

INCORPORATION PATTERNS OF LATINX COLLEGE IMMIGRANTS

A Thesis

by

CINDY BARAHONA

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Chair of Committee,	Nancy Plankey-Videla
Co-Chair of Committee,	Mary Campbell
Committee Members,	Felipe Hinojosa
Head of Department,	Pat Rubio Goldsmith

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ABSTRACT

This study draws on twenty-two interviews with undocumented, deferred action, legal permanent residents, visa students, and recently naturalized citizens from Texas to examine how the context of reception shapes their perceived aspirations and expectations. I utilize the nested context of reception and segmented assimilation frameworks to argue that the national, state, and local context of reception impacts the educational opportunities provided to them. The findings suggest that immigrant college students' access to educational resources, knowledge of state immigration policies, and campus environment shape their aspirations and expectations for the future. Thus I suggest it leads to selective, stagnant, conditional, or partial incorporation. By contemplating these aspects, we can see how the host society hinders or supports immigrant youth's membership in society.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the thousands of undocumented youth who are dreaming of a better future.

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INTRODUCTION

What does it mean to be American when you are undocumented? That is a question that thousands of immigrant students across the nation often ask themselves after suffering marginalization by the federal government, enduring heinous political attacks from their states, and isolation from their local entities. Undocumented students often encounter an arduous political climate that has for decades denied them access to vital resources for their economic and social mobility, beginning with equitable access to higher education. The differential access to social, economic, and educational opportunities contributes to different immigrant youth populations' academic outcomes.

Scholars who have focused on Latinx youth and migrant students' educational outcomes generally fall into two camps. One group focuses on individual student characteristics that impact educational outcomes, primarily immigrant generation, parental influences, cultural capital, and nationality of the individual. Bohon, Johnson, and Gorman (2006) found that Cubans have higher aspirations and expectations than Mexicans, which the author theorizes may be due to the privileged history of the first group. Similarly, other scholars such as Kao and Tienda (1998) argue that socioeconomic status plays a significant role in keeping aspirations and expectations high across different groups. Portes and Rivas (2011) make similar inferences in their examination of Asian Americans and Hispanics, finding that their differential access to resources and reception influence their adaptation and education patterns.

Some researchers in this school of thought argue that parents influence the educational aspirations of their offspring. Scholars argue that parent-child interactions

influence the academic achievement and aspirations, and expectations of their children because it offers “within-family” knowledge in the form of social capital (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). Similarly, other studies have focused only on expectations and found that high parental expectations increase the likelihood of completing high school and going to college (Glick and White 2004:296).

Another scholarly camp has shifted attention towards more structural explanations, exploring the influence of legal status on Latinx¹ youth’s aspirations and expectations for the future, which in turn translate into differential educational outcomes. For example, Menjivar (2006) found that, what she calls a liminal legal status, which she argues impacted Central American-legal permanent residents, undocumented, and Temporary Protective Status youth’s perception of what they could do in the educational system. Torres and Wicks-Asbun (2014:202) arrived at the same conclusions in their study of high school undocumented youth in North Carolina, which found that “their narratives reveal how macroscale immigration legislation and policy shape immigrant children’s reception experience, aspiration and lives.” Thus research points to the idea that the context of reception matters greatly when exploring the experiences of immigrant youth in the United States. The concept of context of reception is one of the pillars of the segmented assimilation framework.

¹ For this study, I will utilize the term Latinx instead of Hispanic to be mindful of the participants' possible nonbinary identification.

Portes and Rumbaut's (2014) segmented assimilation framework emphasizes that the immigrant path to mobility varies across different immigrant groups and generations. The authors mention that it is dependent upon human capital, family structure, and modes of incorporation (Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008). These paths show that occupational skills, and community ties influence accessibility in the labor market, which depends on the context of reception. This context of reception, or as Canizales (2021) describes it, "the structural and cultural features of the receiving society," shapes how immigrants are received and treated in the host society. The framework also highlights the composition of the immigrant family and modes of incorporation--which are government policies, strength of co-ethnic community, and presence or absence of societal nativism--that lead to different patterns of immigrant assimilation. Hence, they conclude that we are expect to see either complete, selective, downward, or stagnant assimilation into the underclass by the third generation (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005). The selective acculturation concept explains the ways that people maintain their own culture while learning American ways (Portes and Fernandez Kelly 2008), while downward assimilation into the underclass experience lower economic, and educational attainment by the third generation. Lastly, stagnation refers to the lack of advancement economically, socially and educationally (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller 2005). This framework is useful in understanding the differential educational aspirations and expectations of Latinx college immigrant youth.

I extend current studies on the educational aspirations and expectations of Latinx youth by focusing on the 1.5 generation and first-generation immigrant youth

population. Specifically, I seek to expand knowledge on how the context of reception shapes the perceived aspirations and expectations of undocumented, deferred action, legal permanent residents, visa students, and recently naturalized citizens, thus leading to different patterns of incorporation. The research question I ask is *In what ways does the context of reception and legal status affect Latinx immigrant youth aspirations and expectations for their future?* Although some studies explore the role of legal status on the incorporation of undocumented youth in high school, few have attempted to examine the differential experiences of immigrant youth in college or compare immigrant youth with different legal statuses.

For clarification, this study views the context of reception as the governmental policies, strength of the co-ethnic community, and nativist public attitudes, leading to varying modes of incorporation of the immigrant population (Portes and Zhou 1993:211). Although the terms assimilation and incorporation are often used interchangeably by many scholars, Zhou and Gonzales (2019) argue they do not have the same conceptual framing. Feagin and Cobas (2008) argue that assimilation alludes to the white racial frame, that is, it exalts the “racial stereotypes; racial narratives and interpretations; racial images and language accents; racialized emotions and inclination to discriminate” (Feagin and Ducey 2019:61). Thus when scholars speak of assimilation, they understand that Latinx people must conform to the understanding, views, and images of the dominant group, thus disempowering the communities by pushing for a “one-way adaptation to existing white hegemony, which inevitably means it is symbolically violent and self-oppressive” (Feagin and Cobas 2008:52). Therefore, this

research utilizes Zhou and Gonzales' (2019) definition of incorporation as "...the extent to which institutional barriers are removed for immigrant groups to fully participate in the host society and access equal opportunities, resources, and rights, regardless of race/ethnicity and national origin (Zhou and Gonzales 2019:385).

This article draws upon 22 in-depth interviews focusing on individuals' educational experiences on campus, awareness of policies and political climate, and subjective views on the effects of their legal status on their expectations and aspirations. I define expectations as what the individual thinks will happen in the near future, and aspirations as what they hope will occur in the medium and long term. Overall, I examine the influence of context of reception in the national landscape, Texas, and campus-level experiences have on the lives of undocumented, Deferred Action, student visa, legal permanent residents, and recently naturalized citizens. At the national level, college students without permanent legal statuses do not qualify for federal financial assistance. At the state level, Texas offers the "Texas Dream Act," also known as Senate Bill 1528, which provides access to state financial aid and in-state tuition, while also passing restrictions on immigration policies with Senate Bill 4, and the expansion of 287(g) contracts at the local level. Both Senate Bill 4 and 287(g) contracts expand the authority of local law enforcement to ask for legal status at the state and local levels. At the local level, immigrant youth reside in the Bryan/College Station area located in the conservative majority-republican Brazos county that has shown willingness to join the 287(g) program (Plankey-Videla 2021), which also is home to a predominantly white conservative public higher education institution.

This research contributes to the scholarly discussion of segmented assimilation, specifically its context of reception approach, by arguing that immigrant youth incorporation can be either partial, selective, stagnant or conditional, depending on their experiences, knowledge, and privileges obtained at the local, state, and federal level. Additionally, I argue that immigrant college students' experience and national immigrant rhetoric, knowledge of immigration policies, and campus environment, impact their aspirations and expectations for the future, both career-wise and personally. At the local level, they encounter a conservative-leaning campus environment with a variety of resources for academic attainment but lacking in institutional financial support for immigrants. They also confront a state that has expanded restrictive immigration rules to expedite detention and deportations, while also confronting systematic exclusion to federal mandates on access to higher education and federal financial assistance at the federal level. By contemplating these aspects, we can see how the host society hinders or supports immigrant youth's membership.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The segmented assimilation approach attempts to explain the diverse factors contributing to the different paths of social mobility across generations. Amongst those factors is the context of reception that immigrants arrive into. This context of reception includes different modes of incorporation, namely, the governmental policies, strength of co-ethnic community, and societal dynamics that receive these individuals (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008). Golash-Boza and Valdez (2018:546) applied the context of the reception framework of segmented assimilation to study immigrant youth in the University of California-Central. They argued students experienced mixed context of receptions. At the local and state level they face policies that “legitimize undocumented students’ presence at university and enable their access to education,” but at the national level they experience the threat of deportation.

Building upon how the context of reception impacts immigrant’s incorporation patterns in the United States, I examine how these patterns are reflected through their immigrant youth’s aspirations and expectations. Using Golash-Boza and Valdez’s (2018) work, I use the concept of nested context of reception to explore how immigrant youth from different legal statuses face challenges and opportunities in and outside the campus community. The findings suggest that individuals of different legal status have differential perceptions and access to educational resources, help, and knowledge, which leads to selective, stagnant, conditional or partial incorporation patterns.

National Context

Budiman (2020) estimates that 10.5 millions of immigrants today are unauthorized immigrants, 35.2 million are lawful immigrants, and 2.2 million have temporary protected status. The Texas public education system has become a microcosm of the diverse immigrant population currently residing in the United States. As of 2016, 5.7% of the Texas population are unauthorized immigrants, of which approximately 13.3% are attending the K-12 public school system (The Pew Research Center). The state is also home to about 105,490 DACA recipients (compared to the 643,560 nationwide). Similarly, it is home to 77,000 international students, and as of 2019 (Israel and Batalova 2021), while the legal permanent resident population stands at 1,390,000 (Baker 2019).

The United States' problematic approach to immigration is one reason for the larger immigrant population, both documented and undocumented in the country. The tactics to immigration have been largely based on what Goodman (2017:153) refers to as "fear and terror to coerce undocumented immigrants to return to their countries of origin." These tactics were first utilized with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was then implemented against people of Mexican and Mexican American origin to reinforce the deportation regime (Goodman 2017). Plankey-Videla (2021:4) explains that the deportability regime entangles the set of "policies and practices that criminalizes immigrants," enhances "over policing," and embarks in an "anti-immigrant public campaign. Some examples include the Mexican Repatriation Act of 1930, the

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and Antiterrorist and Effective Death Penalty Act.

Among the first influential immigration policies directed toward people of Latinx origin is the Mexican Repatriation Act of 1930, which sought to make them scapegoats for the state of the economy and unemployment of the Great Depression (Goodman 2017:154). Other more recent examples include the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, which legalized close to 2.7 million undocumented workers through the Special Agricultural Workers (SAW) program and the general amnesty provisions (Chishti and Kamasaki 2014). Although the policy legalized people who were previously without legal status, it only also reinforced border security and penalized employers who knowingly hired unauthorized workers thus making border crossing more dangerous and harder to achieve. This border reinforcement effort then eliminated circular migration. People could no longer migrate to work and return to their home countries, which encouraged people without legal authorization to establish a permanent home in the United States (Massey, Durand, and Pren 2014). The next major immigration policy was the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA).

The U.S. passed IIRIRA with the end to further penalize undocumented residence and clandestine entrance to the country, which added many of the barriers to legalization and entrance dilemmas of today. The Cornell Law School (2021:1) explains that IIRIRA added “penalties for undocumented immigrants who commit crimes while in the United States or who stay in the U.S. for statutorily defined periods of time.”

Thus, it criminalized minor convictions that rendered thousands of people deportable (Podgorny 2009), while also making it more difficult for those with no criminal history to regularize their status because it placed a 3 and 10 years penalty for staying in the country for 180 days and more than 365 days, respectively (Cornell Law School 2021). Moreover, IIRIRA erected a structure with long-term effects at the local level by adopting section 287(g) that established direct voluntary cooperation between local law enforcement and federal immigration services (Arriaga 2016). Equally significant to IIRIRA is the Antiterrorist and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) that also passed during the Clinton administration. Plankey-Videla (2021) states that AEDPA further criminalizes noncitizens since crimes that have a sentence of one year of prison, such as misdemeanors and felonies, become aggravated felonies for noncitizens. Importantly, crimes were retroactively categorized as aggravated felonies, making many more noncitizens deportable. AEDPA also created expedited removals and made serious offenses ineligible to the right of judicial review. Overall, the national context increasingly penalized and criminalized undocumented presence under the pretense of community protection.

The national context also impacts immigrant's youth access to educational pathways by lacking a federal mandate to provide higher education access. In 1982 *Plyler v. Doe* the supreme court instructed that undocumented youth should have access to K-12 education after Texas denied them such access. However, the case left the question of access to higher education in limbo (Perez 2014). Therefore, different states across the nation have enacted their policies to prevent, allow or prohibit undocumented

youth from accessing or obtaining financial assistance for higher education. As of 2019, only 21 states allow for in-state tuition to be offered to undocumented students (The National Conference of State Legislatures 2019). Figure 1 shows that seventeen states implemented policies to provide in-state tuition rates: Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Illinois, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah, and Washington. Other states-- Oklahoma, Hawaii, Michigan, and Rhode Island--allow in-state tuition rates through the Board of Regents. Only seven states, including Texas, offer state financial aid. At the same time, Georgia, Arizona, and Indiana prohibit undocumented students from receiving in-state tuition rates, while Alabama and South Carolina prohibit their enrollment in public higher education.

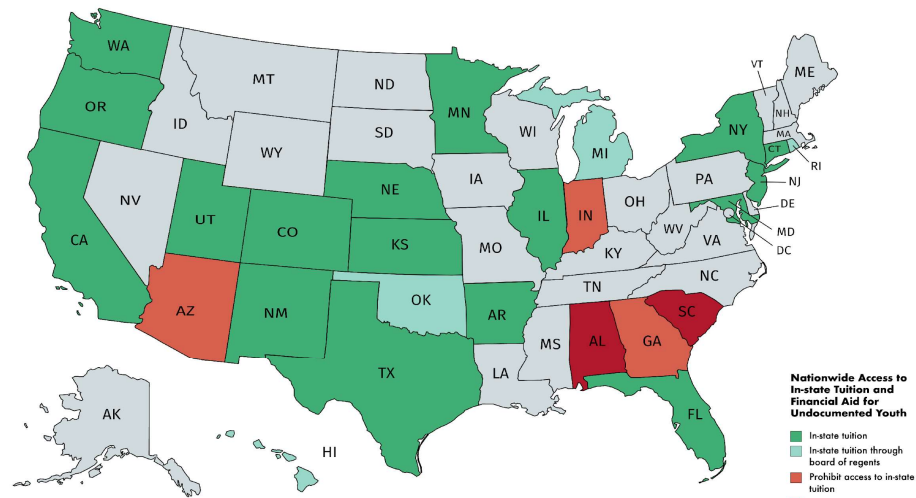


Figure 1: Nationwide Access to In-State Tuition and Financial Aid for Undocumented Youth

Note: Please note that only California, Minnesota, New Mexico, Texas, and Washington allow both in-state tuition and financial aid.

State Context

In recent years, Texas has been at the forefront of the immigration debate by hardening its immigration stance, which effectively uses the “criminal alien” rhetoric to pass legislation to deport noncitizens. In 2017, the state legislature expedited Senate Bill 4, a direct attack on sanctuary cities. Although there is no legal definition of sanctuary cities, O'Brien, Collingwood, and El-Khatib (2019:4) defined it as "a city or police department that has passed a resolution or ordinance expressly forbidding city or law enforcement officers from inquiring into immigration status and/or cooperation with ICE..." In today’s political environment, sanctuary cities are equated to “hubs of crime,”

which scholarly research has refuted. Contrary to political and state assertions, sanctuary cities are not directly linked to a rise in crime. O'Brien (2019) examined the crime rates in 55 cities with sanctuary cities laws before and after 9/11, which showed these cities do not have higher crime rates than others. Similarly, Lyons, Velez, and Santoro (2013) found an inverse relationship between neighborhood violence and the concentration of immigrants. Despite the research findings, Texas proceeded to expedite the passing of SB4 with a focus on deterring sanctuary cities' existence, heightening immigrants' rates of deportability, and minimizing a sense of safety.

Senate Bill 4 has been the latest effort to legally obligate Texas law enforcement to enforce immigration law. Salhotra (2019:86) mentions that the basis of SB4 was to "1) required all Texas jails to fulfill Immigration, and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detainer requests; (2) prevented any municipality, sheriff, or constable from adopting a policy preventing officers from asking about a person's immigration status while being detained or arrested; and (3) required the Attorney General to file a petition to remove any elected officials from office if he or she violated SB4." The bill was immediately challenged by local activists, organizations, cities, and counties across Texas.

MALDEF² and ACLU³ argue that SB4 is discriminatory against Latinx people and undermined undocumented people's trust in the police. Both organizations filed lawsuits against the state of Texas. MALDEF's arguments included a list of violations of

² MALDEF- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

³ ACLU- American Civil Liberties Union

the Supremacy Clause, Contract Clause, First and the Fourth Amendment, and Voting Rights Act (MALDEF 2019). In other words, the lawsuit argued that Texas could not "decide what constitutes legal status," as well, as it could not arrest or detain people without sufficient cause. SB4 violated the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of due process rights because it did not provide the subjects with a detainer's notice, discriminated based on race, national origin and ethnicity, and gave police officers complete discretion in the matter. Lastly, SB4 violated the private contracts colleges have with their students.

SB4 also infringed the First Amendment right of freedom of speech of police officers. For example, SB4 initially explicitly prevented municipalities, sheriffs, and others from adopting policies against SB4, fining them for doing so, and potentially removing them from their posts if they vocalize their opinions regarding the bill (National Immigration Forum 2017). Salhotra (2019) informs us that by doing so, the bill censored local officials and employees and unlawfully punished them and their counties, who were now obligated with the burden of fees and fines. The blatant violation of freedom of speech drove cities and counties to also join lawsuits against the state of Texas in 2017. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decided those police officers were free to voice their opinions regarding immigration enforcement, and they should face no penalties for doing so (ACLU 2018). The bill was allowed to go into effect with several significant changes, especially the deletion of the penalties for speaking against the law and officials' obligation to cooperate with immigration services. In the end, local law enforcement may—but is not forced—to work in tandem with ICE (ACLU 2018).

The changes were a small victory for some critics of the law, but it did not prohibit police officers from asking someone for legal status. Thus by keeping those provisions, the law creates a dangerous environment for individuals whose life could change for the worse if stopped by the police.

Texas' approach to education did not improve after the passage of *Plyler v. Doe*. In 1987, MALDEF filed a lawsuit on behalf of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), in what became known as *LULAC v. Clements*. The class-action lawsuit argued that institutions of higher education located in the border region received unequal funding compared to other institutions outside the regions (Kauffman 2016). Duarte (2012) explains that the state offered little funding to the border region, which limited the programs the universities could provide. The judge ruled that Texas had to come up with a plan to fix the issue and prohibited them from providing further funding to public higher education institutions until they crafted it. However, the state appealed the ruling to the Texas Supreme Court in what became *LULAC v. Richards*. *Excelencia in Education* (2006:6) note that the Texas Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state, but said that it failed to “establish a first-class system of colleges and universities in a geographical area with a large concentration of Latinos.” This case is significant given that it is described as the catalyst of the South Texas Border Initiative of 1989, which provided remarkable financial assistance for programs and infrastructure that contributed to a 10.6% enrollment growth from 1998-2003 (Flack 2003:3). Although the cases are not directly related to the immigrant community, it indirectly impacted the educational landscape in a state that in *Plyler v. Doe* was obligated to provide access to K-12 to

undocumented students. It demonstrated that Texas continued to provide unequal resources and programming for Latinx people at all levels of the education system, not just K-12.

Later on in 2001, Texas became one of the first states to provide in-state tuition and state financial assistance in the country, through House Bill 1403 and Senate Bill 1528. In 2001, Texas passed House Bill 1403 to allow non-citizen college students to attend higher education institutions in Texas (Texas Higher Education Board 2018). HB 1403 was later revised in 2005 through Senate Bill 1528. Table 1 provides a summary of the requirements for HB 1403 and SB 1528. If immigrant students fulfill the requirements stipulated by SB 1528, they qualify to pay the same in-state tuition fees as native-born citizens who are Texas residents and can apply to receive state financial aid. It is important to note that while students receive these resources, they do not qualify for federal assistance such as federal loans and most types of state loans (Abrego 2006). Students without a social security number cannot fill out the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), which is the avenue through which many college students receive financial assistance. For example, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (2018:1) estimates that of the “1,304,229 undergraduates who enrolled in Texas institutions of higher education, 50 percent received grants, and 31 percent received loans....32,000 students benefited from work-study.” Work-study only applies to students who have legal permission to work in the United States. Consequently, to increase their financial prospects, “1528 students,” as they are called because of SB

1528, fill out the Texas Application for State Financial Aid (TASFA), which looks at their financial need to provide financial assistance options.

Table 1: The Texas Dream Act: Eligibility Requirements

<i>House Bill 1403</i>	<i>Senate Bill 1528</i>
Reside in Texas with a parent or guardian while attending high school in Texas	Must have lived in Texas at least three years before receiving their High School diploma or GED
Graduate from a public or private high school or received a GED in Texas	Must have lived in Texas at least 3 years before enrolling in a public college/university
Reside in Texas for the three years leading to graduation or receipt of a GED, and	Must fill out an affidavit with the Office of Admissions & Records declaring that he/she will apply for residency as soon as able to do so.
Provide their institutions a signed affidavit indicating an intent to apply for permanent resident status as soon as able to do so.	

*Information condensed from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, and the South Texas College Financial Aid public websites.

TASFA provides information to the university’s financial advisors about a student’s financial need. However, the monetary resources available by the state are far more limited than FAFSA’s. First, TASFA is given on a first-come, first-serve basis; thus, students are not guaranteed the same funding every year. Second, a student’s funding is also limited by the institution they decide to attend--either a community college or a four-year university. In 2017, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating

Board (2018) notes that Texas had approximately 25,930 SB 1528 students during that year, of which 8,568 attended public universities, and 17,318 attended public community, technical, and state colleges. As of 2017, these entities' funding equaled \$11.69 million for public universities and \$13.37 million for community colleges. Surprisingly, a total of 11,285 financial aid awards were given to only 5,589 students during that year, and only 2,828 received grants (The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 2018:3). The underfunding of SB 1528 students obligates many to turn to non-state funding such as off-campus jobs, private scholarships, and institutional aid, grants and scholarships (Gamez, Lopez, and Overton 2017). Scholarships cover most of the bill of the financial aid awards offered to 1528 students, with a total of 8,317 awards provided in 2017 (The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 2018:4). Overall, access to in-state tuition and financial assistance is helpful for undocumented immigrants, but the access is constantly challenged by politicians.

Some of the most recent challenges to the Senate Bill 1528 were in 2015, 2017, 2018, and recently in 2021. In 2015, Republican Senator Donna Campbell of New Braunfels attempted to pass Senate Bill 1819, which failed to make it to the senate floor (Aguilar 2015). The second attempt was made in 2017 by Republican Jonathan Stickland of Bedford who argued undocumented youth took the benefits away from those who “have played by the rules” (Aguilar 2017). Next attempt happened in 2018 with House Bill 413 introduced by Republican Kyle Biedermann from Fredericksburg who made similar arguments as his predecessors (Silver 2018). The most recent attacks are being spearheaded by two Republicans, Jeff Cason and Bryan Slaton, who seek to make

colleges decide the in-state residency and in-state tuition requirements. These efforts to repeal the Senate Bill 1528 have failed to pass, but continue to gather support among party lines. As of now, the fate of the act continues to be at limbo, especially with the election of immigration hardliners who see it as “handouts” and “unfair” to citizens.

Local Context

Thanks to IIRIRA, many Texas counties have been legally allowed to enter into the 287(g) program which are contracts with Immigration Customs and Enforcement to detain undocumented and Lawful Permanent Resident people. The 287(g) contracts/program was created under section 287(g) of IIRIRA and went on to become a federally funded program that "...deputizes police and jail officers at the local, county, and state level to act as immigration agents..." (Bustamante and Gamino 2018). Plankey-Videla (2021) notes that dominant conservative-leaning localities affect whether a sheriff's department is willing to reinforce federal immigration law. According to the ACLU, 24 Texas counties applied for 287(g) contracts as of 2017. These contracts move away from border militarization and enforcement towards internal federal immigration enforcement (Felicia Arriaga 2016). It also reinforces the move towards immigration localism where federal immigration enforcement is moved to the local level with the claim to protect the "structural integrity, accountability, and local democracy" (Gulasekaram, Su, and Villazor 2019:838). Presumably, 287(g) contracts seek to protect the lives of native-born citizens at the local level. However, local entities are the ones who cover much of the cost of detaining undocumented immigrants' such as paperwork

and overtime, ICE generally covers training of police officers (American Immigration Council 2020:4).

The ACLU argues that 287(g) systematically violates Latinx immigrants' civil rights by enhancing the likelihood of racial profiling and violating the Fourth Amendment right against unreasonable searches and seizures. A North Carolina study showed that Latinx individuals are arrested at higher rates than other groups for minor traffic offenses even when they make up a small proportion of their population (Coleman and Kocher 2019). The Texas ACLU lawyer Edgar Saldivar stated that in addition to "diverting indispensable resources away from public safety, the program encourages racial profiling and creates fertile conditions for Fourth Amendment violations in Texas jails..." Nguyen and Gill (2016:315), who study the impact of local law enforcement and immigration enforcement, explain that "...immigrants--regardless of legal status-- became reluctant to leave their houses or drive anywhere due to fear of encountering police, thus creating a "chill effect."” The effect refers to the "erosion of trust, cooperation and communication between police and immigrant communities after adopting immigration enforcement policies” (Nguyen and Gill 2016:305). Overall, the program purports to protect the state and local population, but it increases distrust of local law enforcement while boosting the “criminal alien” image.

The Impact of Current National, State, and Local Context On Immigrant Youth

The current political climate and anti-immigrant rhetoric have modified who people consider undocumented. Flores and Schachter (2018) argue that other factors such as the person's education, language mastery, occupational status can affect how

others label them as "illegal" or "legal", with Mexicans from low socioeconomic and educational levels being more likely to be stereotyped as "illegal." The stereotype has damaging effects on Latinx communities that find themselves being hyper surveilled by law enforcement, leading to mass deportations and incarcerations (Golash-Boza 2015; Longazel, Berman, and Fleury-Steiner 2016). The systematic use of the law to criminalize and deport immigrants contributes to the process of othering, exclusion, and dehumanization though it takes a different form amongst young immigrants.

Although some politicians see undocumented youth as lawbreakers, others see them as victims of a broken immigration system. This argument formed part of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minor Act (DREAM Act) of 2001. Bjorklund (2018) writes it was a bipartisan bill but failed to pass. Since then, multiple versions have been re-introduced, but the last real attempt was made in 2010. This version was deemed too conservative and placed more roadblocks to obtaining citizenship (Falconer and Longo 2004; Barron 2011). There is currently no comprehensive immigration reform for immigrants; there is only the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which temporarily protects a small proportion of the 11 million immigrants in the country.

Political sympathy for undocumented youth led to the passing of DACA. In 2012, former President Obama signed DACA as an executive action to provide relief from deportation to approximately 800,000 undocumented youth. Individuals under this program receive a temporary permit that allows them to work legally in the country. To qualify for this, they need to fulfill the requirements for qualification: (1) being under the

age of 31 as of June 15, 2012; (2) residing in the country since June 15, 2007; (3) being physically in the country on June 15, 2012; (4) having had no lawful status before the program; (5) having a GED or high school diploma; (5) lastly, have not been convicted of a felony (USCIS). The cost to apply for the program is approximately \$495 per applicant, not including lawyer fees. Although the program has been beneficial, it left thousands of other immigrant youth out of the program and did not deliver a federal mandate for their higher education access or a path to permanent status.

A significant advantage of DACA for the nation is that it "...stimulate[s] the state and local economies and complements the workforce by providing a necessary pool of unskilled labor" (Becerra, Androff, Ayon, and Castillo 2012). Matherma (2015) estimated that if the program was expanded to include more immigrant youth and their parents, it could add \$103 billion for the next decade. Varas and Zafar (2017:1) indicate that DACA workers add "\$109 thousand to the economy each year" and "decrease [GDP] by \$42 billion." Becerra et. al (2012:125) explain that if all undocumented people were to be removed from the country, Texas would lose approximately \$400 million in revenues and 2.3% of jobs.

The program is also an advantage for those who qualified for it. Studies have shown that legal status provides a pathway toward educational opportunities, economic gains, and improved mental health. For example, Patler and Laster Pirtle (2018) found that DACA has minimized the strain on students' mental health by alleviating the stress, anxiety, and fear of deportability that often comes with minor tasks such as working and driving. Those individuals without legal status face different challenges in their daily life

because of deportation protections. Jiménez and López-Sanders (2011:6) say that “Even the most mundane activities, like leaving the house to run an errand, [could become] anxiety-generating.” This finding is supported by Brabeck, Lykes, and Hershberg (2011) in their study of 18 Guatemalan and Salvadoran families, where the fear of deportation was prevalent, which affected their families, community, and the individual themselves. They also face additional challenges legally, socially, and economically. In their study of the advantages of DACA, Amuedo-Dorantes and Antman (2016) showed that access to a permit like DACA reduces the poverty level by approximately 38%. It has also provided access to U.S institutions that allows them to obtain internships, jobs, bank accounts, and much more (Gonzales, Terriquez, and Ruszczyk 2014). Again, legal status provides people access to resources but does not guarantee access to higher education.

Legal status and a state inclination to provide access to in-state tuition and financial aid impact an individuals’ accessibility and lowers the cost of higher education. Abrego (2006:226) mentions that the California Assembly Bill 540 (or AB 540), which provides “waivers of out-state tuition,” offered students a sense of justice and empowerment, shifting their sense of self and place in society. At the same time, Abrego and Gonzales (2010) showed that these individuals still struggle with the burden of higher education because of lack of access to federal funds and additional worries about family’s well-being. Also, outside the worries of the cost, there are preoccupations about the political climate beyond campus premises because anti-immigrant policies often threaten their livelihood.

Legal Violence Derived From The Context of Reception

Menjívar and Abrego (2012) argue that the rise in punitive and intertwining immigration and criminal law systems constitute legal violence. More specifically, governmental policies, including local, state, and federal bills that curtail immigrant education and social advancement, form structural and symbolic legal violence. This concept of legal violence is explained by Menjívar and Abrego (2012:1387) who say it is “embedded in the body of law that, while it purports to have the positive objective of protecting rights or controlling behavior for the general good, simultaneously gives rise to practices that harm a particular social group”. The passing of anti-immigrant policies to limit undocumented people’s access to resources and services necessary for social mobility is described as structural, legal violence. Symbolic violence refers to the normalized and internalized stigma of illegality and exclusion that these laws have generated in immigrant youth. Structural and symbolic violence have different effects across different immigrant groups, thus contributing to varying paths of immigrant incorporation.

Structural violence is symbolic violence because the law affects individuals’ view of the self through the normalized and internalized stigma of illegality and exclusion that it produces. As scholars like Gámez, Lopez and Overton (2017) mentioned, the lack of a common consensus on immigrant access to financial assistance further uproots the idea of otherness. When state policies render DACA, undocumented or visa holder student’s ineligible to attend college, it affects their sense of belonging and exclusion (Cebulko and Silver 2016: 1562). Vargas and Ybarra (2017) note that

undocumented youth experience deteriorating mental and physical health, especially in states where immigration law enforcement is punitive. Cebulko and Silver (2016) noted the same case with DACA students in North Carolina who felt “unwanted” with the constant attacks against them. The effects contribute to the fear of disclosing their status because of the trepidation of deportation (Muñoz 2016:716).

Expectations and Aspirations of Immigrant Youth

Expectations and aspirations refer to what people believe they will do and what they want to do for the future. When undocumented immigrant youth enter college, there is a degree of hopefulness and belief about their future prosperity compared to people who were unable or decided to take a different life path. These aspirations and expectations often come crashing down as they learn of the limitations of their status through limited financial assistance. Gonzales (2016:152) found that as individuals learn about “financial, administrative and legal constraints,” it leaves them feeling excluded. Frequently, mentorship relationships with professors and family members circumvent these feelings of exclusion, fear, and anxiety (Mendez 2018; Enriquez 2015; Gamez et.al 2017). In their study of college aspirations of Latinx adolescents, Bohon et al. (2006:221) informed that an individual’s nationality plays an important role in their expectations and aspirations when they found that Cubans and Puerto Ricans hold higher aspirations than Mexicans. They mentioned that the educational attainments and citizenship status of the parent partly explained these differences. Although other findings have shown that parent-child relationship, parental status, and class background

contribute to educational achievement and intergenerational advantages and disadvantages (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998).

An individual's background, including their legal status, also affects those expectations and aspirations educationally and professionally (Menjivar 2008:190). Undocumented youth have high educational aspirations, especially as they self-select to enter higher education institutions (Conger and Chellman 2013). At the same time, if they are DACA, they are provided with the "means to enter labor markets, drive to work and school and make plans for their future that includes investment in additional education and training" (Gonzales, Ellis, Rendon-Garcia and Brant 2018:357). These research arguments allude to the idea that access to a work permit could influence undocumented youth's social and economic aspirations and expectations. Similarly, financial assistance, support systems, and perception of belonging and inclusion on-campus also impact what they believe and want for their future.

For this study, I focus on aspirations and expectations to explore how a nested context of reception in Texas modifies immigrant youth's current views of the future. I focus on immigrant youth with undocumented, DACA, student visas, legal permanent residents, and recently naturalized citizens in a state with an ambiguous approach to the immigration issue. In this way, I seek to explore how the national, state and local anti-immigrant rhetoric creates structural and legal violence. I purport to shed light on how these aspirations and expectations reflect the different challenges and opportunities that create differential perceptions, and thus incorporation patterns.

DATA AND METHODS

I conducted in depth-interviews to analyze how participants make sense of their experiences through narratives (Merriam and Tisdell 2015:34). The interviews followed a semi-structured approach, posing pre-determined open-ended questions while providing the flexibility for participants to share more about themselves. The data collection process took place from March 2020 to December 2020. All the participants were recruited by reaching out to student organizations at a large public university in Texas. Snowball sampling was then used to recruit more students. I spent several weeks talking to student organizations to make myself known to the student population and gaining their trust. The participation requirements included being at least 18 years old, identified as a Latinx immigrant, and be enrolled at the institution. The request's ambiguity was intentional to avoid putting any student at risk by explicitly looking for students without status. When students called to discuss their intent to participate, they were once again informed of the requirements. If they answered no to one of the requirements, they were told they were unable to participate.

An interesting result of the recruitment process was the interest of recently naturalized citizens. These individuals are not technically considered immigrants given their access to a social security number that allowed them access to different resources in every contexts. However, I decided to include these participants to further explore how their status impacted them, but also draw on comparison between them and youth without a social security number. These individuals spoke of different challenges and opportunities that shed light on how the law continues to perpetuate the foreigner

sentiment despite their citizenship. The interviews of these participants provided rich information that allowed me to see how the federal, state, and local climate, directly and indirectly, affects these populations.

Five out of the twenty two interviews took place in-person prior to the COVID 19 pandemic. During that time I focused efforts in reaching out to students' organizations who allowed me to speak to their members about my study. However, as the pandemic reached the Bryan/College Station area, plans changed and everything was moved online. The decision was on part to the Center for Disease Control's recommendations to avoid contagion by avoiding in-person contact. Hence, I had to take the step to move interviews to Zoom or phone calls. The sudden move meant that recruitment efforts had to continue relying on snowball sampling and campus-wide emails, lowering the number of participants. The emails reiterated the flyer information, and a google phone number was used for students to reach out to obtain more information about the study. When participants called the phone number, the researcher read a phone script that thanked them and reiterated the study's requirements. If they qualified for the study, I would schedule a date, time, and interview mode, namely, Zoom or phone call. I maintained participant confidentiality by using a pseudonym and erasing phone calls and Zoom records after interviews every step of the way. Everyone was compensated with a \$20 gift card.

The interview guide contained 30 questions divided into demographic information, education, awareness of political climate, and effects of legal status. During the interview, participants were read the informed consent document in their preferred

language, which was either English or Spanish, and then asked for their permission to audio record the interview. Twenty interviews were conducted in English and 2 in Spanish. Participants were given the informed consent copy for their own records. Each interview lasted from a minimum of 30 minutes to an hour. Every interview was transcribed using otter-ai and corroborated twice by re-listening to the audio. Some transcription needed slight changes accounting for the program's limited ability to understand language accents. I used Dedoose Version 8.4.43 (2020) to analyze the themes in the data. A total of 22 student interviews were conducted, of which 7 students identified as DACA, 2 as undocumented, 4 have student visas, 3 legal permanent residents, and 6 recently became citizens. The country of origin included Honduras, Bolivia, Peru, Panama, Venezuela, El Salvador, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, with most from the last group. While student visas and naturalized individuals are not technically immigrants, they believed themselves to be so.

The university was chosen because of its student population size and location in a state with a punitive immigration approach. The university student enrollment surpasses 70,000 students, from which over 15,000 students identify as Hispanics. The size of the student population in the site reflects the growing Latinx population in the state. Texas' Latinx population grew by approximately 2 million since 2010. Future projections expect the Latinx population to increase in the upcoming years, especially in K-12. According to the Du, Murphy, Ryon and Wright (2020), the Latinx student population composes approximately 52.8% of all school-age children in Texas.

Table 2 provides a demographic description of the participants. The majority of the interviewees self-identified as females (12) and 40% (9) are from Mexico, followed by 14% (3) from Venezuela, (2) Colombia, (2) Peru, (2) Brazil, (1) Honduras, (1) El Salvador, (1) Bolivia, and (1) Panama. The students arrived in the country at different ages and have different statuses. For example, the participants with student visas arrived in the country at older ages. DACA participants arrived at younger ages, with the youngest being 1.5 years old and oldest 8 years old at arrival, while undocumented interviewees ranged from being 1 year old and 15 when they arrived, respectively. Lastly, the range of time of arrival for LPRs was 12 years old for the oldest and 7 years old for the youngest. Participants were at various stages of their college careers: 3 are freshmen, 4 sophomores, 6 juniors, 4 seniors, and 5 graduate students (4 Masters and 1 PhD). The youngest was born in 2002 and the oldest in 1995 and more than 50% are in a relationship.

Table 2: Demographic Descriptions

Pseudonym	Birth year (age of arrival)	Country of birth	Gender	Grade Level	Legal Status
Maria	1998 (3)	Mexico	F	Senior	DACA
Paula	2000 (1)	Mexico	F	Freshman	Undocumented
Mario	1995(7)	Peru	M	Graduate	DACA
Clara	2000 (3)	Peru	F	Sophomore	DACA
Claudia	2000 (1.5)	Mexico	F	Sophomore	DACA
Sonia	1998 (8)	Bolivia	F	Senior	DACA
Jose	1996 (4)	Mexico	M	Junior	DACA
Pablo	2002 (8)	Venezuela	M	Freshman	LPR
Alfredo	1998 (15)	Honduras	M	Junior	Undocumented
Ricardo	1995 (6)	Mexico	M	Sophomore	DACA
Brenda	2001 (3.5)	Brazil	F	Sophomore	Citizen
Carlos	1998 (11)	Salvador	M	Graduate	Citizen
Consuelo	2000 (8)	Venezuela	F	Junior	Citizen
Karla	2000 (11)	Mexico	F	Junior	Citizen
Cecilia	1999 (12)	Mexico	F	Senior	Citizen
Erick	1995 (24)	Colombia	M	Graduate	Student Visa
Josue	2002 (2.5)	Colombia	M	Freshman	Citizen
Marcos	2000 (7)	Mexico	M	Junior	LPR
Loren	2000 (12)	Venezuela	F	Junior	LPR
Armando	1997 (16)	Brazil	M	Graduate	Student Visa
Gloria	1995 (19)	Panama	F	Graduate	Student Visa
Elizabeth	1998 (17)	Mexico	F	Senior	Student Visa

FINDINGS

The data showed that legal status matters in shaping immigrant youth's perception of the context of reception. Golash-Boza and Valdez (2018), building on Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) study of the second generation, argue that context of reception matters in incorporating undocumented students into the United States society. Similarly, Zhou and Gonzales (2019) developed a detailed overview of the literature on the context of reception in host country and context of exit from country of origin for the second and 1.5 generation immigrants. The authors provide a definition of incorporation that is pivotal to this study, that is, the manner in which "...the extent to which institutional barriers are removed for immigrant groups to fully participate in the host society and access equal opportunities, resources, and rights, regardless of race/ethnicity and national origin" (Zhou and Gonzales 2019:385). In the current study, the persons' immigration status plays a significant role in their views of what they can and cannot do in the future.

The following section discusses the context of reception in the following ways: national, Texas, university, and individual to build on Golash-Boza and Valdez's (2018) nested contexts model. At the national level, we have differential access to financial assistance and political rhetoric around immigrant influences, which creates a negative perception about immigrants and immigrants arriving to the country. Nevertheless, at the state level, they face an ambiguous reception with an increasingly anti-immigrant climate while also accessing educational resources unavailable to other undocumented youth in other states. At the local level, they face a predominantly white campus

environment with limited financial assistance options beyond those provided by the state and also deal with dilemmas for immigrant minority inclusion. All these factors impact the students' sense of belonging, safety, and marginalization due to lack of support to their needs and dreams.

Barriers to Financial Assistance

One of the premises of incorporation is groups' access to equal opportunities and resources, including equal access to higher education. The lack of federal mandates and intentions to fix the status of students has diminished the financial assistance opportunities. Despite the help of the Texas Dream Act, they continue to face barriers to fund their college goals. The interactions of the different contexts of reception generate an environment of confusion and marginalization, as well as of structural and symbolic violence, for participants with DACA and undocumented statuses. First, it begins with their systematic classification as international students, which then outlines the types of resources they have access to. The differential classification augments the sense of otherness and stigmatizes their presence in the United States. Maria, a Mexican DACA recipient who has lived in Texas since age 3, exemplified this conundrum when she says,

... I don't pay out of state [tuition] because of DACA still. This is why it is weird, they have to make it official, we are not permanent residents by law but with school we are. All we need is an affidavit just to show we have been here one to 10 years. It is a different gap to show I have been living in Texas, have a bill or something to my name. In general, all of those requirements I have always had. I don't know at the university...why I am considered... I pay in-state, but I

am technically international because they say if you are not permanent [resident] or citizen, technically you are international. So my status is weird, I pay in-state but I am considered in other perspectives [an] international students. I shouldn't because I have been here since three, I took English for a few years. I mean thankfully in Texas because not all states do that. I know some DACA people have to pay out of state. I think there is [sic] only 9 or 10 states that do that, that let undocumented students pay in-state tuition.

Being classified as an international student pools DACA and undocumented youth with the rest of the international student population, thus, making them liable to international student taxes. Nonconforming to the differential classification, Texas policy requires these individuals to prove their continuous presence through an affidavit of intent to become permanent resident, where students are to show they have lived in Texas prior to applying to college. However, the extra paperwork creates a negative stigma as these individuals are forced to explain and reveal their status to strangers in order to ensure they receive the correct tuition and fees charges. Claudia, who arrived in Texas when she was one and a half years old, makes reference to this stigmatized presence concept when she says,

So [whenever] I applied, they were trying to force ...out of state tuition on me. But my counselor, ...she was able to find out for me that I could fight for in-state [tuition]. So then, after finding it [out, I] was about trying to find a notary that wouldn't judge me for being undocumented or feel any harsh remorse towards me. So one of my high school friends, her grandma, was a notary so we went and

explained to her. I had known this lady for maybe 6 years, she was like no, I will sign your paper, you don't have to explain anything, that was nice. It took a lot to get the school to set my in-state tuition request. After I got it, it was so much nicer than paying the couple [thousand dollars] that they were wanting.

From the beginning, the college application process was difficult for many of these students, whose systems of support usually included school programs, educators, and staff. Mario talked about his experience in the college application process and said that his entrance into programs such as AVID (Advanced Via Individual Determination) in high school allowed him to fully prepare and learn the application process. He acknowledged his process was tougher compared to his classmates given that the school had no experience with students with DACA status. Mario, a 25 years old Peruvian DACA recipient, provided a general summary of these problematic school experiences when he said,

So I think when I was applying, there hasn't been anybody who really [had DACA]. So AVID has a whole process of how to apply. They help[ed] us apply. There are teachers who look at your financial aid and help you step by step. Since freshman year of high school [we] worked on essays, and some of the teachers for the program are English teachers, so they would edit our essays completely. Since freshman year, they also make us do community service as a grade. So we have hours of community service from there. It sounds like we have been applying to college since freshman year. It was thanks to that program that made us do that. But in my specific case, it was different because of my status. I

don't think they ever had anybody else apply to college that had DACA. So they made me apply to FASFA and none of us knew that is not what we had to do. So it made my process a little slower than most of my peers because I had to apply to TASFA. We had to go look for other resources for me because I was the first one in the program to be DACA and apply to college. It kind of felt a bit slower for me. Eventually, they were able to help securing undocumented and DACA students to apply to college. I was the guinea pig that had to go through that first.

Access to in-state tuition and financial assistance does not guarantee that these students will receive it. The funds for the program are limited, thus complicating college experience. Beyond the aid provided by the state, students received no or limited financial assistance from the university itself in the form of scholarships. In her story, Claudia reiterated that TASFA helped her a little, but she could not apply for loans and obtain more financial assistance from her institution so she had to turn to businesses in her hometown to obtain it. DACA and undocumented students' difficulties in paying and attending college started with the college application process and have continued throughout their enrollment.

The national context of reception takes a different role in the life of student visa recipients. The acceptance process is tedious and long for many international students given that during the process, they must prove to admission officials their English proficiency with the TOEFL (The Test of English as a Foreign Language) results, ensure the transferability of paperwork, and if required, submit their writing sample. Moreover, to gain entrance into the United States as a student, you must have been accepted to

college, fill out I20 paperwork to apply for a visa, demonstrate ties to their country of origin such as financial assets and relationships, and maintain full enrollment to stay in the U.S (Berkeley International Office). Armando, a student visa recipient and master's student from Brazil, sheds light on the application process by saying,

It was very tedious. As an international student going to a university in America, there's a lot of paperwork, there's a lot of examination, a lot of planning and pretty much took months between the TOEFL, SAT-studying for those-and essays, applying for schools, the money for the applications as well. I have a funny story, the university actually rejected my offer the first time because my high school degree didn't include my graduation date. I laugh now, because it's really, I thought it was somewhat dumb to reject an application based on that.”

The application process and visa are generally tied to funding and facilitated by their networks. The Berkeley International Office explains there are two types of visas granted to international students, J-1 or F-1. The first must demonstrate that most of the funding (51%) must be institutional, while the latter accepts any form of funding.

Although participants in the sample did not specify their specific visa classification, they alluded to the financial aspect. For example, Erick, a graduate student from Colombia, mentioned that,

It was so stressful because I was in Colombia applying for universities in the United States. I have been here before, but like, my family vacation one week. So it was different, like, to try to check all those things like which universities are

good. Also, as there are some funding concerns regarding the Ph.D., like to change the options that I shared with the university's assistantship or fellowships. So it took a while. But I guess that, at that point, I was like, "Okay, I'm sure I'm going to do these" because it also requires a lot of money, too, pay the application fees, pay for the exams, take the exams, it takes a lot of time, a lot of money. So I was pretty sure at the time that I wanted to do this. It was stressful in the way that there were many things to do, so much pressure, you have to have the perfect score. So you can apply to as many universities as you want. But you can choose between the universities that give you offers, that give you admission.

Erick's response alludes to one important intersection in the international student experience, that is, access to a class status that provides them tools and knowledge they need to attend and gain acceptance into higher education. In the case of Gloria, a Panamanian graduate pupil who did her undergraduate at the same institution states that,

I did go to college for one year in Panama and after that, I decided that I wanted to try going abroad. I did have the help of my stepdad. He wrote a letter to the university sort of backing my case saying, backing my case of how my high school produces these types of documents and that definitely helped me in building a stronger case. He had worked for GE and I think always having someone working from an American company and also being from the International Panamanian as well that that just helps build a stronger case so that was what helped.

For the most part, international students had access to either a private school that assisted them as in the case of Erick, or parents with a college education, as in the case of Armando and Gloria. Their access points helped them to demonstrate that they had the financial backing necessary, and provided them the class status and sources of knowledge to help them enter a competitive and challenging college and immigration environment.

Participants with legal permanent residency or citizenship faced different challenges compared to the other groups. Some cited challenges in preparing for the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), others faced challenges in navigating the college process without help from family members, and others cited no challenges at all.

Consuelo is originally from Venezuela and came to the country when she was 8 years old. She had become a citizen two years prior to the interview due to her parents' work visas when she was a minor. She stated when applying to college,

It was a little difficult because I felt that many of the questions in many of the universities were too general. I could not speak of my experience and my family. Also, I had the SAT and ACT which were not easy for me. I had to study a lot and that point of my life I had problems with concentration that affected my application a lot. *(Translated from Spanish to English by author)*

Citizen students highlighted struggles with traditional rites of passage in the college application process, and immigration was one of them. In cases where immigration became a topic of conversation was when they spoke of the benefits of their status which

often involved helping them advance their career and professional opportunities. Carlos, a recently naturalized citizen from El Salvador, summarize this when he says,

So here's an interesting thing, some jobs, they won't give them to you if you're not a citizen. I think also the citizenship has allowed me to travel a lot when I was a sophomore. When I was a freshman, at the end of my freshman year, that summer, I went on a trip to Israel. When I went to the trip to Israel, I was still a permanent resident, and I had a lot of trouble, like getting through customs and so on. Everybody else was American and was beautiful and amazing. But me with my little Salvadoran passport, you know, they like sidelining me, and they put me in a little room and asking all these questions.... Then I became a US citizen, and in the year 2018. In that summer, I went on a long three month trip. I volunteered abroad, and I went to India, I went to Peru, I went to Argentina, I went to Mexico. My American passport had allowed me to go through all these places without visas and even the way I was treated in those countries was much better than my past experiences.

The federal context of reception has shaped the lived experiences of immigrant youth with different legal statuses, especially in college. At the national level, DACA and undocumented students face financial and legal exclusion, visa students face a challenging application and entrance process, while LPRs and citizens face the traditional barriers of applying to college. At the state level, DACA and undocumented students face issues with only having access to a small proportion of financial assistance despite applying to TASFA; student visas holders in this sample did not necessarily face

financial difficulties since they must take care of the matter prior to coming to the United States. Lastly, LPR and citizens did not cite explicit challenges in the state that benefited or hindered their access to financial assistance. The following sections provide more detail about the different participant experiences on campus, which are often tied to their needs as immigrants and minorities.

Limited or Lack of Inclusion of Latinx Immigrant Youth

Immigrant youth expressed differences in their opinion of how the university assisted them as immigrants, as minorities, and as students. As immigrants, they felt excluded by the university's lack of public support for DACA and undocumented students. As minorities, they criticized the university's support of confederate generals, and as students, they thought that it prioritized business over student needs, although their responses and solutions to the issues varied according to their status. Students were asked two separate questions related to this issue. First, they were asked, "what do you think of the ways that the university helps undocumented students?" Second, "based on your experience and those of people you know, do you have any idea of what the university can do to improve the inclusion of immigrants?" In many instances' students were critical as to what the university did to provide them or someone they knew support during difficult situations and experiences.

Sonia, a DACA recipient from Bolivia and avid activist in the campus community, mentioned that they had to push to have the university do "the bare minimum" to support the undocumented student community. Sonia explained,

Just with anything, the university doesn't help in any way. My organization has had so many conversations with the administration in ways that they could help and they won't. My freshman year our organization tried to begin a petition for the most bare minimum things. We wanted a website with resources for activism we could have made ourselves and they just could've just linked it to the university website. We also wanted training for resident advisors so they knew what to do if ICE ever came armed, which is also very, very bare minimum, and they said no. They didn't give us any of that. We've also had instances on campus where border patrol has shown up or ICE. Our students have called ICE on other students, so it's just that they're not stopping anything. Last year, when I went to order my class ring, border patrol was roaming around campus and they're like "don't worry about that." They didn't say anything and didn't even apologize for it. So no, the university doesn't do anything to help undocumented immigrants.

As a DACA recipient and leader in her organization, Sonia's access to information and her experiences with university officials have shaped her perception of the university. She expresses a certain degree of disappointment and anger at the university's approach to their needs before, during, and after major events that impacted students like her. Thus these individuals experienced significant events that shaped their views of how the institution provides or does not provide support for undocumented or liminal documented students.

Based on their own experiences, undocumented youth provided specific examples of what the university can do to improve their inclusion. For the 2 undocumented students in the sample, their inclusion fell into two categories: providing opportunities to work to earn money and scholarships. Alfredo is currently a junior, and since age 14 he has lived undocumented in the United States and his anecdote highlights how the university can include students by helping them monetarily. He says,

...I think it was my freshman year or sophomore year I tried to be an RA, but before I was applying to be an RA, I asked [if] with my legal status I could work, and they said yes. So I applied and I got the job and everything. But then when they asked me the way of payment, they were like, "No, you can't be paid. So, we're sorry", that was all they said. So it was like, okay, you know, like, another dream closed to me to be able to afford college or help to pay my college or like trying to survive and pay my tuition and my room and board. So I think that is something like some people in my situation, we don't ask for money, but we do ask kind of like an opportunity to make that money.

The confusion around Alfredo's status caused him to obtain and then lose a job opportunity available to college students on the campus. This experience made him realize that the university lacked opportunities for people in his situation. His request was simple but powerful, to be given a chance to make money. Contrary to Alfredo's proposition, Paula, the other undocumented participant in the sample who is originally from Mexico, called for the creation of support and inclusive organizations. She points out,

Probably have an organization about it. Because most of my friends, all of them, are not undocumented like me. I am the only one so maybe having an organization and provide us with more scholarships. Help us more with financial aid.

For Paula, creating an organization would allow her to have a safe space to interact with other students in her position. Both individuals referred to finances in one form or the other, given that for them, that was a pressing issue given the limited opportunities they had. In the case of Paula, she had to rely on her grandfather to pay for college, which placed a great burden on her as a student, so her desires are for the university to create better pathways to financial freedom and inclusivity.

The perception of students with visas is that the university does not help undocumented students, a view that is informed by people they know and their own experience. Elizabeth, the senior student with a visa status from Mexico talked about this issue when she mentioned that:

I don't really know what they do to help undocumented students. But I guess from what I've heard, I feel like they could do more. And just like, from my perspective, that I'm an international student. I have never really gotten help from the school to help to understand all that comes with college in the US.

The student also mentioned that she had heard from her organization's president, a DACA recipient, about this lack of support from the student body when DACA was

rescinded. The University did nothing to vocalize their support for students, thus leading to the petition drive that Sonia mentioned earlier.

Interestingly, responses from citizens or residents were mixed. Some did not know what the university is doing to help undocumented immigrants while others did. This was the case of Marcos, a legal permanent resident who is originally from Mexico and came to the country at age 7. He stated that although he was formerly undocumented, he eventually became a citizen and applied to college but does not know what the university does to help undocumented students. Contrary to Marcos, Carlos criticizes the university's lack of assistance for students with no legal status by saying,

I think that an institution that talks so much about integrity and all those beautiful values and passions and so on. They need to practice that with their students regardless of their status. I know this is a very conservative university, and so I think that politics does get in the way, but at the same time, I think that the university is very hypocritical to undocumented students. I would like that school be a sanctuary for undocumented individuals because if universities are supposed to be a sanctuary for knowledge, undocumented student individuals can provide so much experience and unique point of view, and unique visions for the future.

Interviewees' responses to the second question provided more information on what their university can do to make them feel included in the campus community. Their responses included creating avenues for exposure to cultural programs and working with

a student organization. Brenda, a sophomore and recently naturalized citizen from Brazil, talked about the creation of an event dedicated to the Latinx culture by saying,

I don't know, maybe having events dedicated to the Hispanic culture. Bring people together that are not only Hispanic, bringing everyone together. To do something Hispanic related, I don't know, maybe having [it] near the MSC they could set up a little Mariachi band and tacos or something like that so people can be more familiar with the culture and [be] more aware that [it] is not just white at the university. Honestly, that hasn't been an issue with me even though the university is a predominantly white institution. I feel like everyone is very welcoming. I have never had an issue.

For Brenda, exposure to programs would allow other college students to familiarize themselves with others' cultures to foster a more inclusive campus environment. For some of the citizens, immigration was not a prominent issue for inclusion but rather minority representation. Another recently naturalized citizen interviewee did not see issues with minority representation nor immigration. Josué, a freshman born in Colombia, states that the university already provides the tools to improve the inclusion of immigrants.

I think the university is doing the best they can, because I've gotten numerous emails from different Latino organizations. Like I said, the one I joined Latino Males United and then there's also like a bunch of pre-medical, pre-health Latino organizations. I've seen a lot of organizations that they will send, obviously, with

COVID, it's going to be difficult, but they go overseas to Costa Rica, Panama, they go to different places, which I've read, that they help, like the misfortunate people. So I think that the university has been doing a pretty good job trying to include different undocumented immigrants to be able to help and to be able to be a part of their own, you know, be a part of their own race and ethnicity. So I think that's good. I just, I mean, I don't think these students that are acting hostile towards certain races, I don't think that that's [the university's] fault. I just think that's from where [students] come from.

In this case, the students reaffirm that minority-backed students' organizations within the university are an example of the institution's inclination for diversity. Surprisingly, when these participants spoke of inclusionary practices, they often referred to the racial and ethnic issues, which is important for the immigrant population. Still, they lacked specific examples or knowledge regarding immigrant youth. These responses were very different from the perspective of undocumented students.

Students with visas were more critical of the university's action with respect to the racial/ethnic topic than the citizens or DACA and undocumented participants. They cited the university's inclination to provide resources for football facilities, protection of confederate generals' statues as examples of their marginalization of minorities and immigrant students. Gloria, a Panamanian graduate student with a visa who completed her undergraduate career at this institution expresses ambivalence and a certain degree of frustration when talking about the university's actions. She says,

You see emails from the university, from the President of the university saying that, yes, we have built X and Y committees, and we have gathered an X number of people to work on these minority issues. But oftentimes, the solution is like, yeah, we have raised X amount of money to provide scholarships or the whole...statue issue. Like, now we're gonna build a statue for the black legislator. When I hear those things, again, it's like I'm repeating myself, again, it makes me sad, because I don't think this is the solution. I think these are like quick patches to current problems, like short-term problems, but it doesn't fix the issue from the roots.

Gloria, another visa student, sees the university's issue with its minority population as a lack of accountability. For her, the university does not follow through with its proclaimed efforts to make the campus more inclusive and safer for its students. This is an issue vocalized by Elizabeth when she said,

Inclusion? I don't really know what they could do...I know, I don't know anyone that is close enough to me to know about these things. But also, I think that this is not, like, specific, specifically toward Latin immigrants, but just like, towards minorities. They have, the school hasn't done anything to make us feel safe. Like, for example, with the statue that they put up a fence around it, just because someone vandalized it. But they haven't done anything about other things like, I don't know, different hate crimes, or just I can't really think of very specific things, but they, they're showing where their priorities are. And they don't really show how, how they support us, like, they just send out emails

saying, Oh, yeah, like, we support our students and we want to help everyone, but they don't really show it or like, I don't know, like, for example, with COVID how are they making football season happen, but memorial for students didn't happen.

The memorial for students that Elizabeth mentions is held monthly to commemorate a student's passing. Elizabeth and Gloria are at different stages of their career, with Gloria doing her undergraduate and then graduate schooling at the university, and Elizabeth about to finalize her bachelor's. This timeline difference is significant because it highlights the experiences of two visa students who joined the university at different points in time yet talk about similar situations. These situations call attention to a lack of institutional accountability that has caused the student to question the university's priorities, sense of safety, and their sense of belonging into a predominantly white and conservative campus.

Overall, the educational experiences of these immigrant youth offer different insights into how the university helps the immigrant--documented and undocumented--student population. The lack of support was evident in their responses, with students yearning for programs, organizations, or mere financial assistance that could make their college experience better. The university did not do enough to help other college students, such as minorities, since they constantly dismissed and prioritized business-making opportunities such as conducting football games during the COVID 19 pandemic instead of prioritizing students' well-being. The local context makes students' feelings of exclusion salient, enhancing the systematic exclusion practices at the national level.

Beyond their status, the campus setting's local practices enhanced the feelings of otherness that students felt in general, albeit to a different extent.

Expectations and Aspirations

Students were asked about their expectations and aspirations- what they believe they will do and what they wanted to do. The twenty two participants in this study were asked about their awareness of Senate Bill 4 to account for the influence of state level immigration policy on their expectations and aspirations. In order to assess students' knowledge and opinions of Senate Bill 4, I asked them "Do you know about Texas SB4, which allows local law enforcement to ask legal status? How does it make you feel?" Depending on their status, participants felt that SB4 had an indirect negative effect on their immediate future, families, and communities. To further examine their individual expectations and aspirations they were asked, "Given your legal status, what do you expect to do with your college degree? The students knew they wanted to either make money, expand their educational horizons, or regularize their legal status. In all, the interviewees often said they expected to use their college degree as a stepping stone to allow them to enter more professional environments, and further their aspirations.

The participants' knowledge that local law enforcement could ask for legal status varied across the different groups. Some interviewees were familiar with SB4, while others did not know about it. However, once described to them, they all had an opinion about how the new procedure made them feel. DACA recipients knew SB4 through family or friends and expressed fear and anxiety over the possibility of detention. Mario, the Peruvian DACA recipient, said fear over the well-being of his parents. He notes,

I see [every little thing that my dad does] wrong...whenever we are driving together and he doesn't stop completely for a stop sign or doesn't stop completely when he is turning right on red. It is like, dude chill out, you can get stopped for this and then probably deported. It makes my anxiety even worse. Because it is one thing to be in areas where there is going to be a raid...To me, there is a certain anxiety that comes with living your normal life. Any little misdemeanor such as accidents, not stopping fully at a stop sign can completely destroy your life. SB4 has caused me even more anxiety, not only me but into my siblings but my parents not as much, surprisingly. I don't get it, dude. I don't get how parents can be completely [fine]. At least I don't see it, they don't have that anxiety as much as the kids do.

Mario, who is protected by DACA, expressed anxiety, worry, and surprise when driving and interacting with his parents after the passing of SB4. The participant often corrected his dad's driving behavior as a way to protect him from deportation. Even though Mario notes that he worries more about the possibility of deportation than his dad does, thus showing the extent to which SB4 disrupts the everyday family and individual's dynamics by adding stress into their lives.

The case of undocumented college students slightly different than DACA recipients; they both expressed fear of the policy. Alfredo, the undocumented Honduran student, mentions he feels scared and uncertain about what will happen next under SB4. He states,

Scared. More than anything scared because from the moment that they ask your legal status it's just scary. You don't know; you don't know what's happening next if something happens if they ask you and it's like an authority. You don't know what's gonna happen next, so just have uncertainty if you're gonna have to be lucky enough to not happen, for that to not happen.

Alfredo feels scared of the possibility of interacting with the police because it would affect him negatively in the future. The interviewee talks that his future seems uncertain if he were to interact with a police officer, thus suggesting that it would disrupt his current plans.

The student visa recipients expressed mixed opinions about SB4. For some of the participants, SB4 did not seem bad because they thought the U.S system worked in that manner. Other participants disagree with the law overall, citing uneasiness at the possibility of being stopped and asked legal status, while others supported the measure. For example, Elizabeth, the senior student from Mexico, explains that,

Well, I guess it makes me feel unsafe, for sure especially because of recent events with police brutality and all these things. I think it's an abuse of authority. I think that I've always, as I was saying, I've always been cautious on what I do and how I drive and things. But it makes me feel a bit more unsafe. Because I mean, I feel like they wouldn't. I don't know. I don't know. I guess I'm not thinking about myself anymore. Because I don't know. It's just so bad.

Despite her status and ability to drive legally, Elizabeth felt unsafe to drive because of other national scandals with police brutality. The possibility of interacting with an entity that has been in the national spotlight for their attacks on minorities made her feel unsafe and somewhat anxious for the well-being of others. The fear and anxiousness were not shared by Erick, the graduate student from Colombia who expressed indifference at SB4 by saying that,

I'm not afraid of that. They can pull me over anywhere they can go to my business, here is my documentation... Here's my I20, here is my visa. Here is everything you should need to know.....I had first a Texas ID then my driver's license. I was going everywhere with my I20, my passport, my visa, I was getting the social security numbers for me. This is the proof of.. I don't remember what they called... the proof of legal status, something like that. So for me is like I do not care about that.

He later explains that he sees the process followed by SB4 as normal given that Colombian officers can stop someone at any time, and people are expected to have their document with them at all times. Overall, the accessibility to his documentation, such as visa and state IDs, boosted Erick's confidence that he would not confront issues with the law, much less deportation.

Compared to the other participants, LPRs did not know the law had been passed. The majority of these participants knew about the law but were uninformed about it being adopted by the state. This is the case of Pablo, a freshman LPR college student

who did not know about SB4, but when asked about how it made him feel, he replied the following,

I think if they haven't been convicted by a judge of a crime, their legal status really has nothing to do with the reason for like, if they got pulled over. There's no reason officers should be asking their legal status. Also, there's no way that the officer would know, they would just if they don't speak English, they could assume that, that they might be undocumented. Or they could ask a different kind of question, but I think if they're undocumented and they are convicted of a crime, then it would be right to focus on the legal at status and talk about it and decide what needs to happen after they've been convicted. But if they haven't been convicted of any crime, if they're just being arrested, it wouldn't be fair for an officer to ask about legal status.

Pablo alludes to the racial profiling issue of SB4 by saying those police officers would not know who is documented or who is not. At the same time, he remarks that he disagrees with the law but agrees with the deportation of immigrants convicted of a crime. A comparable opinion is delivered by Loren, the student from Venezuela who also expressed her lack of knowledge of the bill but disagrees that law enforcement should ask for status. She mentions that,

I don't know, it goes both ways. Sometimes you got to, you know, make sure you're keeping your own country safe, so I can understand why they do so. But you know, I don't fear it. But I know a lot of some of my friends from high

school and such will be definitely in big trouble because you don't want to lie to authorities. So I definitely feel bad for them if they ever have to be asked any of that stuff.

Both Loren and Pablo point to the idea that they do not feel threatened by the law and they agree that the process could help keep the state safe. However, Loren understands the dilemma it causes in the life of friends who are directly affected by the issue. The legal status of Loren and Pablo eliminates their fear of being apprehended and even deported. Simultaneously, they both echo the problematic idea of the deportation of undocumented people convicted of a crime.

Lastly, interviewees with citizenship also had mixed knowledge of SB4, with some of them knowing about the policy, while others did not. Those who knew of the law recognized they were not affected by threats of deportation but realized the racial profiling undertones. This is the case of Brenda, a recently naturalized citizen originally from Brazil, who says,

I have definitely heard of it. I don't know because I don't know, I think I heard something like it's bad because people are not going to want to call the cops on certain crimes. Because they are going to be scared if they are illegal [sic] and they report a crime they are going to be deported. That makes me so uncomfortable because I would rather someone report a crime or do something like that and be safe from deportation. When it comes to driving a vehicle, as long as you have a license. I don't know why you would ask someone an

immigration status. I feel as I don't know how I would react if I got pulled over because if I have a license doesn't that mean I am legal? I don't know they would pull me to question it. But if they did question me, I would feel comfortable maybe feel discriminated against. Obviously, I feel like, if you are going to ask people that look Hispanic if they are legal or not, and not people who look white even people who look white.

Racial profiling issues have been raised by local, state, and national entities such as ACLU and MALDEF. Students with citizenship also demonstrate a degree of awareness of the law's racial profiling undertones. For Brenda, racial profiling is one part of the issue because she recognizes that the law disrupts community trust in the cops by compromising safety. Other U.S citizens were aware of SB4 because of personal experience, as showcased by Karla, a Junior from Mexico who shares that she fears for her parents. Karla's parents are undocumented and knew about the deportation of someone who they worked with. She mentions this when she points that,

I get worried about my parents, and [my father] also told me about like how some of his people who work with him have gotten deported. . So I'm just worried, and she's just like, making fun of what happens if he gets deported and like he gets like worried.

Karla's case is unique since her parents do not have legal status, which enhances her fear for their well-being. In summary, all groups had different views of the indirect negative effect of SB4 on their immediate future, families, and communities. For some, SB4 was

not a salient issue because they did not feel it affected them, while others expressed concerns. DACA and undocumented participants were aware of the law and expressed concerns over the possibility of detention. Students with visas expressed mixed feelings about SB4 since some felt unsafe given the issues with police behavior, while others expressed confidence with not getting into trouble because of their status. LPR's did not know about SB4, but felt weary about the racial profiling while simultaneously contributing agreeing with the rhetoric on the deportation of undocumented people convicted of crimes. Lastly, naturalized students' opinions about SB4 highlighted racial profiling, disruption of community trust, and fear that mixed-status families often experience. None of the participants explicitly mentioned the impact of the law on what they will do and what they wanted to do in their future-expectations and aspirations respectively. Instead, they worried about their families, friends and community's well-being.

The uncertainty of DACA status influenced what they expected to do in the future, given the uncertainty around discussions of the future of the DACA program. Clara, a Peruvian Sophomore with DACA status, mentioned that her dream was to attend law school, but access to the career was affected by her status because requirements varied by state. She mentions,

What I want to do is get more schooling because I want to go to law school. It limits my options to states that allow certain things. For example, I was looking into Columbia Law, and I thought of plans: what if I got [in] there? And let my parents move with me? We can get driver's licenses, or they can drive around

without having a fear of being pulled over and getting deported [Few states offer access to a driver to undocumented people, which makes them vulnerable to deportation]. With school, it limits where I can go depending on the state's laws and stuff related to undocumented immigrants.

Her reference sheds light on the idea that beyond finances, there are limitations to her practicing her desired career, which has repercussions not just on herself but also on her family. Therefore, when working on her current studies, she experiences additional worries that take her mind away from school. This distraction became evident when Clara responded that in 5 years, she would like to have some kind of legal protection so she can practice law, while in 10 years, she expressed her optimism of already having legal status.

Elizabeth, a senior visa student from Mexico, focuses on different aspirations and expectations. For her, she hopes to find a job that will then allow her to stay in the country; her expectation or belief is that her degree will open the doors to better opportunities. She points out that,

I hope to get a job. At first [when] I get out, I don't expect to get a good job but I want to get a job so I can stay. I am in a bachelor's degree, a bachelor's degree from the United States will open many doors for me here, in Mexico, wherever I want to apply. The ideal thing for me would be to be able to move to Canada but I do believe that a degree will give me a lot of security although I don't know what will happen here or what will happen with my visa. At least I will have a

bachelor's degree from the United States and yes I hope to find a good job, but at least I feel prepared. *(Translated from Spanish to English by author)*

In this case, Elizabeth also hopes to one day move to Canada while reiterating that she believes her degree will provide her the job security she desires. This was the case for most student visa youth, but for some, the hope was to regularize their status to find a job in the United States but believed their skills would open the pathway to that regularization. Elizabeth's sentiments compare to Erick, another graduate visa student from Colombia, who says,

“Okay, so try to get a job. Either move here, or somewhere else, but try to get a job. If I do it here, right, I [would] have to, like, the change of status, if I decide to be working here. But I mean, besides the natural flow of things, okay, you are born, you learn how to walk, you go to school, you get a job.”

The comments by Erick and Elizabeth highlight how accessibility to their visa allows them to think beyond their current time and prepare themselves to eventually obtain a job in the country. Access to these platforms does not necessarily mean they are worry-free because the pandemic made them worried about job prospects. Elizabeth also mentioned that COVID-19 caused her to worry and wondered whether companies would hire international students. Another visa holder, Gloria, also cited this sentiment when she had to find reassurance from her advisor about her job position during this time. However, in general, visa holders tend to express a sense of security about their skills and ability to obtain a job, which could result from their advanced degrees and skills

they know they are gaining in those fields to open up different opportunities for the future.

Similar to student visas, citizens and LPRs reasserted the expectations and aspirations of continuing their careers and/or education. Marcos, an LPR from Mexico, summarized the expectations aspects when he said that,

Oh man, I'm gonna be a doctor. It's the only thing I want to do. I want to pursue even more, I want to pursue more knowledge, I want to learn everything I can. That's what I want to do with it. I'm currently a Kine[siology] major. So I'm learning about muscles and brain and functions and I hope to use my degree to further my education in physical therapy. That's where I am. Now I want to go to UT El Paso, which has a program for bilingual studies. So I will be learning the body mechanics in English and Spanish and with that, I want to work in the low-income community and kind of do a lot of pro-bono and do a lot of free work and just a lot of clinics. That's what I hope to do with my degree with God's plan. God willing to just give back to my community and invest within.

In this case, the participant sees himself likely working with low-income and immigrant communities, expanding his education, and specializing in something he enjoys. Marcos' hopes of helping low-income communities motivate him to get good grades and learn class material. These hopes also support his strong beliefs that his goals will become a reality. On the other hand, Loren, a legal permanent resident from Venezuela said that,

Well, it's gonna open the door for me to go into PA school. If for some reason PA school doesn't work out, then I'll go ahead and do my Master's in Public Health and will open doors over there.

In this case, the participant sees herself continuing her education through two different career paths. Again pointing to the idea that her expectations are influenced by her aspirations for the future. DACA recipients and undocumented students are also career and professionally minded, but their goals often involve giving back to their community in some way.

DACA recipients were often clear about what they wanted for their future vis-a-vis their aspirations, but these aspirations often involved giving back to the community. This was the case of José, a DACA recipient from Mexico who aspired to use his degree to give back to the community. He explains,

So I think it will be nice to do my degree to help my community and showing these better, the underrepresented that don't have the resources that other places have. So really, everything that I ever want to do, it kind of all the same with the goals. Kind of just give in a sense. Not only in my community [who] helped me along the way. Those are my goals in my case.

Like José, Alfredo is an undocumented student from Honduras, aspirations are to open up a clinic to help people with few resources and to achieve financial stability to help his family. Both groups have a pay-it-forward mentality embedded in their aspirations.

The recently naturalized citizens expressed assurance in their expectations and aspirations after college. In the case of Consuelo, a junior, her expectation is to finalize school and pursue a master's, but more than anything, find a job. These feelings stayed the same as she thought about her aspirations in 5-10 years from the time of the interview. Similarly, Carlos, the recently naturalized citizen of Salvadoran origin, highlighted the career-driven expectations expressed by these participants when he references,

So now that I'm pursuing this joint MPH and MIA program, so I'm getting a Master's in Public Health and also a Master's of International Affairs. After those three years, I wanted to apply for a doctorate in public health. I want to study epidemiology here. After I graduate from the Masters's program I was thinking of moving maybe to Austin and work in the state Health Department like intern in epidemiology. But if not, I would just go ahead and continue with my education here and the doctorate and after that, I would seek a career in infectious diseases. Initially, I would like to work at the state level in the state Health Department, but then I would like to work for the CDC. Eventually, towards the more advanced stage of my career, I would like to work for the World Health Organization.

Carlos expects to get his Master's degree to propel his other career and life aspirations. Naturalized students like Carlos often talk about their aspirations with a strong belief that they will become a reality. What becomes salient upon hearing their responses is that compared to other students such as DACA and student visa holders, they made no

mention of possible obstacles they would confront. Instead, the naturalized citizen asserted their goals and purposely explained why they desired such a career. However, it is important to highlight that naturalized citizens were more likely to confound their expectations with their aspirations for the future. It was more about what they would like to do, which inspired what they feel they can do given their circumstances.

Overall, participants bolstered the idea that higher education would help them achieve career advancement by pursuing an education or facilitating job stability. There were nuanced differences among students with different statuses that stem from their context of reception. For example, some DACA and undocumented students kept their status in mind as they talked about their expectations and aspirations for the future. Although they kept their situation in mind, they also aspired to use their degrees to give back to the community and grow professionally. Students with visas expected their degrees to open the door to better economic opportunities and eventually regularize their status to possibly work in the country. Furthermore, LPRs expected their knowledge and skills gained through their education to further their career aspirations and eventually help low-income communities. Lastly, naturalized students confused their expectations and aspirations, often using both terms interchangeably. A possible explanation being that the limited obstacles presented to them meant they had better chances of making their ambitions a reality.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The national, state and local context of reception impacts the educational opportunities provided to immigrant youth. Through interviews, I compared the experiences of Latinx students with a variety of legal statuses to highlight the similarities and differences of their experiences. Some groups, such as DACA recipients, experienced latent limitations due to their situation, expressed through their narratives of financial aid challenges, expectations, and aspirations for the future. These limitations were exacerbated with their college application, continuing to their time and classification as international students while in college. For visa holders, the context of the reception took a different perspective. Although they confronted several challenges in their application process, they received assistance from networks, schools, or class status. Legal permanent residents and recently naturalized citizens, on the other hand, cited struggles and challenges with college entrance exams such as the SATs but acknowledged their status provided them benefits that they would not have enjoyed otherwise.

At the local level, students spoke of lacking support as immigrants, minorities, and students. However, responses vary by individuals and by groups. For example, DACA and undocumented students talked about immigration. In contrast, visa holders spoke of racial and ethnic disparities partly caused by the inclination by the University to bolster business interests rather than help their minority student population. On the other hand, citizens' and LPRs' expressed mixed responses about their knowledge of the university's help to undocumented immigrants, students, and minorities.

The participant's perception of the context of reception at the state level also varied. Some interviewees knew about SB 4, others did not, but when the program was described and they were asked about their feelings, they expressed disappointment, anger, fear, and anxiety for its implementation. DACA recipients were aware of SB4 because of family worries, interactions with friends, or activism. The two unauthorized participants, one cites lack of knowledge of politics, and the other knew about the policy but did not know it had been implemented. Only one of the participants cited fear for the implementation and possible repercussions for the future. Students with visas had mixed knowledge and feelings about the SB4, which stem from the safety of their status that boosted their confidence of not getting into trouble with the law. Lastly, legal permanent residents and citizens showed mixed knowledge about SB4. On the one hand, legal permanent residents resonated with the idea that the deportation of criminal immigrants while also acknowledging its impact on racial profiling. On the other hand, recently naturalized citizens criticized SB4 and also alluded to racial profiling and communities. Access to legal status and social security numbers provided participants a sense of safety that boosted the confidence of not getting into trouble if stopped by the police. In contrast, those without status showed the opposite response.

The mixed reactions about Senate Bill 4 shed light on the sense of safety that public higher education institutions provide to immigrants. Even though SB4 allows on-campus police officers to ask for legal status, none of the students mentioned concerns about this clause but rather knew of SB 4 because of its repercussions on their families, off-campus life, and how it violates individuals' rights. Similar to previous findings

(Golash-Boza and Valdez 2018), these individuals expressed worries about the well-being of their families and the problematic methods that police adopt to identify the undocumented from the documented. The lack of knowledge suggests that participants felt relatively safe from the off campus context, thus contributing to their aspirations and expectations about the future.

Individual perception of the range of opportunities provided at their university significantly impacted students' aspirations and expectations of the future. The majority of the interviewees talk about the limited or lack of financial opportunities while showing a degree of hopefulness about the range of opportunities that higher education would provide to them at the professional and personal level. However, DACA and undocumented students showed apprehensiveness of what they could do with their degrees, mainly because of the attacks and legal battle around DACA. Latinx students enrolled in this four-year university see education as a tool for economic and career advancement. Still, their experiences differ given the security (and lack of) that their status provides for their future and eventual incorporation into society.

The varying experiences of immigrant youth showcase how the nested context of receptions at the national, state, and local levels impact individuals' access to resources and create limitations for the future. For the most part, DACA and undocumented students suffered what Menjivar (2012) denotes as structural and symbolic violence. Structural violence is exemplified by their exclusion from resources available to them at the federal, state, and institutional levels. These factors converge into symbolic violence

when students begin to internalize and constantly think of the limitations of their legal status, affecting their expectations of what they can do in the future.

These varying forms of reception impact their access to resources and view of their future, which I argue leads to different types of incorporation. DACA students experience what I call selective incorporation. This term is similar to the selective acculturation concept of the segmented assimilation theory, which explains how people maintain their own culture while learning American ways (Portes and Fernandez Kelly 2008). However, selective incorporation considers how the nested contexts of reception permit DACA students to live the college experience while also experiencing the constraints of their status. Undocumented students are in similar circumstances as DACA students, except, I argue, they experience stagnant incorporation. Following the work of Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller (2005), I suggest that undocumented students' path to mobility by the third generation is likely to be stagnation into menial jobs (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller 2005). The stagnant incorporation of undocumented people means that they don't receive assistance at the national, state, or institutional level needed to move socially and economically during, and possibly after, graduation. As such, they will be relegated to low-wage dead-end jobs despite having a college degree.

Furthermore, I argue that the experiences of students with visas highlight conditional incorporation because they are expected to leave the country after graduation. Israel and Batalova (2021) inform us that they can apply for Optional Practice Training (OPT) to further their education after graduation. Still, it is limited to

12-24 months, depending on their field of study. Simultaneously, the authors explain that they must find an employer that will sponsor them to change their status and stay in the country. Hence, the path to incorporating students with visas is conditional on immigration policies and their ability to find someone who will sponsor them. The aspirations of this group of students to find a job in the United States highlight the limitations of their status. However, they are hopeful of a status change and expect their degrees to get them the social and economic mobility that a college education often provides.

Lastly, LPRs and citizens showcase what I call partial incorporation. At the national level, these students demonstrated knowledge about the issues and debates around immigration but acknowledged how it did not affect them because of their legal situation. However, they expressed strong opinions and questions the racial profiling intentions of the law, which would affect their communities, and families. In all, these populations are more likely than the other groups to express hopefulness and beliefs about the range of possibilities open to them financially and socially. These varying forms of hopefulness and beliefs are also showcased in their mixed perceptions and opinions about institutional support for immigrants, minorities, and students.

One of the limitations of this study is that COVID-19 stalled participant recruitment and made it difficult to interview enough participants to reach a saturation point. Ideally, more participants would be recruited in each category in order to compare group patterns. However, this research is suggestive of patterns that may help begin the conversation on immigrant youth incorporation. Future research should explore the

different ways in which the structural features of society impact how immigrants perceive themselves and the range of opportunities and support they receive at the local, state, and federal levels. Moreover, I hope that contributing to the conversation on this matter encourages institutional changes to improve inclusion, expand knowledge on the differential and exclusionary effects of state immigration policies, and bring attention to the lack of congressional and national support for the livelihood of immigrants, especially for those without status.

Also, I hope that as we continue to speak of the lived experiences of undocumented youth, it contributes to the larger conversation on what does it mean to be American when you are undocumented? These individuals have endured multilevel forms of exclusion that constantly remind them of what they lack--a social security number that separates them from the rest of people. However, it is not the social security number that completely excludes them from traditional rites of passage, it is also the environment in which they live, and interactions with people and institutions. All these factors systematically exclude and prevent them from achieving their life goals, thus impacting their views, beliefs, and sense of purpose in society.

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