaves

While discussing why she believes Houston is an easier city for immigrants to live in compared to other parts of Texas, one participant, Maya, stated:

I do think it's easier because I've also noticed all the communities of certain ethnicities or cultures or races are very close knit. So, they do support each other. I think it's probably easier to find your people here, and, I mean, it's not like you

have to stick to those people, but just having that feeling of comfort. Because we are human, and we look for that feeling of comfort, that feeling of inclusion. So, I feel like it's easier here because there's all types of people. So, you will definitely find your group. – Maya, March 20, 2019

Although this study did not directly discuss ethnic enclaves with participants, many participants, including Maya above, brought up the idea of support through ethnic enclave communities in the Houston area. Despite Houston reclaiming its spot at number one in terms of ethnic diversity, Houston's level of segregation has barely changed since the 1990's (Emerson et al., n.d.). More importantly, segregation is higher in the city of Houston than in any other area in the metropolitan region (Emerson et al., n.d.). While participants Sierra, Valarie, and Carla discussed living in areas that were predominantly Latinx and/or immigrant, only one participant, Rosa, discussed the segregation in Houston. Rosa stated:

I do think it's [Houston] is diverse. The only problem is that, well, I've read some articles on this, but since it's so diverse, it's also pretty segregated. Houston as a whole is pretty diverse, but due to a lot of wealthier and white people living in the same communities, there's still that space to have hate. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

Despite the perceptions of Houston as diverse, Rosa made it clear that there continue to be spaces in the Houston area that DACA students, and undocumented individuals in general, perceive to be anti-immigrant.

Houston Resources for Immigrants

Due to the large population of immigrants in the Houston area, numerous organizations offer support and services to those that are undocumented. In 2018, Houston Public Media reported and shared approximately 26 organizations that offered various services to undocumented Houstonians (Samuels, 2018). Participants in this study

also recognized the vast amount of organizations and support offered to immigrants in Houston. One participant, Rosa, specifically discussed support for DACA students, and stated:

There are a lot of groups here that support DACA, and that support people who are undocumented. There are a lot of local organizations that give opportunities to students like me. They offer scholarships that don't require being a citizen or being a resident or anything. So, that's really helpful. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

While speaking more generally in terms of support offered to immigrants in the Houston area, another participant, Miguel, stated:

They [Houston] do have more resources. They have community resources. For example, Houston, I know they have places that offer a lot of services to communities like tax services, immigration services, medical services, that a lot of people can't afford, or even if they could afford it, they still won't go out of fear of immigration, or that "Maybe I need a social [security number]," and they don't know that you don't really need that. So, it does help being in a big city because there's more room to develop these types of organizations, community centers, resource centers, versus in a conservative, small town, you don't really see that. – Miguel, April 24, 2019

Although all participants described Houston as a diverse and accepting city, it should be noted that the majority of participants have not lived elsewhere in Texas or the United States. Participants that did have experience living in a city other than Houston made a point to describe and compare their previous city of residence with the Houston area. Despite participants' growing up or living elsewhere in Texas or the United States before this study, each participant expressed enthusiasm when discussing the diversity of Houston.

Perceptions and Experiences with Mental Health

One of the overwhelmingly present themes that arose throughout the interview process was the different perceived mental health effects that DACA students discussed experiencing. It should be noted that after prompts from the interview guide, all thirteen participants reported perceptions of mental health problems since the 2016 presidential election. Participants in this study specifically mentioned perceptions of fear, embarrassment, hopelessness, withdrawal, isolation, disassociation, loss of motivation, anger, depression, anxiety, and stress, which are discussed throughout this particular theme. Along with these perceived mental health effects, participants also discussed their mental health as it relates to specific events like the election of Trump, the rescinding of DACA, and at the time of DACA renewal. Other subthemes that emerged were perceptions of liminality, the perceived effects on mixed-status families, as well as mental health stigma within the Latinx community.

Trauma and Negative Life Events

Eleven participants in this study discussed perceptions of their mental health as they recalled specific moments like the election victory of Trump, the rescinding of DACA, and even at the time of DACA renewal. The 2016 presidential election has previously been described as a possible traumatic experience or event for immigrants and their families (Nienhusser & Oshio, 2019). Trauma experienced during and after the election was evident in the narratives of participants in this study. While participants' ideas of hopelessness remains consistent throughout the interviews, one participant, Adriana, recalled perceptions of her mental health and the idea of hopelessness on election night. Adriana stated:

I remember the day he got elected I was watching the election. I remember going to sleep crying because he got elected, and I couldn't believe it. I kind of just lost

all hope. I've never felt like that before, and I never knew that feeling. I had never experienced it, but it was like a complete loss of hope, like I could not believe that happened. – Adriana, March 8, 2019

While seven participants recalled perceptions of their mental health at the time of Trump's election victory, three participants recalled perceptions of their mental health when DACA was rescinded. One participant, Alejandro, went on to compare these two events as they related to the perceived impact on his mental health. Alejandro stated:

There's one particular instance I can remember. It was when DACA was rescinded. I think I remember it was September of 2017. I think it was his [Trump's] then attorney general, Jeff Sessions. I watched that live in the library. That was before class actually, and I kind of had anticipated what was going to happen, but I tried to keep my hopes up. But then I watched that, and that whole day was kind of gloomy. So, I was in class, but I wasn't paying attention. I was thinking about the future. I was working about a year ago, and I was thinking should I quit? What am I going to do? Should I even still be in school? All these questions were resurfacing; it kind of sent me back to the times when I was first in the United States; when things were rough. A lot of us didn't really see light at the end of the tunnel. So, it brought back those memories and that hopelessness. I felt like I was being just a topic of politics, like as a person, and that's kind of degrading and humiliating and insulting. I think the specific moment I also remember was when he [Trump] was elected. I didn't sleep until like 3 AM because I was kind of reflecting. But then I went to sleep being hopeful because I thought maybe it's not going to be like this. But I think when DACA was rescinded, that was one particular moment that I don't think I'll forget. The feeling of disappointment. – Alejandro, April 26, 2019

Like Alejandro, another participant, Valarie, spoke about her memory and feelings when DACA was rescinded. Valarie stated:

When he ended DACA, I remember I was just bawling. I was crying, like I was just starting my future. What am I supposed to do now? And, you know, it genuinely did affect me, and sometimes, I don't want to say it keeps me up at night, but it sometimes does because I'm like, what am I going to do? If I do one thing wrong, I'll be done with. So, it's always a constant fear for sure. I mean, I lost my job when I couldn't renew it [DACA]. So, I lost my job and had trouble with college and stuff like that. So, I was like, it didn't depress me, but I felt sad. I could say maybe I was depressed because I was sad all the time. – Valarie, April 3, 2019

Three participants (two of which also recalled perceptions of their mental health at the time of the Trump election victory) recalled perceptions of their mental health at the time of DACA renewal. More specifically, a participant, Maya, spoke about perceptions of her mental health when it came time for her to renew DACA. Maya stated:

You have to renew it every two years, and it's coming up again. So, I would even say now I'm feeling more stressed than I did a couple of months ago because my renewal is coming up and all this stuff is going on with the administration and his mind changing. It is really stressful because I'm like, my renewal is coming up, and so I have less than a year. Is he going to make a decision? Is the renewal even going to go through? I remember the last renewal. We waited a lot longer than usual because it was right at the moment that Trump was deciding, or all the court proceedings that were happening with DACA, that summer. So, we thought we weren't going to get it back. The day that it was approved [by the courts], we got the letter in the mail. – Maya, March 20, 2019

Through the participants' statements, it is clear that events like the 2016 presidential election, the rescinding of DACA, and DACA renewal were perceived triggers to undocumented students' mental health.

Liminal Legality and Living in Limbo

Generally, participants spoke of various mental health effects that they perceived to stem from anti-immigrant rhetoric and policy from the Trump administration. Similar to other qualitative studies with undocumented students, participants in this study also discussed the idea of living in "limbo" (Menjívar, 2006; Gámez et al., 2017; Gonzales, 2016). While also recalling the rescinding of DACA, one participant, Marisol, stated:

I remember perfectly the day they announced that Trump was cutting DACA off. It was a big hit to me, especially because I'm trying to go to medical school. So, it's really just holding me back. So, personally, it has affected me because I cannot see. I can't fully see what's going to happen. You're kind of in a limbo. –
Marisol, March 20, 2019

While the term "liminal legality" is used to refer to the ambiguous and uncertain legal status held by DACA students, the vagueness of the status creates stress from the continuous consciousness of an uncertain status (Gamez et al., 2017). Similar to Marisol, another participant, Maya, discussed her perception of being in limbo. Maya stated, "You're in this limbo where it feels like you can't see the end of the tunnel." By explaining that they felt they were in a state of limbo, it is clear that living with an ambiguous status and experiencing a perceived traumatic event impacted participants' mental health.

Because elections and social movements can have long-term effects on adolescents and young adults' sense of identity and behaviors, it is understood that the mental health effects perceived by participants in this study were in response to events

like the Trump election victory, the rescinding of DACA, and at the time of each participants' DACA renewal (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). These events (also described previously as perceived traumatic events) can also be understood as negative life events, which are described as any events that are perceived to be stressful, and that occur beyond typical life experiences (Rubens et al. 2013). Not only can negative life events result in significant psychological stress, negative life events also present anxiety as a common expression of distress (Rubens et al., 2013).

Impact on Mixed-Status Families

In addition to recalling events that participants perceived as affecting their mental health, participants also discussed perceptions of their mental health when thinking about the uncertain futures of themselves and their families. Because DACA students are overwhelmingly from mixed-status families in which immediate family members have different immigration statuses, it is understandable that perceived mental health effects stem from concern of not only their own futures, but also from concern of their family members' futures (Patler et al., 2015). One participant, Sierra, discussed the uncertainty of her family's future by stating:

It's like the other people, like my sister. She doesn't have anything because she was too young for DACA. So, what's going to happen to her? It's things like that. The little things that I have to think about, like my family. What will happen after they take DACA away? Will I still be able to go to school or not? So, it's like a lot of things going on. It's like I have to value everything I have right now before it could get taken away. – Sierra, February 20, 2019

Similar to Sierra, another participant, Carla, discussed her concerns about her family's future. Carla stated:

I keep on thinking what if something happens to them? I keep on thinking, like, maybe I should be more, like talk to them more, or like have a closer relationship, because I don't know what's going to happen tomorrow. – Carla, April 26, 2019

In general, participants in this study were more concerned with family members being deported than their own status. With their parents' and other family members' statuses being more precarious than their own, participants in this study concentrated on discussing the fear and concern of losing family members rather than fear or concern of being detained or deported themselves.

Mental Health Stigma and Latinx Machismo

Participants also made a point to acknowledge the stigma of mental health in the Latinx culture. While mental health stigma is associated with various negative outcomes including reduced utilization of mental health services and poor mental health, the implications may be particularly significant for Latinos who experience other types of discrimination simultaneously (DeFreitas et al., 2018). Due to mental health stigma being prevalent in the Latinx culture, DACA students may not seek out resources to alleviate the perceived mental health effects. One participant, Rosa, discussed her culture as it relates to seeking mental health services. Rosa stated:

It's kind of weird because mental health isn't something that is talked about in my family. It's not talked about in Hispanic communities as a whole. The words depression and anxiety- if I ever mentioned that to my family, they would be like, "You're probably tired," "You're probably stressed out," or "You're not eating good or taking your vitamins." So, I don't really like to get into that with my family, because I know it's not their fault. It's just something that I don't think they are educated on. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

While Rosa explicitly discussed the perceived lack of education on mental health issues within her family and culture, it is also important to understand gender differences around mental health stigma in the Latinx population. In the Latinx community (like many other races and/or ethnicities), male children and adults are continually socialized to a form of masculine ideology that is described as "a set of values and beliefs that are learned during early socialization and are based upon rigid gender role stereotypes and beliefs about men and masculinity" (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000, p. 87). The term "machismo" is used specifically in the Latinx community, and goes on to further describe an ideology in which behaviors are considered culturally relevant to the male (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). While recalling how and when he learned about his undocumented status, one participant, Carlos, discussed perceptions of his mental health and the machismo ideology in the Latinx community. Carlos stated:

Since that time, of course, it plays a role in my mental health, you know, because then you start realizing that you honestly can't do a lot of things. There are things that are out of your control. I didn't choose not to be born here, but I'm also proud of being from Honduras. So, being limited to things that you cannot control, it kind of holds you back. But what I think really affects our community is, especially in the Hispanic community, is that we already grow up with the whole 'machismo' mentality. Especially since males, you don't really speak about your emotions or what you are going through. So, we already have that. You're dealing with stuff at home, and you're the man of the house. You got to take care of the family no matter what's happening. You got to be tough. And you throw on top of that the whole worrying each and every day because I don't know if ICE is going to come and get my family, or if they're going to come and get me. Or are they going to deport my mom? Am I going to have to take care of my siblings who are

American citizens? We wouldn't want them to have to leave this country because they belong here. And so, it definitely has played a role in my mental health. It does affect me. – Carlos, April 23, 2019

Along with the idea of machismo in the Latinx population, participants in this study also understood the broader cultural stigma of mental health. It is important to note that there are other barriers for Latinx, and immigrant populations specifically, in accessing mental health services. Because DACA recipients are unable to participate in the Affordable Care Act, they must pay for services out of pocket from private providers or opt into employer sponsored health coverage (Guintella & Lonsky, 2018). Although DACA recipients experienced increases in insurance coverage, there has not been evidence of increased usage (Guintella & Lonsky, 2018).

Institutional Support Organizations

DACA students also spoke in depth about the perceived sense of support they feel from being involved in institutional organizations specifically aimed at supporting DACA students, undocumented students, and Latinx students. At the time of their interview, four of the thirteen participants were not involved with an institutional organization, while the others were involved in such organizations. These organizations were student-led rather than administrative- or university-led. When asked about the perceived support they receive from a student led organization as opposed to an administrative or university led organization, one participant, Ana, stated, “There are certain things that you don't want to tell administrators versus what you can tell your peers” – Ana, April 26, 2019.

Many participants made a point to discuss that they perceive their mental health and well-being as becoming increasingly stable the more time they are involved with an institutional support organization. More specifically, subthemes that emerged from participants discussing their perceptions of mental health and involvement with

institutional support organizations were gaining peer support, a sense of mutual understanding, and shared experiences with other undocumented students, activism and empowerment, and access to resources. Participants also thought about their lives if they had never joined the organization, which overwhelmingly presented perceptions of negative mental health effects.

Peer Support, Mutual Understanding, and Shared Experiences

Two participants, Adriana and Marisol, were not involved with an institutional support organization at the time of their interviews, but went on to discuss perceived support through peers. While Adriana recalled her previous hesitation to attend a political march or rally, she went on to mention that she believes the support of her friends helped her become more active. Adriana stated, “I think my friends have talked sense into me and they’re very supportive. I do have that support” – Adriana, March 8, 2019. Similarly, Marisol discussed gaining motivation through peer support. Marisol stated:

I started telling my friends and people that were close to me what my situation really was. I realized that hiding it wasn’t going to get me anywhere. There’s only so much I can talk to my family about, and then it just kind of adds to the same stress. So, telling people and feeling their support is very comforting because you kind of feel like, even though they’re not in the same situation, you feel that support. – Marisol, March 20, 2019

Although having peers, in general, was a perceived sense of support to participants, the perceived support was even greater for those with undocumented or DACA peers. While two participants, Valarie and Maya, discussed having one or two friends with DACA status, all other participants, with the exception of Sierra, Adriana, and Marisol, discussed having multiple friends with a similar status as themselves. Five participants made a point to mention a perception of shared experiences and mutual

understanding with other undocumented and DACA students. While discussing the perceived sense of support she feels from being involved in an organization, Maria stated, “I feel support mentally because they are going through the same thing that I’m going through. They understand me. So, they understand what the struggle really is. They understand what you’re going through. We have the same struggles.” – Maria, April 22, 2019.

Many participants compared their citizen peers with the peers they have met through institutional support organizations for DACA students and/or undocumented students. One participant, Miguel, discussed his perceptions of the connection with other DACA and undocumented students by stating:

You need to find a reflection of yourself. Yeah, there might be older people that can help you out because they’re immigrants too, but it’s not the same. You need to relate. You need somebody your age, same sex, or sexual orientation, same dress and style, same music that you like. That makes it easier to connect. It breaks down that wall. So, that’s why I think it [being involved in the organization] has helped out a lot. Well, it’s helped me out a lot to meet other people, but in that sense, it helps out other people. It helps you know that you’re not alone. – Miguel, April 24, 2019

While Miguel revealed a comparison and disconnect between undocumented/DACA peers and undocumented elders, another participant, Rosa, presented a comparison and disconnect between undocumented/DACA peers and Latinx citizen peers. Rosa stated:

My friends, they’re all citizens. They may have a mom or a family member that is undocumented. Even though they are Hispanic and they are surrounded by a Hispanic population, an immigrant population, they didn’t truly understand being undocumented, and having to go through all these hurdles, having to go through

all these obstacles. So, just seeing people having to go through the same things, and understanding because they have been in that same situation. They have that fear. They have that desperation sometimes of not knowing what to do. It's refreshing because it unites us. – Rosa, April 26, 2019

By creating safe spaces on campus, students are able to gain supportive peer relationships and a sense of social support (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). For DACA students and undocumented students specifically, supportive peer relationships are associated with psychosocial and academic resilience, and are often acquired through student organizations that allow them to share advice and motivate one another in regards to shared struggles (Katsiaficas et al., 2019).

Activism and Empowerment Through Status

For those involved in institutional support organizations, one of the overwhelmingly present subthemes was the discussion of DACA students being empowered through their status. While many undocumented individuals refrain from disclosing their status, participants in this study discussed how joining an institutional support organization helped them become comfortable in participating in activism and disclosing their status. Empowerment through status is expanded by DACA students' engagement in forms of activism in their organization and on campus (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). While recalling that she was previously hesitant to disclose her status, one participant, Camila, stated:

I personally never revealed that to somebody. So, it was sort of like the fear of having to hide in my own community that I grew up in. Whereas here, they told me, "You don't have to come out unless you want to come out." But for me, it was just like, they're all brave enough to say, "I'm undocumented and I don't care," and I was just empowered by it. It's empowering. – Camila, April 22, 2019

Not only does the likelihood of status disclosure increase greatly when individuals participate in activities with others that have similar identities, but it also increases when undocumented individuals feel they can disclose without judgment (Muñoz, 2016).

Another participant, Maria, explained her perceptions of empowerment through joining an institutional support organization by stating:

I feel empowered because they kind of taught me. They were outward with it, and I know not everyone is still, but most people in the organization are empowered through their status. I was never like that before I came here [to the organization]. I was like, “Y’all are crazy that you can just tell people like that.” And they were like, “But it’s empowering to do so” Like, you kind of take part in your identity and make it your own instead of them telling you how to feel. So, I started kind of getting the hang of it and thought, “Okay, maybe these people aren’t crazy.” So, I feel like a sense of empowerment, and they understand because most people don’t. So, it’s nice hanging out with them and talking about what we do, or like, what we’re planning to do and how to make that sense of empowerment something to distribute to people who might not feel so empowered right now, or any other people that aren’t empowered yet but want to be. – Maria, April 22, 2019

Because many undocumented individuals have a perception that they are solely defined by their immigration status in regard to political rhetoric, Maria made a point to clarify that she feels she, like others, has reclaimed her identity and narrative through being open with her status. Interestingly, Maria also mentioned the idea of spreading empowerment and providing information to other undocumented individuals. Maria expanded on this by stating:

I know that my high school wasn't very good with undocumented students. So, I had to look for resources by myself and talk to counselors from other universities. So, being able to empower high schoolers, like I was in their shoes once and I see myself in them, it's really cool. Being able to empower kids and kind of like, spark something in them, like join us, and maybe feel empowered in the future. To be able to tell them that you're undocumented and unafraid, that's really cool.

– Maria, April 22, 2019

It is overwhelmingly clear from participants' narratives that becoming "empowered through status" and/or becoming "undocumented and unafraid" was a process that began with joining the organization. Although the term "empowered through status" was not a familiar term, the term "undocumented and unafraid" appeared to be borrowed from other DACA and Dreamer activists across the U.S. (Sabate, 2012). Most participants, like Maria and Camila, stated that they were not open with their status until they became involved with their student organization.

Access to Resources

Previous literature suggests that DACA students and other undocumented individuals advocate for increased access to resources by creating their own student organizations that serve as networks of support (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). As with the previous subtheme and Maria's eagerness to spread empowerment to high school age undocumented students, college/university age DACA and undocumented students who receive access to resources often feel motivated to share those resources with the larger undocumented community, and particularly younger undocumented youth (Katsiaficas et al., 2019). One participant, Carla, discussed the knowledge and resources she perceived to gain from being involved in an institutional support organization, and stated, "I like how people are aware of the immigration policy. It feels nice to have people that are

aware of like, the Dream Scholarship, or this kind of Trump policy. It feels nice to have that kind of atmosphere.” – Carla, April 26, 2019.

Similar to Carla, another participant, Ana, discussed her perception of gaining access to resources while being involved in an organization specific to her status compared to other organizations on campus. Ana stated:

I think I like the community aspect of it [the organization]. You can join other organizations on campus, but it’s mostly on a surface level, whereas ours dives deeper into problems going on currently. And we try to reinforce those ideals, like yes this is going on, but don’t forget, we’re still here for you. If you need a certain kind of resource, we have it here for you as well. I guess that’s why I didn’t want to join the other organizations because, yeah, they offer benefits, but it’s not the same thing. It’s not the same kind of resources. – Ana, April 26, 2019

Due to the unique experiences of DACA students compared to Latinx citizen students, it is important for universities and colleges to develop safe spaces and organizations that are specifically catered to undocumented students. By joining DACA or undocumented specific organizations, students are able to find information and resources that are directly related to their status (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015).

“If I Never Joined”

Out of the nine participants that were involved with an institutional organization, eight participants discussed their perceptions of what their lives would be like if they never joined that particular organization. Returning to the idea of empowerment, one participant, Carlos, stated:

If I didn’t join, I wouldn’t be as empowered as I am today, and I would probably still be stuck in that little depressed mode, like not knowing what I want to be doing and stuff like that. I definitely think that it [the organization] gave me a lot

of empowerment, and it makes me feel very good. So, I don't think I would be where I'm at today. – Carlos, April 23, 2019

Carlos was not the only participant to discuss perceived negative mental health effects when imagining life without involvement in the organization. Another participant, Camila, also described perceptions of what her mental health would be like if she was not involved in the organization. Camila stated:

Last semester a lot of my friends were white and they were upper middle class. So, they would invite me to all these things, all these functions, and I mean, I was more social, but I was also more alone. If that makes sense? I was surrounded by people and everything, but for me, I felt like I had to edit myself to make them feel comfortable. So, for me it was, like, having to hold back a lot. And in this group, it's different. It's more inclusive and you can be yourself. I mean, I do love those other friends, but I feel like it was more isolating. So, I think maybe I would be lonelier. – Camila, April 22, 2019

While Carlos spoke of perceptions of depression returning if he was not involved in the organization, Camila mentioned perceptions of returning isolation and loneliness. Similar to Camila, another participant, Maria, described perceptions of isolation if she never joined the organization. Maria extended on this and also described other perceptions of negative mental health by stating:

I feel like I would be more stressed out because when Trump was doing all that and threatening DACA, I was scared, but I wasn't so scared because I had them. I think it would be affecting me way more because I probably would have kept disassociating and isolating or spiraling down. I was in all these extracurricular activities, and then I started spiraling down because I didn't think I could go to

college because I was undocumented. So, I don't think I would be the same. I feel like I would be on a downward spiral completely. – Maria, April 22, 2019

Consistent with previous studies, DACA students that were involved with an institutional support program, whether it be a general Latinx organization, a DACA specific organization, or an undocumented student organization, presented a sense of resilience in terms of perceptions of mental health (Gamez, 2017). The importance of organizations on campus that provide safe spaces for DACA students and undocumented students is clear in the description of participants' perceptions of positive changes in mental health since joining the organization. Although student organizations at an institutional level may have alleviated some of the perceived mental health effects of racist nativism and nationalism for DACA students in this study, there is more to be done at the university and college level to provide a fully inclusive space.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

With a campaign and administration based on xenophobia and the vilification of immigrants, this study aimed to examine 1) if Houston area DACA students perceive elevated rates of racist nativist and nationalist forms of racism and/or discrimination, and perceive their mental health and well-being as changing (positively, negatively, or no change) since the 2016 presidential election and 2) if being involved in an institutional support organization provides DACA students with a perceived protection from the current sociopolitical environment. Not only did participants perceive high levels of discrimination in terms of racist nativism and nationalism since the 2016 presidential election, participants also perceived negative changes in their mental health. Consistent with previous literature on DACA students, participants in this study that were involved with an institutional support organization perceived the organization to be the cause of positive changes in their mental health. It would also make sense that participant perceptions of Houston as inclusive and diverse also played a role in perceptions of mental health, especially for those students who lived elsewhere in Texas or the U.S. before attending college in the University of Houston system.

This study is an important addition to literature examining racist nativism and nationalism. While CRT exposes racism in the everyday lives of people of color, LatCrit provides a framework that reveals the particular kinds of racism that stem from debates about immigration (Huber, 2016). Racist nativism, a development of LatCrit, focuses more closely on the unique forms of oppression experienced by the Latinx population (Huber, 2016). Throughout this study, it was clear that DACA students perceived a great deal of racist nativist rhetoric since the 2016 presidential election. More importantly, DACA students in this study highlighted specific issues such as language and Latinx in-

group bias between Latinx immigrants and Latinx U.S. citizens, which are further acknowledged by racist nativism (Huber, 2016).

While racist nativism's key factor is the perception that one is an immigrant, the DACA students in this study demonstrated other factors that played a role in perceptions of their mental health (Duran, 2017). Not only did DACA students discuss how others perceive them, they also discussed perceptions of their own identities in terms of colorism and passing for white. Adhering to racist nativist ideology, those who "pass" as white are assumed to fit-in or belong in the U.S., while those who do not "pass" as white are more likely to experience perceived discrimination. The DACA students in this study clearly demonstrated the intersections with legal status. This study also displayed the complexity of legal status, and revealed how institutionalized racism, and racist nativism, overlap with legal status.

While college and university students, in general, report high rates of negative mental health symptoms, it is obvious from this study, as well as from previous studies, that DACA students are at increased risk for mental health symptoms than the general college/university population due to the unique experiences and intersection of their immigration status (Bravo et al., 2018). With ongoing racist nativist and nationalist rhetoric in the U.S., it is important to understand how DACA students experience and navigate their time in college/university. Despite residing in the nation's most diverse city, there still appear to be challenges and barriers for DACA students at a state and federal level.

Limitations

The foremost limitation of this study was that all the participants were DACA students, which does not fully encompass the perceived mental health effects of racist nativism on undocumented students as a whole. As many participants advised, the idea of

a “Dreamer” is not inclusive enough and does not fully capture the experiences of all statuses. The use of “Dreamer” further promotes the ideology of a “good immigrant” by placing strict requirements and restrictions on access to this particular status (Sati, 2017).

Other limitations of this study were the higher percentage (77%) of female to male participants and the higher percentage (91%) of participants that were born in Mexico. However, the proportion of participants may reflect the larger percentage of female DACA students, as well as the larger percentage of Mexican DACA students as previously stated. Although there was one participant born in El Salvador and one participant born in Honduras, this study would have benefitted from an equal number of students from each country. In order to get a better understanding of perceptions of racist nativism and mental health on Latinx undocumented and DACA students in general, this study could have also benefitted from having participants from other Latinx countries. This study solely examined Latinx DACA students, which is also a limitation. Although DACA students are more likely to be from a Latinx country, there are also DACA students from various Asian and African countries (Schwab, 2019).

Recommendations

As the data from this study presented, institutional organizations that support Latinx, DACA, and undocumented students play an important role in perceptions mental health. While not all campuses in the University of Houston system had organizations specific to Latinx, DACA, or undocumented students at the time of this study, it is recommended that each campus allocate resources, such as allies and mentors, to assist in developing these organizations. Not only is it important for universities to provide safe spaces for DACA and undocumented students, it is also important for universities to advertise and share information about the organizations to younger, high school age students who may not believe college is an option, legally.

In terms of mental health, it is also clear that DACA students would benefit from university-level mental health counselors that are familiar and knowledgeable with the undocumented experience and unique needs of DACA students. Placing knowledgeable administration and staff in offices like counseling, admissions, and financial aid would be a great way to help DACA students' experiences in college, as well as foster a more supportive and inclusive environment.

At the time of writing this thesis, the House of Representatives has passed the American Dream and Promise Act of 2019 offering a pathway to citizenship for Dreamers (Sonmez, 2019). While the Dream Act has support from the Democratic-led House of Representatives, it is questionable whether the Republican-led Senate will further support it. Before a Senate vote has even occurred, Senate Majority Leader, Mitch McConnell, has stated that the Dream Act will "probably not" get a vote in the Senate (Everett, 2019). The Dream Act also fails to have the support of the Trump Administration (Everett, 2019). With such divisiveness in political discourse, policy makers should continue to support Dreamers and all undocumented students. Policy makers should also limit the strict requirements and restrictions in order to qualify for the Dream Act. Like DACA, the Dream Act proposes that applicants have met certain requirements, and considers Dreamers - and immigrants in general - as only being valued by what they contribute economically (going to college, joining the military, or gaining employment) (Sonmez, 2019).

Future Research

With a divided Congress, the 2020 presidential election approaching, and a possible re-election of President Trump, there will continue to be barriers for DACA students. Studies are needed to further examine the mental health of DACA students through a more structured, quantitative means. In addition to examining the mental health

of DACA students, future research should also examine the resilience and persistence of DACA students in other parts of the country that may not be as diverse as the Houston area. It would also be beneficial to better understand what motivates DACA students' persistence throughout college and university when they are not involved in institutional support organizations.

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APPENDIX A:
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Age at time of study: _____

Age at arrival in US: _____

Country of birth: _____

Circle: Male / Female

APPENDIX B:
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What do you think about when you hear of anti-immigrant rhetoric coming from the White House and the Trump administration?
 - Probes: Can you provide an example of when you experienced or witnessed heightened racism around the Latinx community? Why do you think there is this heightened amount of racism in America right now?
2. Can you discuss an example where you may have felt personally victimized from racist rhetoric? Or personally effected by it?
 - Probes: Have you experienced any direct, overt, racism? Subtle racism? Do you hear racist rhetoric on campus? At home? On the news?
3. Have you noticed any kind of change in your mental health or physical health?
 - Probes: Have you noticed a change in your level of stress? Has stress impacted your daily life? A change in anxiousness? Any change in your overall happiness (depressive symptoms)? Can you provide an example of how anxiety or depression impacted your daily life? Have you been to a doctor or health clinic in the last two years? If so, what types of illnesses did you have?
4. When did you join Urban Experience Project or United We Dream?
 - Probes: How did you find the organization? How often do you meet with members in the organization? What types of support does being involved in this program offer? What do you like most about being a part of this organization?

5. What do you think your life would be like if you were not involved with this organization?
- Probes: Do you think you would be having the same college experience? Do you think you would be more or less stressed/anxious/depressed? Less or more healthy, mentally/physically?
6. Do you enjoy living in the Houston area?
- Probes: Do you consider Houston to be diverse? Do you think living here is easier for immigrants? Harder? More or less accepting? More or less inclusive? Can you provide an example of when you have felt included or not included? Do you feel the same about / does this translate to your college campus?

APPENDIX C:
INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Informed Consent to Participate in Research

You are being asked to participate in the research project Racist Nativism and Nationalist Rhetoric: Implications for the Mental Health and Well-being of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) Students. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate, or you may decide to stop your participation at any time. Should you refuse to participate in the study or should you withdraw your consent and stop participation in the study, your decision will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you may be otherwise entitled. You should ask questions about anything you don't understand before deciding whether or not to participate.

Principal Investigator: Monica Adams

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research project addresses perceived racism and perceived mental health effects of racism and nationalist rhetoric on the mental health of DACA students. This research project will also assess support given to DACA students during their time at university.

PROCEDURES

You will be asked a series of open-ended questions about your own experiences with racism, mental health, and university support. With your permission, your responses will be tape recorded. Otherwise, your responses will be recorded with detailed notes. Every effort will be made to protect the confidentiality of your responses. The data collected from

the study will be used for educational and publication purposes, however, you will not be identified by name. To protect confidentiality, you will be assigned or will select a pseudonym for the study. Every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of your study records. The data collected from the study will be used for educational and publication purposes, however, you will not be identified by name.

EXPECTED DURATION

The total anticipated time commitment will be approximately thirty minutes to one hour.

RISKS OF PARTICIPATION

There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this project.

BENEFITS TO THE SUBJECT

While there is no payment or compensation for the interview, having data on migrant mental health in the context of racism and institutional support allows for making recommendations for improving educational and policy outcomes.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF RECORDS

Every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of your study records. The data collected from the study will be used for educational and publication purposes, however, you will not be identified by name.

INVESTIGATOR'S RIGHT TO WITHDRAW PARTICIPANT

The investigator has the right to withdraw you from this study at any time.

FINANCIAL COMPENSATION

There is no financial compensation to be offered for participation in the study.

CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

The investigator has offered to answer all your questions. If you have questions during the course of this study about the research or any related problem, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Monica Adams, by phone 832-782-7321 or by email at orellanam1664@uhcl.edu.

You may cease your participation at any time. Your participation does not release the investigator(s), institution(s), sponsor(s) or granting agency(ies) from their professional and ethical responsibility to you.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON-CLEAR LAKE (UHCL) COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS HAS REVIEWED AND APPROVED THIS PROJECT. ANY QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT MAY BE ADDRESSED TO THE UHCL COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (281-283-3015). ALL RESEARCH PROJECTS THAT ARE CARRIED OUT BY INVESTIGATORS AT UHCL ARE GOVERNED BY REQUIREMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. (FEDERALWIDE ASSURANCE # FWA00004068)