UnDACAmented Identity and Belonging: A Qualitative Analysis of the Cultural Citizenship of Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Recipients

Ana Ortez-Rivera
Anthropology Department
University of Maryland College Park

Dr. Christina Getrich

Abstract

Undocumented immigrants advocate for legislation to gain a pathway to citizenship, among those are immigrants who have spent most of their lives studying and working in America. The members of marginalized group are also known as the 1.5 generation, in that they were born in another country but have grown up in a host country. The 1.5 generation is subject to deportation, despite identifying America as their home or who may have family members who are Americans. President Barack Obama ordered the Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program in 2012, which gives two-year residence status and work authorization to those who qualify. The purpose of this paper is to examine how DACA has affected recipients in their sense of identifying as "American" and a "citizen" and belonging in American society. DACA only grants temporary legal status and, therefore, this paper investigates whether recipients' feelings of identity and belonging may also temporary. Immigrants have created an alternative construct of citizenship known as *cultural* citizenship, and is more inclusive and highlights their contributions. This type of citizenship is defined as the mechanism in which Latinos and other groups claim space and rights in society by the broad range of activities of everyday life (Flores and Benmayor 1998:15). Using cultural citizenship theory, conclusions in this paper are drawn from the analysis of the data collected by using of qualitative and quantitative methods. DACA recipients who live in Maryland were interviewed and asked to complete a survey regarding their experiences of how DACA has impacted their lives. The importance of this paper is to understand how lived experiences of DACA recipients are shaped by the benefits and shortcomings of DACA, and connected with a larger narrative of the undocumented immigrant experience in the United States.

Keywords: Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals, Cultural Citizenship, Immigrants, Identity, Belonging

1. Introduction

Citizenship is granted to those who are born within the borders of the nation-state, and protects the rights of its members in society. The American founding fathers first conceptualized citizenship to be reserved for White male wealthy landowners (Flores and Benmayor 1998:29). Today in the twenty-first century, citizenship is no longer limited to an exclusive group but instead includes a wide spectrum of people of different racial, ethnic, and gender backgrounds. This change was made possible through groups having resisted the exclusion and discrimination of rights through social movements such as the Women's Suffrage movement and the Civil Rights Movement. Immigrants are now following the path of resistance through defying the meaning of citizenship that is not bounded by nation-state boundaries.

People are led to leave their home countries for environmental, social, economic, and political factors. Immigrants want to improve their lives through escaping poverty, persecution, unemployment, or natural disasters. Despite their intentions, most immigrants who have come to the US to find that they are excluded by negative discourses as exemplified by Presidential Candidate Donald Trump. Undocumented immigrants of Latino and Hispanic origin in particular face discourse in the media that portrays them as "criminals" and "aliens" who are a threat to American society (Chavez 2013:30). To combat this stigma, undocumented immigrants have raised their voices to highlight their stories of hardships, dedication in work, and commitment to improving their lives in America. Immigrants have created an alternative construct of citizenship known as *cultural* citizenship, and is more inclusive and highlights their contributions. This type of citizenship is defined as the mechanism in which Latinos and other groups claim space and rights in society by the broad range of activities of everyday life (Flores and Benmayor 1998:15).

In order to understand their experiences and perspectives immigrants have been categorized into different generations. First-generation immigrants are those who are foreign born and immigrate to a host country. The second generation is the children of first-generation immigrants who are born in the country where their parents immigrated. One group of immigrants does not fit in either of the two well-known generations. People who immigrated at a young age but have spent the majority of their adolescence in the host country are classified as the 1.5 generation.

This paper focuses on the group of 1.5 generation immigrants because they are caught between two worlds. They are foreign born but yet have grown up, received their education, and made their homes in America. In many cases, they have never even had the opportunity to go back to the home country in which they were born. Despite being a part of American society, 1.5 generation immigrants are fighting to stay in the U.S. and receive the rights of citizens and legal immigrants. They have created a new frame of dialogue that highlights their unique position, arguing that they should not be punished for the actions of their parents who brought them illegally at a young age.

On June 15, 2012, President Barack Obama initiated the Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program to assist the 2.1 million 1.5 generation undocumented immigrants living in the United States (Batalova et al. 2014:10). Recipients are given a two-year deferment from deportation and issued a work permit and social security number. DACA neither gives recipients permanent lawful status, nor a clear pathway to citizenship. In 2012, 55 percent of the qualified population applied for DACA. This can be in part due to the strict requirements that applicants must meet based on age of arrival, length of residence, enrollment or completion of high school, and being free of convictions. Studies have shown that the program was beneficial to recipients through increased access to opportunities such as jobs, internships, ability to obtain driver's licenses, open bank accounts, and have access to healthcare (Gonzales et al. 2014:3).

The purpose of this paper is to explore how DACA has affected recipients in their interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships DACA has had an impact on its recipients based on their self-perception of identity and belonging in American society. The major research questions that are examined in this paper are the following: (a) How has DACA affected recipients' sense of belonging? (b) What does being a "citizen" or an "American" mean to DACA recipients? (c) How does age of arrival influence experiences of incorporation? These research questions aim to uncover the scope of DACA's effect and to highlight recipients' individual perceptive and experience having DACA.

These topics were explored through interviews conducted with recipients, in which they were asked questions about their identity and belonging. Recipients were asked to reflect from their experiences from the period of living in their home countries until the current day. This study is

therefore important because it gives voice to the lived experiences of DACA recipients, and how they have been impacted by the policy. By understanding how recipients have benefited from DACA, further insight can be given to the policy's shortcomings and how to advocate for more rights for the immigrant community.

2. Literature Review

Undocumented immigrants are automatically disqualified from certain rights and privileges because they do not have legal status in the United States, but have defied this exclusion through cultural citizenship. The development of cultural citizenship has been a focus of scholars because it highlights immigrants' ability to impact their communities through their identity and senses of belonging. Policy has the potential to limit or assist immigrants in their process of incorporation, and therefore scholars have previously focused on the role of state intuitions, such as the government, in shaping immigrants' belonging. The nature of the literature focuses on immigrant communities and their ability to navigate around exclusionary policies, and contribute to society. The following review contains a chronological discussion of sample sources that follow the development of cultural citizenship through immigrant experiences.

William Flores and Rina Benmayor first proposed the concept of cultural citizenship in their book titled *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space and Rights* (1998). The authors define cultural citizenship "as broad range of activities of everyday life through which Latinos and other groups claim space in society and eventually claim rights," (18). Cultural citizenship is beneficial to understand cultural processes that facilitate how immigrants participate and shape their communities. Renato Rosaldo, a contributor to the volume, discusses how social movements have impacted the meaning of citizenship, and how cultural citizenship operates in uneven fields of "structural inequalities," (37). This book offers the concept of cultural citizenship as a new lens that embraces immigrants' right to be different and how they contribute to society on their own terms.

In her book *Buddha is Hiding* (2003), Aihwa Ong presents a different formulation of cultural citizenship that examines more pronouncedly the role of the state and institutions in shaping belonging. Ong examines the "polices, programs, codes, and practices... that attempt to instill in citizen subjects particular values in a variety of domains," (6). Ong focuses on the lives of Cambodian refugees in their transition into American society and finds that institutions play a role in shaping how they negotiate American culture and the constraints they face in reaching the American dream. Ong's refined definition of cultural citizenship is more inclusive in accounting the state institution's role in the immigrant incorporation process.

In the article "Negotiating Boundaries of Social Belonging" (2008), Christina M. Getrich explores how second generation Mexican youth construct their own boundaries of belonging by participating in the immigrant rights protests of 2006. Participating in the San Diego protests was a platform from which the youth were able to express their form of cultural citizenship. Getrich offers a case study of generational immigrant families resisting categories of belonging and asserting their own identity. Getrich connects with Ong through focusing less on legal categories that define immigrants, and instead on their ability to be autonomous and gain power.

Immigrants lived experience can influenced by their generations. Leisy Abrego (2011) also focuses on Latino immigrants' claims of belonging in Southern California in her article, "Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-Making for First- and 1.5-generation Immigrants." Abrego argues that first generation and 1.5 generation

immigrations experience their legal status differently. The first generation immigrants experiences legal status as a source of fear. In contrast, 1.5 generation immigrants experienced their legal status as a source of stigma. She also states that interactions among immigrants shape the fear and stigma that immigrants face. This perspective emphasizes the significance of communities constructed by immigrants and, therefore, is a potential vehicle for outreach to combat fear and stigma that immigrants face. Abrego's findings are important in analyzing data in reflecting how 1.5 generation experience legal status.

In the article, "Documented, Undocumented, and Liminally Legal: Legal Status During the Transition to Adulthood for 1.5 Generation Brazilian Immigrants" (2013) Kara Cebulko views legal status as a non-binary form of stratification. Cebulko identifies a hierarchy that is based on legal membership that has four levels. This insight offers a complex system of belonging within communities that are dictated by different levels of status and "threat of deportability." This system of legal stratification dictates how immigrants behave and perceive themselves belonging to their new community.

Luis F.B. Plascencia's *Disenchanting Citizenship: Mexican Migrants and the Boundaries of Belonging* (2013) offers insights about transitioning from being a "real green-card" to becoming a naturalized citizen. Plascencia focuses on citizenship and how it is expressed by undocumented immigrants through compromising their native-born nationalities. Plascencia's his personal experience and research contributes to the meaning and value of citizenship to immigrants. Plascencia contributes to the understanding of cultural citizenship through highlighting the significance of lived experiences, and having to compromise nationalities.

Roberto G. Gonzales, Carola Súarez-Orozco and M.C. Dedios-Sanguineti in their article "No Place to Belong: Contextualizing Concepts of Mental Health among Undocumented Immigrant Youth in the United States" (2013), is the first to draw the link between mental health and emotional health of undocumented immigrants. According to the study, undocumented immigrants are prone to "increased mental distress," and is linked to a disruption in the "sense of belonging, meaning, and purpose." This article suggests that topics of belonging and identity are closely connected to legal status and can have negative impacts on mental health.

In the book entitled *The Border Crossed Us: Rhetoric of Borders, Citizenship, and Latino/an Identity* (2013), Josue David Cisneros and Mary Elizabeth Watson argue that the crossing of the border, both physically and figuratively, has defined the reality of Mexicans in the United States. Through this perspective, terms of "alienness" and "illegal" are solidified as crossing the border and seen as an "invasion" of citizenship. The author's symbolic use of the border shows how the border plays a significant role in how Mexicans living in Texas, and elsewhere, are excluded in the rhetoric of having true "citizenship."

In the study by the Pew Charitable Trust of April 2014 titled "Immigration and Legalization: Roles and Responsibilities of States and Localities," the roles and responsibilities of state actors in immigration laws are discussed. The study compares the Immigration Reform Act of 1986 and the Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals or DACA (2012). The IRC created a clear path to citizenship in which a total of 2,705,002 immigrants received Legal Permanent Resident Statuses. In contrast, DACA is only a temporary relief program, and applicants must meet strict "age, education, and resident requirements," (6). This article shows that states and localities play a major role in assisting immigrants in the past and present. This article reinforces Ong's perspective of cultural citizenship in which immigrants have to navigate through state policies.

In the article "How DACA Has Improved the Lives of Undocumented Young People" (2014), Zenen Jaimes Pérez, shows that DACA has improved the lives of its recipients through achieving

better economic opportunity. Pérez emphasizes that DACA has also had an effect in reducing feelings of "disconnect" and making immigrants feel "more comfortable to move through their daily routines" (6). DACA provides security to its recipients and feel no longer afraid because of their immigration status. This article is significance connecting DACA recipients' feelings of security and belonging to higher confidence and greater participation in their communities.

Findings from the National UnDACAmented Research Project (NURP) are outlined in the article titled "Two Years and Counting: Assessing the Growing Power of DACA" by Roberto G. Gonzalez and Angie M. Bautista-Chavez show that the NURP is the first nationwide survey in which the effects of DACA are closely examined since its initiation. According to the NURP, 673,417 young people applied for DACA as of March 2014. After receiving DACA, 60 percent have obtained new jobs, 21 percent obtained internships, and 57 percent obtained driver's licenses. Recipients also opened their first bank accounts, obtained credit cards, and gained access to healthcare. Findings from The NURP suggest that DACA recipients have partially benefited from the program, but they also are in need of further assistance. These findings offer an understanding of the impact DACA has had after its first two years since initiation, and gives a starting point for further exploring its potential benefits and limitations in examining DACA in 2016.

Scholarship has shown that immigrants' self-perception of belonging, citizenship and identity are heavily influenced by the rhetoric in the media, stigmas and fears spread within communities, institutions and policies, and legal documentation. The literature is limited through providing individual perspective of 1.5 generation immigrants who are affected through temporary policy, such as DACA. The current study contributes to these works by using qualitative data to show how immigrants continue to contribute positively in society and feel increasing levels of belonging. This study uses anthropological methods to examine the *emic*, or insider perspective, of individuals to gain a deeper understanding of how they experienced changes in their lives after attaining DACA.

3. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

Citizenship has been traditionally perceived through an individual's political identity in the eyes of the state, and emphasized in legal documentation. Cultural citizenship, in contrast, challenges the traditional perspective on citizenship that disregards legal documentation in determining identity and belonging (Rosaldo 1998:15). Cultural citizenship stems away from political identity towards emphasizing lived experiences of immigrants groups. An individual's experience can be a part of a greater narrative that is the experience of a group of a specific immigrants. Each group of immigrants have different experiences in their incorporation process.

Cultural citizenship examines how individuals have adopted rights, despite lacking legal status, within their communities, and can be seen through their daily activities and feelings of social belonging. Cultural citizenship was theorized by anthropologist Renato Rosaldo and others, in researching how Latinos have shaped and influenced their communities in a unique way. Rosaldo analyzed how Latinos re-shape what it means to be a citizenship despite their legal status. Ong also explores another facet of cultural citizenship that is dependent on the effects of policies and institutions that limit the power and autonomy of immigrants. Therefore, cultural citizenship is shaped by the experiences and abilities of the immigrants to gain power and rights in their communities within the context of power structures that constrain them.

The concept of cultural citizenship is useful in this study because it is employed in challenging the meaning and scope of citizenship. Cultural citizenship is used in this study to understand how

DACA recipients' access to better work and educational opportunities have affected their perception of belonging and identity. Cultural citizenship is reflected in DACA recipients' daily activities, behaviors, and attitudes within their communities. DACA does not offer a pathway to citizenship, but it does allow recipients to benefit from opportunities such as attaining jobs, bank accounts, driver licenses, and social security numbers; all of which are rights reserved for citizens. Access to resources through DACA is a partial form of belonging, because it is only temporary and valid for two years, and must be renewed.

This study was conducted through the larger research project titled "The Health and Well-Being of Newly "DACA-mented" Immigrant Young Adults," with Dr. Christina Getrich at the University of Maryland College Park as the Principal Investigator. A mixed-method research design is used in which both qualitative and quantitative data are collected through interviews and surveys. Questions from interviews and surveys were approved by the Institutional Review Board and funded through a Research and Scholarship Award (RASA) and the Dean's Research Initiative (DRI) grant, awarded to Dr. Getrich for the summer of 2016.

Interviews for the overall project started in April 2016 and will wrap up in August 2016. Participants were recruited through referrals from local organizations such as Maryland Multicultural Youth Center and snowball sampling, in which referrals are obtain from participants based on their acquaintances. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 28 years old and all resided in the state of Maryland. During the interviews, participants were asked questions on broader issues on their daily activities (such as school, employment, and health care seeking) and attitudes towards their identity and sense of belonging in American society.

For my project, I evaluated 10 of the early interviews from the larger project to specifically explore themes related to belonging and identity. The hypothesis of my study is that DACA recipients exhibit forms of cultural citizenship and that their self-perception of belonging in U.S. society and American identity have been positively affected by the introduction of DACA. This hypothesis focuses on the scope of the problem: i.e. of the extent to which DACA has made an impact on the recipients through gaining access to opportunities that would otherwise have been closed off because of their legal status.

The unit of analysis of this study is group of ten the DACA recipients. Through interviewing the recipients, individual experiences in the realms of family life, education, work, health, and well-being are explored. The recipients are the ones who are most affected by DACA and, therefore, are the ones who are the key informants in this study. Each recipient has his/her own unique perspective on how DACA has affected his/her life and, therefore, the level of analysis is micro. By focusing on a micro level of analysis, individual experiences are emphasized to understand the broader concepts of belonging and identity of DACA recipients in the state of Maryland.

4. Results

The larger DACA health and well-being project is still in the data collection phase and will proceed to data analysis in the fall. Thus I am analyzing preliminary data in the form of audio files and transcripts of ten interviews. I analyzed the interview files and transcripts by manually identifying excerpts that expressed the participants' feelings and attitude of identity and belonging. Through examining patterns in the responses of DACA recipients, three themes emerged: (1) recipients' materialized expression of being American, (2) recipients' feelings of in-between identity, neither fully American nor fully members of their home counties, and (3) intra-generational differences

within families of their incorporation experience based on the age they migrated. The themes are supported by quotes, stories, and experiences of recipients that were expressed in the interviews recorded.

4.1 Material Expression of Being American

We hypothesized that DACA recipients would express that they felt more American once they received DACA. However, many DACA recipients expressed that what actually made them feel American was being able "to do more American things" (DACA Recipient 10). DACA allows recipients access to resources that are typically only granted to U.S. citizens. For instance, having a work permit and social security card enabled recipients to obtain legitimate employment (as opposed to working “under the table”) with better salaries and more benefits than they had before having DACA. Of the ten participants, nine reporting having better paying higher annual incomes after receiving DACA. A 26 year old Mexican female was able to obtain an internship at a youth center and led her to being hired as a full time social worker within the organization (DACA Recipient 5). Another key component in the incorporation process was the ability to have driver's license that were not marked, in which is a sign used to label a driver as undocumented. Those who have Access to better jobs and the ability to drive legally have put DACA recipients on a common ground with native born Americans. To many participants, expressing an American identity and belonging was achieved through being able to perform American tasks. The work permit and the social security card are material items that enable DACA recipients to be active in their communities and go about their daily lives without fear of deportation, and feel the same as everyone else.

4.2 In-between Identity and Belonging

Many recipients expressed feelings of being in-between, neither fully American nor fully members of their native countries. DACA recipients have situated themselves in a limbo category, in which they identify as a mix of both identities, but neither fully one nor the other. DACA Recipient 1 who is 19 years old Salvadoran male expressed that ne did not "feel more American but I don’t feel all Salvadorian either. So, I feel like it’s kind of a mix of places, of things that I am." A Salvadoran 26 year old female also stated that "I’m an immigrant, but I’m not an immigrant. I just feel like a whole subsection of everything," (DACA Recipient 6). The feeling of in-between also reflects the temporariness of the DACA program, in which their jobs and driver licenses, could be taken away at any moment, along with their ability to perform the American tasks that make them feel secure. DACA Recipient 4, a 28 year old Salvadoran female, reflected on the temporal nature of DACA in which "when that’s done, you’re done,’ unless you renew it, unless they decide to keep you here." DACA recipients are placed in a limbo state through the Executive Order in which they are not fully legal residents nor undocumented immigrants and, therefore, is reflected in their in-between feelings of identity and belonging.

4.3 Contrast of Family Experiences of Incorporation

In order to qualify for DACA, recipients had to have been under the age of 16 in 2012. Recipients who participated in the study arrived in the United States at different ages, which we discovered had an effect on their experiences of being incorporated into American society. These differences

were expressed more evidently when we interviewed members of the same family who came to the United States and received DACA at different ages. Those recipients who came at a younger age were able to transition into learning English, making friends, and excelling in course work smoother than those who came at an older age. Those who came at an older age had more difficulty learning English, and adapting to the American school system. DACA Recipient 5, for instance, has a younger brother who is two years younger; he reported looking at his brother and asking him, "How come you're more assimilated to the culture that I am?" DACA was initiated in 2012, in which some participants were still in high school at that age. We found that having DACA straight out of high school was a major benefit; participants could seek work right away (if not while in high school) and apply for in-state tuition to afford school. Participants who had already graduated from high school when DACA was initiated had already encountered prior years of difficulty in finding jobs and being unable to afford school. These differences sometimes served as a source of tension within families, although some of the younger siblings expressed empathy about the challenges that their older siblings had endured. In talking about her brother, one recipient said that "I look at my [younger] brother and say, 'How come you're more assimilated to the culture that I am?'" (DACA Recipient 5). Younger siblings also benefitted from the knowledge about DACA and navigating higher education and work that the older siblings had learned by experience. We observed important differences in incorporation experiences based on participants' age of arrival.

The findings partially support the hypothesis and also exposed unanticipated experiences regarding DACA. We hypothesized that DACA recipients would feel more American after receiving DACA. Instead, we found that the policy did not make recipients ***feel*** more American, but allowed them to do more American tasks that provided them security. Participants' reflections highlighted their continued feelings of in-betweenness. Older siblings within families with multiple DACA recipients also faced greater challenges in performing American tasks and incorporating into U.S. society.

Using cultural citizenship as a theoretical framework is useful in analyzing the data because it gives a more inclusive perspective on how citizenship is shaped by immigrants' lived experiences. In the case of our study participants, belonging was characterized more by material markers of being American than their feelings of belonging. We also found that these feelings varied among siblings who had immigrated at different ages, with older siblings being even more challenged in feeling that they belonging because of the struggles they encountered when they finished high school and struggled with getting jobs and attending college. Cultural citizenship is a platform from which DACA can be viewed as a factor that facilitated some immigrants' inclusion in their communities, by being able to participate in society without fear of deportation.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to understand the effects DACA has had on its recipients through the lens of cultural citizenship. The proposed hypothesis is that DACA recipients would feel more American after having DACA because they have access to more opportunities and rights. The hypothesis was partially supported. However, it is important to understand how they frame belonging in emic terms, from their own perspectives. DACA recipients that were interviewed reported that program gave them a greater sense of belonging in American society by being "to do more American things" (DACA Recipient 10). These finding highlights how recipients fall into a limbo status of identity, in which their identity is composed of a mix of American and their native

country sense of nationality. Recipients' development of self-identity and belonging is found to be affected by generational differences based on their age of arrival.

The sample of ten participants is part of a larger on-going project and does not represent the overall population sample. Due to the timing of data collection and time limitations, I could not analyze additional data. It would be ideal to continue fleshing out themes related to the material expression of citizenship as more data are collected.

Recipients have shown resilience in utilizing DACA to improve their lives and overcoming obstacles to afford and attain higher education and better employment. In highlighting the success of DACA recipients, the shortcomings are also exposed. It is evident that the temporary DACA program is not enough in order for immigrants to thrive. The significance of these findings connects to policy recommendations and advocacy for the expansion of DACA, or a more permanent policy that includes a pathway to citizenship. DACA has motivated immigrants to continue fighting to achieve their own American dream.

6. References

Abrego, Leisy J. "Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-Making for First- and 1.5-generation Immigrants." *Law and Social Inquiry* (2011): 709-734. Web. 1 June 2016.

Batalova, Jeanne, Sarah Hooker, Randy Capps, and James D. Bachmeier. *DACA at the Two-Year Mark.* Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2014. Print.

Chavez, Leo R. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation. Second edition*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013. Web. 1 June 2016.

Cisneros, Josue David, and Mary Elizabeth. Watson. *The Border Crossed Us: Rhetorics of Borders, Citizenship, and Latina/o Identity.* Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University Alabama Press, 2013. Web. 1 June 2016.

"Documented, Undocumented, and Liminally Legal: Legal Status During the Transition to Adulthood for 1.5-Generation Brazilian Immigrants Kara Cebulko" *Providence College* (2013): n. pag. Web. 1 June 2016.

Flores, William Vincent., and Rina. Benmayor. *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1997. Print.

Getrich, Christina M. "Negotiating Boundaries of Social Belonging: Second-Generation Mexican Youth and the Immigrant Rights Protests of 2006." *American Behavioral Scientist* (2008): 533-556. Print.

Gonzales, Roberto G. and Angie M. Bautista-Chavez. "Two Years and Counting: Assessing the Growing Power of DACA." *Washington, D.C.: American Immigration Council* (2014): n. pag. Web. 1 June 2016.

Gonzales, Roberto G., Carola Súarez-Orozco, and M.C. Dedios-Sanguineti. "No Place to Belong: Contextualizing Concepts of Mental Health among Undocumented Immigrant Youth in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* (2013): 1174-1199. Web. 1 June 2016.

"Immigration and Legalization: roles and responsibilities of States and Localities" *The Pew Charitable Trust* (2014): n. pag. Web. 1 June 2016.

Pérez, Zenen Jaimes. "How DACA Has Improved the Lives of Undocumented Young People." *Center for American Progress* (2014). n. pag. Web. 1 June 2016.

Plascencia, Luis F. B. “Disenchanting Citizenship: Mexican Migrants and the Boundaries of Belonging. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.” *Latinidad, transnational cultures in the United States* (2012): n. pag.Web.1 June 2016.