Raising Children in Limbo: Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Sociocultural Stressors Among Undocumented Latinx Immigrants

by

Fernanda Lima Cross

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology)
in the University of Michigan
2019

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Deborah Rivas-Drake, Chair
Associate Professor Sherrie Kossoudji
Professor Stephanie J. Rowley
Associate Professor Daphne C. Watkins

Fernanda L. Cross

flcross@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-0770-9464

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my four darling children, who have provided me with the inspiration and drive to engage in this work. After having you, I knew I could do anything. Because of you, I never gave up. Thank you!

"When you're through learning, you're through"

Will Rogers

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Getting to the end of this journey took a lot of help from so many people. I have been incredibly blessed with a supportive village that believed in me, and has always been there, ready to help. I am forever thankful, and I hope you know that you have made a difference in my growth as a scholar and in my ability to get to where I am.

I am thankful to have had amazing advisors to rely on. First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Deborah Rivas-Drake, my wonderful mentor and dissertation chair. Debbie's dedication to her students and commitment to our success is inspiring. We are fully aware that she's unique and feel so fortunate to have her as mentor. As her grad students, we often spoke of the "*Debbie Difference*." In my case, she believed in my potential and provided me with the appropriate level of scaffolding I needed to succeed. Sometimes that meant providing very thorough feedback on papers, preparing me for presentations, or spending long hours running analyses together – even on evenings or weekends. She provided me with solid support every step of the way. Debbie, thank you for guiding me, for allowing me to pursue the dream that brought me to and through this PhD program. Thanks for never letting me give up even when I was not sure I could continue on. Thank you so very much for all you have helped me achieve.

I also want to especially thank Dr. Stephanie Rowley, who has been my mentor since my early undergraduate years. From Psych 250 through graduate school, Stephanie has been a constant supportive presence, helping me navigate the early years as a grad student when everything felt so new and scary. Whenever I was down and overwhelmed, I knew she would

have supportive words and advice to help me through. Thank you for the realization that, while academia maybe stressful and life-changing, it isn't impossibly daunting.

A very special thank you to Dr. Sherrie Kossoudji, whose passion for immigrants' rights has been an inspiration since my MSW years. In your quest to shed light onto the plight of undocumented immigrants, you motivated me to do the same. I will always cherish our conversations about immigration laws and policies, as they continue to inspire me to fight for social justice.

Another big thank you to Dr. Daphne Watkins, whose mixed-method guidance and knowledge of qualitative analysis helped me draw meaning from my interviews. You normalized my frustration and my overwhelming feelings in the face of all that data.

The support of the University of Michigan has been of supreme value. I am so very thankful for the funding from Rackham Graduate School, the Center for the Education of Women (CEW), and the Psychology Department, which has enabled me to dedicate myself to my studies and graduate.

I also have so many colleagues to thank, whose support has been fundamental throughout the years: the Rowley Lab (PRIDE Lab) members Dr. Adriana Aldana, Dr. Meeta Banerjee, Dr. Kristina Lopez, Dr. Latisha Ross, Dr. Sarah Thrin, Dr. Fantasy Lozada, Dr. Adrian Gale, and several others who demonstrated how to be a PhD student when the role still felt so foreign. A special thank you to Dr. Lopez for inviting me into her dissertation project to give me a glimpse of what I could achieve.

A huge thank you to my outstanding CASA Lab friends and collaborators: Michael Medina, Abby Agi, Kevin Constante Toala, Stephanie Miller, Jessica Montoro, Bernadette Pinatta, Mercy Tran-Dubongo, Saraí Blanco and Dr. Adam Hoffman. You have shown me what

a vibrant, supportive work environment looks like. I can only hope for future colleagues as inspiring and collaborative as you. My CASA Lab bond won't end with graduation; I will continue to follow your work and cheer you on. To my undergraduate research assistants: Delina Zapata, Erika Mendez, Oscar Ramirez, Jose Lopez, Emilia Prado, Jeanette Figueroa, Lizbeth Diaz, Stephanie Stan, Mikaela Bradley and Daniela Garcia: thank you not only for your dedication to my research, but above all for sharing your insights about my work.

To all of my lab mates from both labs as well as Debbie and Stephanie, thanks for showering my babies and me with love and much needed essentials during my pregnancies. You showed me that this academic village encompasses so much more than the confines of East Hall. I very much appreciated all of the visits and baked treats during those busy months after giving birth.

I could not go on without mentioning two of the most special gifts that this PhD program has brought to me. My dear friends Drs. Aixa Marchand and Tissyana Camacho. The advice and never-ending encouragement I have received from both of you have carried me through. Tiss, you have been a role model since day one. I will never forget you taking me by my hand and walking me through the syntax for my 619 in my dining room with my kids all over us. You have been by my side even from afar, through some of the most stressful times of my whole journey and I am so thankful for you. Aixa, what can I say? You have been the one I grew closest to. We shared, wrote, complained, hoped, and celebrated together! Songbird Café has been our HQ. Thanks for teaching me the intricacies of SEM and for all the times we worked together. I know in my heart that no distance will keep us from maintaining our friendship and I am certain we will continue writing and celebrating our successes together. You have made this journey much more special and I am thankful for having had you by my side from day one.

More big thanks to my cohort: Dr. Margaret Echelbarger, Dr. Jasmine Manalel, Dr. Emma Beyers Carlson, Dr. Kimberly Brink, Dr. Tyler Hein, Arianna Gard, Neelima Wagley, Amira Halawah, Sammy Ahmed, Lauren Tighe, and Nkemka Anyiwo (my girl!). Getting through stats and prelims was easier with you. Thanks for being so supportive and for showering my babies and me with love! I do hope we can stay in touch and meet up at future conferences. I am so excited to join you in graduating and taking the next steps of our careers.

There were so many others in the department who have been important: Maria Arredondo, Josie Bañales, Jaime Muñoz, and Petal Grower, to name a few. I will never forget your kind gestures and encouragement and look forward to watching you grow and make a difference in the world! I am a big fan!

Beyond the academic sphere, I am blessed to have had a group of close friends who always believed in me and celebrated with me. There are too many for me to list them all, but most especially: Alejandra Benitez, Marolyn Valenzuela and Pilar Ramirez. Thanks for always being there when you knew I could use some extra help, from driving my kids to hosting playdates and sleep-overs. Thanks to my dear friend Elaine Mar Cash for sharing her delicious dishes and baked treats with us when the furthest thing from my mind was cooking. Thanks to Cecicle and David Flores for their encouragement, even before I applied to the PhD program and for keeping it real with me about the demands involved. Thanks to my friend Dr. Rosalinda Garcia-Tosi for acknowledging that the path was difficult, but worth it. Thanks to Sarah Hakala for being an inspiration to me to continue smiling despite facing tremendous hardship. A very special thank you to my professor, friend and mentor Dr. Luis Sfeir-Younis. Thanks for opening my eyes and giving me the language to talk about the social problems and inequalities of our society. Last, but not least, thank you to my dear friend Yasminah Ketchman! Minah, you have

always been there, from the early years at Washtenaw Community College to shopping for outfits and accompanying me on overnight trips for job interviews, just so I would not be alone. Whenever I needed words of encouragement from someone who genuinely believed in me, I could count on you to provide them. I am so glad to have had you by my side!

None of this would have been possible without the help of my family. I would like to thank my mother-in-law, Carmen, who demonstrated her support through her endless availability to watch the kids, through the delicious meals she prepared for us, making sure the whole family had nice clothes to wear, and for the many lit candles and prayers for my success. Carmencita, muchísimas gracias por abrirme las puertas al Español, y por no dejarme la opción de hablarle en Ingles. Gracias a mi conocimiento del Español yo pude trabajar como interprete ayudando a cantidad de inmigrantes como nosotras dos y pude seguir adelante siempre utilizando el lenguaje. Gracias! No words will ever be enough to thank my father-in-law, Harry Cross. Harricito, your support went far beyond being "Tatu Taxi" for the kids, even though this help was so important! I am so appreciative of all the hours you have dedicated to editing my writing. You have devoted yourself to teaching me to write well and kept challenging me because you believed I could keep improving. After all, "when you're through learning, you're through" – right? I have cherished our many hours working together, going over your suggested edits. I have enjoyed our conversations about our different experiences in and perceptions of the world. You joked that our sessions together amounted to my first dissertation defense. In order to provide me with the best suggestions to improve my writing, you said, you had to understand my work, which meant I had to defend my ideas to you, and this was not always an easy task. I am forever indebted to your patience and determination to make me the writer I have aspired to be since my first years as a journalism major in Brazil. Written word has always come easier to me than spoken and

achieving the same level of writing ability in English that I have in my native Portuguese is something I will always continue striving for.

My father, Roberto Ribeiro, taught me to never lose sight of hope and to fight hard for everything I wanted. He would have been so proud to see me becoming a Doctor. I can picture him telling everyone he knew: “My daughter is a Doctor in the USA!” Pai, sei que onde quer que você esteja, você esta vibrando por mim! I miss you…

A very special obrigada to my grandmother, Damiana. Vovis, you allowed me to pursue my dreams even when no one else thought I should. You paid for my airplane ticket to come to the US and you overcame your fear of travelling abroad to be near me, over and over again throughout these past 18 years. You have made me feel so special all my life, giving me a self-confidence I carry to this day. You have been an inspiration of determination and hard work. I am so thankful to you! The encouragement of my dear mãe, Elizabete, has pushed me onward since a very young age. You foresaw my potential and sacrificed so much to provide me with the best education you possibly could. You expected me to go far and reminded me that each generation of our family needs to achieve more than the last. Your love for me, my husband, and my children has been an enormous support. Thanks for caring for us, for all the food you cooked, for helping me with our laundry, for cleaning the house, and for helping keep our chaos more manageable. Your courage as a young single mom who continued to pursue an education, despite all the obstacles, has inspired me and made me reach for the stars. I want to keep showing you that your efforts have made me into who I am and that all I have achieved has been rooted in you. Mãe e Vó, when I receive this degree, it is also for the two of you, the most special women in my life, my strongest inspirations and sources of support. Meu amor por vocês é maior que o

mundo! O orgulho e alegria que meu esforço e sucesso proporciona a vocês me empurra adiante! Obrigada por tudo!

Finally, I would have not been able to get through this PhD program if it had not been for my dear husband, Bradley, who has always been my number one fan. Your belief in my abilities and your continued encouragement had the power to boost me up when I felt defeated and reminded me that things would likely look better in the morning. Thank you for your patience with me, and for being the great husband and amazing dad you have always been. Our whole family is so lucky to have you. Our four children – Julia, Alice, Daniel, and Anna – have (mostly) graciously learned to share me with my work, and have gotten used to seeing me, laptop on lap, working in our living room. One even told a neighbor: "My mom spends hours sitting on our sofa relaxing with her laptop. She likes to relax a lot!" I want you, meus amores, to know that I did this for you. Every step of the way I thought: my children will know, through my experience, that we can accomplish whatever we set our minds to, as long as we work hard and dedicate ourselves. No matter what obstacles you may face, you can succeed. Meus filhos, I love you more than words can express and would do anything for you over and over again!

Several people have provided me the intellectual support I needed during this process, but you, my dear family members … You caught me when I faltered, you dried my tears and asked what you could do to lighten my load, you have loved my children, played with them and took over where at times I left off. You celebrated with me, cheered me on, and my victories were also yours. I don't think I will ever be able to fully demonstrate how thankful I am, but please know that without your support none of this would have been possible. Thank you!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

Ethnic-racial socialization has been shown to serve as a protective influence in the development of minority children. However, the extant literature has not accounted for the experiences of mixed-status families, where citizen children live with an undocumented parent. These parents may adapt their ethnic-racial socialization in reaction to their experiences of stress, fear, and discrimination, all of which influence the type and frequency of socialization messages transmitted to children. In this mixed-method dissertation based on analyses of surveys and interviews, I consider the roles of sociocultural stressors, such as experiences of discrimination and documentation status on Latinx immigrant parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices.

The sample for this study derived from a longitudinal study with Latinx families living in southeast Michigan. The current analytic sample (n = 105) included foreign-born parents of adolescent children who participated in the final wave of data collection. A subsample of 39 parents (22 undocumented and 17 documented) participated in semi-structured interviews regarding their socialization practices and experiences as immigrants raising children in the US.

Six themes emerged from the qualitative analysis of the interviews: 1) Education as an Asset; 2) Cultural Socialization; 3) Documentation Status Socialization; and 4) Targeted Discrimination. Considering only the undocumented participants, two additional themes were identified: 5) Ever-Present Fear and Stress; and 6) Survival by Isolation. For example, one participant recounted warning her children as they got in the car: "[C]areful if we see the police...Oh, Lord, it's hard to live like that. And they notice it. They feel it. Even my son sees the police and says, 'I stay still. I don't move. I'm very still'." Another undocumented participant

described talking about family dissolution with her daughter: “You have to be aware that your father or I can be detained at any moment. It is possible that we are going to be in jail or deported. And even more nowadays with all this fear with the new president. I never felt this way, so insecure in this country.” Another worried about how such fear affected her children’s mental health: “He cries for me. And he says, ‘It’s that I don't want to go to school. I’d rather stay with you, so that you’re not left all alone.’ What they hear, what they see, it all damages them.” Path analysis of survey data revealed that both undocumented and documented parents reported similar levels of preparation for bias; however, undocumented parents were more likely to use cultural socialization ($\beta = .18$, $p < .05$) and promote mistrust ($\beta = .20$, $p < .05$) in their ethnic-racial socialization than documented parents. Finally, parents’ experiences of discrimination did not mediate the relationship between their documentation status and ethnic-racial socialization.

These results provide important insights into the socialization practices Latinx immigrant parents utilize to prepare their children for experiences outside of the home. The current presidential administration is openly hostile toward undocumented Latinx immigrants who face the constant possibility of deportation and family separation. Thus, this dissertation has important implications for understanding how cultural heritage values and behaviors may be maintained across generations in an environment of political adversity, as well as the ways in which such adversity may impact how these families adapt and respond to their social context.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

There are currently 11.3 million undocumented immigrants residing in the U.S., the large majority of whom are of Latin American origin (Passel & Cohn, 2016). They are raising an estimated 4.5 million children who were born in the U.S. and, consequently, possess American citizenship (Zayas & Gulbas, 2017). Besides citizen children, some of these undocumented parents have undocumented children who were brought to this country at a very young age, who were raised here and likely feel as American as citizen children do (Zayas, 2015). Families dealing with documentation status issues face the dread of being identified as undocumented and consequently deported. Most aspects of their lives are tarnished by their lack of authorization to be present in this country (Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). They live in constant fear of having their families torn apart by detainment and deportation. Parents often have to devise contingency plans for the care of their children in case they both get deported (Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi & Suárez-Orozco, 2011).

Children of undocumented parents are affected psychologically by the worry of separation from their parents and siblings or of having to move to a country strange to them (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). As exiles or orphans, these citizen children are, as Zayas (2015) calls them, our nation's "forgotten citizens." In his powerful book, he documents how these children are forced to abandon their country against their will in order to remain close to their deported parents or - the other frightening option - having to stay behind and live without the love, care, and financial support of their parents. Neither of these options is ideal, and both result

in considerable psychological damage to children. Their parents' lack of documentation status overrides any protective rights guaranteed by their American citizenship, leaving them vulnerable to the dire consequences of losing their family members to deportation (Zayas, 2015).

The Implications of Undocumented Status for Latinx Immigrant Families

To my knowledge, few studies of families to date have focused on undocumented parents, resulting in meager information available about this population (Yoshikawa, 2011). Studies that have been conducted with this population have found alarming consequences for both parents' and children's psychosocial development and mental health, as well as for the children's academic outcomes (e.g., Zayas, 2015). For instance, living with chronic stress associated with separation from family members, social isolation, oppressive work conditions, exposure to discrimination, and worries about documentation status places undocumented immigrants at higher risk for developing socio-emotional and physical health problems (Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas & Spitznagel, 2007). These immigrants deal with inequality beyond that of their racial and economic status. Their status overrides other social forces and becomes part of their identity, thereby shaping their daily lives, influencing how they are perceived and treated by others, and limiting opportunities for life improvement (Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012).

Children of undocumented parents face the challenge of living in the United States with parents who often speak limited English and/or have a substandard education. Despite having high hopes for a better future for their children through education, these parents are often unable to help them successfully navigate the educational system, thereby hampering their chances for improved opportunities and careers (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). National data attest to the greater risk of developing lower cognitive readiness for school in children of undocumented parents (Yoshikawa, 2011). Research comparing Latinx students of documented and

undocumented parents of similar socioeconomic backgrounds has found that children of undocumented parents have lower scores on emergent reading and math assessment tests upon entering school (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Inferior working conditions, non-existent benefits, and low wages often prompt undocumented parents to move in an effort to improve their situation. This translates to reduced school stability for their children, with the consequent negative academic outcomes. Furthermore, these children tend to live in areas with high rates of both poverty and violence, where they attend underfunded schools with low expectations for children of immigrants (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Additionally, undocumented parents report less engagement with their children's schools due to various factors, including not understanding the American educational system, employment and child care demands, having little education themselves (López, Sanchez, Hamilton, 2000), language barriers, and fear of being identified as undocumented and deported (Levine & Trickett, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). In interviewing parents regarding experiences with their children's schools, Ramirez (2003) reported that undocumented parents were fearful of engaging school personnel in a dialogue if they disagreed with a decision made by the school regarding their children. They were concerned that any protest might lead to retaliation from the school by being reported to immigration authorities for deportation (Ramirez, 2003). Some undocumented parents also believed that teachers would behave negatively towards their child, prompting them to silence their complaints and distance themselves from the schools (Smith, Stern & Shatrova, 2008). Others feared schools might expel their children if they were to complain about something done by the teachers or schools (Ramirez, 2003).

Between 2005 and 2013, about three million undocumented immigrants were deported, affecting the lives of about 1.5 million American citizen children (Zayas, 2015). When a parent is deported, children often experience psychological trauma, develop poor physical and mental health, display aggressive behaviors, and endure economic hardship (Chaudry et al., 2010). Should both parents get deported, their children are placed in foster care. In extreme cases, families become permanently separated as parents lose custody of or contact with their children. If reunification does occur, it usually takes a few years (Hall, 2011). The children of undocumented immigrants do not need to have actually experienced the deportation of a parent to become aware of its disastrous consequences through classmates, neighbors, and TV (Capps, Castañeda, Chaudry & Santos, 2007). This awareness often causes children of immigrants to perceive their immigrant heritage negatively, to equate immigrant with illegality, and to want to distance themselves from their background (Dreby, 2012). The more the parents are at risk for deportation, the more stressed are the children (Brabeck & Xu, 2010). This constant threat of deportation affects the large majority of children of undocumented immigrants, by pervading their lives with a constant fear of abandonment and family dissolution (De Genova, 2010), thereby inhibiting their healthy development (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). As a protective measure, children are often given explicit rules about not drawing attention to themselves or their family, since such attention could jeopardize their family's future by way of a parent's deportation (Zayas, 2015).

The Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices of Mixed-Status Families

Given the myriad ways undocumented status affects parenting domains, it is likely to inform what parents teach their children about race and ethnicity in the U.S. as well. For example, children aware of the undocumented status of their parents live with the ever-present

threat of separation due to deportation. Some undocumented parents, wishing to protect their children from the consequences of these uncertainties, may strongly encourage their children to assimilate into mainstream society (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Undocumented parents may accordingly adapt their socialization practices due to fears of being exposed and to prepare their children for the possible outcomes associated with being undocumented (Ayón, 2016). At the same time, the ethnic minority child development literature highlights that parents transmit their views about race and ethnicity to children by sharing their heritage and cultural history and preparing them for experiences specific to their minority status and for success in mainstream culture (Hughes et al., 2008). Such practices, known as parental ethnic-racial socialization, occur in all families, but are particularly relevant to minority families as they prepare their children for the world beyond their home (Hughes, 2003).

Immigrant parents, specifically, share with their children the language, customs, food, and history of their native countries through their day-to-day lives and by maintaining connections with family abroad. These messages prepare children for experiences outside the home stemming from their minority status. Youth exposed to ethnic-racial socialization in their home are shown to exhibit numerous beneficial outcomes, including positive ethnic identity development, increased engagement with school, and improved mental health (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006). Such youth are also found to think more positively about themselves and develop skills for coping with social stressors such as their own encounters with discrimination (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

Parental ethnic-racial socialization is related to several youth outcomes, with children's ethnic identity among the most widely researched and showing the most consistent findings (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way & Foust, 2009; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt,

Plunkett, & Sands, 2006; Quintana & Vera, 1999). This relationship seems logical since exposure to ethnic language, customs, food, artifacts, history and messages of ethnic pride, as part of the normal conversation and interaction between parent and child, are likely to result in a child with more developed ethnic identity, stronger ethnic group knowledge, and favorable in-group perception (Quintana & Vera, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2006) have found a positive association between family ethnic socialization efforts and ethnic identity achievement among youth of Salvadoran, Asian Indian, Chinese, and Vietnamese backgrounds.

The authors explained that despite having differing customs, traditions, beliefs, values, and histories in the United States, the family context of the adolescents is the main influence on their ethnic identity development. In interviews with a multiracial sample, Phinney & Chavira (1995) found that minority parents engaged in discussions with their children regarding cultural knowledge, ethnic pride, living in a multicultural society, and prejudice, resulting in the youth developing higher ethnic identity scores and a more advanced understanding of ethnic prejudice. Such processes have been conceptualized as benefiting youth by helping to counterbalance the stress associated with belonging to a minority group (Liu & Lau, 2013). These findings support the notion that families are a primary source of transmission of messages about ethnicity and race across multiple ethnic-racial groups and suggest the importance of such socialization to adolescents' outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006). Parental ethnic-racial socialization messages have also been found to prepare their children to deal with future experiences of discrimination (Hughes et al., 2009). Quintana and Vera (1999) found that children of Mexican parents who engaged in more socialization about ethnic discrimination had a more developed understanding of Mexican culture and a greater understanding of prejudice. Such socialization has also been

found to teach children how to advocate for themselves and others when experiencing or witnessing discrimination (Ayón, 2016).

Undocumented Immigrants and Experiences of Discrimination

Projections suggest that by 2060, non-Hispanic Whites will comprise only 44 percent of the total U.S. population, at which point the country will have become a "majority-minority" nation; Latinxs will be the largest minority group at 29 percent (Colby & Ortman, 2015). This diversity will increase the opportunities for interaction between people from different backgrounds but could also lead to a higher incidence of discrimination against people of color (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). Current forms of ethnic and racial discrimination differ from such historical practices as oppression exemplified through expropriation of Mexican land, and institutional discrimination in the form of educational and housing segregation (Garcia-Preto, 2005). One way that modern day discrimination finds expression is through the social stratification of American society, whereby members of minority groups are viewed as inferior to Whites and therefore excluded from certain opportunities, subjected to poor treatment, and placed in disadvantaged positions (García Coll et al., 1996; Fisher et al., 2000).

Interpersonal discrimination has been variously defined as "a behavioral manifestation of a negative attitude, judgment, or unfair treatment toward members of a group" (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009, p. 533) and "harmful actions towards others because of their membership in a particular group'' (Fishbein, 1996, p. 7). A person may be a victim of discrimination based on their ethnicity, race, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, body ability, place of birth, and other factors. Discriminatory behaviors can range from intentional exclusion to acts of extreme physical violence (Brown & Bigler, 2005). Empirical work has indicated that experiencing discrimination leads to an arousal response in the body's stress system, an increase in blood

pressure and risk of stroke, anxiety, and depression, among other physical and mental health manifestations for members of minority groups (Harrell, Hall, & Taliaferro, 2003; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Sawyer et al., 2012; Troxel, Matthews, Bromberger, & Sutton-Tyrrell, 2003; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Among Latinxs specifically, research on the impact of perceived discrimination has indicated that those who perceive higher levels of discrimination are more likely to have poor mental health, anxiety, lower self-esteem, and depression (e.g., Alamilla, Kim, & Lam, 2010; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Finch, Hummer, Kolody, & Vega, 2001; Leong, Park, & Kalibatseva, 2013; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Szalacha, Erkut, García Coll, Alarcón, Fields, & Ceder, 2003). Among Mexican-origin migrant farm workers, perceived discrimination was associated with higher risk of developing depression (Alderete, Vega, Kolody, & Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1999). Similarly, in a study with Mexican immigrants, those reporting having been victims of discrimination had higher rates of depression than those who had not experienced discrimination (Salgado de Snyder, 1987). Furthermore, experiencing discrimination has been found to lead to post-traumatic stress symptoms among Latinxs (Flores, Tschann, Dimas, Pasch, & De Groat, 2010). It also influences health behavior, with those reporting higher levels of discrimination engaging in more unhealthy behaviors (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Nieri, 2009).

Discrimination has been found to negatively affect Latinxs' life outcomes as well (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, Bamaca, & Zeiders, 2009; Foley & Kidder, 2002). In a meta-analysis examining the effects of discrimination on Latinxs' physical health, mental health, educational achievement, and employment outcomes, findings revealed that discrimination experiences were associated not only with higher levels of unhealthy behaviors, anxiety, depression, and psychological distress but also more negative educational and

employment outcomes (Lee & Ahn, 2012). Given the implications of discrimination for many health and life outcomes, it seems critical to examine its role in parenting domains among Latinxs.

Undocumented immigrants, especially, are often targets of discrimination, as they are blamed for taking jobs from American citizens and benefiting unfairly from public assistance programs (Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). Anti-immigrant sentiments have become more widespread, as reflected by their media portrayal and legislative attempts to obstruct undocumented immigrants' access to resources or opportunities (Facchini, Mayda, & Puglisi, 2017). In recent years, a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment has resulted in increased intolerance, threats, and even hate crimes against Latinx immigrants (Stacey, Carbone-López & Rosenfeld, 2011). Raids on homes and workplaces by immigration agents have also dramatically increased, resulting in mass deportations (Chaudry et al., 2010).

These new immigration policies and practices have contributed to a heightened perception of discrimination among undocumented Latinxs (Becerra, Androff, Cimino, Wagaman & Blanchard, 2012). Additionally, the current U.S. administration has openly expressed xenophobic rhetoric towards immigrants in general and undocumented Mexicans in particular (Lamont, Park & Ayala-Hurtado, 2017). This hostile political environment has arguably unearthed explicitly negative attitudes towards undocumented immigrants, encouraging a more open display of animosity and discrimination towards them. This not only spurs increased fear in this community but also constitutes a threat to their life outlook and mental health (Becerra et al., 2012). The majority of recent immigrants from Latin America are low-skilled migrant laborers, most of whom are undocumented. Their lack of documentation is among the principal reasons they are targets of discrimination and excluded socially (Flippen & Parrado,

2015). Thus, these immigrants who arrive in the U.S. to face negative portrayals of their ethnic-racial group and experience deleterious interactions with others, will accordingly adapt their beliefs and parenting practices in response to those experiences (García Coll et al., 1996; Hughes, 2003).

Statement of the Problem

Ethnic-racial socialization practices are influenced by parents' personal and group experiences, as well as the social context in which they live (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). For example, parents who report having experienced discrimination are more likely to prepare their children for the possible future discrimination they may encounter (Priest et al., 2014; Hughes et al., 2006). Due to the dearth of literature on this population, it is less clear how such processes manifest among Latinx immigrant parents who are undocumented and how documentation status may shape the ethnic-racial socialization of such parents. In this dissertation, I posit that undocumented parents may adapt their ethnic-racial socialization practices in part because their status exposes them to more pervasive and explicit ethnic discrimination in their everyday lives, which is known to influence ethnic-racial socialization messages (Ayón, 2016; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Given the daily stress undocumented immigrants experience, it is imperative to explicate how undocumented status interfaces with – and potentially interferes with – the socialization practices typical of immigrant parents. Such knowledge will help us understand how cultural heritage values and behaviors may be maintained and sustained across generations in contexts of adversity as well as the ways in which such adversity disrupts their transmission.

Significance of the Study

The findings from this study provide valuable information about undocumented Latinx

families living in the U.S., a notoriously hard-to-reach population. The literature on ethnic-racial socialization has included the experiences of Latinxs in general, but a review of studies on ethnic-racial socialization shows that most studies have mainly focused on African American families (Priest et al., 2014). There has been scant research into the experiences of undocumented Latinx parents. Furthermore, not enough attention has been paid to contextual processes that influence parenting practices that may be protective for children, especially those exposed to discrimination and prejudice. Thus, research needs to broaden its scope to include families of diverse ethnic and racial groups and those who have varied immigrant and discrimination experiences (Priest et al., 2014). Accordingly, this dissertation fills an important gap in knowledge by describing and comparing the ethnic-racial socialization practices of undocumented Latinx immigrants with those of documented Latinx immigrants. It also considers the roles of sociocultural stressors, such as experiences of discrimination and documentation status on Latinx immigrants' ethnic-racial socialization practices. This research thus offers much needed guidance about ways in which such families can foster supportive home environments where positive ethnic attitudes might be promoted, and negative ones countered.

Considering the increasing number of American citizen children raised by undocumented parents, the risks that these children are exposed to, and the protective aspects of ethnic-racial socialization, there is great need for research on these parents and the influence of the context in which they raise their children. Parental messages and teachings regarding documentation status might be of important value to counteract children's negative feelings associated with belonging to an immigrant family and to foster family union (Ayón, 2016). Understanding whether and how parents communicate to their children their risk of deportation, the plans they have made in

case they are detained, and how to respond in those situations are also an important contribution to the ethnic-racial socialization literature of Latinx immigrant families (Braebeck & Xu, 2010).

Research Questions

In this dissertation, I examined the ethnic-racial socialization practices of Latinx immigrants, focusing on whether documented and undocumented parents differ in their practices (RQ1). In continuation, I examined the ways in which parental documentation status informs their ethnic-racial socialization practices (RQ2). Then, I considered the roles of parents' experiences of discrimination in their ethnic-racial socialization practices (RQ3). Finally, I examined whether parents' documentation status influences their ethnic-racial socialization practices through their experiences of discrimination (RQ4). Quantitative methods were used to answer research questions 1 and 4, while qualitative methods were employed to explore questions 2 and 3.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation contains five chapters. In Chapter I, I introduce the background, state the problem of interest, its significance, and present the four main research questions. Chapter II then reviews the literature regarding the two main concepts of interest of this dissertation: ethnic-racial socialization and discrimination. After discussing the experiences of immigrants in general, I consider Latinx immigrants specifically, and finally narrow my focus to my population of interest: undocumented Latinx immigrants. I discuss the implications of being undocumented to immigrants themselves and to their children; how parents' experiences of discrimination relate to their ethnic-racial socialization; and how their documentation status can be viewed as a potential stressor also influencing their socialization practices. Chapter III describes the design, sample, procedure, and measures used in both the quantitative and qualitative portions of this

mixed-method study. It also details the protective measures employed to maintain participants' confidentiality and privacy. This chapter concludes with an explanation of the methods used to answer the four research questions of this dissertation and an outline of how mixed-method integration will be achieved throughout the analysis. Chapter IV presents the findings of the quantitative and qualitative studies as well as the integration of results from both methods. In Chapter V, the final chapter of this dissertation, I interpret the results and provide an overview of the limitations and implications of my findings.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Latinx immigrants possess strong family values, a desire to provide for their loved ones and improve their chances of achieving a better life through a combination of hard work and getting an education (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010; Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Most of these immigrants justify the challenges they face in the U.S., and, in the case of undocumented immigrants, the difficulties they have had to deal with to enter the country, as sacrifices necessary to provide this better life for themselves and their families (DeLuca, McEwen, & Keim, 2010). Their immigrant experiences spring from how American society perceives and treats them, which often includes exposure to ethnic-racial discrimination at work and in the community (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012; López, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Furthermore, undocumented immigrants may also experience discrimination stemming from their documentation status, which adversely impacts their lives (Becerra et al., 2012). Negative perceptions about Latinx immigrants and punitive immigration policies result in more frequent reports of discrimination, as well as an increased level of fear and stress in this community (Ayón & Becerra, 2013). However, immigrants are rather resourceful in finding ways to navigate and adapt to their new culture. While some receive the support of their community through residing or working in ethnic enclaves (Zhou, 2014), others also rely on the support of their own families or through maintaining connections to their culture (Ayón, Valencia-García & Kim, 2017). These resources serve as protective factors for this community

and, as such, it is important that we develop a broader understanding of their functioning. This dissertation research draws on two theoretical frameworks - ecological theory and the Integrative Model of minority child development - to frame the role of documentation status in human development and to theorize about its intersections with discrimination and the family process of ethnic-racial socialization.

Theoretical Framework

Documentation Status from an Ecological Perspective

Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological perspective views human development happening as a set of reciprocal interactions between the individual and their environment. These bidirectional experiences unfold within nested systems ranging from the microsystem to the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The microsystem encompasses the face-to-face interactions between the person and their immediate environment, including family, friends, and school system, among others. The next larger realm is the mesosystem, which involves relationships between two or more microsystems or settings, such as home and school, or home and work. The next sphere is the exosystem, which includes the processes happening between two or more settings, including a parent's workplace, the neighborhood, and their immediate community, which might affect the interactions within microsystems. All of these interactions happen within the macrosystem which is made up of different patterns and societal attitudes of a culture that influence one's development. Finally, there is the chronosystem exemplifying the different changes happening over time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Interactions at the macrosystem level affect undocumented immigrants through immigration laws, public policies, and societal attitudes that impact their lives and opportunities (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). In the U.S., the current anti-immigrant sentiment of the country, as

illustrated by media coverage of public demonstrations against immigrants and by stricter enforcement of anti-immigration laws, severely compromises undocumented immigrants' ability to interact with their environment, including their children's schools and hospitals (Facchini et al., 2017). Some of these laws permit police to detain anyone they believe to be undocumented, while others impose heavy penalties on employers of undocumented immigrants and even on individuals that offer them a ride (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). These negative societal perceptions and practices may help perpetrators rationalize their hate crimes against Latinxs, which have been increasing in recent years (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). Thus, the macrosystem for immigrants generally, and undocumented immigrants in particular, is certainly hostile.

Within the exosystem, these immigrants' interactions with schools, other public institutions, work, and the larger community are also shaped by the disadvantage of being undocumented. It is primarily at this level of experiences that immigrants deal with the stress associated with their status. Undocumented status is a major stressor, ever present in the lives of mixed-status families. Such stress influences parents' physical and mental health as well as their children's socio-emotional development (Becerra et al., 2012). This stress goes beyond that of their ethnic and economic status. Their unauthorized status overrides many other social forces, becomes part of their identity, shapes most facets of their daily lives, influences how they are perceived and treated by others, and forecloses many opportunities to improve their situation (Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). Undocumented parents are faced with the daily threat of deportation, which impacts their relationship with their environment. Furthermore, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids on workplaces and homes creates a culture of constant fear and vigilance (Hacker et al., 2011). This affects how these immigrants live their day-to-day

lives due to the fear of detainment and possible deportation, which prompts heightened vigilance in the entire community (Capps et al., 2007).

This fear also influences how and even whether they interact with authorities, reducing the likelihood that they will report crimes to the police (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Furthermore, parental reluctance to deal with public institutions due to fear of deportation affects their children's development by limiting access to services they are entitled to receive as American citizens, such as childcare subsidies, food stamps, and public preschool (Yoshikawa, 2011). These immigrants' lack of documentation also exposes them to discrimination, exploitation, poor working conditions, low pay, and no safeguards. They cannot complain for fear of being fired. Undocumented immigrants also experience high levels of ethnic discrimination in their community and place of employment, which affects their physical and mental health and ultimately spills into their family processes (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). All of these factors demonstrate the pernicious level of stress that undocumented parents and their children deal with on a daily basis as well as the damaging influence that such stress poses to the children's development (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Finally, at the microsystem level, some researchers have begun examining how parents' documentation status affects their family processes. Children of undocumented immigrants, once aware of their parents' lack of documentation, often live in fear of losing them or other family members through deportation (Chaudry et al., 2010). In order to prepare their children for possible separation, some undocumented parents educate them about the realities of their documentation status and what it means for their family. This includes explaining the plans that the parents intend to set in motion in case of deportation. These ethnic-racial socialization messages are transmitted from parents to children as a protective effort so that the children feel

safer knowing that their parents have considered the risks and have developed a strategy to ensure family reunification in case of deportation. There are also parents who refuse to share their documentation status with their children in the hopes of protecting them from stress. These parents prefer to shield their children for as long as possible, preferably until they are older adolescents, before having to discuss documentation status issues with them (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological framework allows us to take into account the diverse levels of risk factors that influence the lives of undocumented Latinx immigrants and their children, including the ever-present pervasive stress and fear they experience as well as the ethnic discrimination they endure. Within this framework it is also possible to account for protective factors at the family level, such as parental ethnic-racial socialization, that help to prepare the children for a possible family separation; such socialization gives parents an avenue to explain to them the various restrictions associated with their undocumented status.

Documentation Status, Discrimination, and Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

Extending Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological perspective, García Coll and colleagues (1996) proposed an Integrative Model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children, which is a useful and complementary framework to better understand how parents' documentation status might affect their children's development. This Integrative Model contains eight major constructs that are relevant to minority families and relate to their children's development: 1) social position variables (e.g., ethnicity, social class, gender); 2) racism and discrimination; 3) residential and economic segregation; 4) promoting/inhibiting environments; 5) adaptive culture (e.g., traditions, migration and acculturation); 6) children's characteristics (e.g., age, and temperament); 7) the family realm (e.g., values, structure, ethnic-racial

socialization, socioeconomic status); and 8) children's developmental competencies. The model posits that these factors all directly or indirectly influence the development of minority children, including cognitive, social, emotional, and linguistic dimensions (García Coll et al., 1996). Of particular relevance to my dissertation are the constructs in the model that pertain to social position, discrimination, and family.

In particular, the Integrative Model theorizes links among social position, discrimination, and family processes in ways that help explicate the influence of parents' documentation status on the ethnic-racial socialization of their children. *Social position* in the Integrative Model refers to how society uses characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender and economic level to rank people within a social hierarchy. For my study, I expanded García Coll's integrative framework by adding documentation status as an important social position variable. As Latinx immigrants do not enjoy high social standing (Finch et al., 2001), they occupy a lower position in the social hierarchy than non-immigrants or immigrants belonging to ethnic groups racialized as White. Furthermore, undocumented Latinx immigrants would fall even lower in this hierarchy due to the negative compounding effects of being immigrants, members of an ethnic and/or racial minority, and undocumented. Previous work revising the Integrative Model proposed undocumented status as a pertinent social position variable for Latinxs living in rural areas, along with foreigner status, and migrant farmworker status (c.f., Stein, Gonzales, García Coll, & Prandoni, 2016). However, I argue that documentation status is an important variable for all immigrants whether they reside in urban or rural contexts.

When compared to Latinx immigrants as a whole, those who are undocumented are perceived as even less deserving and having almost no chance of social mobility, given their legal restrictions and generally lower levels of education (Quesada et al., 2014; Sullivan &

Rehm, 2005). Such immigrants experience high levels of discrimination and oppression as well as other negative influences, which permeate most other aspects of their lives (Ayón et al., 2017; Lopez, Morin, & Taylor, 2010; Massey, 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). This oppression restricts their employment/income opportunities, their access to quality schools and health care, the neighborhoods they live in, the community that surrounds them and, consequently, the people they are exposed to (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). When considered in the family context, these pervasive factors exert influence on many facets of family life, including parents' ethnic-racial socialization. For instance, in a qualitative study conducted with 54 Latinx immigrant parents living in Arizona, a state with strong anti-immigration sentiment and policies, Ayón (2016) found that undocumented parents transmitted unique ethnic-racial socialization messages to their children pertaining to nativity and documentation status issues.

The impact of documentation status on parents' ethnic-racial socialization can also be influenced by immigrants' *adaptive culture*, a set of behaviors, attitudes, and goals different from those of the mainstream culture and created in response to the immigrants' environment and social stratification experiences (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff & Jahromi, 2017). According to García Coll and colleagues (1996), this adaptive culture positively impacts immigrants' ethnic-racial socialization practices. Knight and colleagues (1993) empirically examined this association and showed that Mexican mothers' ethnic knowledge positively influenced the cultural messages sent to their children, which improved children's developmental competencies, as measured through their ethnic identity development (Perez-Brena, Rivas-Drake, Toomey, & Umaña-Taylor, 2017). In a similar fashion, based on the integrative model, I posit that the adaptive culture of undocumented immigrants (e. g., parents' positive feelings about their

ethnicity and connection to their family) would influence their ethnic-racial socialization messages regarding their ethnic group, culture, documentation status, and discrimination.

Immigrants, in general, have been found to experience higher levels of discrimination than non-immigrants (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Undocumented immigrants, in particular, are exposed to severe levels of discrimination and denied equal treatment, given their criminalized status and marginal existence in society (Ayón, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Indeed, they are perceived as cheating the system and enjoying societal benefits that they are not entitled to receive (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012; Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco & Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013). Such discrimination not only restricts their access to opportunities and resources, but also impacts several other aspects of their lives.

In the Integrative Model, parental ethnic-racial socialization has been conceptualized as exerting a protective influence on children's development, as it helps mitigate their exposure to risks stemming from their minority status (including those experienced indirectly in family contexts) while simultaneously fostering positive feelings about their ethnic group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnic-racial socialization messages are shaped by the various social stratification factors (e.g., discrimination, documentation status, oppression, socioeconomic status) that permeate the lives of immigrant parents. Parents engage in ethnic-racial socialization to keep their traditions, culture, language, and history alive in their families as they raise their children in a new and different country. Such socialization also helps children feel positively about their ethnicity by engendering a deep sense of connection to their heritage (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, parents transmit messages regarding intergroup relations, both warnings about possible hostile discrimination experiences and strategies to cope with them (Hughes et al., 2006, 2008).

In considering the effects of parents' documentation status on their families' processes and their children's developmental outcomes, it is also important to be mindful of the intersections of parents' various social categories (Nuñez-James & Chapa, 2013). Latinx parents in general are exposed to numerous influences associated with their ethnic group membership, including marginalization, oppression, discrimination, low levels of education and economic status, and limited English language fluency. In addition to these, the undocumented grapple with the compounding negative effects associated with their documentation status, such as the ever-present threat of deportation, imputed criminality, unfair treatment, and poor employment conditions (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012; Ayón, 2016; Becerra et al., 2012). Examining the distinct contributions of these different factors will yield a deeper understanding of their individual influences and associated outcomes, as well as more information on the within-group variability of experiences among Latinx immigrants (Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Tseng, 2015).

García Coll and colleagues (1996) concluded their work on the Integrative Model by suggesting what must be done to continue identifying minority children's competencies while drawing on the strength and productivity of their families. My study builds on their model by conceptualizing Latinx immigrants' documentation status as a social position variable, one which permeates all aspects of their lives through the damaging effects of oppression and discrimination that engender segregated environments where these social forces are allowed to continue operating within minority families' lives.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Families are responsible for teaching children important values, beliefs and behaviors to properly function in society (Park & Buriel, 1998), which includes transmitting their views and perceptions about race and ethnicity. This process is called ethnic-racial socialization, and it

occurs in all families as they prepare their children for the world beyond their home (Hughes, 2003). Ethnic-racial socialization is especially important to minority parents, since part of their task lies in sharing their heritage and cultural history and preparing their children for experiences specific to their minority status and success in mainstream culture (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown & Ezell, 2007; Marshall, 1995). This process includes both implicit and explicit practices shared through verbal and nonverbal parental teachings that influence the development of their children as they form an understanding of themselves and their roots while venturing into the society at large (Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca & Guimond, 2009).

In research, these familial interactions have been labeled ethnic socialization or racial socialization, depending on the reference groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Historically, the term racial socialization has been used to describe how African American parents prepare their children to face possible discrimination, prejudice, and stereotypes related to their racial group, while also instilling in them a positive sense of self-esteem despite any unfavorable larger societal perception (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990). Similarly, the term ethnic socialization has been used in research examining the experiences of Latinx and Asian immigrants regarding parental transmission of culture and language, and the consequences of these practices for children (Knight, et al., 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Quintana & Vera, 1999).

Racial and ethnic socialization constructs have been used to measure similar phenomena in different groups (Hughes et al., 2006). When reviewing the literature on ethnic and racial socialization, it becomes evident that clearly differentiating socialization that is purely ethnic or purely racial is supremely difficult, due to how broadly each of them can be conceptualized. Furthermore, both processes have as their goal the intergenerational transmission of messages

from parents to their children regarding their ethnic-racial group (Hughes et al., 2006). The task of determining the similarities and differences between racial socialization and ethnic socialization, while important, is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Given the lack of clarity and specificity in how to distinguish ethnic socialization from racial socialization, for the purposes of this research, I use the term ethnic-racial socialization introduced by Hughes et al. (2006).

Ethnic-racial socialization has been found to encompass a set of protective and adaptive practices employed by ethnic minority parents to promote their children's development (Hughes, 2003). In contemporary research, the process is no longer viewed as a unidimensional construct, but rather composed of several major themes or dimensions that have emerged from studies regarding ethnic-racial socialization messages, beliefs, and practices. These themes represent different aspects of socialization that parents engage in as reported by parents themselves or by their adolescent children (Hughes et al., 2009). While a variety of typologies of ethnic-racial socialization have been used over time, no standard terminology has yet been developed. Hughes and colleagues (2006), in a well-known review of the relevant literature, proposed the terms *cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism* to describe the different dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization.

Cultural socialization has been identified as one of the principal ethnic-racial socialization practices in minority groups and consists of deliberate or implicit practices focused on teaching children about their racial or ethnic heritage. This includes teaching children about their history, culture, traditions, and ethnic heritage to transmit and promote cultural customs and traditions and encourage the development of racial or ethnic pride. Parental practices to accomplish this include using native language in the home, celebrating cultural holidays, and

teaching children about their cultural heritage through books, music, and food (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnographies with minority families have further demonstrated that cultural values are transmitted in daily life through the foods eaten, the traditions maintained, and the language used (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Studies by Phinney and Chavira (1995) and Hughes (2003) identified cultural socialization as the most commonly used socialization method among parents in minority families, with at least 85% of Puerto Rican, Dominican and Mexican parents engaging in it. Parents' ethnic identity is crucial in predicting the likelihood of their use of cultural socialization, with those whose ethnicity plays a dominant role in their self-concept engaging more often in cultural socialization (Hughes, 2003).

A second socialization method used by minority parents is *preparation for bias*, in order to teach their children about discrimination and prepare them to deal with it (Hughes et al., 2006). These messages are less common than cultural socialization messages. Hughes and colleagues hypothesized that this difference occurs due to difficulty in addressing the topic of discrimination. Parents have also reported concern with raising the topic of prejudice with their children for fear that it might affect their self-esteem and ethnic affect. The researchers further believed that preparation for bias is used less often because it carries a stronger socialization message than cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, 2003). While Latinx parents report transmitting preparation for bias messages, they are shared even more frequently by African American parents (Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

A third socialization method, called *promotion of mistrust*, focuses on messages of lack of trust regarding other ethnic groups, alerts about possible future barriers to success, and warnings about intergroup interactions (Hughes & Chen, 1999). The difference between preparation for bias and the less common promotion of mistrust is that the latter emphasizes distrust without offering any suggestions on how to handle encounters with discrimination. Dominican parents, for example, encouraged their

children to differentiate themselves from African Americans by highlighting the latters' negative characteristics, since they viewed them as having inferior social status (Hughes et al., 2006; Pessar, 1995).

Egalitarianism, the fourth ethnic socialization practice described by Hughes and colleagues (2006), focuses on individual qualities and avoids mentions of any group differences such as ethnicity or race. Parents across multiple ethnic groups report sharing with their children messages that focus on preparing them to succeed in mainstream culture by deemphasizing their culture and minority status. Egalitarianism has been identified as a salient message used by parents of various ethnic groups, with more than two-thirds reporting their emphasis on individual virtues over ethnic differences (Hughes et al., 2006).

Ethnic-racial socialization messages as reported by adolescents have also been explored in the literature. Familial ethnic socialization, a concept developed by Umana-Taylor and Fine (2004), examines the degree to which adolescents perceived that their parents were socializing them with regard to their ethnic/cultural background. These involve both intentional (e.g., purchase and study of books about their native country) and unintentional (e.g., home decorations, and choice of everyday activities) behaviors to teach about ethnicity. Adolescents whose parents are first generation immigrants report receiving more ethnic-racial socialization messages, on average, than those with American-born parents (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Prevalence of Ethnic-Racial Socialization. Although most previous research has focused on examining the influence of ethnic-racial socialization on African American adolescents' socio-emotional outcomes (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; McHale et al., 2006; Ou & McAdoo, 1993), other studies have shown that all non-White minority groups receive ethnic-racial socialization from

their parents (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2010) assessed the frequency with which minority families discussed their ethnic-racial heritage with their children. Their findings suggested that parents had often engaged in such conversations at home, with American Indian parents reporting doing it several times a week or more, followed by Asian, Black, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and multiracial parents in decreasing order of frequency. In one study, Chinese American adolescents reported receiving messages of promotion of mistrust at home (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008), while in another, Hmong students reported receiving more preparation for bias messages than other Asian American groups in the past year (Tran, Lee, & Burgess, 2010).

Latinx and Asian youth have been found to receive more cultural socialization messages than their African American counterparts (Hughes et al., 2006). However, in a study with ethnically diverse 6th graders, Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2009) found that African American and Puerto Rican students received more cultural socialization messages than Dominican and Chinese students. Asian Americans reported receiving more cultural socialization messages from their parents about the importance of achievement and proper adaptation to American society than messages regarding preparation for bias (Chen, 1998; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Furthermore, Chinese (Ou & McAdoo, 1993) and Latinx (Quintana & Vera, 1999) parents have reported the crucial importance and benefit to their youth of learning about their heritage, culture and native language. Further, some research suggests that Latinx (and Asian) parents place more importance on transmitting preparation for bias messages to their children than Non-Hispanic Whites (Hughes et al., 2008). This could be due to parents' acknowledgment of the need to prepare their children with adaptive responses to deal with possible discrimination experiences (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Ethnic-racial socialization practices are central to Latinx families and many parents make

an explicit effort to transmit their cultural values to their children (Derlan et al., 2017). These parents place high value on sharing various aspects of their culture with their children, including the importance of family, speaking Spanish, respecting the elderly and engaging in traditional gender roles (González, Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2006). Latinx parents also engage in storytelling and in community cultural celebrations, including religious practices, to connect their children with their native culture (Ayón, Ojeda and Ruano, 2018). Knight and colleagues (1993) explained the contribution of ethnic-racial socialization to children's cognitive abilities through their ethnic identity development. Their model demonstrated that children learn about their ethnicity through their experiences at home, as well as experiences in their local communities and beyond. Findings from studies that have investigated ethnic-racial socialization among Latinxs have found that children whose parents reported socializing them to their native culture and teaching them about discrimination reported higher levels of ethnic pride and skill development for handling discrimination (e.g., Quintana & Vera, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

In a study of Mexican parents, Romero, Cuéllar, & Roberts (2000) demonstrated that parents' involvement in Mexican culture were positively related to their efforts towards cultural socialization at home. Similarly, Knight and colleagues (2010) found that parents who placed greater importance on cultural values such as respect, familism, religion, and traditional gender roles were more likely to engage in higher levels of cultural socialization of their fifth-graders. In a comparative study of Dominican, Puerto Rican and African American parents, Hughes (2003) reported that the Latinx parents who strongly identified with their ethnic group tended to focus on cultural socialization messages in an effort to instill a positive group identity in their adolescent children.

Predictors of Ethnic-Racial Socialization. Ethnic-racial socialization practices are influenced by parents' personal and group experiences as well as the context in which they live. These forces affect how parents' view the world and, in turn, influence their intergenerational socialization messages (Hughes, 2003; Knight et al., 1993; Marshall, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). Parental immigration status has been identified as a predictor of ethnic-racial socialization practices. For example, more recent immigrant parents transmit such messages more often than those who have lived in the United States for a longer time (Knight et al., 1993; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Waters, 1999). First-generation immigrants tend to transmit their culture and traditions to their children more fluidly through their day-to-day lives and still-strong ties to their native countries (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). They teach their children about their ethnic origin, communicating pride through use of their native language and traditions (Knight et al., 1993; Quintana, Casteñada-English, & Ybarra, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). They are also more likely to talk about issues of discrimination with their children (Knight et al., 1993). On the other hand, parents in subsequent generations must make a conscious effort through deliberate socialization practices to encourage their children to identify with their ethnic group (Hughes et al., 2006). Thus, one might expect that parents' reasons for immigrating, their conditions of immigration as well as their post-immigration experiences would all be reflected in their ethnic–racial socialization practices.

The age of the child is also a predictor for the types of parental socialization mechanisms used, with cultural socialization and egalitarianism more prevalent in families with younger children. As parents adjust their messages to their children's cognitive competencies and developmental level, preparation for bias conversations concerning prejudice and discrimination are more commonly observed in families with adolescents (Hughes et al., 2009; Hughes et al., 2003; McHale et al., 2006).

Children's gender is another predictor of the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages parents transmit to their children. Studies examining such gender differences, the majority of which have focused on African American families, have yielded mixed findings (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). For example, the parents of girls transmit more messages of racial pride and achievement, while parents of boys focus more on teaching them how to deal with discrimination and negative stereotypes (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Girls tend to be viewed as the future carriers of culture and the ones responsible for its transmission. Thus, they are more likely to receive messages about ethnic pride and cultural heritage, as well as to report being more attuned to such cultural socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2009). Other studies, however, have demonstrated nonsignificant gender differences in ethnic–racial socialization processes (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Parents' socioeconomic status also impacts their ethnic–racial socialization, with higher SES parents engaging in more ethnic–racial socialization than those of low SES. For instance, parents in more professional occupations focused on more cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages when compared to parents working in non-managerial positions (Hughes et al., 2006). A parent's level of education has been found to influence their ethnic–racial socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006). Black parents with higher levels of education tended to notice discrimination and talk more about racial issues and less about egalitarianism than their less educated counterparts (White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010). However, other studies with small samples and restricted ranges of SES did not reveal significant differences (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Parents' ethnic identity has been identified as yet another factor of influence with respect to ethnic-racial socialization processes, as parents who felt closer to their ethnicity had strong

beliefs about sharing their cultural heritage, transmitting their ethnic knowledge, and wanting their children to feel that their heritage was important to them (Knight et al., 1993). Among Mexican parents, those with stronger ethnic identity were more likely to transmit cultural values, customs, and traditions, with the goal of developing their children's ethnic pride (Knight, Bernal, Cota, et al., 1993; Romero, Cuéllar, & Roberts, 2000). Similarly, Puerto Rican and Dominican parents with greater attachment to their ethnicity engaged in more cultural socialization than those who felt that their ethnicity was less important, with this relationship more pronounced among parents of teenagers (Hughes, 2003). Furthermore, having a more developed ethnic identity has also been associated with higher levels of preparation for bias messages among Latinx parents in general (Hughes, 2003; Knight, Bernal, Cota, et al., 1993).

Parents who report having experienced discrimination engage in more preparation for bias messaging as a way to equip their children with tools for coping with any future discrimination they might experience (Hughes et al., 2006, Hughes et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). While parents of all ethnic groups engage in conversations regarding discrimination, such messages are not as common as messages pertaining to ethnic pride and cultural values (Hughes et al., 2006). The large majority of studies examining the influence of parents' experience of discrimination on their ethnic-racial socialization practices have been conducted with African American families (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents' exposed to discrimination in their workplace were more likely to transmit preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Among Dominican parents with teenagers, their reported experience of discrimination in the community predicted their use of preparation for bias messages at home (Hughes, 2003). Finally, in a study of 444 Chinese American families, parental experiences of discrimination were associated with stronger ethnic-racial socialization practices (Benner &

Kim, 2009).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices among Undocumented Parents. The literature has demonstrated differences in ethnic-racial socialization based on a variety of factors including parental attitudes, socio-demographic background, level of education, age, gender, overall experiences, and generation of immigration, among others (Hughes et al., 2006). This field has included the experiences of Latinxs in the United States in general. However, there has been a paucity of research into the experiences of families with mixed immigration status, where the children are American citizens and one or more of the parents are undocumented immigrants. These parents experience situations related to the constant threat of deportation, which may well impact the ethnic-racial socialization messages they transmit. Their children, when aware of these documentation issues, also have to deal with the fear of finding themselves without the care and protection of their parents should deportation occur (Zayas, 2015). As these children mature, they become increasingly aware – through stories in the media and conversations at home – of the continuous threat of deportation that many members of their ethnic group face here in the United States. This perception could influence their view of and feelings towards their ethnic group (Dreby, 2012). Ethnic-racial socialization processes prepare youth to perceive the world in a certain way, largely informed by parental experiences and perceptions. Examination of these socialization efforts helps us understand how minority parents experience and consider social inequalities, prejudice and discrimination, as well as how they teach their children to manage them (Hughes et al., 2006; Ayón, 2016).

In a qualitative study with Latinx parents, Ayón (2016) identified seven major ethnic-racial socialization themes stemming from parents' conversations with their children in response to children's experiences of discrimination. Parents reported that they "(a) comfort their children

to ensure their safety; (b) educate their children about nativity and documentation status; (c) encourage children to adapt and expect discrimination; (d) reinforce negative stereotypes; (e) model advocacy and advise children to advocate for their [sic] themselves and others; (f) build children's ethnic pride; and (g) talk to their children about the value of diversity and empathy" (Ayón, 2016, p. 457). These findings reveal unique aspects of the ethnic-racial socialization of immigrant families, which include teaching children about documentation status. These messages are crucial, especially in an anti-immigrant environment where children are often exposed to such sentiments and their parents face documentation issues themselves. Realization of both the vulnerability of their family's future and the notion of belonging to a criminalized group has been found to affect children's psychosocial development. Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2011) explained that these children's identity development is negatively affected by messages of being "illegitimate and unwanted."

In addition to socialization about documentation status issues among immigrant families, a parent's documentation status itself is likely to influence ethnic-racial socialization methods in families (Ayón, 2016). Hughes and colleagues' (2006) framework for understanding ethnic-racial socialization can guide our theoretical understanding of these processes among mixed-status families. Recent immigrants to the United States strongly focus on transmitting their cultural values, beliefs, practices and language to their children (Pessar, 1995; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Urciuoli, 1996; Waters, 1999). Therefore, in this exploratory study, one of the possible outcomes could be that undocumented parents engage mostly in cultural socialization, given the importance they place on maintaining their language and traditions.

Since travelling to their home countries is not generally feasible for undocumented parents (due to their inability to reenter this country), they are the ones mainly responsible for

exposing their children to their culture. As ethnic-racial socialization requires only the parents' own knowledge and lived experience, they may well feel confident teaching them about their heritage, customs and native language, thus leading to high use of cultural socialization (Ayón, 2016). Parents have also reported sending their children alone to their hometowns to visit relatives and get to know their parents' country of origin. Using the internet and social media have been additional strategies parents have used to transmit their culture at home while avoiding exposing themselves to risks associated with this country's strict immigration climate (Ayón et al., 2018).

Parents may also wish to instill in their children a notion of cohesive group membership, a feeling of mutual collaboration with a larger network of compatriots who all share similar struggles and experiences (Ayón, 2016). Cultural socialization could also be employed by parents in a proactive effort to counterbalance society's negative portrayal of Latinxs (Hughes et al., 2006). They could use their ethnic-racial socialization practices as a tool for coping with feelings of marginalization and exclusion from mainstream society (Ayón, 2016; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents might feel concerned that their children are perceiving their ethnicity as something negative, something to be ashamed of, with overtones of illegality (Dreby, 2012). To counteract this, they increase their efforts to teach them to be proud of their national origin and to view their heritage as something special, focusing on the positive aspects and greatest accomplishments of their people (Ayón, 2016).

Of course, different types of ethnic-racial socialization messages could be transmitted concomitantly and with different intentions in mind (Hughes et al., 2006). Borrowing from the immigrant adaptation literature (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder 2006; Portes & Rumbaut 2001), parental messages regarding discrimination are interwoven with messages about language

and economic barriers. Immigrant parents have been found to tell their children of their determination to provide a better life for their family despite all obstacles and to express optimism about the children's future. Such messages have been found to incite stronger academic engagement in the youth by transmitting important values about what it means to belong to their ethnic group, with its inherent strength and perseverance (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Finally, I anticipate that undocumented parents might engage in high levels of ethnic-racial socialization regarding their documentation status and their fears of family dissolution (Ayón, 2016). A survey of Latinx parents indicated that 58% of the undocumented parents, in response to the real threat of deportation they faced, had devised a plan for the care of their children in case they are taken by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Moreover, 40% of these parents reported talking about this plan with their children (Brabeck & Xu, 2010). Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2011), in a review examining the developmental implications of unauthorized status, explained that such conversations constitute a parental ethnic-racial socialization practice unique to undocumented families. These talks could also include the precautions needed to manage the realities and constraints imposed by their documentation status as well as the need for constant vigilance in interactions outside the home. This may include avoidance of law enforcement, people from other ethnicities, or even all non-family members, in order to minimize their exposure (Ayón, 2016). Based on the discrimination experiences they have encountered in this country, undocumented parents might also engage in more discussions about ethnic discrimination to prepare their children for issues they could face associated with their ethnicity (Ayón, 2016).

These messages could also be intertwined with encouragement to assimilate into mainstream society, to learn English and to excel academically. Such efforts towards integration could be in response to parental shame and fear regarding being undocumented, leading to parents hoping that their children will blend in and no one will suspect anything out of the ordinary about their household. Children might be led to develop a sense of belonging to American society, in spite of the real possibility of deportation to the parents' native country. Parents might make it explicit that they do not belong in this country and thus could be deported at any point. When knowledge of parental lack of documentation is shared, fear of deportation becomes a daily companion of not only the parents but also their children; it will undoubtedly influence their home conversations and might, by extension, affect their ethnic-racial socialization messages (Ayón, 2016; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Discrimination

Discrimination has been conceptualized as a social stressor that poses a threat to a person's well-being (Harrell, 2000; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006). Perceived discrimination varies based on "a minority group member's subjective perception of unfair treatment of racial/ethnic groups or members of the groups, based on racial prejudice and ethnocentrism, which may manifest at individual, cultural, or institutional levels" (Noh, Beiser, Kasper, Hou, & Rummens, 1999, p. 194). Such perception can stem from direct encounters with discrimination or indirect experiences through awareness of maltreatment of others in one's ethnic group (Finch et al., 2000; Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007; Lee, 2003). Targets of discrimination have expressed being rejected, denigrated, threatened or avoided because of their ethnicity or race (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Prevalence among Immigrants, Latinxs, and Immigrant Latinxs

Discrimination has been identified as having a significant deleterious impact on the lives of immigrants (Deaux, 2006). Their cultural practices are often viewed as undesirable (Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004) and their mere presence as a threat to native-born Americans' job opportunities (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). This is especially true of immigrants who look racially different from the majority group, and particularly those of color (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Lopez et al., 2010). Asian, Latinx, African and Caribbean immigrants often report facing their very first ethnic discrimination experience after entering the United States, with negative effects on their physical and mental health (Brown et al., 2000). Latinxs have reported often experiencing discrimination stemming from being members of an ethnic minority and being perceived as foreigners (Armenta et al., 2013; Garcia-Preto, 2005; Sue et al., 2007; Umana-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

A national survey of Latinxs indicated that 54 percent of participants believed that discrimination was an important factor keeping Latinxs from prospering in the U.S. (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009), while 60 percent of Latinxs participating in a different national study reported that discrimination was a major source of problems in their lives (Lopez et al., 2010). Factors prompting discrimination against Latinxs include level of English fluency, use of Spanish, accent, immigrant status, and ethnic-racial background, with those of darker complexion experiencing more discrimination than those with fairer skin (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Arce, Murguia, & Frisbie, 1987; Ramos, Jaccard, & Guilamo-Ramos, 2003). Ayón & García (2019) have recently found language-based discrimination to be the most frequently reported type of discrimination experienced by Latinx immigrants. Due to these immigrants' accent and limited fluency in English, they are often perceived as undocumented and thus with no agency or resources to defend themselves against maltreatment (Ayón & García, 2019). With regard to immigrant status, several studies of Latinxs have reported that both those born in the

U.S. and those of long residence here experience higher rates of discrimination than recent immigrants (Finch et al., 2000; Finch et al.,2001; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008). Perceptions of discrimination become more salient the more contact that immigrants and those of immigrant heritage have with U.S. natives (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). As they spend more time in the U.S., become more incorporated into mainstream society, speak better English, and attain higher levels of education, they become more attuned to societal inequities and to episodes of discrimination (Flippen & Parrado, 2015). For instance, in a nationally representative sample of 2,554 Latinxs, Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008) found that among US-born respondents and immigrants who were more assimilated, those with higher educational levels perceived more discrimination, while those with lower levels perceived less. The authors explained that this difference could be due to the latter not expecting fair treatment, thus not noticing acts of discrimination around them. Furthermore, those who were not proficient in English were less likely to report experiencing discrimination; the authors concluded that their poorer understanding of English limited their ability to realize when someone was discriminating against them.

Latinxs in general face institutionalized discrimination stemming from strict anti-immigrant policies that target individuals based on their ethnic/racial profile, under the assumption that those from certain national origins are more likely to be undocumented (Adler, 2006). However, such policies, although mainly directed at undocumented immigrants, predispose all Latinxs to episodes of discrimination, engendering fear and other serious consequences in their lives (Hernandez, 2005; Michelson & Pallares, 2001). Becerra and colleagues (2012) conducted a study with a nationally representative sample of 2000 Latinxs examining potential risks and protective factors that bear on their feelings regarding their quality

of life in the U.S. Some of the questions inquired about participants' perceptions of discrimination, and how immigration policies have impacted their lives. The results indicated that participants who have been victims of or had issues with immigration enforcement actions and those who perceived discrimination tended to have lower expectations for their future quality of life and their children's job prospects, more fear of deportation for themselves or others, and an overall feeling that life is harder for Latinxs.

Latinx immigrants, in particular, are faced with daunting obstacles as they attempt to integrate into their new society (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). As mentioned previously, upon arrival to the U.S., Latinx immigrants are exposed to a range of discriminatory experiences (López, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2001). They are frequently targeted because of their darker skin color, lower levels or lack of English ability, low income, and possible lack of documentation (Lopez et al., 2010). These factors have been compounded by negative media coverage of immigrants, resulting in an upsurge in hate crimes against immigrants (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012; Johnson & Ingram, 2013; Valentino, Brader & Jardina, 2013).

The Case of Undocumented Latinxs. Besides experiencing ethnic and racial discrimination, undocumented Latinxs are also exposed to discrimination that pertains to their lack of documentation (Massey, 2007). A study of 178 immigrant families found significant differences between the documented and undocumented groups in the levels of stress and discrimination they reported (Brabeck, Sibley, & Lykes, 2016). Those without documentation had added layers of disadvantage stemming from more severe poverty, lower levels of education, and higher levels of migration related stress. Undocumented parents expressed dealing with higher levels of stress and discrimination. These were compounded by the restrictions associated with their unauthorized status that increased their fear of being identified as undocumented and

deported as well as limited their ability to learn English, seek out support, and access social services (Brabeck et al., 2016). Such perceptions of discrimination and fear of deportation affect not only the undocumented immigrants and their families, but also lead to further marginalization and isolation of the entire immigrant community (Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Ayón et al., 2017).

Undocumented Latinx families are exposed to damaging levels of discrimination and oppression in American society (Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Dreby, 2012). They are forced to deal with chronic and insidious levels of stress associated with their documentation status, including fears of deportation and discrimination that often condition them to constantly look over their shoulder (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007). In an effort to further understand the challenges confronted by Latinx immigrant families, 52 first-generation immigrants took part in focus group sessions, revealing that they confront major challenges in their experiences of discrimination, documentation status uncertainty, and lack of jobs, all of which negatively impact their families' well-being. They reported enduring discrimination and racial profiling by educators, social service providers, and the police (Ayón & Becerra, 2013).

The Impact of Discrimination on Latinx Immigrant Families

Immigrant families are often equipped with remarkable resources that motivate them to work hard to provide for their families with enthusiasm about their new opportunities and future (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2017). Yet, experiences of discrimination are potent sociocultural stressors that negatively affect families' well-being (García Coll et al., 1996). Immigrant parents are tasked with learning how to navigate their new surroundings and provide for their families while dealing with these stressors. Drawing on the Family Stress Model (FSM), Conger and colleagues (2010) explain that parental stress affects family functioning and, as a consequence,

may negatively impact their children. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that Latinx parents' sociocultural stress could compromise their children's healthy development (Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010). In a study with 302 Latinx parent-adolescent dyads, parents' cultural stress, including their perceptions of discrimination, increased their risk of developing depressive symptoms, combining to impair both family functioning and adolescents' socio-emotional behaviors and outcomes, as gauged by alcohol/cigarette use and level of self-esteem (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2017).

Furthermore, studies examining parents' exposure to sociocultural stress (i.e., discrimination) explain that such experiences are associated with children's poor socio-emotional outcomes. For example, immigrant parents' experiences with discrimination predicted their children's symptoms of anxiety (Leon, 2014). Similarly, experiences of Mexican immigrant parents' workplace discrimination negatively impacted their own mood, their children's behavior, and overall family functioning (Gassman-Pines, 2015). These studies indicate that despite not experiencing discrimination directly, children are nonetheless indirectly affected by parents' experiences of discrimination as they impact the family's daily routine and environment (Gassman-Pines, 2015; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2017). Harrell (2000) explained that acts of discrimination against family members, friends or even strangers cause distress, anxiety, sadness, and a feeling of vulnerability, especially if the target belongs to the same ethnic group. For immigrants learning about their new societal context, such vicarious experiences of discrimination are arguably impossible to ignore.

Perceived discrimination has been found to negatively impact immigrant families, exacerbating family members' feelings of isolation and marginalization (Finch et al., 2000). It causes them to minimize time spent outside the home, thus impacting their engagement with

social institutions and society at large, with problematic consequences for the entire community (Ayón et al., 2017). The adverse impact of undocumented immigrants' experiences of discrimination compound the effects of the other risk factors they are exposed to. It is imperative to consider issues of intersectionality when examining these effects since undocumented status is intimately associated with higher levels of poverty, marginalization, oppression, exploitation, stigma, and low levels of education (Henderson & Baily, 2013; Yoshikawa et al., 2013).

Linking Documentation Status, Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Socialization

As noted previously, García Coll and colleagues' (1996) Integrative Model explains how diverse factors in the lives of minority children influence their families' processes and consequently their developmental competencies. Immigrant parents face the difficult challenge of raising their children within an environment where the social stratification forces of discrimination and oppression are a common reality. In response to such influences, these parents engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices aimed at helping their children successfully navigate the adversities presented by their social context (García Coll et al., 1996). These messages have the purpose of protecting youth from the damaging effects of discrimination, preparing them to encounter discrimination in the future, and helping them feel connected to their own ethnic-racial group as a buffer against the negative views they are exposed to in mainstream culture (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2009).

In an effort to expand research knowledge on the predictors of ethnic-racial socialization among Latinx families, this dissertation will first assess whether there are differences in the ethnic-racial socialization practices of documented and undocumented Latinx immigrants. Furthermore, differences in these two groups' reported experiences of discrimination will be evaluated in an effort to examine whether they influence their ethnic-racial socialization

practices. This dissertation will contribute to the study of how documented and undocumented Latinx immigrants perceive ethnic discrimination in their sociocultural context.

Building upon the existing literature, I expect the undocumented immigrants to report perceiving higher levels of discrimination when compared to those who are documented (Ayón & Becerra, 2013). These perceptions will likely influence their ethnic-racial socialization practices, with these undocumented parents transmitting more preparation for bias messages than the documented parents to prepare their children for future discrimination against them, their family members, or others in their ethnic group. These parents may also share their own experiences of discrimination in the community or workplace, what they have done when faced with such negative interactions, and ways they protect themselves. Additionally, undocumented parents might engage in more promotion of mistrust than those of documented status by explaining to children the importance of avoiding interactions with others as a strategy to protect themselves against discrimination and its associated negative consequences. On the other hand, undocumented parents could decide to downplay their ethnic differences and focus on emphasizing individual virtues more than parents of documented status. They may feel that because their children speak proper English and/or are documented, they would likely not experience discrimination and so refrain from raising such a sensitive topic.

The ethnic-racial socialization literature has identified several factors that affect parental transmission of messages about ethnicity, race, and discrimination experiences (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Parental perceptions and experiences of discrimination are strong predictors of the frequency and types of ethnic-racial socialization messages they use (Hughes et al., 2006). Hughes (2003) has argued that parents' own experiences determine what type of messages they should communicate to their children in order to prepare them for adult life.

Accordingly, those who experience discrimination might well want their children to learn the skills appropriate and necessary to handle similar encounters in their own lives. Hughes, Watford, and Toro (2016) explained that ethnic-racial socialization messages of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust tend to be used more often by parents who perceive or experience higher levels of discrimination. Hughes (2003) examined this association in a study with urban ethnic minority Puerto Rican, Dominican, and African American adults. Her findings indicated that, across all ethnic groups, parents' reports of preparation for bias messaging were related to their own discrimination experiences and perceptions of ethnic-racial group disadvantage whereas parents' cultural socialization messages were not. Hughes (2003) further explained that cultural socialization messages are not used among minority parents in reaction to discrimination experiences, but rather as a proactive effort both to transmit cultural values and traditions and to help children develop pride in their ethnic-racial group.

Extant research has discussed the deleterious effects of discrimination on immigrants' lives (Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Dreby, 2012; Finch et al., 2000). The social environment in which Latinx immigrants live and raise their children influences the types of interactions they have with others, their economic opportunities, their perceptions of and exposure to discrimination, and their adaptation process (García Coll et al., 1996; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In accordance with the integrative model, a social position variable such as the documentation status I propose for this study will be one important factor of influence on immigrants' discrimination exposure (García Coll et al., 1996). This model also considers parental experiences of discrimination as a factor that influence children's developmental competencies. Since undocumented Latinx immigrants are often targets of discrimination, I posit that their documentation status could affect their children's development through parental ethnic-

racial socialization messages that have been mediated by parents' societal experiences, views about the world, and perceptions of discrimination (Ayón, 2016).

The literature has examined the influence of parental experiences of discrimination on their ethnic-racial socialization practices, but primarily among African American families (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Priest, et al., 2014). These studies indicate that African American parents exposed to workplace discrimination are more likely to transmit preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization messages at home (Berkel et al., 2009; Crouter, Baril, Davis, & McHale, 2008; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). Previous studies have barely addressed family processes, such as ethnic-racial socialization practices, of undocumented Latinx immigrants. Given the level of discrimination they experience and the pervasiveness of fear in their lives, it may be expected that these factors are reflected in their ethnic-racial socialization messages (Ayón, 2016; Suárez-Orozco, 2011).

Documented parents might encourage their children to stand up for themselves and others when presented with discrimination. In contrast, undocumented parents' fears of deportation would likely prevent them from transmitting similar messages, since these could lead to children getting in trouble at school or in the community and the parents having to become involved. These parents might choose to tell their children that discriminatory comments or actions stem from others' ignorance and should just be ignored (Ayón, 2016). I anticipate that both documented and undocumented parents will be proactive in their ethnic-racial socialization practices and engage in cultural socialization transmitting their language, customs and traditions to their children often and as part of their daily routines (Hughes et al., 2006). The interview portion of this dissertation's mixed-method approach will provide details about the frequency with which parents discuss discrimination with their children as well as the content of these

conversations and whether or not they include explanations and coping skills to help children handle their own encounters with discrimination.

Research Questions

Latinx immigrants, especially those of undocumented status, are often confronted by diverse sociocultural and structural stressors. However, they also exhibit remarkable resilience and strength in their family processes (Brabeck et al., 2016). Researchers and practitioners would do well to capitalize on these strengths rather than focusing on deficit-oriented views of these families. By investigating the role documentation status plays in these immigrants' experiences of discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization practices, I am providing the field with a broader understanding of possible protective processes used by these families.

Grounded in the theoretical frameworks and literature reviewed, the following four questions guide this research: 1) Do documented and undocumented parents differ in their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 2) In what ways does parental documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 3) How do parents' experiences of discrimination inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 4) Does parents' documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices through their experiences of discrimination?

CHAPTER III

Methods

Study Overview and Design

My aim in designing this dissertation is to examine how Latinx immigrant parents draw on cultural assets to respond to sociocultural stressors. The key stressors I will focus on are documentation status and perceptions of discrimination, and the key cultural asset I focus on is ethnic-racial socialization. The larger study from which the data for this dissertation are drawn includes a longitudinal survey-based study of Latinx parents. Relying exclusively on survey responses about these topics would not provide me with specific examples of the types of ethnicity-related stress they experienced, the impact of these stressors on their lives, and how they were dealt with. Nor would an approach relying exclusively on a survey method provide clear examples of parents' ethnic socialization practices. In this exploratory research, therefore, I chose to expand my gathering of information beyond pre-existing ethnic-racial socialization measures in order to capture important examples demonstrating how the immigrant Latinxs families may engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices at home. An interview method allowed me to accomplish the next logical step by adding qualitative input to the primary quantitative survey data in order to provide more insight into participants' lives, experiences and family processes.

Accordingly, I designed an interview study that complements and capitalizes on the existing longitudinal parent data of the larger study. I selected a convergent design in order to

compare the qualitative results of the interviews with the quantitative results of analyses of either one of them alone could (Fetters, Curry & Creswell, 2013). Given that the subsample of interviewees would be drawn from the pool of survey participants and that the data analysis for integration of results would not occur until all data collection had been completed, this design was the ideal choice, in that it accurately reflected my interactive approach and the order in which my research data were collected. The questions guiding my research are: 1) Do documented and undocumented parents differ in their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 2) In what ways does parental documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 3) How do parents' experiences of discrimination inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; 4) Does parents' documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices through their experiences of discrimination? Questions 1 and 4 were answered quantitatively, while questions 2 and 3 were explored qualitatively.

To answer these dissertation questions, I drew from the *UM Latino Family Study* (also known as Project Connections/Conexiones; UM IRB HSBS HUM00083246; PI: Rivas-Drake). This large, longitudinal study examined the role of cultural resources and challenges in outcomes among Latinx families living in southeastern Michigan. This is a mostly urban area made up of dozens of municipalities (e.g., Detroit, Warren, Livonia, Dearborn, Ann Arbor, Troy, Westland, Waterford, Royal Oak). Whites are the majority of the population in most of these cities except for the city of Detroit where African Americans are the majority group (Detroit Regional Chamber, 2018; State of Michigan, 2018).

In this large study, surveys were administered annually for three years, with parents participating in the first and third data collection waves and their adolescent children in all three. In order to qualify for this study, both parents/caregivers and adolescents had to be Latinx with

the adolescent either 13 or 14 years of age and in either the 8th or 9th grade. An add-on semi-structured interview of parents was included in the third wave of data collection. For the purposes of this dissertation, the selection criterion for this analytic subsample of interviewed parents/caregivers was that they be foreign-born (Study 1). All parents/caregivers participating in the interviews were included in the qualitative sample (Study 2).

Study 1: Quantitative

Participants

Of the original sample (N=148) at Wave 1, 137 were foreign-born parents/caregivers. Of these, 105 participated at Wave 3. Participation at Wave 3 is important to consider because it is when documentation status was assessed. Of the 105 foreign-born parents, 52% indicated either being undocumented themselves or having an undocumented person in their household, while 41% replied neither being undocumented nor living with an undocumented person. The remaining 7% did not respond. The large majority of parents were of Mexican origin (67%), while the rest reported being from various other countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Honduras, and Argentina. Most of the parent respondents were mothers (91%). Participants' ages ranged from 34 to 58 (M_{age} = 43.35 years, SD = 5.29). Their average length of residence in the United States was 20.39 years (SD = 5.77). Of the 105 participants, 88% were from two-parent households, with 80% of parents reporting being married and 8% reported being unmarried but living with a partner. See Table 1 for a breakdown of the demographic characteristics of this sample.

In regards to level of education, 43% of parents reported completing less than high school, 30% reported having a high school diploma, 23% reported having more than a high school diploma, and the rest did not answer this question. Eighty-six percent of parents

completed their education outside of the United States, whereas only 11% reported having completed their highest level of education in the United States. The remaining participants did not answer this question. About 52% of parents reported household incomes below $30,000, 31% between $30,000 and $60,000, and 7% reported incomes above $60,000. The remaining 10% of parents did not report their yearly household income. However, of the 105 parents, 88% reported that their child received free or reduced-price lunch at school.

Retention and Attrition. At Wave 1, the larger study sample included 150 parents and at Wave 3, 35 participants were lost to attrition; thus, the larger study sample retention rate was 77%. The figures are similar when considering just the analytic sample in this dissertation: of the 135 foreign-born parents who participated at Wave 1, 30 were lost to follow-up at Wave 3; thus, the retention rate for the analytic sample is 78%. Attrition analyses were conducted using independent t-tests and chi-square tests on the analytic subsample to explore potential differences in demographic characteristics between those who participated at both waves versus only Wave 3. These analyses indicated that participants who completed both waves did not differ from those with one wave of missing data regarding the following variables: gender (χ^2 (1, N = 145) = 2.56, p = .110), income (χ^2 (1, N = 139) = 1.36, p = .929), level of education (χ^2 (1, N = 143) = .12, p = .732), marital status (χ^2 (1, N = 142) = 1.61, p = .21). or Mexican origin (χ^2 (1, N = 150) = 1.61, p = .21). Furthermore, those who completed both waves did not differ from those who participated in only one wave regarding the focal variables, with the exception of preparation for bias. Participants who participated in only one wave of data reported engaging in more preparation for bias socialization (M = 3.90, SD = .35) than participants who participated in both waves (M = 3.67, SD = .46), t(147) = 1.45, p = .045.

Procedure

To recruit participants for this study, research staff distributed flyers (in both English and Spanish) in and around community centers, recreation areas, shopping malls, youth centers, and churches throughout southeastern Michigan. Besides information about the study, these flyers provided prospective participants with phone numbers and email addresses to contact the research team. A brief pre-screening protocol was administered to determine eligibility. Once qualified, an appointment was scheduled for self-report surveys at a location of the participating parents' choosing to ensure confidentiality and maximize participants' comfort. Informed consent was obtained from participants for their own participation. Participants could complete the survey in either English or Spanish, with 90% opting for Spanish. Surveys were administered by a Spanish-fluent research staff or a community liaison who was both fluent in Spanish and also well-versed in community outreach in the southeast Michigan region. Upon completion of the survey, parents were compensated with a $30 gift card. This project received approval from the University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (#HUM00116726). Furthermore, to protect the privacy of our participants, a Certificate of Confidentiality from the NIH was secured to prevent our research team from being forced to disclose any identifiable participant information.

Handling of Sensitive Data. The surveys did not have the subjects' names connected to them. Instead, each participant was assigned a unique study ID code immediately upon agreeing to participate; all surveys contained only the study ID code as the method of linking the participant to their data. After completion of the survey, the paper copies were sealed in an envelope and returned to the lab as soon as possible. These paper surveys were stored in a locked office, accessible only by the study PI and the research staff. The list linking names and study ID codes for each wave of data collection was stored on a password-protected computer (in a

separate password-protected folder apart from the data files) in the PI's research lab space. A backup hard copy of the list was kept in the PI's primary office, which can only be accessed by the PI.

Measures

Documentation Status. In order to determine participants' documentation status, two new questions were added to the third and final wave of the parent surveys, asking "Is anyone in your household undocumented?" and "Are you undocumented?" Response options were either yes or no. I waited until this last wave of surveys to ask these direct questions to allow the research team to develop a trusting relationship with participants and to establish the necessary safeguards for protecting such sensitive information (Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2013). A "yes" response to either of the questions above indicated that the respondent was either undocumented or living with someone who was undocumented. A "no" response to both questions meant that the participant was not undocumented nor living with any undocumented person. During coding, participants were assigned a 1 and regarded as being undocumented or having an undocumented household member if they had answered "yes" to at least one of the two survey questions. Participants were assigned a 0 and considered as being documented and not having anyone undocumented in their household if they had answered "no" to both survey questions.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization. Ethnic-racial socialization was examined with a modified version of the Hughes (2004) ethnic-racial socialization scale. The current study's measure was comprised of 10 items assessing three constructs in total: preparation for bias, cultural socialization beliefs, and promotion of mistrust beliefs. These items asked parents to report on how important it was for them to engage in conversations at home and teach their children about race and intergroup relations. Some examples are: teaching children about their heritage and

customs; making them aware of prejudice and discrimination that marginalized groups experience in society; and teaching the importance of valuing their ethnicity and culture and of creating ties to others with similar heritage. Responses ranged from 1 (not at all important) to 4 (very important) for all subscales.

Preparation for Bias. The preparation for bias subscale included 4 questions to assess the importance parents place on conversations with their children about prejudice and discrimination. A sample question is: "How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to make their children aware of the stereotypes about your ethnic group?" (See Appendix A for all items.) Responses ranged from 1 (not at all important) to 4 (very important). A participant's preparation for bias score was calculated as the mean of the 4 items with higher values indicating greater usage of those messages. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .57 at Wave 3.

Cultural Socialization. The cultural socialization subscale included 3 items and assessed how important it was for parents to transmit to their children their customs, traditions and history. It asked for example: "How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to teach children about the history and traditions of your ethnic group?" (See Appendix B for all items.) Responses ranged from 1 (not at all important) to 4 (very important). A participant's cultural socialization score is the average across the three items, with a higher value indicating greater importance placed on cultural socialization messages. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .71 at Wave 3.

Promotion of Mistrust. Promotion of mistrust was examined via three items regarding communication of cautions or warnings about other ethnic or racial groups. A sample item asked: "How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to make sure children have your ethnic group's friends?" (See Appendix C for all items.) Responses ranged from 1 (not at all

important) to 4 (very important). Promotion of mistrust score is the mean of those 4 items, with higher values indicating greater usage of those messages. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .74 at Wave 3.

Perceived Discrimination. Perception of ethnic discrimination was assessed through the Foreigner Objectification Scale (Pituc, Jung, & Lee, 2009). This measure contains 4 items and asks participants to rate how often in the past year they have experienced situations such as being "asked by strangers 'Where are you from?' because of your ethnicity/race." (See Appendix D for all items.) Responses ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (five or more times). Participant's foreigner objectification scale score is the mean of these 4 items, with higher values indicating greater exposure to ethnic discriminatory experiences. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .80 at Wave 3.

Covariates. Individual demographic variables that were statistically controlled in the quantitative analyses included participants' level of education, and length of residence in the US.

Educational level. Parents were asked about their highest level of education completed, which ranged from 1 (up to grade 5) to 8 (advanced degree; i.e., masters or doctorate). (See the complete list of response options in appendix E.) This information was then recoded to create a dummy variable for parental educational level for which 1 = high school diploma or higher and 0 = less than a high school diploma.

Length of residence in US. Parents were asked to indicate their age at the time of US migration and their year of birth. Their length of US residence variable was calculated by first computing their current age, then subtracting from it their age at the time of US arrival.

Study 2: Qualitative

Participants

This qualitative study relied on a subsample of 39 participants from the larger *UM Latino Family Study* (also known as Project Connections/Conexiones; UM IRB HSBS HUM00083246; PI: Rivas-Drake). All of the participants were foreign-born. Of the 39 participants, 22 were undocumented or lived with an undocumented person while 17 were documented and lived in households where all others were documented. All of the interviewees were mothers who had previously participated in the quantitative survey of the larger project. Most of the participants were quite welcoming and enjoyed the interview, commenting that they did not realize how quickly time had passed or that they had never spoken of these matters before and were glad to have had the opportunity to do so.

Procedure

Two new questions regarding the documentation status of participants and their household members were added to the parent survey prior to Wave 3 survey data collection: “Is anyone in your household undocumented?” and "Are you undocumented?" Due to the sensitive nature of these questions, a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institute of Health was secured to protect our research team from forced disclosure of our participants’ documentation status. The IRB process for this add-on interview specified several confidentiality and data storage protocols to ensure the protection of our participants’ information. All participants in the larger study who were born outside the U.S. (i.e., are immigrants) and who agreed to be contacted regarding a follow-up study in the initial consent form were eligible to participate in the interview.

Participants were invited on a rolling basis during the substudy recruitment period (December 2016 through July 2017). As the Wave 3 surveys were being completed, I checked each participant’s answer to the 2 new survey questions and invited the ones that fit the criteria

outlined above for the interview until I reached my desired number of interviewees. My original intent was to have an equal number of documented and undocumented interviewees. In order to make this study feasible given the time and resources at our disposal, I aimed for approximately 20 in each category, which I also reasoned would provide a desirable and sufficient variety of experiences among the parents. I contacted the prospective participants via phone to invite them to participate and schedule their interviews, using the script in Appendix F and speaking in the language of preference indicated by the participant in their Wave 1 survey screening phone call. Interviews were scheduled for a date and location of the participant's choosing. Thirty-seven of the 39 interviews were conducted at the participant's home, one was conducted at a coffee shop, and one was scheduled at a fast-food restaurant but was moved to my car due to the interference of background noise for recording purposes. As mentioned above, 22 interviewees answered "yes" to at least one of the two new survey questions; all of them reported being undocumented themselves. The other 17 answered "no" to both. Each interview lasted about 30 minutes and was conducted in the language of the participant's choosing, either English or Spanish, by a bilingual and bicultural researcher, who began by explaining the consent procedures used to protect the participants and explained the role of the Certificate of Confidentiality. Participants simultaneously consented to the interview and to having the interview audio-recorded.

The interviews were conducted between December 2016 and July 2017. Most were conducted during the day while children were at school. Participants generally indicated a preference for meeting when there were no children around, as long as it did not interfere with their work schedule. However, on some occasions, interviews were conducted with the participant's younger children present or sometimes children that the participant cared for as a source of income. Both mothers and fathers were eligible to be interviewed, but most fathers'

work schedule made it near impossible to schedule an interview with them. On two occasions the participant's spouse (i.e., the father of the children participating in the larger study) joined in the interview at the invitation of the mother; in these cases, the father was administered the informed consent in the same way as the focal participant. I was always aware of possible background noise such as children crying, pets making noise, TV or loud fans because of a concern for the quality of the audio recording. Most interviews were conducted in the participant's living room or dining room.

Handling of Sensitive Data. The interviews were recorded with an encrypted digital audio recorder, with the files transferred to a password-protected portable external hard drive used to store data temporarily until transfer to a password-protected laptop, which was kept at all times in a locked room. Participants were provided with a consent form in Spanish. I always offered to read the form for them, but only one participant accepted my offer. Once they had a chance to read the consent form, I would explain what the form was saying to ensure they understood what was being asked of them. They were informed that, by agreeing to be interviewed, they were simultaneously consenting to having the interview audio-recorded. They were not asked to write their name or sign their consent form, nor were their names attached to any of the files associated with their interview. These measures were in place for further protection of their anonymity, in light of the sensitive nature of the data. They retained a copy of the consent form for their records. Immediately after the interview, all interview materials and recordings were labeled with the participants' unique ID code. Consent forms were stored in a locked office, accessible only by the study PI and the research staff.

Insider/Outsider Status

I was keenly aware that my demographic characteristics – being an immigrant and a mother along with my age, race, sex, Spanish fluency, and socioeconomic status – would be important considerations in conducting this study. These commonalities with the participants would likely influence how they engaged with me, inclining them to participate, to openly express their feelings, and to tell me their story. On the other hand, our similarities could have influenced their interview responses due to the role of social desirability pressures (Krysan & Couper, 2003). Participants sometimes remarked that they did not know the right answer to my question, and I would always reply that there were no right or wrong answers, just personal opinions and I was interested in whatever they had to say since I was not expecting to hear any specific thing. Based on their desire to give me the most appropriate answer, I suspect that this could have possibly influenced their responses.

Most of the time, I felt that participants regarded me as an insider – a member of their group – which infused the interviews with a level of openness from participants that I likely would not have attained had I not spoken Spanish or been an immigrant and a mother (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Participants felt comfortable sharing their feelings, painful immigration experiences, anger over the prejudice they had experienced, and deep sadness about the limitations that being an immigrant imposed on their lives. I have experienced similar feelings and sometimes felt like crying with them but was usually able to hold back my tears. On a few occasions, however, I did tear up as they related some of their experiences and shared the difficulty of living far from most family members, feeling so vulnerable and fearing for their future – all so very common for undocumented immigrants. I would remind them that they did not need to talk about things that made them sad, but they always kept sharing as though they

needed to tell someone their story. Some remarked that they had never spoken of these issues before and thanked me for the opportunity.

However, although I shared racial/ethnic group membership with the participants, we were dissimilar in many respects. Although I strongly identified with the focal community, my sense of empathy was tinged with the outsider traits of never having had to deal with documentation status issues, having a more elevated level of education, and enjoying a substantially higher socioeconomic status than nearly all of the participants. These dissimilarities could have hindered participants' honest response to the interview questions. Participants may have wanted to maintain a pleasant interview atmosphere by avoiding engaging in difficult topics. They might have toned down their fears, concerns or experiences to avoid any uncomfortable feeling of sharing overly personal stories with a complete stranger (Krysan & Couper, 2003).

Since most of the participants were of lower economic status, I purposely wore simple, plain clothing, such as blue jeans and sweaters, to the interviews. I wanted them to relate to me and answer my questions openly, without drawing attention to our differences. Many participants expressed pride in my academic accomplishments and hoped that their children would follow a similar path in pursuing an education. With others, however, my level of education and fluency in Spanish, English and my native Portuguese created a gap between us. One of the first exchanges I would have with the participants in person was about my place of birth. Once aware that Spanish was not my native language, they would ask how I had learned it so well and would often express amazement that I knew three languages, remarking that they barely spoke any English. On dozens of occasions I heard participants express regret for not having learned English or not staying in school, but they would quickly explain their fate by citing their need to

work from an early age. In a few instances, as I was leaving, the mother would point out to her child(ren) how speaking Spanish was benefiting me and that they might also have such opportunities if they continued speaking Spanish at home. Immediately after each interview, I recorded notes about the experience, the context, and my initial impressions of what was shared. These included my initial feelings about the interview and anything peculiar I had noticed. This practice served to allow me to process my emotions about what I had heard, as I often left the interviews sad and tense after hearing their stories and feeling powerless to do anything to help them.

Transcription

A total of 37 interviews were conducted in Spanish and subsequently transcribed by native Spanish speakers on the research team. The two English interviews were transcribed by a research team member who was a native English speaker. InqScribe transcribing software, headphones and a foot pedal were the equipment used for transcription of the audio files. Given the sensitive nature of the topics and the guidelines adopted to protect participants' documentation status, I did not send the interviews to be transcribed by an outside transcribing company. A detailed and rigorous transcription protocol was developed and followed by the research team (See Appendix G). Possibly identifying information mentioned by the participants during the interviews (e.g., name, place of employment, school attended by their children, neighborhood) were masked during the transcription process, then re-checked during translation and analysis to ensure complete anonymity of the participants.

Translation

Upon transcription, the Spanish interviews were translated into English following the translation guidelines outlined by Knight, Roosa & Umaña-Taylor (2009). The initial translation

from Spanish to English was done by bilingual and bicultural research assistants and professional translators. Next, they were back-translated to Spanish by different bilingual and bicultural personnel. The original and back-translated Spanish versions were then compared and matched for meaning. If they did not match, alterations were made to the first English translation so that it would result in a more appropriate Spanish translation. Once this process resolved any discrepancies between the two Spanish versions, the English transcript file was deemed final. A translation protocol was followed to preserve the integrity of the data and detailed notes were kept throughout this process. The translation team met biweekly throughout this process to discuss current issues in the translation process. This exchange between the translators and the researcher who conducted the interviews was an effort to ensure that the interviews were translated for meaning as opposed to conducting a literal translation to the detriment of the original interview content.

Interview Protocol

The semi-structured interview protocol was developed under the guidance of the *UM Latino Family Study* PI with experience in conducting qualitative work and another researcher who is an expert in immigration and documentation status issues. The interview protocol was piloted with two immigrant parents from different countries and discussed with fellow graduate students and research assistants in my labs. Based on the pilot interviews and these multiple discussions, the protocol was refined. The final protocol addressed parents' socialization goals and practices, their immigration experiences, and whether their documentation status and immigration experiences have influenced their family's conversations regarding their documentation status and its implications for their children's lives, including ethnic socialization. (For the complete interview protocol, see Appendix H; for the guiding rationale behind each

question, see Appendix I.)[1]

Data Analysis Strategy

The quantitative data analysis was carried out with SPSS and Mplus. First, variables in the analyses were tested for outliers, skewness, and kurtosis. Then the means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations were computed. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to compare the reported mean levels of documented and undocumented parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices. Furthermore, a mediation analysis was conducted using structural equation modeling (Hayes, 2013) to examine the direct and indirect relationship of documentation status, experiences of discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization after accounting for level of education and length of US residence. To assess the fit of the models to the data, the recommended thresholds of .90 for Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of < .05 with a 90% confidence interval < .08 was followed (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2004).

To assess for mediation, three coefficients were examined. The first (a) is the coefficient for the association of documentation status and ethnic-racial socialization. The second (b) is the coefficient for the association of documentation status with experiences of discrimination (i.e., foreigner objectification). The third (c) is the association of experiences of discrimination with ethnic-racial socialization. (See Figure 2 for model.) The 95% CI for the estimate of the indirect effect (ab) was then examined with bias-corrected bootstrap 95%. In order for mediation to be met, the CI must not contain 0. One mediation model was tested with the three different types of ethnic-racial socialization constructs as outcomes (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust). SEM allows for the calculation of simultaneous estimates among

[1] While I did not inquire about discrimination experiences specifically, the topic arose organically in nearly every interview when participants were asked about their immigrant experiences and issues they had to face related to their documentation status.

constructs and the correction for measurement error while determining how well the model fits the data (Kline, 2010). All SEM analyses were performed using Mplus 7.2 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2012) under full information maximum likelihood (FIML) conditions, in order to make use of all existing data points.

Qualitative Data Management and Analysis Strategy

Thematic analysis of interview data was conducted by coding and analyzing the final English version of the files. Data management was handled using the rigorous and accelerated data reduction (RADaR) technique (Watkins, 2017). This data management technique consists of organizing the interviews in tables, such as Excel spreadsheets, to facilitate revisions aimed at producing more concise data tables by eliminating all data that does not address the research question. This technique allows for faster analyses once the several phases of data reduction have been completed.

For the purpose of this dissertation, four to five RADaR data reduction tables per research question were used for each interview file. The purpose of each phase was to reduce the amount of data to the point where only information that answers the research question was retained in the spreadsheet. Then codes and subcodes were assigned and concepts identified, culminating in an easily accessible spreadsheet with analyzed data. The RADaR technique requires that the team members check with one another before moving on to the next phase of analysis, thereby ensuring rigor in the analyses. In this project, each RADaR spreadsheet contained six column headings: research question asked, notes, codes, subcodes, concepts and quotes. The top row was frozen so that all team members involved in the analysis could always be reminded of the research question at hand as they scrolled down so that only the content related to the research question would be kept. Below the research question were the Spanish and English versions of the interviews, side-by-side to facilitate the analysis and prevent any issues in translation from distorting the results. This initial spreadsheet containing the full interview transcript

was labeled “Phase 1.” Each interview participant had an MBox folder, within which two separate folders were created to house all spreadsheets used to answer the two qualitative research questions. For instance, participant 1055 had a folder for each of the two research questions and inside each folder there were five additional folders representing the different phases of our RADaR analysis.

The complete process of qualitative data analysis lasted 20 weeks, during which a total of nine people were involved in some aspect of the process. All of those involved in the analysis were bilingual. Their bilingualism was necessary so that they could use their knowledge of English and Spanish to clarify any questions that may have arisen during the analysis process. As preparation, everyone involved in the analysis began by reading selected articles on ethnic-racial socialization, discrimination, documentation status, and the RADaR technique. In the Winter 2018 semester, a group of six undergraduate and graduate students launched the qualitative data analysis process. Of these, one stayed on through Spring 2018, while two new research assistants joined the team and remained involved through the next 16 weeks until all analyses were completed. During the early stages of the process, while perfecting the RADaR technique, two graduate students and I analyzed one of the interviews following the instructions set forth by Watkins (2017). Half-way through this first analysis, I met with Dr. Watkins to resolve some questions which had arisen, making the remaining steps clearer. The team finished the first interview content analyses by completing all RADaR phases for the two qualitative research questions.

In continuation, the undergraduate research assistants were trained using a RADaR protocol created by me that outlined each step of the process. I collaborated in all of these initial analyses. The teams received weekly e-mails detailing their next steps and clarifying their tasks. They were often reminded to follow the steps of the coding protocol, which was revised a second time to include more step-by-step details and some changes on how we organized and saved the files to MBox. Detailed notes

and all of our progress in the analyses were organized into a spreadsheet where anyone could easily identify the different teams working on each interview and where in the process they were. In Phase 1, the coding teams read the transcripts entirely to become familiarized with the data and arrive at a coherent understanding of the narrative. We then began the process of eliminating rows that did not address the research question while simultaneously writing notes that outlined our understanding of the narrative and major issues that arose in each interview.

Interviews were analyzed by pairs or trios with each team member individually completing one phase of analysis. For Phase 1, this entailed highlighting in red the rows that should be eliminated because they did not address the research question and adding notes next to the rows that did. All questions posed by the interviewer were highlighted in yellow to facilitate analysis. Most of the time the team members worked alongside each other or met regularly (2 to 3 times a week). Each member did one phase of analysis on their own, then met with their analysis partner(s) to go over their notes and agree on which rows should be eliminated prior to beginning the next phase. One member was assigned to be the *notetaker* and, after conferring with his/her analysis partner, the notetaker saved a final file for that specific phase and then started created the working file for the next phase. The notetaker's file was clearly labeled so anyone could join in a phase of analyses by simply reviewing that file. This process was repeated at the end of each phase until the analysis was deemed complete.

During Phase 2, the transcripts were read yet again and team members added notes and selected more rows for elimination, if necessary. During Phase 3, our detailed notes were used to help identify patterns in the data for the development of codes and subcodes. After a team of seven people had analyzed the first four interviews entirely, a database of codes and subcodes (codebook and glossary) was developed based on their notes to provide a common language to be used for all subsequent analysis. This database was often updated, with new codes being added or consolidated, as well as

examples for each code. At this point in the process (Phase 3), only content pertinent to the research question was kept in the spreadsheet and these rows were assigned codes and subcodes. As part of Phase 4, using the information on the notes and codes/subcodes, we developed concepts that encompassed the main messages found in the interviews. These concepts broadly covered groups of codes/subcodes. On average, each interview had from four to ten concepts and these concepts were highlighted in the same color as the codes and subcodes that had been used in their development. At that point, some preliminary exemplary quotes were also identified.

After Phase 4, a final file was created that included the completely analyzed file with the notes, codes, subcodes, concepts and striking quotes. This process was repeated for each research question. Furthermore, a database of codes and concepts for each of the two research questions was created so that after each interview analysis was completed, the codes, subcodes and concepts for each file were added to this spreadsheet, which would facilitate data management and analysis within as well as across interviews. Furthermore, the striking quotes from each interview that had been previously selected during Phase 4 were compiled into a table and then organized in separate tabs according to the different themes identified in the analysis. The best quotes were used as exemplary quotes in the presentation of results.

Upon completion of the individual interview analyses, I reviewed the final files of every participant. A table was created that included all concepts found in each interview. The concepts were then clustered based on their content. Throughout this process, I was writing memos about some of the messages we were getting in each interview and across interviews, trying to identify concepts common across interviews and attempting to organize them into more encompassing sub-themes. Once I had reviewed all of the final files, the list of concepts was refined and organized into larger categories of sub-themes and themes. These subthemes and themes were then shared with members of the data

analysis team and CASA Lab for their input regarding the organization of the subthemes. They also helped develop a nomenclature for the themes and subthemes. That feedback helped me to accomplish a reorganization through consolidating some themes and creating more subthemes. Each one of the two research questions had a separate subset of results for the documented and undocumented groups, each with its own cluster of themes and subthemes.

Procedure

A convergent design was implemented, which involved collecting the quantitative and qualitative data during the same time-frame. Data analysis did not occur until all data collection had been completed. The quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed separately and then merged in order for the purpose of integration to compare results and develop a broader understanding of the ethnic-racial socialization practices of documented and undocumented Latinx immigrants. Inductive and, to a smaller extent, deductive analyses were conducted, with the goal of identifying themes within the data (Bhattacharya, 2017). The first level of analysis consisted of parsing the data into smaller parts, which was then assigned codes and subcodes. Several of the codes and subcodes used reflect the various categories of ethnic-racial socialization practices used in the survey and also mentioned by parents: preparation for bias, cultural socialization, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes, 2004). Other codes were also created to include practices not yet present in the literature, such as socialization regarding documentation status. Given the qualitative nature of the interviews, parents did not feel restricted in their responses regarding the range of socialization messages they transmit to their children, which provided us with a more comprehensive insight into their family processes. Other categories of codes were created to capture participants' varied experiences of discrimination, such as those stemming from their documentation, immigration, employment or other types of stressors. Codes for other types of socialization messages were also created, reflecting parents' dreams for their children's educational

future and the maintenance of important cultural values.

Throughout the coding process, team members checked with one another every step of the way. Inter-rater reliability was addressed with RADaR by keeping track of not only congruence but also any disagreements between team members, plus how these disagreements were resolved. Whenever a disagreement arose, those involved re-read the original interview passage, along with the notes made on the spreadsheet, then discussed whether to keep that passage or mark it for deletion. When in doubt, the passage was kept and revisited during the next phase of analysis. If the notes differed significantly, they would take turns reading the notes for each passage and then either combine portions of both of the notes or select the one that best fit that portion of the interview. When discussing codes, the team used a similar approach of reading the notes then the codes/subcodes and going back to the codebook to look for the explanation of what each code encompassed. This generally resulted in agreement as to which code best fit that passage, although sometimes it was decided to include both of the team members' codes. On the rare occasions that the team members involved could not reach agreement, they would consult with other members of the analysis team or with myself. This extensive process ensured that each person would feel heard and validated. It also ensured that the analysis was performed with solid communication between partners and discussions every step of the way, making it a true team effort.

Summary of Analytic Integration of Mixed Methods

Research questions 1 (Do documented and undocumented parents differ in their ethnic-racial socialization practices?) and 4 (Does parents' documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices through their experiences of discrimination?) were addressed quantitatively, while questions 2 (In what ways does parental documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?) and 3 (How do parents' experiences of discrimination inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?) were addressed qualitatively. The mixed-

method integration utilized throughout this project was also demonstrated through the use of interviews to qualitatively deepen and complement our understanding of ethnic-racial socialization among Latinx families. (See Figure 1 for more details on model design.)

A/RQ	Data to Integrate	Rationale/Approach(es)
1 Quantitative	Parent Surveys	● Analyses were conducted looking for a direct association of parents' documentation status on their ethnic-racial socialization practices.
2 Qualitative	Interviews	● Analysis of the interviews provided qualitative and detail-rich information regarding documented and undocumented parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices, allowing us to draw comparisons between them. This qualitative and detail-rich information compares, contrasts, and expands the quantitative survey results.
3 Qualitative	Interviews	● Analysis of the interviews provided insight into how parents' experiences of discrimination have colored their ethnic-racial socialization practices, allowing us to draw comparisons between them. This qualitative and detail-rich information compares, contrasts, and expands the quantitative survey results.
4 Quantitative	Parent Surveys	● Analyses were conducted looking for an indirect association of parents' documentation status on their ethnic-racial socialization practices through parents' experiences of discrimination.

Note. A/RQ = Aim/Research Question.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Quantitative

Preliminary Analyses. Data analysis was initiated by examining the means, standard deviations, ranges, skewness, and kurtosis for the main variables (See Table 2). The recommendation that the absolute value of skewness and kurtosis should not be greater than 3 and 10, respectively, was followed (Kline, 2011). This preliminary analysis indicated that the data did not violate assumptions of analysis, therefore the data was not transformed. On average, participants reported greater endorsement of cultural socialization and preparation for bias than promotion of mistrust in their ethnic-racial socialization. Participants also reported having been exposed to foreigner objectification experiences approximately "once or twice" in the past year. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare documented and undocumented parents' (i.e., their own undocumented status and/or that of someone else in their household) mean levels of ethnic-racial socialization practices and exposure to foreigner objectification. There were no differences between documented and undocumented parents in regard to their reported exposure to foreigner objectification $F(1, 97) = .13$, $p = .72$; cultural socialization $F(1, 97) = 2.40$, $p = .13$; and preparation for bias $F(1, 97) = .19$, $p = .67$. However, undocumented parents reported engaging in higher levels of promotion of mistrust in comparison to those who were documented $F(1, 123) = 6.32$, $p = .01$.

Bivariate correlations between ethnic-racial socialization and discrimination variables are also provided in Table 2. Cultural socialization and preparation for bias were significantly and positively correlated. No other significant correlations were observed.

Primary Analyses. Results of the path analysis suggested that the model was a good fit to the data (CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.27, RMSEA = .00, 95% CI [.00, .04], [SRMR] = .02). Parents' level of education was negatively related to promotion of mistrust socialization (b = -.46, se = .18, p = .009; β = -.25, SE = .10, p = .009), but it was not significantly associated with cultural socialization (b = .12, se = .08, p = .151; β = .13, SE = .10, p = .190) or preparation for bias (b = -.01, se = .09, p = .933; β = -.01, SE = .10, p = .933). Length of residence in the U.S. was significantly and negatively related to perceived foreigner objectification (b = -.04, se = .02, p = .019; β = -.26, SE = .10, p = .012). Adjusted for length of residence in the U.S., no significant association was found between undocumented status and perceived foreigner objectification (b = -.01, se = .15, p = .972; β = -.01, SE = .10, p = .973).

Adjusted for education level, the direct association of undocumented status with promotion of mistrust was positive and significant (b = .37, se = .18, p = .046; β = .20, SE = .10, p = .045). Similarly, the direct association of undocumented status with cultural socialization was positive and significant according to the standardized results and marginally significant based on the unstandardized results (b = .16, se = .09, p = .065; β = .18, SE = .09, p = .040). By contrast, undocumented status was not significantly associated with preparation for bias (b = .04, se = .08, p = .678; β = .04, SE = .10, p = .675). No significant associations were found between perceived foreigner objectification and promotion of mistrust (b = .02, se = .12, p = .883; β = .02, SE = .10, p = .881), cultural socialization (b = -.03, se = .05, p = .561; β = -.05, SE = .09, p = .565), or preparation for bias (b = .03, se = .05, p = .505; β = .06, SE = .09, p = .488). In regard to the

hypothesized mediating role of discrimination experiences (foreigner objectification), coefficients for the significant indirect associations between undocumented status and ethnic-racial socialization via perceived foreigner objectification were not significant. Specifically, documentation status was not indirectly related to promotion of mistrust (b = .00, 95% CI: -0.021, 0.022), cultural socialization (b = .00, 95% CI: -0.021, 0.023), or preparation for bias (b = .00, 95% CI: -0.029, 0.019) through perceived foreigner objectification. Full model results are provided in Table 3.

Summary. The aforementioned results address Research Questions 1 and 4. Overall, the quantitative results indicate that undocumented parents transmitted more promotion of mistrust and cultural socialization messages than documented parents. However, documented and undocumented parents did not differ in their levels of preparation for bias messages. In addition, contrary to expectations, parents' experiences of foreigner objectification did not help explain the link between their documentation status and their ethnic-racial socialization practices.

Qualitative

Analyses of 39 interview transcripts were conducted to answer Research Question 2: *In what ways does documentation status inform parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices?* Four overlapping themes were identified in interviews with both undocumented and documented participants: 1) Education as an Asset; 2) Cultural Socialization; 3) Documentation Status Socialization; and 4) Targeted Discrimination. Considering only the undocumented participants, two additional robust themes were identified: 5) Ever-Present Fear and Stress; and 6) Survival by Isolation. These themes represent the essential content of parent-child conversations regarding race and ethnicity and reflect some of the lived experiences that engendered those conversations. Each theme is discussed in turn below.

Education as an Asset. As part of this larger theme, three sub-themes were found: i) *Validating Parents' Sacrifice;* ii) *Education as a Second-Generation Opportunity;* and iii) *Education Equals Respect*.

Validating Parents' Sacrifice. All parents, regardless of their status, transmitted messages instilling the value of obtaining an education to validate all their sacrifice in immigrating to this country. Education was presented as a vehicle for social mobility. The undocumented parents emphasized the potential of their children's success in school to redeem their difficult immigration process. They used their stories of perilous border crossings, experiences of maltreatment, and hardships they have endured to illustrate the strength of their commitment to provide a better future for their family. Marta,[2] an undocumented mother of three teenagers, noted, "I want the best for them. I tell them the sacrifice of being here is for them, and right now, it's for them to have a better lifestyle, to take advantage." Despite experiencing traumatic border crossings, undocumented parents noted that all the difficulty they have endured in immigrating has been worth it, as the US provides a vast range of opportunities and safety from violence.

Part of what made their sacrifices "worth it" was the potential for their children to take advantage of the opportunities this country offers--especially in regard to education--even though they themselves were unable to do so. Such parents believed their children should "not throw their lives away, [but rather] continue studying, and to be someone in the future" (Teresa). Magdalena, another undocumented mother of very low socio-economic status, talked about her daughter's hard work in studying to be a physician's assistant. She remarked with much pride, "I tell them that they are in the land of opportunity, overcome and be successful. That they not be like me, I want them to be better than me."

[2] All names are pseudonyms.

Documented parents transmitted similar messages regarding their desire for their children to appreciate their hard work in providing many opportunities for them. One mother of two teenage girls expressed that her daughters "have everything they want, but I want to make sure they know that life is not that easy and that we can get anything that we want as long as we work hard for it" (Ana). Children were taught that through studying they are able to accomplish as much as anyone else, as typified by Luciana, a documented mother of three, "I tell them they must be independent, they should fight, they should study, they should work, and that they can accomplish whatever they want to do. I tell them they're very smart and can achieve anything they want." Through encouraging children's education, these parents conveyed that education was a vehicle for social mobility:

> Teach them to think that they must be someone in life, they should have a better future, understand? Because if you study, at least you make it easier to get a job. I know everything is work and nothing is free, but you have a chance to study and be a better person if you have a career, any career they want. (Carmen)

Furthermore, documented parents who were previously undocumented continued using their perilous border-crossing stories as encouragement for academic success with their children.

Education as a Second-Generation Opportunity. Another prevalent subtheme among both documented and undocumented parents was communicating to their children that they have access to a variety of educational opportunities unavailable to themselves. Children were instructed to focus on obtaining a degree:

> I think that studying is something important and it's never going to be a burden in your life, and it's always going to open more doors. So, I think that something that I didn't have, what I want, one of the things would be schooling. That they have a career. I hope

> they have it, and if they don't have it, I tell them that it's not what will define them as a person, but hopefully, one day they have something because, in this world, the more degrees you have, the better your life. (Marta)

Education was also portrayed as the ticket out of a life of physical labor. Parents' personal experiences at manual labor were often mentioned to illustrate how undesirable an occupation it would be. They urged their children to take advantage of their studies to create a better future, as:

> I had to work very hard. I tell them, "study, and see, so that you don't have to suffer what I did, what I worked, everything I worked," and then, I would go off to work because, I worked since I was young, I would go out to the fields to work. (Diana)

A documented mother who was previously undocumented explained that education is a better option and how earning a living doing physical work wear on the body:

> I give him the example of my husband, "your dad earns well, ok, but he gets home very tired. He comes home tired, hot from the sun and in this cold weather, he comes home trembling, even his bones tremble. What do you expect, to follow in his footsteps?" He tells them that if he could go back in time, he would go back to school. (Lucia)

Undocumented parents remarked that their children were aware of the family's financial limitations, which provoked the need for them to perform well in school. One parent tells her children to:

> Be smart, and take advantage of the opportunities. You like money, good – good, money is great, earn it honorably." And that's how I talk to them. And now, they tell my daughter, "Hey, sister, get your scholarship, because Mom always told us to get the scholarship. (Mireya)

Through their school involvement and own educational pursuits, some documented parents transmitted to their children the importance of acquiring an education. As one parent noted, "I'm very involved in school...I'm always there with them in meetings, in volunteering things, all the time you see me there, and they know who I am mother to, so I think that has helped them a lot" (Olga).

Education Equals Respect. This subtheme was only present among the undocumented parents. These messages urged their children to study so that they would be respected were often mentioned. Mireya, a talkative mother of four, spoke passionately about her fears associated with the new president: "Give it all. There is nothing like having a degree in something because the way the situation is now, and since we are hated so much." These undocumented parents often shared stories of their modest backgrounds and compared them with the lives they now have in order to instill in their children a sense of responsibility for their belongings and an appreciation for their situation. In teaching responsibility, parents also encouraged a strong work ethic, starting with schoolwork and continuing through adulthood:

> In life everything that you do, goes back to you, so everything that you do, do it with passion, with love at 100%, no matter the obstacles, always do it well, so you can transcend in this life, so you can leave a legacy, so you can break all of these chains… one has been dragging for years. (Liliana)

These messages of academic encouragement and responsibility, as well as the value of obtaining a degree to prepare for a productive career, were often mentioned throughout the interviews. Education was present as a component of conversations about race and ethnicity, discrimination, family responsibility, and cultural transmission. At the end of each interview, as parents expressed their hopes and dreams for their children, most mentioned attaining a degree

and a career leading to a better future. Many undocumented parents remarked that with an education, their children would avoid the maltreatment their parents had gone through. To these families, education equaled respect and protection from abuse at the hands of employers. They believed that “being good, good students and doing their best at school," was essential, "because that is what makes the difference--the difference between being treated well or treated badly” (Rosa).

Cultural Socialization. Transmitting to children native culture, language, customs, tradition and history was of singular importance for all participants regardless of documentation status. Our analysis identified three common subthemes among both documented and undocumented interviewees: 1) *The Value of Cultural Connection;* 2) *La Familia as a Cultural Anchor;* and 3) *The Push and Pull of Acculturation*.

The Value of Cultural Connection. Parents stressed that through celebrating their cultural heritage, through traditions, religion, dance, and folklore, they instilled in their children a connection to their native roots and helped them develop pride in their culture and people. Parents often reported transmitting their culture in multiple ways, as exemplified in Mariolga's comments:

> Through the folklore, the dance group that we found, and it’s so fun because there are more people that are giving this message, not only myself or her dad, but more people from our country but from different parts of our country. Talking about it, living in different ways our traditions so that enriches us more.

Parents remarked that it was important that their children had pride in their roots, and knowledge of the family’s culture and traditions. However, many in the undocumented group acknowledged that their inability to travel to their native country presented an obstacle to cultural transmission

and encouragement of ethnic pride, especially when the messages the children received in the US about their ethnicity were negative:

> They know that even though we don't go to Mexico – I haven't been to Mexico in many years, but they have visited Mexico once – they realize that the traditions are different, so it's very important for me to teach them our traditions so that they know where I come from. (Araceli)

While these parents longed for the opportunity to take their children to visit their hometown, it was simply not possible. They had to settle for sharing reflections and anecdotes with their children about their childhood and how very different their lives and attendant obligations were. Marta recounted one such reflection:

> Well, I tell them stories of the family, the different things we cook throughout the year, what I did as a child, how I was when I went to school, and the difference between the schools here and there. That there are many good things here that can't be compared with the things I had when I was over there, but that over there, there are many good things, too, that there aren't here. There are good and bad things everywhere. I try to tell them what we would do when we were all at my mother's house.

The documented group, on the other hand, relied on trips to their native countries to augment their cultural maintenance and to encourage children to speak Spanish through bonds with family abroad.

Intertwined in these messages for documented and undocumented alike is the advantage of learning to appreciate two distinct cultures. One documented mother said, "Without under appreciating the one [culture] from this country, I mean, they grow up knowing both cultures, that they value both cultures, to me that's most important, and until now I've done it that way"

(Olga). Knowledge of different cultures and languages was also considered beneficial for children's future opportunities. Maintaining connection to other Latinx immigrants was utilized by some parents for added exposure to their customs. Through cultural events and gatherings, children interacted with members of their ethnic group, learning more about them and developing a sense of community, while realizing that their experiences as part of an immigrant family were not unique to them.

Moreover, parents often noted the importance of transmitting cultural values to children such as the importance of helping and respecting others, being humble and responsible, having good morals and a strong work ethic. Yolanda, an undocumented mother, expressed that her children "must always have character, they must always be ready to help other people," while Alicia, who is documented, stated that "we need to be united, and that respect towards the whole world, that they should respect everyone and be grateful also when someone helps you."

La Familia as a Cultural Anchor. The value of maintaining strong family connections was a central topic of conversation between parents and children, regardless of documentation status. Nurturing family ties by spending time together as a family transmitted to children the expectation that family members should always be able to count on one another. In this way, children learn "that if someday, they need something, the family is there to support them, to help them" (Alma). This notion was particularly relevant among some undocumented parents who relied on their children for help driving and translating medical appointments. These parents explained that their children needed an appreciation that the family works together for the common goal of having a better future. This encompassed even parents and children living in separate countries helping each other. One common example of this was providing for them through periodic remittances. This fulfilled a sense of obligation to the family and helped ease

the anguish of physical separation. Maintaining contact with family abroad, historically through phone calls and increasingly nowadays through social media, was commonly reported by both documented and undocumented parents. These connections further reinforced to children the importance of family ties, distance notwithstanding, while helping to broaden their exposure to their heritage and native language. As Beatriz stated, "The first thing they should know is that family is very important and even when we are in a different country from your family's country...family unity is very important, to be unified and fight for what we want."

For undocumented parents, in particular, having a tight family unit was more crucial, as their undocumented status limited closer contact with family abroad, due to their inability to leave the country. Antonia, an undocumented mother, noted "the distance, being separated from the grandparents, uncles, cousins. That's what I feel has affected us the most. Not spending time directly with family, the closest ones." This physical distance often strains relationships and causes emotional toll, especially for participants with aging parents. Witnessing the illness of a parent from afar and enduring their death while unable to say goodbye or pay their respects caused profound grief to some participants. Many reported not seeing their parents, siblings, aunts, uncles or grandparents in decades, while others had never met their nieces, nephews, or other family members. They expressed difficulty in ensuring that their children understood the importance of the nuclear and extended family when many of them had never once interacted in person with their grandparents:

> It has affected us in not being able to have, create those bonds as we should with the family over there, and my children, up until a year ago, didn't know what it was to have the love of grandparents, since they hadn't seen them. (Clara)

Mireya expressed her concern with maintaining a close family connection as her children got older and started "losing those customs of being and spending time with their family."

The Push and Pull of Acculturation. Parents frequently mentioned talking to their kids about some of the language barriers and cultural differences they encountered and how they struggled to adapt to a new culture. This was expressed by Marta: "Thank God I learned to speak English, and I think the language, as an immigrant, is the greatest barrier we've had. Everything else has been easier to take on." Language barriers often led to difficulties in forming friendships with Americans. In addition, although cultural differences often led them to feel ostracized by non-immigrant Whites who are unfamiliar with some of their cultural practices, maintaining connections to the Latinx community helped mitigate some of these concerns. Parents reported feeling more comfortable with other Latinxs because they felt no need to constantly have to explain their practices.

According to parents interviewed, it is important to learn about these differences so children can better understand their parents' perspective, and the norms of their native culture. As expressed by one undocumented parent:

> You might know the girl, but you do not know her father, mother, siblings and that's one of the aspects where these two cultures clash. And I've taught her that we as Hispanics, Mexicans are more focused in the Mexican culture, we are very close and united, our family, uncles, grandparents and parents and we are like that, and Americans are different they are more independent after certain age kids leave their homes. (Margarita)

A documented mother admonished:

> You must raise your kids with lessons about where they're from and that they have Mexican parents. Teach them what your customs are, since they have a different

> impression from here, in the future when you say you're going to Mexico on vacation they won't value what they see over there and they'll ignore people, do things they shouldn't be doing. They should never forget where they came from. (Carmen)

Among the documented parents, assimilating to US cultural norms improved with time. Some expressed that these difficulties made immigrants stronger and more motivated. Furthermore, they also believed that it was worth going through, as it represented progress towards a better life in a safer country.

Messages cultivating cultural values, pride, and the importance of family were important for both groups of parents highlighting these important ethnic-racial socialization practices being utilized by Latinx immigrants. Parents transmitted their views and perceptions of their culture, including what they saw as the most important experiences that children should be exposed to and learn from. Regardless of documentation status and level of education, parents taught their kids about their culture and heritage. Among the undocumented parents, there was a certain added motivation in transmitting these messages, since they were unable to travel with their kids to show them their native country firsthand. These parents had to rely on their personal childhood stories and memories of shared family customs to recreate these traditions here in the US. These parents felt compelled to do this in order to pass on family and cultural legacies and a sense of urgency in doing this so that family legacies could be passed on and continued. These messages were also used by parents to protect children from the negative portrayals of Latinxs they were exposed to in the media. Parents used these messages of pride in their heritage to shield their children from the outside world.

Documentation Status Socialization. Participants reported talking to their children about the struggles undocumented immigrants face. Two common subthemes were identified among

both undocumented and documented parents: 1) *Limitations and Restrictions of Undocumented Status* and 2) *Documentation Privilege.* Other themes pertained only to undocumented parents: 1) *Preparing Children for Possible Parental Deportation and Family Dissolution,* 2) *Protected by Faith,* and 3) *Border Crossing as a Necessity, not a Crime.*

Limitations and Restrictions of Undocumented Status. The majority of undocumented parents expressed the importance of kids learning about the parents' undocumented status. Participants explained that they talked increasingly about it as their children aged, but that they were growing up exposed to these stories about immigration and border crossing regardless. Undocumented parents explained that the younger ones understand less about the restrictions and implications than the older children,

> When they would ask why we wouldn't take a trip, and why they didn't know their grandparents, well, and we would always say that we don't have money, we don't have this, we don't have that. But, about two years ago they found out the truth that because no – we can't go. (Teresa)

Many undocumented parents believed that their children needed to learn from parents about their realities from the beginning:

> I noticed it was important that they understood everything I talked to them about when they were younger because then they ask about this and that, for example, in school they talk to their friends about their fathers being undocumented or having been deported and they start to get curious. I tell them how the situation is so they don't start creating their own conclusions. (Alejandra)

These parents also expressed struggling with telling their undocumented children the truth about the children's own undocumented status as they aged, because the children often believed they

were free to work and drive just like their documented citizen peers. One undocumented mother recounted needing to have this conversation with her teenage son when he wanted to get a driver's license, but couldn't due to not having a social security number. These restrictions associated with their documentation status extended to educational opportunities, as college options were often limited due to the unavailability of financial aid or scholarships, making the cost prohibitive. Rosa, an undocumented mother, explained that it was very difficult for the children of undocumented parents to receive financial aid due to their parents' status: "He received invitations from the schools to attend certain programs, but as they don't have social security he was unable to use it or to apply for it." Most parents said that their undocumented status affected every aspect of their lives and often overshadowed their professional or educational experience. For example, one mother reflected on her family's lack of better employment opportunities in the US, despite holding degrees in architecture and business. They had to settle for positions unrelated to their professional qualifications.

Talking to kids about documentation status issues took place as part of broader conversations regarding public perceptions of immigrants. As portrayals in the media, including by President Trump: "that's the conversation anywhere, about what is going on, the raids, the president wants to do this and that, the wall that he wants to build between the Mexico-United States border, something has changed, definitely" (Beatriz). One mother explained that it was the presence of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in her neighborhood that led her to tell her child that her parents were undocumented. She recounted:

> Immigration passed and they stopped and my daughter started waving at them and they laughed and they turned around to look at her but they didn't wave at her or anything like that, so we told her that she shouldn't do that again. So, we explained to her that in order

> to be living here we had to be born here or we should have papers allowing us to live here. And she said she was born here but I told her we were not. I told her they could arrest us. (Rosa)

Parents felt that children needed to know about the restrictions associated with parental undocumented status so that they would understand why they were hesitant to drive, travel, or engage in other seemingly normal activities. For instance, a mother reported telling her children that she was driving without a license so if she happened to make a mistake she could be deported. These conversations were also important to soothe children's fears about parents' possible deportation by letting them know that they were well prepared even for the worst-case scenario.

Among documented participants, messages about the struggles undocumented immigrants face and how they are treated were also transmitted through discussions about raids that were happening in their community, current political discourse and the experiences of undocumented family members:

> We do know people who are undocumented. And we have to talk to them about it, but sometimes we find out about what happened to a person who got caught by immigration, or classmates of my daughter who was in the school over there, so you always hear those kinds of things. (Alicia)

Over the course of the interviews some documented participants (9 out of 17) disclosed that they had been previously undocumented. Their own experiences as formerly undocumented immigrants were important topics in their conversations with their children to make them aware of how immigrants are treated. These parents stressed to children the importance of uniting and helping other immigrants in the community. Some explained during the interview that the current

political climate causes them to feel unsafe and fearful for their vulnerable family members who are undocumented.

Documentation Privilege. Undocumented parents reported teaching their children the difference between being a citizen, being a permanent resident, and being undocumented. They shared with them the restrictions, difficulties and vulnerabilities associated with their undocumented status, as well as the benefits of having documentation, such as being able to travel and having access to health insurance, home ownership, and better educational and career opportunities, among other things. As noted by one mother:

> That's what really hurts one, is not having papers, because then you cannot find a good job, for everything they ask you for your social security, and then that's when it's hard to find a job because they want to pay you whatever they'd like. (Sandra)

These parents often expressed feeling vulnerable and equated having documents with enjoying greater respect and safety.

Many passionately expressed that having documents would provide them with more freedom, and with the ability come and go as they pleased. They would not be afraid of police and could walk with their head held high. Sandra noted again "If one did have papers it would bring about a very happy life. We would love the town we are in… that is the only difference, it's a really big difference." Other undocumented parents were cautious when telling kids about their undocumented status to avoid instilling fear in them about their possible deportation. Some parents instead focused on explaining to kids the privilege they have because of the kids' American citizenship. Undocumented parents agreed that their lives are filled with restrictions and fear, but they strive to teach their American citizen children to value their opportunities and to realize that they can achieve whatever they desire with hard work:

> Because we have limitations, limitations on obtaining a driver's license, limitations on driving, limitations on medical insurance, limitations on other benefits that only citizens and residents can have. And I do not think they are [limited], because I have always told them, "when you are in this country you have no limits, you can do what you want, and as far as you want, you can be a great doctor, a great lawyer or a great president. Whatever you want to do in this country it is available because there are no limits for you, but for us, yes." (Margarita)

Like the undocumented participants, some of the documented parents spoke with their children about their privilege in having documents. They explained that it provided safety, allowing them to live with less fear and more freedom. Most of these conversations happened in the families where the documented parents used to be undocumented. Many of them used their difficult border crossing experience to make the children appreciate their improved situation as American citizens. They felt it was important for children to acknowledge that, due to their parents' sacrifice, they now have a better life and a future with more opportunities. Other documented parents, however, explained that the children were aware of the difficulties associated with being undocumented, but they did not fully understand the complexities of the issue. For example, Ana noted that one of her two daughters worked with people who don't speak English:

> And they probably don't have documents to be in this country. So I talk to her and I, I tell her about the different ways that people can be in the country that with documents or not documents, because I don't think she's aware of that.

Other parents explained that, as no one in their family was dealing with undocumented status, it was not a topic of conversation at home. Their children were mostly unaware of any documentation-related issues.

Preparing Children for Possible Parental Deportation and Family Dissolution. Undocumented parents felt that it was important to prepare their children for possible parental deportation and family dissolution. These parents and children reported learning about deportations and family dissolutions in their everyday lives through stories from classmates, neighbors, or acquaintances:

> She understands now, because every time we've heard news of someone who was taken, she comes, and she tells me, "Mommy, I have a friend, he told me his parents told him that so-and-so was taken away, that someone was taken." Yes, she saw it on the news. But...I try to not create fear or panic. (Antonia)

Another participant stated directly: "Daughter, you have to be aware that your father or I can be detained at any moment, it is possible that we are going to be in jail or deported" (Margarita). Parents explained that it caused them to live on high alert, fear for their family's future, and develop a contingency plan in case of deportation. They felt it was important to share the plan with their children, even if it caused additional fear and anxiety at first, because it would benefit everyone in the long run to know that there was a plan in place. Juana stated: "If they arrest me, where is my daughter going to stay? You have to have a paper, you have to leave a letter, if you have any properties you have to leave those documents with someone in your family." Margarita reached out to a documented friend for help because "she is legal, and I talked to her and told her that if something happens to us, I'm going to ask her to take care of our children."

Many parents fearing deportation also reported preparing their children for their possible premature adulthood by having to live independently. Children were exposed to financial literacy lessons at home on how to pay bills, save money, and maintain their household. Some undocumented parents were less concerned about being deported, but they wanted to make sure their kids had the tools to maintain ownership of their home. As one parent stated:

> I am not worried about that, but the children, the older ones, the only thing they have to do is support this house because, well, this is where we bought it, and now, they should build it, finish rebuilding it. (Yolanda)

Protected by Faith. While preparing children for the worst outcome, parents' faith in God was one of the greatest sources of their strength. Many undocumented participants reported believing that God would protect them from deportation. This faith provided the family with the fortitude to continue moving forward with their lives. One mother reported:

> They are scared because they say "Mama, what is going to happen to you?" I tell them, "nothing is going to happen," in my case I am not scared because I grab the hand of God and I have always had a lot of faith and I tell them that nothing is going to happen. (Liliana)

They spoke with certainty in their faith that God would not allow any hardship to come their way, and this feeling helped assuage the family's fears and anxiety.

Border Crossing as a Necessity, not a Crime. Several undocumented participants also explained to their children their view that undocumented immigrants are not criminals. They also reported telling them that arriving to the US undocumented does not make them inferior to others. They told their children that immigrating to the US is necessary to provide for one's family, and therefore, they should never judge any other undocumented immigrants or view them

as inferior. They further taught their children that not all law-breaking behavior should be viewed as bad and that they need to understand the context and hardship they have gone through in pursuit of a better future. They contextualized the xenophobia they were exposed to by stating that "the fact that you don't have any papers doesn't mean that you are a criminal, a murderer, or a thief, but it affects us because of the racists and because of the president" (Lourdes). Another mother passionately pleaded: "I don't have a record; I am a good person, a good citizen. So, it is illegal to be here but I haven't committed any crimes, I haven't done anything wrong…" (Araceli).

These conversations between parents and children about documentation status -- the risks, restrictions, possible outcomes, and who is affected by it -- were reported by documented and undocumented parents. However, such conversations were much more prevalent, personal, and urgent in the undocumented group.

Moreover, the results regarding documentation status socialization reveal a previously unexplored type of ethnic-racial socialization that appears to be specifically related to being of Latinx heritage because, to many, being Latinx is often conflated with being undocumented. These documentation status socialization messages were often entangled with messages about being Latinx or looking Mexican or having a darker skin color and thus perceived as undocumented, which meant that parents and children were often having to think about and confront these issues in their daily lives. Undocumented parents spoke passionately about status issues and had specific goals in mind when talking to their kids about documentation status. Their messages had a purpose: to prepare children, to inform them, to decrease fear caused by the unknown, to let them know that even though the parents were at risk of deportation they had a plan and the kids were not going to be left not knowing what to do. Parents of American-born

children made it clear that the children did not have those same restrictions and should never feel constrained because of the parents' lack of documentation. They could walk freely, unafraid of being detained and could proudly state that they were citizens, which was very gratifying for the parents. Such parents believed they were helping their children and doing their best to protect them by transmitting these documentation status socialization messages.

Among documented parents, on the other hand, messages about documentation status appeared to be more informative, to answer a question from their children, or to respond to an incident in the community, at school, or through the news. Parents felt compelled to discuss with their children documentation status issues affecting some immigrants in response to what they were hearing in the news. Some of the documented parents who had been previously undocumented or who had undocumented family members spoke with more concern and appeared more determined to teach their children about those issues. These participants reported feeling relieved from the stress of living in constant fear for themselves; now, most did not regularly engage in these conversations in their homes. While the current political climate appeared to have triggered both documented and undocumented parents to begin some of these conversations, the motive behind the two groups was quite different, as explained above.

Targeted Discrimination. Preparing children to encounter discrimination was a prominent theme in interviews with undocumented and documented participants. Two sub-themes were identified for these groups: 1) *Salient Features that Make Latinxs a Target for Discrimination;* and 2) *Teaching Children about Bias.* Unsurprisingly, both undocumented and documented parents perceived that immigrants are often targets of discrimination and believed it was important to instruct their children on what to do in the face of such experiences.

Salient Features that Make Latinxs a Target for Discrimination. Undocumented parents reported experiencing discrimination because of their physical features and documentation status. They felt that by merely looking Latinx they are assumed to be undocumented and treated as criminals. Discrimination was described as a common occurrence in their lives. They felt that despite their best efforts to obey the law and not make any trouble, they might be stopped for no valid reason and mistreated by racist police simply for looking Latinx. Celina, an undocumented mother of four noted, "Yes, it affects you because you know that you're not safe and we have encountered racist police outside of here so you don't know if you are driving well, and they come and they stop you" (Celina). Many parents emphasized that their children needed to learn how to handle such situations. Undocumented parents reported feelings of inferiority and that citizens or those of documented status act as though they are looking down on those who are undocumented. Some felt that their foreigner status and immigrant background was perceived negatively by American citizens in general. Many explained that their undocumented status exposed them to discrimination at work, including via substandard wages. However, absent other options they were forced to endure the abuse. The need to work long hours restricted family time, with negative effects on familial relationships. Some of these immigrants felt like outcasts from society and noted that the US did not feel like home to them, despite their many decades of residence here.

Undocumented parents explained that their children were aware of the discrimination they have encountered in the community and at work and that they had spoken of these experiences to prepare their children for possible maltreatment of their own. These children also reported to parents being teased or singled out at school because of their ethnicity or their parents' documentation status. Parents instructed children to avoid getting into discussions and

conflicts regarding politics, documentation status, or ethnicity, even if it pertained to their own country or ethnic group. Marta, a very insightful undocumented mother of three teenagers, explained:

> We cannot get involved. Like, there are things that I do tell them. There are things we can talk about here, at home, and there is no problem. But we have to respect opinions and laws of this country, mainly, of the people, of the teachers. I tell them, it's not like you can talk to anyone. There are things that should be spoken here, at home.

In regard to the documented participants, many reported having experienced discrimination due to their lack of English ability and immigrant background. These experiences have become more commonplace due to the contentious socio-political climate and merit conversations with kids to prepare them for such encounters. Some participants reported receiving poor treatment because of their accent, "...I was told I should take a training, to get rid of my accent" (Ana). Such experiences of discrimination were often used to start conversations with children. Parents felt it was important to teach them to defend themselves and to remind them that they had the same rights as everyone else, as noted by a documented mother:

> I've told them that they should feel proud about the way they are, about where they're from, and not to feel less than anybody. Nobody should bully them or tell them you're this, no, and whoever does, don't listen to them, always be alert, if someone at school says something, don't be afraid, defend yourself well because we're all equal no matter where we come from, we are equal. The same way those people have the same rights here in the United States, the same with other kids, we all have the same rights. (Carmen)

Many documented participants perceived discrimination towards immigrants despite never experiencing it themselves. Similarly, they reported that their children were aware of

discrimination. Having seen other kids being discriminated against at school, "they have noticed, they say that at school it's happened with other kids" (Olga). One parent believed that her participation in her children's school protected them against discrimination since everyone at the school knew her. Other documented parents reported that their children had been victims of discrimination at school due to their ethnic background or for speaking Spanish. They were told to go back to their country, which led those children to not want to speak Spanish anymore: "...they were treated differently by some friends because they spoke Spanish so they think that they are, they would call her Mexican for example...like if it was something bad to be" (Ana).

Several participants, documented and undocumented, reported experiencing discrimination from other Latinxs, due to not speaking English fluently. Juana, an undocumented Mexican mother recounted an interaction she had had with a documented Mexican woman who initially refused to speak Spanish with her. After struggling to communicate in English: "I told her, '...I don't speak English, I speak Spanish' and after a while she spoke in Spanish. So, I said, they discriminate [against] you not because you don't know English but because you are Mexican" (Juana). Juana then explained that discrimination even happened between her children, who taunted their undocumented older sibling for not having documents "joking, they were younger. 'Oh, you are a mojada and we have papers,' But they were children." She went on to explain that once the younger siblings understood the ramifications of being undocumented, they no longer discriminated against their older sibling. Other parents also recounted discriminatory experiences at the hand of other Latinxs who were citizens:

> Sometimes, you see here the same Hispanics – which, thank God, they have their status, and like, they have much ancestry from here, and they're American citizens. And they talk bad about the same people who still don't have it. And like, I wouldn't want that to

> happen someday, in my family because, if they continue being here, their descendants, after many years, there will still be many immigrants. I wouldn't like to hear their grandchildren, or my grandchildren...Unfortunately, some are more fortunate and others are less fortunate, that's the only difference. (Marta)

Teaching Children about Bias. Parents explained the need to make children aware that discrimination was part of the reality of an immigrant and thus they should never be the perpetrators of such maltreatment. Most undocumented parents expressed the importance of teaching children to treat others well and with respect, never discriminating against anyone regardless of their skin color or documentation status:

> Sometimes I tell them they can't be part of that, when they see a person of color and I tell them, that is not important because all of us are children of God and I say all of us are equal, no matter if he is small or big. (Beatriz)

Parents used their own hardships and experiences of maltreatment to encourage their children to help others who struggle, rather than discriminating, especially if they are immigrants with language difficulty. Undocumented participants reported experiencing a recent increase in discrimination, which they attributed to the current political environment. This led to more difficult conversations at home to explain that immigrants need to be aware that this is not their country, to be on their best behavior, and to always follow the law. Some documented parents explained that they wanted their kids to respect differences and value diversity. They discussed teaching them that everyone is equal despite their documentation status. Some participants also taught their kids not to engage with those who discriminate against them, telling their children to ignore any discrimination and move on:

> Sometimes my oldest daughter tells me "mommy I don't like when Americans stare at

me, they keep watching me and I feel like that they look down on me" so I tell her not to worry and to ignore them, don't pay attention, that's what I do...I've taught them that race or color doesn't matter, what matters is how they are inside. (Luciana)

Such conversations pertaining to discrimination appeared to be a common ethnic-racial socialization practice across both groups, but more so among the undocumented participants, who explained that the pervasive discrimination they confronted in almost all areas of their lives forced them to discuss these topics with their children. Most parents advised their children to disregard those encounters and not engage with the perpetrator. Documented parents, on the other hand, despite also experiencing discrimination, seemed to more consciously choose whether or not to talk about it with their children. These children were presented with various options in response to discrimination: either defend themselves and their families or just ignore it and walk away. Documented parents felt free to allow their children to stand up against discrimination because they did not fear deportation; this is not an option for the undocumented group, who must always weigh the risks of their actions before engaging in them.

The following two themes were only present in interviews with undocumented participants and demonstrate the pervasive fear that these families live with on a daily basis leading to their isolation and further marginalization.

Ever-Present Fear and Stress. Throughout the interviews, undocumented participants expressed the fears and concerns they, and their children, harbored. Two sub-themes arose from this analysis: 1) *Political System Causes Uncertainty and Fear;* and 2) *Fear of Deportation and Family Dissolution.* These topics were only present among the undocumented group.

Political System Causes Uncertainty and Fear. Parents revealed that they and their children were afraid for their family's future in the US due to the negative portrayals of

immigrants by the media: “They watch the news and they are afraid for us, they don’t want us to be arrested and what are we going to do then. Even when you know they are almost adults, independents, it is not the same” (Alma). In addition, parents noted their adolescents' worries due to extant political rhetoric. As one participant noted, “ever since this new president entered they worry...because it’s not just us who is affected, it’s also them...because they will want to separate them from the parents, then, they are seeing the racism” (Blanca).

The current political climate has caused an overwhelming fear of deportation in these immigrants’ households since the current president took office. Mireya noted, “In these times, with this new president, I look at my son with like fear.” According to parents, their children are living in constant fear of the possibility of having their parents detained and deported. They compared it to living under a cloud of “worry that they might split us apart. What is going to happen if we don’t want to be separated? If someone stays here and someone goes over there. Their concern is the separation” (Angela).

Fear of Deportation and Family Dissolution. Parents spoke about how such stress was affecting their children’s mental health and schooling, noting their children's anxiety and display of depressive symptoms. One parent noted, that her son "is very nervous, um if they say anything to him he gets very... right now I have him going to a psychologist, because he gets very depressed when there is a change at school” (Carolina). Some parents explained that their children became fearful to the point of not wanting to leave the house:

> He cries for me. And he says, "Look, it’s that I don't want to go to school" in the mornings, [he says] "I don't want to go to school. I’d rather stay with you, so that you’re not left all alone." And I say to him, "Wow." Like, what they hear, what they see, it all damages them. (Mireya)

Similarly, other parents reported that their children can't tolerate staying away from them due to concerns about never seeing them again:

> Yes, very often they tell me that they don't want to be separated from me and that they don't want their mother to die. [I say,] "No, I'm not going to die." When I go to the gym every afternoon, they hold me, and they cry thinking that they won't see me again. I tell them that I will come back, that I'm just going to the gym, but they think I will never come back. (Lourdes)

These fears are not limited to the children; parents spoke passionately of how the prospect of family dissolution brings tremendous sadness and stress to the entire family. Their feelings were often summarized as an ever-present fear of having to be separated from their children, being sent back to their native country and, all of a sudden, having no means to support their families. Laura explained that "it's very difficult, it's very stressful the situation of an immigrant in this country, this country is very stressful." Parents explained that, besides the inability to provide for their family, their deportation would result in the family living amidst violence back in their native countries

> I'm happier because now I see my children grow up here...now I hear a lot of violence in Mexico...I feel that I am freer here, and I feel that now Mexico you can't even go out not even in a farm it's no longer safe...it's very dangerous. (Blanca)

Parents recounted children's unwillingness to leave the only country they had ever known. The large majority had never traveled to their parents' native country because of parental inability to re-enter the US if they were to leave. What little they know about these places came from parents' recollection of their childhood years or media coverage. Juana recalled her daughter telling her, in response to the prospect of having to live in Mexico: "Mom, I'm from

here, I don't know anyone in Mexico. You brought me here when I was a child." Concerned about the family's powerlessness regarding their situation, some children were inspired to learn about immigration laws to try and help their parents: "The oldest one likes to read a lot, likes informing himself on laws, he doesn't like injustice, and he's always concerned about this – and that generates stress in them because they know the situation" (Clara).

Some parents, wishing to protect their children from the fears and stress associated with having concerns about family separation, decided to downplay the risks associated with their undocumented status: "We try to not make them afraid, or instill a fear of being undocumented" (Teresa). Another mother explained her reluctance to instill fear of deportation in her teenage daughter:

> I also wouldn't want that she live her best years in a box because she is afraid something may happen, because I would love to have her here, but outside there is a world that we all have a right to experience, to see, to be free. (Claudia)

Some parents transmitted to their children messages of hope and resilience:

> You have to live each day without fear. And if one day something like this happens, I tell them, "...the things that have to be done will be done." And trying not to let it affect them much, that they're not thinking about that. (Marta)

These parents' concern with the level of stress and fear their children experienced weighed heavily on their minds. They felt powerless to help, distraught by their sadness, and without options to minimize the children's fears. Some allowed the children to learn through the media about the risks the family is exposed to, which often caused stress and fear. Others preferred to keep this worry from the children and to avoid having them even think about it. This fear, however, seemed to be ever-present and to drive some of the other ethnic-racial socialization

practices. Because of their fear of deportation, especially with the country's current political climate, parents shared with their children details about their documentation status and the vulnerabilities associated with it. Their fear also forced them to be extra careful regarding their behavior and their interactions with others. It restricted what parents taught their children to do in response to discrimination, and it was used as yet another reason to encourage children to study and to take advantage of what this country had to offer. As Yolanda put it, "I have always told them that we are not from here, and that, well, we are in a country where we come to look for better opportunities."

Survival by Isolation. Undocumented parents often spoke regretfully about some of the behaviors they have had to adopt and messages they have transmitted to their children to ensure their families' survival in this country. Two sub-themes were identified under this theme, found among undocumented participants: 1) *Law-Abiding Behavior and Avoidance of Law Enforcement*; and 2) *Wariness of Others.*

Law-Abiding Behavior & Avoidance of Law Enforcement. Participants stated their perceptions and feelings that, in order to protect themselves from deportation, undocumented immigrants as well as their children had to always follow the law, behave well, be respectful, and avoid situations where police might be involved:

> [T]here are rules everywhere, here, on the street, at school, everywhere there are rules. If you respect them, if you follow them, you will not have problems. But if you do not follow the rules, wherever you are going you will have problems. (Alma)

Parents instilled in their children the need to always follow the law to minimize exposure to the authorities. Sometimes, even in situations when they have not made any mistakes, they might still be treated as criminals for not having papers, which could lead to an unthinkable outcome

for their families. Parents explained that they provided countless warnings to children, especially if the children were undocumented, regarding the importance of displaying appropriate behaviors and staying out of trouble:

> One tries to let them know what the legal situation is like, one can't hide, that is he's at an age where you can't lie to him, you're not a United States citizen and when he goes out, something happens to him, someday the police stops him for some reason, then they ...know how to take precautions. (Laura)

Another parent explained her desperate response to her younger child's behavior upon seeing an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) car in front of their house:

> One day we were standing outside and she said, "Mom, Immigration." "Shut up!" I said to her. She was pointing at them. I said to her, you can't do that, you have to behave as if you hadn't seen them. Now she has understood it. (Rosa)

The children were firmly and repeatedly instructed by their parents to avoid interactions with police and to always follow the law. Beatriz explained, "Whenever I get in the car, I always tell them...buckle the seatbelt, because the police can see it and you know I don't have a license." These parents spoke to their children about how they should behave in case they are stopped by police: "[C]areful if we see the police...Oh, Lord, it's hard to live like that. And they notice it. They feel it. Even my son sees the police and says, 'I stay still. I don't move. I'm very still'" (Mireya). Parents' crippling fear of deportation also affected their willingness to leave the house due to concerns of being stopped by police while driving. Some parents described some of the steps their families had taken to reduce their chances of being identified as undocumented and deported, such as choosing to stay mostly at home. Mireya once again explained, "Very much since this new president came in. We're not at confidence to go out, to the movies." This fear

directly affected their children as they missed out on opportunities for learning experiences such as traveling and visiting new places:

> Taking into account how things are now we prefer not to go out because we are afraid something might happen to us. My eldest son had received an invitation to visit a university, I don't know if it's Indianapolis, but we told him not to go because it was dangerous. (Rosa)

Some families restrict their outings to restaurants near their homes. They reported limiting their travels to only their neighborhood, an area they know well, but not devoid of risks. Sandra explained that her family only goes as far as "the nearest diner and Wal-Mart, and things like that, because we are afraid of being caught by the police." Other parents are even more restrictive: "I only drive to the store and that's it, or the doctor" (Beatriz). In instances where driving was necessary, some parents revealed asking their children for help. They explained to children that the police could be more lenient and not detain the parents if the children are riding in the car with them:

> When an emergency took place and I had to go to the hospital or another situation comes up and he has to go, I tell any of them, "Go with your father, and don't leave him alone." Because if the police stops him, maybe they feel sorry because a minor is with him. (Margarita)

In some cases, parents relied on help from others or older children were asked to drive the family. This fear of driving has also impacted a participant's contact with family members who live in another state:

> We took that risk, my husband risked traveling, or we went like to the lakes to visit in the summer. And this year, the difference is that we are scared even to go out to our

> surrounding areas. It's not even going far anymore. Now, my family says that this year, they're not going – they're not thinking about coming. And I tell them it's that now, here, like in Texas, and everywhere, we don't know anymore. The situation is more complicated… (Antonia)

Wariness of Others. Some undocumented parents disclosed their lack of trust in Americans, leading to fewer employment options due to concerns regarding leaving their children under the care of people they did not trust. The large majority of parents revealed experiencing increasing levels of fear and anxiety in response to the current socio-political climate. Such stress has led some parents to teach their children that the US is not their country despite them having been born here. They explain that currently, being Latinx makes them perpetual foreigners regardless of their birthplace and documentation status. Therefore, they all need to constantly be on guard, behave well, and not get in trouble, as so clearly put by Margarita:

> And even more nowadays with all this fear with the new president, I never felt this way, so insecure in this country, I think that this is the first time in my life that I feel insecure driving, going from one place to the other and everybody is watching you and very ugly things.

Some participants remarked that they could never predict when they would face discrimination, but when these situations happen, it can be catastrophic and even ruin lives. Thus, children were taught to be wary of bad influences and relationships with non-Spanish speakers. As Marta explained, "I don't trust them in the same way as when I see someone who speaks Spanish."

The aforementioned ethnic-racial socialization practices are adaptive for undocumented families and reflect the times of fear and threat in which they are now living. They are parents'

efforts to protect their family's future in the U.S. and coping responses to their vulnerability. It reflects a set of necessary and inevitable adaptations in response to this country's more restrictive stance on immigration, as well as the negative perception and criminalization of immigrants. Parents fear of deportation and other negative outcomes for their children lead them to favor staying at home, even if it means forgoing special opportunities for the children and the family in general. Their children are thus developing their sense of self with the perception that their ethnic group is not welcome in this country, leading often to a cautious life in the shadows. These perceptions are bound to take a toll on their mental health and impact their healthy development.

Turning now to the final research aim, analyses of the 39 interview transcripts were conducted to answer Research Question 3: *How do parents' experiences of discrimination inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?* One robust theme was identified among both documented and undocumented participants: *Discrimination and Devaluation*. This theme centered on the many different ways that participants had experienced or perceived discrimination in their lives and how these situations have led to discussions with their children regarding discrimination. A second theme arose from the interviews with only the undocumented participants: *Avoiding Discrimination*. This theme centered on specific conversations parents have had with their children regarding some of the possible ways in which they can protect themselves against discrimination.

Discrimination and Devaluation*.* As part of this larger theme, two sub-themes were identified among participants: 1) *Experiences of Ethnic Discrimination* and*;* 2) *Preparing Children to Deal with Discrimination.*

Experiences of Ethnic Discrimination. Parents explained that discrimination was a normal part of being an immigrant. One documented mother explained that she endured

maltreatment at her factory job, alongside her son, where they were distinctly aware that the Latinxs were given the most strenuous assignment. They were also allowed fewer breaks compared to other workers: “In the job that we are in now, they have all of us Mexicans in the heaviest line because we are honest, we do our work well, and we are a line full of Mexicans, well, Latinas” (Gina). Some reported being subjected to verbal assaults at stores, as in the case of Patricia:

> In many occasions you see racism, you see how they look at you, in one occasion I went to a store and I was talking to my niece and a lady says, "we’re in America so speak English," and we just ignored her but we did feel rejected.

A few documented parents reported that some instances of discrimination were initiated by other Latinxs, which pained them: “Sometimes even your own race does that to you. And I say it shouldn’t be like that because we are all humans, we all have the same rights” (Julia). The current political climate was mentioned as prompting their exposure to discrimination stemming from their foreigner status. Even those who had never experienced discrimination before conveyed a heightened perception of racism: “Especially now since everything happened with Trump, sometimes in the street people have told me to go back to my country” (Luz). Parents attributed this to the president’s endorsement of discrimination based on his comments about immigrants and Mexicans, specifically. These parents also mentioned that their experiences of discrimination indirectly affected their children.

Many documented participants expressed that knowledge of other immigrants’ encounters with discrimination affected the entire immigrant community, documented and undocumented alike. No one felt immune to it. Some documented parents remarked to their children that despite any discrimination they endured, life in the US was better than in their

native country. Others reminded their children of the good in the world by explaining that many people are still willing to help immigrants improve their lives and take advantage of opportunities in America: “This country is to accomplish goals, this country opens doors. It’s true that racism exists but there are many people willing to open doors even if you’re an immigrant” (Catalina).

Undocumented parents recounted experiencing discrimination deriving from their accent, ethnic-racial features, lack of English fluency and documentation status. Rosa, an undocumented parent, noted that discrimination “has affected us because there are people who don’t accept us. There are people who make fun of us just because we have a different color, brown skin, too short, as they call us.” Several undocumented parents recounted the many instances of discrimination they had endured for not speaking English “Because sometimes you are discriminated because of your language. Because when they say things to me here I don’t understand” (Angela). Some explained their discriminatory experiences in the community as people identified them as Latinxs *“*they call us Chicanos, poor” (Juana). A few participants remarked that they wished they had had a chance to learn English in the hope it would protect them from these experiences.

Several undocumented participants reported experiencing discrimination at work with managers who explicitly tell the employees that he will fire them if they do not speak English. They felt that their undocumented status made them more vulnerable to employment discrimination through verbal abuse, neglect and wage exploitation: “.... if you have documents then you can work at any place, as long as you want it. But if you don’t have documents, you are knocking doors and they pay whatever they want to pay to you” (Alma). One undocumented

participant recounted her husband's fear of being identified as undocumented, even though he has worked for the same company for almost 20 years:

> He is a responsible and hardworking man, but he has that fear...that his coworkers don't know about him, and the day they find out, they are going to go to the office, they will go to the bosses and make that report. So we are scared within different places from many sides. (Magdalena).

Some undocumented parents felt that within the Latinx group, those of Mexican descent were most targeted: "it's the first thing that the manager asks when she goes to hire someone, if they are from Mexico and they do not speak English…" (Laura). Laura confessed that being from a non-Mexican country and having more European features and lighter skin was protective, as she and her children could pass as White. However, every so often she felt the need to clearly remind her coworkers of her national origin so that no one would mistake her for Mexican, as this protects her from maltreatment at work. For similar reasons, Marta, whose children have strong Latinx features, was aware of the need to be careful when instructing them:

> They don't have a normal life like any American...there are things that aren't too easy for me like allowing them to do everything that everyone does in this country. I don't see how – like, if they were White, they could do it.

There was an overall consensus among the undocumented parents that having documents would give them more options and respect. They could then quit their jobs and find others, but while undocumented it was risky to switch employers. Furthermore, they could not complain or report maltreatment for fear of retaliation, which could lead to deportation. One participant narrated with sadness the maltreatment she experienced at work its effects on her well-being including higher stress levels and heart palpitations: "I even visited the doctor because I didn't

feel well, I felt palpitations and I didn't know what it was" (Araceli). A few parents also described their trauma at the hands of coyotes or immigration agents while crossing the border: "I saw many things. The coyote took us to a house where they were raping girls in the different rooms. They killed a woman. So, you think, I won't do it again" (Juana).

Many undocumented participants reported experiencing discrimination from other Latinxs primarily due to their limited English skills. Participants lamented those encounters and expressed being deeply hurt that someone from their own ethnic group would act that way. Some parents blamed those incidents on other Latinx parents who did not teach their children the importance of speaking Spanish to people of Latinx heritage. Araceli, an undocumented mother of five, told of having conversations with her children to explain that:

> They shouldn't feel ashamed of a Latinx or to talk to him. Oh, no. That's what I tell them: "If I go to your school there are many Americans there, but I will speak in Spanish which is my language. That's how I was born and I'm not speaking badly of anybody, I'm not disrespecting anyone."

The frustration associated with being discriminated against by other Latinxs was often transmitted to their children, as parents insisted they learn Spanish and never be the one putting other immigrants down for not knowing English. A few parents also urged their children to learn Spanish to strengthen their identity with the greater Latinx community. Spanish, then, was seen as a binding mechanism to connect all Latinx peoples:

> We know where they come from and everything, and they say, "I don't speak Spanish," imagine how bad that looks. In the future, when they go back to their homeland, and they don't speak their language...they are going to be made fun of, I tell them. (Mireya)

Many undocumented parents reported being racially profiled by police: “You know that you’re not safe and we have encountered racist police, outside of here so you don’t know if you are driving well and they come and they stop you, so it will affect you in that regard” (Celina). Some described a shift in police practices: before, officers would stop them and give them a warning, “and now they don’t, they simply arrest you and deport you” (Rosa). Many believed that Latinxs were discriminated against based simply on their appearance, regardless of status. Any Latinx-looking individual was assumed to be undocumented and thus treated as a criminal:

> Nothing is easy for us, as an immigrant or for them as the children of immigrants. Always, unfortunately inequality exists, racism, nothing more because they see some Hispanics think that you are already illegal...even if you are a citizen...so it is not easy. (Alma)

These incidents were disclosed as common occurrences in the lives of undocumented immigrants. Sometimes, despite their best efforts to follow the law and stay out of trouble, they might be stopped for no apparent reason and mistreated by racist police. Many parents remarked on having to teach children how to face such situations.

Undocumented parents made several remarks regarding their heightened vulnerability and awareness of risks after the 2016 presidential election. The current political climate increased instances of discrimination associated with their ethnic-racial features or undocumented status and exacerbated feelings of inferiority. Rosa explained, “[I]t affects us...because they have papers they feel superior to you” (Rosa). Parents explained having to engage more frequently in conversations at home regarding issues of documentation status and immigration brought about by current politics. These conversations sprang from discussions

about politics and ethnic-racial issues that have become increasingly commonplace among children at school. Margarita narrated a situation that her daughter shared:

> One student said he was going to call the police to kick us out, and one day she [daughter] came crying, saying, "Is it true that the new president is going to send you to Mexico? I don't want you to leave!"

Moreover, children's exposure to news media about raids and police treatment of undocumented immigrants caused fear, stress, and anxiety in the youth and their families. Parents blamed politics for instigating racism and violence, with the president setting a poor example and a large part of the nation following in his footsteps: "[T]hat is being seen a lot now, the racism, because...this guy [Trump] is inventing, now the racists are flourishing and they think that they have the right to insult and hit people" (Laura). This exposes immigrant families to more discrimination: "Sometimes they humiliate you, or they look down on you because you're Mexican. You know that Mexicans have a bad reputation; they say you are a rapist" (Juana). Many parents reported telling their children that US society hates them because they are immigrants and thus equated to intruders and that consequently, "it's like you feel that you don't exist" (Lourdes).

Preparing Children to Deal with Discrimination. Many participants told heartbreaking stories of their children's experiences with discrimination. The majority happened at school, where their peers were the perpetrators: "Sometimes it affects them as well, because in fact, sometimes they face these types of discriminations. At school, only for saying they're children of immigrants something could happen, whether undocumented or not it could happen" (Carmen). A documented mother reflected on an experience she had had with her children:

> Six months ago, they had a soccer game in a school, full of White kids, and they're from

> a Catholic school here in [city], so they knew where they were coming from. And when the game ended, they said that they called the police, and the police came because the people were yelling a lot of things like, "Get out of our country," and they're like that because of the politics, no? It's Trump's fault. (Luz)

Undocumented parents reported that their children were suffering maltreatment because of their skin color, ethnic features and parent's immigrant background: "because of the color of their skin … because they are so rude with all of the stuff they say 'they are going to send you to Mexico.' Yes, they have suffered with it" (Liliana). Others reported that they:

> [N]otice the difference when you go to the cashiers, there's a different treatment if it's an American person than a Latino person. I've felt it, but I ignore it. So, in a certain way it doesn't affect me, but I notice that sometimes it affects my daughters. (Luz)

The undocumented expressed the need to talk about such prevalent discrimination with their children, so they would be prepared and also to avoid repeating the mistake of others who discriminate undocumented immigrants: "it makes them be more aware, and not judgmental, or give more value towards a person who is documented" (Clara). These undocumented parents explained that all of those discriminatory experiences were used to initiate conversation with their children and prepare them to face similar issues:

> I always tell them that "when someone says something to you don't say anything back, it's better for them to say 'well okay it's fine, that's your opinion you have that opinion we don't have the same opinion, everyone has their own opinion." I have always told my children, "Don't do so that they don't do to you and also, don't hit so that they don't hit you back and if someone does something to you I recommend that you don't do anything back, that if someone does something to you it's better to talk, talk to whomever

is taking care of you, with your teachers." (Blanca)

Some documented parents reported talking to their kids about being proud of their heritage regardless of what they hear elsewhere. As Carmen stated, "Yes, I've told them that they should feel proud about the way they are, about where they're from, and not to feel less than anybody." Furthermore, these parents prepare children for encounters with discrimination by telling them to ignore any discriminatory comments they hear: "I don't know if it's good or bad, I told them that if someone discriminates against them, for them to ignore them. I told them that fighting isn't a solution" (Julia). Others, like Carmen, a mother of five, demanded that they defend themselves when necessary:

> Nobody should bully them or tell them you're this, no, and whoever does, don't listen to them, always be alert, if someone at school say something, don't be afraid, defend yourself well because we're all equal no matter where we come from, we are equal. The same way those people have the same rights here in the United States, the same with other kids, we all have the same rights.

Formerly undocumented parents who are now documented used their own experiences to: 1) prepare their children for their own future discrimination; and 2) ensure that they never discriminate against others:

> I've told them everything, so that they can know my experience. Because in the future, I don't know if they're going to go through that, and for them not to do something like that themselves, because like I said, we are all equal and all deserve respect. (Julia)

These parents also reported telling their children that having an education would protect them from future maltreatment:

> I say, more than anything, to study, to study so they can be someone in life, I said never depend on anybody and always teach them the respect and to never be mistreated by a man, I told them they're worth a lot, and you should never let anyone mistreat you, because here I said my family has never suffered mistreatments, my husband either, so we said we wouldn't allow it, never allow it. (Olga)

Their studies would allow them better employment and more flexibility, as they would not be held hostage to their place of employment for lack of other options. Others also remarked that their children would not be exposed to discrimination because they spoke English well, indicating their exposure to discrimination due to lack of English skills.

Despite these seemingly similar experiences between undocumented and documented participants, many of the undocumented ones reported more pervasive discrimination for which there was no escape option. Some of these immigrants believed that, due to their undocumented status, they could not avoid this discrimination. One participant described the maltreatment she endured at work:

> I work in a place where we pack [food] and you have knives everywhere, and she [a co-worker] said that she wanted to grab a knife and kill us all...Sometimes it affects me and sometimes I tell them [children] and sometimes I don't, but they see my face and they more or less know...I would arrive home crying. The supervisor knew because she offended me in front of him, she was shouting at me, and he didn't say a word." (Rosa)

Parents' reports of discrimination provided us with a glimpse into their lives and how these experiences of maltreatment influence the messages they transmit to their children. Discrimination appears to be much more pervasive among the undocumented, but also prevalent for the documented, especially those who struggle with English. Language-based discrimination

came from non-Latinxs and Latinxs alike, but it appeared to be more hurtful when the perpetrator was of Latinx heritage. The participants often blamed other parents for failing to teach their children Spanish and to refrain from discriminating against immigrants who are not fluent in English. Undocumented parents had the perception that once someone becomes documented they cease teaching their children to respect the undocumented. These children consequently end up treating others with disdain. All parents used their own encounters with discrimination and/or their children's exposure to discrimination at school or through the media as opportunities to talk about such situations, which were reported to be more common since the 2016 elections.

Avoiding Discrimination. The final theme that surfaced from our analysis of the interviews was specific to the undocumented group and pertained to the ethnic-racial socialization messages they transmit to their children regarding discrimination. Under this theme, four sub-themes emerged: 1) *Education Equals Respect;* 2) *Avoidance of Law Enforcement;* 3) *Teaching Children to Never Discriminate;* and 4) *Cultural Pride, Compassion, and Egalitarianism.*

Education Equals Respect. These parents fervently believed that having an education would protect their children from maltreatment "because people are treated better when they have an education" (Araceli). Through diligent studying, the children could achieve better employment options, a good career, and the respect associated with a higher level of education, counteracting any potential stigma associated with their ethnic-racial heritage. Parents reported urging their children to take advantage of their educational opportunities to avoid the maltreatment the parents had suffered:

> Because racism has always existed, but especially these days. So I tell them they have to study very hard. We have to show them not to fall in the stereotype that immigrants

> are always thieves, or gang members or things like that. For example, I tell them that they have to do their best at school...they have to study to be better so that no one can come and shout at them. (Rosa)

Education was perceived as the solution for avoiding discrimination and parents were relentless in instilling this notion in their children's minds.

Avoidance of Law Enforcement. Undocumented parents remarked that they and their children always need to follow the law, behave well, be respectful, and avoid situations where police could become involved, in order to shield themselves from racism and ethnic-racial profiling associated with being of Latinx heritage. Such perceptions were often associated with their belief that society devalues undocumented immigrants. Parents taught children to behave carefully around police

> even when it's not your fault. So, I always tell them, "when we are driving we have to fasten our seatbelts because if a policeman stops me at least you are safe. It is always a precaution. I mean you need to have a lot of precaution in everything, how you drive, where you drive and if you see a police officer is like not even look at them because sometimes you feel like they are going to stop you, you are afraid of that. And you show that to them, fear." (Alma)

Many believed that even when they had not made any mistakes they would still be treated as criminals for not having papers: "The fact that you don't have any papers doesn't mean that you are a criminal, a murderer, or a thief, but it affects us because of the racists and because of the president" (Lourdes).

Children were taught to avoid police whenever possible, even when they knock on their door. Since the police had been reporting undocumented immigrants to ICE, participants did not

feel safe in the presence of law enforcement and transmitted this insecurity to their children. For example, Alma admonished her children, "[I]f you see cops don't open the door [unless] they have an order but if not, don't open the door." Many parents favored living a cautious life by staying at home, to avoid interactions with police and possible exposure to discrimination. Margarita illustrated this strategy in her comments that "we have lived well because maybe we have obeyed the law, we never get into trouble, we work and from home to work and nothing else."

Teaching Children to Never Discriminate. While speaking of discrimination to their children, parents also conveyed the importance of treating others well and not discriminating against anyone regardless of their skin color or documentation status. Children were encouraged to help others who struggle, especially if they are immigrants with language difficulty. Liliana, for example, told her children to "help the people no matter what type of race they are because we are in one country, from many nationalities and to not have racism." Parents used their personal stories of maltreatment to illustrate the pain that discrimination inflicts on others.

Cultural Pride, Compassion, and Egalitarianism. Messages promoting racial and ethnic tolerance, respect, and compassion for others were mentioned as being commonly transmitted to children. Parents conveyed to them the importance of having cultural knowledge and awareness of ethnic-racial differences. Taking pride in their ethnic heritage, language, and appearance was postulated as a necessary and powerful tool that could buffer them from the harmful effects of discrimination:

> They should always have respect for their origins...like me, I'm very proud of being Mexican. And the fact that we live in another country, we always have to represent where we come from very well. We should never deny who we are. (Antonia)

Undocumented parents' experiences of discrimination, media reports of raids on immigrants, and antagonistic societal feelings and actions towards immigrants all appeared to influence the type and urgency of discrimination-related messages that they transmitted to their children. Parents felt motivated to not only prepare their children for these experiences, but also discourage them from discriminating against others, especially other Latinxs. These important ethnic-racial socialization messages exemplify the heavy influence of parental experiences on the content of the messages. It also demonstrates how the context in which parents live strongly impact this socialization. The undocumented parents reported experiencing increased discrimination and thus transmitted messages to prepare their children for these encounters. They also provided several examples of how to behave in society at large, especially in the presence of law enforcement. The parents' intention was to spare their children the hardships they had experienced, but their hopes were tempered by the hostile feelings towards immigrants harbored by a significant portion of this country. The main hope these parents had was for their children's safety and protection through education and they clung to this prospect and revisited this notion in most family conversations.

Integrative Summary of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

In regard to cultural socialization, there was no convergence across the quantitative and qualitative findings. In the quantitative results the undocumented group was found to transmit more cultural socialization than those of documented status. However, in the interviews, both groups reported engaging in high levels of cultural socialization. They differed in the manner in which they exposed their children to their culture with the undocumented parents relying more on sharing anecdotes from their childhood, speaking Spanish and celebrating native traditions in the US. The documented parents, on the other hand, reported spending time in their native

country as a way to strengthen their children's connection to their culture. They also engaged in cultural transmission through speaking Spanish and cultural celebrations, but for the undocumented those practices appeared more urgent, as it often was their only way of maintaining the connection to their native country and transmitting their heritage to their children, since they were unable to travel together to their native country.

In addition, there was convergence across the quantitative and qualitative findings regarding promotion of mistrust messages. In both quantitative and qualitative results, the undocumented parents were found to transmit more messages of mistrust to their children than the documented. No instances of promotion of mistrust messages were found in the interviews with documented parents. This provides testimony regarding the insidious fear that undocumented parents live with, which forces them to socialize their children in such way so as to encourage them to spend most of their time at home, and to be wary of their interactions with others, especially law enforcement. Police were perceived as adversaries, to be avoided at all costs.

Moreover, regarding preparation for bias, there was convergence across the quantitative and qualitative findings. Mirroring the non-significant quantitative results, undocumented and documented parents alike reported transmitting preparation for bias messages in their interviews. Both groups prepared their children for future discrimination, but the undocumented parents often asked their children to disregard the discrimination and not get involved in discussions. The documented, on the other hand, encouraged their children to defend themselves and reminded them that they had the same rights as all others. These results demonstrate that undocumented immigrants feel more vulnerable and exposed to discrimination, leading them to

prepare their children for future encounters while also maintaining their low profile to avoid confrontations.

Finally, regarding perceived foreigner discrimination, there was convergence across the quantitative and qualitative findings. Mirroring the non-significant quantitative results, undocumented and documented parents alike reported experiencing discrimination in their interviews. Both groups mentioned that discrimination was a part of the reality of being an immigrant. Among the documented participants, discrimination was prominent, but many acknowledged that the undocumented were more vulnerable. Indeed, discrimination was mentioned much more heavily by the undocumented participants. Some documented parents did not initiate discussion regarding discrimination with their children, but when the topic arose, the children were instructed to defend themselves. Parents used these experiences to forewarn their children of what they could possibly face. The undocumented parents strongly encouraged their children to study because education could provide a measure of protection from discrimination. They also encouraged them to ignore any discrimination they might be exposed to, again demonstrating their vulnerability and fear of confrontation which could draw attention to themselves with possible tragic ending. Please refer to Figure 3 for a Joint Display of Quantitative and Qualitative Results.

Chapter V

Discussion

This mixed-methods research examined the ethnic-racial socialization practices of Latinx parents in the context of their documentation status and experiences of discrimination. Building on the Integrative Model for the Study of Ethnic Minority Children (García Coll et al., 1996), which takes into account how cultural, contextual, and structural factors influence family processes, I considered parental documentation status as a social position factor affecting Latinx families (cf. Stein et al., 2016). My findings indicate that parents' documentation status does indeed impact the types of race and ethnicity-related conversations they have with their children. Overall, participants reported transmitting different types of socialization messages that reflected their main goals and concerns for their children's future.

These results provide necessary insights into this population and directly address García Coll and colleagues' (1996) recommendation for continued research into minority children's competencies and the normative family processes that impact their development. These findings also highlight the need to consider within-group differences in ethnic-racial socialization practices. My review of the literature reveals that this is the first examination of its kind, in that it compares and contrasts the experiences and family practices of documented and undocumented immigrants. By including the experiences of marginalized, hard-to-reach, and understudied groups, such as Latinx undocumented immigrants, in well-studied frameworks, we acknowledge their presence in our society. Considering immigrants' documentation status as a social position variable impacting multiple aspects of their families' lives and ultimately exerting an influence

on their children's development is a necessary step to further understand the structural and social forces operating within these families' lives.

The current study focused on answering four research questions: RQ1) Do documented and undocumented parents differ in their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; RQ2) In what ways does parental documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; RQ3) How do parents' experiences of discrimination inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices?; and RQ4) Does parents' documentation status inform their ethnic-racial socialization practices through their experiences of discrimination? This final chapter addresses the main findings relevant to these research questions. Each ethnic-racial socialization dimension is presented separately, with a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative results. I compare and contrast the practices of documented and undocumented parents, while providing insights regarding the specific ways in which their documentation status informed their ethnic-racial socialization practices, thereby addressing the first two research questions. Once these results are presented and all three ethnic-racial socialization dimensions (cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias) are explored, I transition to the final two questions by incorporating parental experiences of discrimination into the discussion. The integration of qualitative and quantitative methods takes place throughout this chapter, as I merge the results of the two methods and use the qualitative information to expand upon and complement some of the limited results of the quantitative survey. This also allows me to discuss why such mixed methodology is helpful in conducting research with Latinx immigrants. I conclude with suggestions for practice.

Cultural Socialization and Documentation Status

In quantitative analysis addressing RQ1, undocumented parents were found to engage in greater levels of cultural socialization than their documented counterparts. Cultural socialization

has been a well-documented dimension of ethnic-racial socialization and found to be commonly employed by minority parents to instill ethnic group pride and teach children about their heritage, customs, food, history, practices and traditions (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). However, the qualitative analyses of the responses to RQ2 revealed that both documented and undocumented immigrants reported that transmitting their culture to their children by maintaining their customs and traditions at home was of significant importance. That is, documented and undocumented parents were equally committed to passing their heritage on to the next generation. These contrasting results reveal a lack of convergence in findings between the quantitative and qualitative methods. Due to the depth and richness of information yielded by the interviews, I was able to delve into the data and gather additional details about the cultural socialization practices of undocumented and documented parents, thereby providing novel and important information on the diversity of Latinx families' practices.

Undocumented parents reported speaking Spanish at home and taking the task of teaching their children about their culture very seriously. Ensuring that their traditions were celebrated in the US just as they would have been back in their native country was one of their most pressing parental obligations. To these parents, exposing their children to their native country's history, important figures, folklore, customs, food, music, dance and certain mundane aspects of living there was of great importance, since travelling abroad to gain first-hand experience was not an option. The inability to travel was reported as an obstacle to cultural transmission and development of ethnic pride in their children. Such difficulty was compounded by the negative messages children received about their ethnicity from the media and society at large. These interview results support past studies that have demonstrated immigrant parents' emphasis on cultural socialization of their children in order to engender pride, counteract negative societal

messages regarding their ethnic group, and combat feelings of marginalization (Ayón, 2016; Hughes et al., 2006).

Documented parents, on the other hand, reported relying on trips "back home" to their native country so that their children could spend time immersed in the culture, interacting with family members and even attending school there. This first-hand learning about the country ensured that the children felt a stronger connection to it. Children with a chance to do this did not have to rely only on their parents' stories and recollections about life in their parents' native country. In a study with Mexican and Puerto Rican mothers, the opportunity to spend time with extended family was identified as important for children to learn about their heritage (Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006).

In comparison to documented parents, undocumented parents' constrained means of transmitting their ethnicity meant that cultural celebrations at home and language maintenance were among the safer ways. In qualitative interviews with immigrant parents, Ayón and colleagues (2018) explained that participants had to balance their cultural socialization efforts with minimizing the risks associated with deportation. Thus, undocumented parents' awareness of their limited avenues of cultural transmission could explain their greater endorsement of cultural socialization practices in the quantitative survey.

Previous studies have shown cultural socialization to be the most prevalent ethnic-racial socialization message transmitted by parents, especially in the households of first-generation immigrants whose connection to their native country is still strong and where such socialization happens more fluidly as they carry on their native country's cultural practices and customs (Knight et al., 1993; Quintana, Casteñada-English, & Ybarra, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Given the fact that all of this study's participants were foreign-born, it is reasonable to

expect cultural socialization to be a robust and frequent ethnic-racial socialization practice. Both undocumented and documented parents felt that through their cultural socialization they would be helping their children develop pride in their heritage while maintaining strong connections to American culture. They believed that their children had the responsibility to learn about their host culture and language so they had access to more opportunities and that this advantage would facilitate their efficient navigation of both cultural realms. These results support past studies (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018) and extend them by further demonstrating within-group differences as it relates to ethnic-racial socialization transmission. My interview results also indicated that within their cultural socialization practices, Latinx parents also instill in children the central value of the family. Both documented and undocumented parents constantly reminded children of their commitment to their immediate and extended family, whether in person or from a distance. They also believed that through these relationships, the children developed stronger connections to their language and heritage. For the undocumented who are unable to travel, this presented an additional challenge that they acknowledged and constantly fought to overcome by emphasizing the importance of maintaining a cohesive family. These findings support previous work that identifies close family ties and responsibility for one another as important aspects of Latinx cultural socialization practices (Ayón et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006).

Both documented and undocumented parents expressed the challenges in raising children within a culture new to them. Both groups experienced difficulties navigating the cultural differences and acknowledged that the constant straddling of two worlds was an important source of domestic stress. However, parents acknowledged these obstacles and found ways to overcome or manage them, attributing this success to their resourcefulness as immigrants to find

solutions to difficulties and discover ways to move forward. These results support previous research examining cultural socialization transmission among Mexican immigrants, where families relied on sharing stories of their childhood, speaking Spanish, traveling abroad, cultural celebrations, using the internet for connecting with distant family members, and learning about both cultures at home (Ayon et al., 2018).

Cultural socialization has been associated with positive outcomes in children, including better academic performance, more positive ethnic identity, greater self-esteem and decreased depressive symptoms (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Hughes et al., 2009; Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). Considering these benefits together with the cultural socialization practices used by parents of different documentation status leads to various questions. Does having access to avenues of cultural socialization not constrained by an inability to travel abroad or move freely within this country produce in children a greater awareness of their culture and tradition? Can this perhaps even lead children to develop a stronger connection to their cultural identity? Could undocumented parents' passion and commitment to maintaining connection to their culture, despite the limitations they face, demonstrate to their children the importance of honoring their roots and heritage and consequently lead them to embrace them all the more firmly? The impact of these different types of cultural transmission on adolescent outcomes are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it merits further examination. Future studies should explore whether the specific types of messages, practices and techniques used by parents in cultural socialization are associated with different outcomes in their children.

Preparation for Bias and Documentation Status

Results of quantitative examination addressing RQ1 indicate that there were no differences between documented and undocumented parents in their utilization of preparation for

bias messages. These messages focus on preparing children for future encounters with discrimination by giving them tools to handle such experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). In response to RQ2, the qualitative data once again provided invaluable information not available through survey data alone. The interviews further support the quantitative results by showing that both documented and undocumented parents engaged in similar levels of preparation for bias. Thus, there was convergence across findings with the non-significant quantitative results revealing no group difference in parental transmission of preparation for bias messages. Unsurprisingly, previous studies have demonstrated that undocumented immigrants are often the targets of discrimination (Sullivan & Rehm, 2005), leading to the expectation that, consistent with their experiences of discrimination, undocumented parents would view preparing their children for bias of greater importance (Hughes et al., 2009; Hughes, 2003). The lack of a group difference in the current results could be related to widespread levels of discrimination experiences throughout the Latinx immigrant community (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). General knowledge of these pervasive experiences within their ethnic group could be inciting fear and spurring conversations across Latinx communities, so that parents, regardless of their documentation status, prepare their children for possible future bias.

Upon deeper analysis, the interviews highlighted that, while both documented and undocumented parents placed high importance on transmitting preparation for bias to children, the content of their messages varied according to parents' documentation status. Children of documented immigrants were taught that everyone is equal and so differences should be respected and valued. They were also reminded that they had the same rights as others, despite their different backgrounds, and encouraged to defend themselves and stand up for their families. In contrast, the undocumented parents urged their adolescents to ignore any discrimination and

not participate in discussions. These results extend recent findings demonstrating that Latinx parents transmit preparation for bias messages encouraging their kids to either ignore discrimination (adapt) or to confront it (advocate) and seek help from others (Ayón, 2018). A possible explanation for the difference in advice given by documented and undocumented parents lies in the vulnerability associated with undocumented status. Latinx undocumented immigrants are often criminalized, live under greater scrutiny and have been facing increasing levels of deportation (Pew Research Center, 2018). Consequently, these parents teach their children to avoid conflict even if they are being attacked, due to the risk that it poses to their future in this country.

These results indicate the pervasive impact of discrimination experiences compounded by undocumented status. Consistent with previous studies, parents' own experience of discrimination was used to start discussions with children and to transmit lessons (Hughes et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). They were instructed not to be the perpetrators of maltreatment, especially against other immigrants, since so much of the discrimination they experienced came from other Latinx. It was important for parents that children learned to help others in need instead of discriminating, regardless of documentation status.

Parents, irrespective of their status, reported a recent increase in their own experiences of discrimination both at work and in the community, thus spurring them to prepare their children for possible maltreatment. Further motivation stemmed from their children being teased at school or singled out due to their ethnicity or their parent's documentation status. While undocumented immigrants reported experiencing more discrimination, both groups of parents reported talking about these issues with their children. This was likely influenced by the turbulent political climate contributing to heightened racism and discrimination experiences (Hernandez, 2016).

Elevated perception of discrimination, despite actually never experiencing it, has been associated with lower perceptions of quality of life for Latinx (Becerra et al., 2012), which could be another reason for parental endorsement of preparation for bias messages. These parents could be expecting that their children will be exposed to discrimination at any time, thus prompting them to prepare them for these experiences. The current results support past findings regarding the relatively high usage of preparation for bias messages among Latinx parents as they taught their children that discrimination was a pervasive problem faced by Latinx people (Ayón, 2018; Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

These results indicate the deeper impact of parental undocumented status on family processes, leaving the children of the undocumented, who are the most vulnerable, with fewer options to handle discrimination. Besides experiencing maltreatment, they also have to restrain their response, remain calm and in control, to avoid conflicts that could lead to devastating results for their undocumented parents. Preparation for bias messages have been associated with positive outcomes in youth, such as increased awareness of discrimination and coping abilities by affording youth the opportunity to consider these kinds of situations and reflect on possible ways to deal with them beforehand (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). These messages, however, have also been related to negative outcomes, such as more depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, and negative academic outcomes (Espinoza, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016; Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Future studies must consider the differential impact of preparation for bias messages on adolescent outcomes based on the specific tools and advice they received from their parents on how to cope with and react to discrimination (Ayón, 2018). Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine if preparation for bias is differentially related to child outcome by parents' documentation status. It is possible that

the protective effects of preparation for bias on youth outcomes are tied to their improved ability to express their views and defend themselves, strategies which are unavailable to the children of undocumented parents when faced with maltreatment.

Promotion of Mistrust and Documentation Status

In response to RQ1, the survey results revealed undocumented parents' greater reliance on promotion of mistrust than documented parents. These messages consist of parental warnings regarding intergroup interactions (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). These are interesting results, given the limited knowledge available on parental use of promotion of mistrust messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). Past studies have indicated that promotion of mistrust is infrequently used by Latinx parents when compared to African Americans warning their children to avoid associating with White adults and peers (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Liu & Lau, 2013). Thus, the current study fills an important gap by providing within group differences in promotion of mistrust transmission among Latinx parents. Findings from the interviews regarding RQ2 indicated that these messages were more common among undocumented parents. These results demonstrate a convergence in the qualitative and quantitative findings, in that both indicate that promotion of mistrust is more prevalent among undocumented parents.

The current study's qualitative results revealed that undocumented parents reinforced to their children the need to be cautious when interacting with non-Latinx people, especially in the context of law enforcement. The core message was that isolation represented protection and that avoiding unnecessary engagement with the police was essential because the risk of deportation when police become involved may well be greater than the benefit from using them for protection. Children were socialized to understand that their families were not well regarded in

the country and their undocumented status warranted a life in the shadows, in order to protect the family's future in this country. These findings are not surprising, given when the interviews were conducted, a time of increased anti-immigrant rhetoric and efforts to limit immigrants' rights (Wray-Lake et al., 2018).

Such constant reminders of living "on guard" were accompanied by lessons on avoiding risky situations, always being respectful and behaving properly (especially around police since people of Latinx backgrounds were often perceived as criminals), so as to avoid possible deportation of family members by attracting attention. Parents also explained that discrimination against Latinx is rampant and that these encounters need to be avoided at all costs. Avoidance strategies included limiting trips outside the home and being guarded in interactions with others, even if that meant fewer opportunities for travel and recreation for the family. These results echo those of a study with Latinx immigrants living in an area of stringent immigration enforcement, where participants reported avoiding going out for fear of deportation (Ayón et al., 2018).

Past research has suggested that parents usually avoid transmitting promotion of mistrust messages due to their heavy focus on discrimination and marginalization (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). On the one hand, the current results support these findings as they relate to the infrequent use of promotion of mistrust among documented parents. The current findings highlight the need for more research with undocumented immigrants, as their unique life context and vulnerability within American society might also impact other aspects of their family lives and processes beyond ethnic-racial socialization, especially during the current climate of elevated anti-immigrant sentiment. In this respect, the ethnic-racial socialization practices of the undocumented resemble those of African American parents whose use of promotion of mistrust is meant to warn their children to avoid those of other ethnic-racial groups who may pose a threat

to their safety (Priest et al., 2014). African Americans have been victims of oppressive race relations in this country, driving parents to instill in their children wariness in their interactions with members of other ethnic-racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006). These messages are not used in a vacuum, but rather are transmitted in the context of the parents' experiences as members of a disadvantaged ethnic-racial minority group, with the goal of ensuring their children's safety as they navigate our racialized society.

Undocumented parents' overemphasis on such messages reflect the realities of living in a society that drastically undervalues undocumented Latinx immigrants. The qualitative and quantitative data were both collected during a time when debates about immigration were front and center as part of Donald Trump's presidential candidacy, election, and administration. This hostile sociopolitical climate could have exacerbated the participants' levels of fear and wariness of others. My results highlight the increasing need to conduct research with immigrant populations, as the current examination has demonstrated the damaging impact that living in fear and under stress has on undocumented immigrants, as well as how they adapt their family processes in response to their contexts. Consistent with previous research, promotion of mistrust messages are meant to prevent children from facing discrimination, but they also happen in response to children's experiences of discrimination (Liu & Lau, 2013). Parents' reports of their children's encounters with discrimination predicted parental transmission of promotion of mistrust messages (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). It is also possible that undocumented immigrants' children's awareness of anti-immigrant policies and practices could also be prompting more such conversations, as parents prepare their children to manage the demands of life as minority group members. Children's own experience of discrimination was not accounted for in this study's

quantitative model, but it bears consideration as a possible valuable mediator to be explored in future studies of documentation status and ethnic-racial socialization practices.

Furthermore, examining the impact of such messages on children's outcomes should be a goal of future research. It is worth noting that the purpose of promotion of mistrust is to protect children, but such communication carries the reminder of their marginalized and vulnerable place in society and the very real threat of suddenly losing a parent to deportation. This realization, alongside the constant vigilance needed to navigate daily life might well be expected to contribute to negative outcomes for the children of undocumented immigrants. Indeed, studies focusing on Latinx youth have shown promotion of mistrust to be associated with mostly negative outcomes, such as lower academic performance, lower self-esteem, and higher rates of depressive symptoms and deviant behaviors (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Liu & Lau, 2013). Specifically, in another recent study from this project, greater use of promotion of mistrust by undocumented parents was associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms in their adolescents (Cross et al., under review).

The current results allow us to further tease apart within-group variations in ethnic-racial socialization practices. Documented Latinx parents have the luxury of choosing whether or not to transmit mistrust messages to their children. They do not experience the harsh reality of living in constant fear of having their children separated from them, as their undocumented counterparts do. These messages are informed by the sociocultural context of the families and reflect undocumented immigrants' experiences raising children in high-alert contexts. It is an extra burden for undocumented parents to communicate these messages to their children, but without doing so would leave them unprotected and unprepared to face the realities of their world. Thus, more harm may be done by not transmitting these messages despite the associated negative

outcomes. Given the limited information available on Latinx parents' use of promotion of mistrust (e.g., Ayon, 2018), these findings demonstrate additional intra-group variability and highlight that, within the context of a contentious anti-immigrant climate, parents may rely on promotion of mistrust messages to protect their family by teaching children to avoid interactions with people from other ethnic-racial groups.

Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Socialization, and Documentation Status

Results of RQ3 and RQ4 regarding the role of parents' experiences of discrimination in their ethnic-racial socialization demonstrate a lack of convergence between the quantitative and qualitative findings. Parents' experiences of discrimination have been found to predict the type and frequency of socialization messages they transmit (Hughes et al., 2006, Hughes et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). However, contrary to past research, in my study, parents' experience of discrimination (foreigner objectification) does not explain the relationship between their documentation status and their ethnic-racial socialization. This lack of association indicates that parents' experiences of discrimination did not impact the type of ethnic-racial socialization messages they were transmitting to their children. A possible explanation for these results could be that the items on the foreigner objectification scale (Pituc et al., 2009) that measured their experiences of discrimination did not apply to the participants' lives or resonate with their real-life experiences. The measure asks, for example, whether someone had ever questioned participants' citizenship or residency or asked where they are from because of their ethnicity. It is possible that, due to the large number of our participants living in an ethnic enclave, these types of exchanges never took place. If most contact was Latinx-to-Latinx and mostly in Spanish, these topic or issues may never have arisen.

In the interviews, however, both documented and undocumented parents related experiencing a great deal of discrimination. Such discrimination reportedly happened because of their ethnicity and assumption of undocumented status. These experiences impacted their ethnic-racial socialization, as parents felt the need to prepare their children for discrimination. Consistent with previous studies, the interviews demonstrated that discrimination was, unfortunately, a normal and expected reality for immigrants (Ayón, Valencia-García, & Kim, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Participants expressed having been discriminated against, in the community and at their place of employment, for speaking poor English, for having an accent, for looking Latinx, and for the color of their skin. Those of Mexican heritage with stronger indigenous traits reported being the most stigmatized. Past studies examining immigrants living in the Midwest have found similar results, with discrimination taking place in multiple contexts and increasing the immigrants' perceptions of hostility towards their group (e.g., Alarcón & Novak, 2010).

Helping children navigate oppression and prejudice in society is one of the main goals of parental ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). The immigrant parents in my sample reported having to teach their children how to react to discrimination from their peers at school for speaking Spanish, for looking Latinx, or for having immigrant parents. Past studies have demonstrated this pervasive intergenerational transmission of discrimination where Latinx children are victims of maltreatment because of their parents' foreign status and ethnic roots (Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Teaching them strategies to handle those encounters, which parents have developed by drawing on their own experiences, prepares them in advance. My results support and expand previous studies by demonstrating not only the pervasiveness of maltreatment experienced by undocumented immigrants, but also the increased vulnerability and

awareness of discrimination after the 2016 presidential election (e.g., Roche, Vaquera, White, & Rivera, 2018). Participants explained that the political climate engendered fear and stress in both parents and children and exposed them to elevated levels of discrimination. Thus, family conversations about discrimination took on even more importance to provide children guidance about authorities' treatment of immigrants and the national discourse regarding immigration.

Undocumented parents told of high levels of discrimination, explaining that these encounters were pervasive in the workplace, where they were often subjected to verbal abuse and poor working conditions. These results support previous research demonstrating more instances of discrimination endured by the undocumented when compared to their documented counterparts (Brabeck, Sibley, & Lykes, 2016). Prior studies have also demonstrated the greater vulnerability faced by undocumented immigrants forced to endure substandard work environments due to their lack of other options (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). These conditions impinge on domestic life as the parents face a constrained future, while hoping for a better future for their children through education. Other advice parents gave children emphasized the importance of learning Spanish to both promote ties to their community and avoid discrimination by other Latinx. Such intra-group discrimination reportedly stems from lack of English skills, poor use of Spanish, or undocumented status. Earlier studies have also captured this intra-group discrimination (e.g., Córdova & Cervantes, 2010), which compounds the damaging effects of the maltreatment received from the larger society by rejection from the one group where these immigrants might hope to feel fully accepted and safe.

These results support the findings from Ayón's (2016) interviews with Latinx parents living in Arizona, where they explained the need to teach their children to expect discrimination and how to deal with it due to the hostile anti-immigrant climate in their state. Similarly, while

living far from Arizona, the parents I interviewed also prepared their children to face discrimination and cautioned them against discriminating against others. Children were taught to help and respect others rather than discriminate based on skin color, documentation status, or language proficiency. Just as the notion of *respeto* has been discussed previously as an important cultural value transmitted to children from a young age (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010), it also emerged as a key central message in the parents of adolescents in the present study, as several interviewees spoke of how they had helped and respected others and how they expected their children to follow the example they had set.

The link between discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization was made clear made by the undocumented parents' reports that fear of deportation and exposure to discrimination influenced their ethnic-racial socialization messages. It is not hard to understand how these two factors motivated parents to want to prepare their children for them. Through promotion of mistrust, the children were taught to expect discrimination from society, especially from law enforcement personnel as racial-profiling behaviors prompted immigrants to fear them rather than to rely on them for help. However, children often received conflicting information. In some instances, they were taught that everyone was the same and to respect and have compassion for others, while other messages taught them that somehow immigrants were not welcomed and even hated by others. These children had to figure out how to navigate mainstream institutions and make sense of these ethnic-racial socialization messages in the context of their own interactions with non-Latinx individuals, especially peers and teachers. Future studies should examine the variety of ways that different children make decisions on how to engage with others based on the advice they have received from their parents.

These qualitative results provided important context for participants' experiences of discrimination and how these informed their ethnic-racial socialization. Future studies would benefit from utilizing a measure of discrimination that recognizes the many types of discrimination to which immigrants are exposed as well as the different perpetrators of the discrimination. The current results demonstrated that discrimination is also targeted at the immigrant community by US-born Latinx, and that frequently these encounters, being less expected, are even more painful. Furthermore, using a measure that better reflects the vulnerability of the undocumented and how the discrimination tied to their status is omnipresent would better capture their experiences in future quantitative studies with this population.

Emergent Findings

In addition to sharing messages about cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias, which overlapped with the constructs of well-established ethnic-racial socialization scales (Hughes et al., 2006), parents also reported messaging regarding documentation status, the importance of education, and living with fear and stress. In this section, I will discuss each one of these unanticipated themes.

Documentation Status Socialization

A very important topic addressed by parents was documentation status. This included the need to inform children of parents' vulnerable status so as to lessen the surprise in case of detainment and to explain some of the choices made to avoid driving or other activities that might put them at risk. Explaining the restrictions of their status and the ever-present risks involved was important because it also made the children aware that they had a contingency plan for the family in place in case of detainment or deportation. While, according to parents' reports, awareness of the family's vulnerability causes fear and anxiety in children, knowledge of the

steps that have been taken to protect the family may ameliorate the terrible fear of deportation for children. By taking these steps, the parents likely felt empowered, that not everything was beyond their control, and that if the worst came to pass, they at least had prepared for it (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Often witnessed by children, deportations and family dissolutions have become a normal occurrence in many immigrant communities. These events keep immigrants and their children on high alert and afraid for their families' future (Zayas, 2015). Thus, conversations about documentation status have become more common in these households, especially in reaction to remarks by Trump regarding Mexican and other Latinx immigrants and increased media coverage of raids and family separations. To counteract these negative portrayals, undocumented parents report trying to foster in their children an understanding of what drives immigrants to cross the border so that those actions are not perceived as crimes. These types of conversation are crucial to build and maintain pride towards their ethnic group in their children (Dreby, 2012).

Parents expressed resentment regarding the limitations imposed by their documentation status, which precluded them from taking better jobs for which they were prepared and qualified. These limitations also impacted their children's educational opportunities due to both lack of appropriate parental documentation to apply for loans or scholarships, and the fear of driving or even leaving the house, which blocked them from accepting invitations to visit university campuses. Not enough studies with this hard-to-reach population have been conducted to fully understand the impact of undocumented status on children's educational and mental health. The few studies that have examined these issues identify several risks associated with undocumented status for parents and children. Future studies should focus on better understanding the intricacies of living in the shadows and the many different impacts this has on these families.

Furthermore, it would be important to examine the possible protective effects of documentation status socialization. Children learning about contingency plans their families have developed could feel a sense of relief and a measure of control over an otherwise possibly terrible and uncontrollable fate. This awareness could lower children's anxieties regarding not knowing what would happen to them in case of parental detainment and deportation. Moreover, it could help adolescents understand and cope with possible resentment over missed travel opportunities bearing on their educational future. Knowing about an underlying rationale for some of their parents' decisions and behaviors could ameliorate possible family tensions and conflict.

Despite having to live in constant fear of deportation, some undocumented participants had strongly held beliefs that God would protect them and spare them any suffering. Their faith lifted the spirits of these families and helped them get on with their lives despite the many risks they faced. Past studies have demonstrated the importance of religion and faith for Latinx immigrants. For many of these individuals, religion is both a central aspect of their culture and an important coping mechanism in the face of stress (Sanchez, Dillon, Ruffin, & De La Rosa, 2012). Parents also communicated to children the need for them to assume more mature roles in the home should they be left alone in this country. From learning how to pay bills to lessons on money management and the importance of working hard to provide for the family, parents wanted their teens to be prepared. Developing independence in their maturing children was mentioned as an important goal.

Documented parents also talked about documentation status issues with their children (see also Ayón, 2018), prompted by the undocumented status of a family member or in response to children witnessing or hearing about deportations or raids in the community. Despite not being personally at risk, some of these parents did not feel completely safe with the protections

afforded by their permanent residency. Many had undocumented family members and several others had been previously undocumented. This supports the earlier finding that merely knowing an undocumented person increases one's risk of mental health problems (Vargas, Juárez, Sanchez, & Livaudais, 2018), a risk that extended even to some US citizens. These findings demonstrate the deleterious impact of a person's undocumented status, which can extend far beyond their concerns for their own future in this country. Some documented parents used their experiences as former undocumented immigrants to make their children aware of the struggles undocumented immigrants face and the need for Latinx to unite and help one another. Even those parents not directly at risk indicated that the current unsettling political climate increased their feelings of vulnerability. Other studies have documented the widespread fear that has overtaken the Latinx community in the era of Trump. His xenophobic rhetoric (e.g., "Build the wall") has created an atmosphere where displays of discrimination against immigrants are more acceptable. As a result, besides fearing deportation, some of the undocumented also feared maltreatment and consequently further isolated themselves (Gorman, 2017).

Discussion regarding the privilege of having documents was present in both documented and undocumented households. Documented parents were aware that their children's understanding of the difficulties and risk of being undocumented was limited. Some felt that talking about it with them was unnecessary, as it did not affect any of them. Others, who had arrived in this country by risking their lives to cross the border and only later became documented, preferred to teach their children that because of their bravery, they were now enjoying a better life. They wanted to ensure that their children were aware of the sacrifices made on their behalf that led to their American citizenship, with all the accompanying benefits. Similarly, the undocumented parents also emphasized to their children their good fortune in

being documented. Emphasizing the many restrictions associated with undocumented status was used to motivate their children to reach for their dreams and believe that they have the chance to achieve their goals. There needs to be better understanding of how having an awareness of their documentation privilege impacts parents and children. Not enough studies have captured these specific types of family conversations and dynamics. Research with Asian populations has indicated that citizens enjoy lowered psychological distress due to the subjective higher standing that they have in comparison to non-citizens. That is, it was argued that immigrants ascribe values to their status as citizen or noncitizen in this country and that those who are citizens enjoy better mental health because they perceive an enhanced ability to improve their lives (e.g., Gee, Morey, Walsemann, Ro, & Takeuchi, 2016). Future studies might explore this notion of documentation privilege and the impact that conversations and awareness about it have on outcomes for both parents and children.

Even though parents participating in this project had adolescent children, some had younger offspring, and they indicated differences in how they approached these topics with the younger ones. Although the undocumented parents felt that the younger children should know about their parents' status, they shared fewer details with them because they believed them incapable of grasping the concepts of delimiting borders and needing permission to cross from one country into another. While they were aware that their children knew of some issues they faced because of overheard conversations, parents were reluctant to share the realities of detainment and deportation to avoid scaring them. This illustrates the challenges in talking to children about difficult topics in a developmentally appropriate manner (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Some of these conversations are often reserved for older children due to parents' fears of causing younger ones stress and worries. However, because of the potential

trauma of a parent's deportation without preparation for possible family separation, many undocumented parents do not feel they should keep their children in the dark (Capps et al., 2007; Suárez-Orozco, 2011).

The practice of separating immigrating families has a very long history in this country and the fear associated with it has led immigrants to adapt their socialization practices to reflect this. Documentation status socialization is not restricted to Latinx families, as it is also likely taking place in other immigrant households. However, I argue that this type of socialization should be included as a meaningful dimension of ethnic-racial socialization, as oftentimes being undocumented is synonymous with being Latinx. People of Latinx descent are frequently profiled as undocumented. Those with darker skin and stronger Mexican traits are the most affected (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Ramos, Jaccard, & Guilamo-Ramos, 2003). Thus, separating issues of documentation status from those of ethnicity and race within Latinx communities is a complex task. Just as preparing their children for bias or promoting mistrust, talking to them about documentation status (whether the parents are undocumented or not), preparing them for possible parental deportation, teaching them about the stigma associated with being Latinx and perceived as not having "papers," are essential tasks of Latinx parents. More research examining this specific type of socialization is necessary. Qualitative work probing these practices should be used to build on current ethnic-racial socialization measures so that future quantitative studies could employ updated and more culturally relevant scales that would allow collection of more complete information (see e.g., Ayón, 2018). Past studies have associated ethnic-racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust) with positive and negative outcomes for children depending on the type of messages (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). This line of research should be extended to encompass the impact of

documentation status socialization on children's academic and mental health outcomes, including how it affects children of different ages.

Education as an Asset

Education was an ever-present topic in conversations between parents and children. Both documented and undocumented participants wanted their children to recognize the sacrifices they had made so that their descendants would have better opportunities. Such recognition was expected in the form of hard academic work. The chance to attend good schools and enjoy quality education was regarded as a second-generation opportunity of great importance, with parents explaining how lacking their schools had been. Children were socialized to develop a strong work ethic from a young age, starting with their dedication to their studies in pursuit of improved future opportunities.

Given these Latinx immigrant parents' high expectations for their children's education and the improved future associated with it, it is unsurprising that they rank providing better educational opportunities for their offspring as one of the main reasons for immigrating (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Parents' own educational history and their current difficult working conditions were used to illustrate the ill effects of not staying in school. Using parents' physical work as an example of the arduous path they would be choosing by not applying themselves in school has been discussed in previous work with this population (López, 2001; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

For added emphasis, the undocumented parents shared their perilous border crossing stories and maltreatment so that children would validate their parents' immigration efforts and make their suffering worthwhile by taking advantage of the opportunities this country offers. These parents often combined preparation for bias messages with encouragement to study. They

perceived education to be an antidote for discrimination. They felt that by achieving higher levels of education, their children would gain respect and avoid the maltreatment they had endured. These results support and extend previous work by demonstrating the value of education for the children of the undocumented. In the free education this country provides, these parents see a transformative power linking their stunted lives to the limitless prospects of their children. It would be important for future studies to continue examining the different ways that immigrant parents are involved in their children's education. Exploring further the impact of these socialization messages to honor their parents' sacrifice by encouraging a commitment to education would be a promising area of future inquiry.

Ever-Present Fear and Stress

The qualitative interviews provided valuable insights into the experiences of undocumented immigrants. Undocumented parents reported that living under the constant stress and fear of being identified as undocumented and then deported created an environment of feeling constantly monitored and criminalized. The risk of being separated from their children always weighed heavily on them, causing depressive symptoms and anxiety. These results support past studies with undocumented immigrants that have found they experience high levels of mental health problems (Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Spitznagel, 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The financial consequences of deportation are yet another source of worry, since return to their native country means exposure to violence and likely loss of their ability to provide for their family – both immediate and extended. Monthly remittances are an invaluable source of income to many families in Latin America who rely on them to make ends meet. Strong ties and attendant feelings of obligation and responsibility to family members, regardless of distance, represent a crucial aspect of Latinx culture (Constante, Marchand, Cross, & Rivas-Drake, 2018).

Thus, the fear of deportation goes far beyond separation from their children; it implies losing their livelihood, hard-earned savings, and associated ability to provide transnational support for their extended families.

The stress associated with undocumented status percolates from one generation to the next as parents reported high levels of fear, anxiety, and stress in their children prompted by the threat of parental deportation. Parents explained that this fear affected the children's schooling and mental health. The fear of losing a parent to deportation or having to abandon this country to stay with a deported parent has been documented previously as causing damaging outcomes in children. Such instability and high levels of stress negatively impact children's socio-emotional development and lead to a range of deleterious mental health issues (Capps et al., 2007; Delva et al., 2013). Worth noting here is the agency that some of these children developed, as reported by their parents, in response to the parents' vulnerability. Some learned more about American immigration laws and volunteered to help immigrant rights groups, while others engaged in activism and protests against social injustices affecting all immigrants. This is consistent with previous work showing increased levels of civic involvement and protest in children of undocumented immigrants, reflective of the belief that their actions can lead to change (Street, Jones-Correa, & Zepeda-Millán, 2017). Future studies should continue examining the impact of documentation status on children's development by looking for different pathways of how being undocumented impacts the immigrant, their children and their family processes.

Undocumented parents expressed a drastic increase in both their own and their children's levels of fear and stress as a result of Trump's election. His blatantly racist comments about Mexican immigrants, xenophobic campaign promises based on stringent immigration policies, and calls for less porous borders have caused intense apprehension for their future in this

country. These fears also justify the higher levels of promotion of mistrust being transmitted by undocumented parents. The need to protect themselves and their families prompts those messages encouraging wariness of others. In an effort to shield children from these fears, some parents downplay the risks of living with undocumented status to children, since this harsh reality is often overwhelming for the parents themselves. Recent studies have also examined the deleterious impact that Trump's candidacy, election, and administration have had on the Latinx immigrant community in general, and to those of undocumented status more specifically (Roche, Vaquera, White, & Rivera, 2018; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Future studies should continue exploring the impact of the current socio-political environment on the mental health of immigrants and their children. Learning about the adaptations that these families have made to protect themselves and lessen the negative impact of the socio-political context is key to understanding how families and communities respond to risks and find ways to continue moving forward.

Accessing Undocumented Immigrant Communities

Because undocumented immigrants are a vulnerable and hard-to-reach group, I would like to highlight a few key issues in regard to conducting research with this population. To begin with, the scarcity of research with undocumented immigrants can partially, and understandably, be attributed to their mistrust of institutional agents (including academic researchers) and general fear of deportation (George, Duran, & Norris, 2014). These valid concerns for their safety restrict their openness to researchers who are often strangers to them and their community. Furthermore, there are ethical and methodological concerns in collecting data with this population. Researchers need to use utmost caution to maintain participants' confidentiality, since the Institutional Review Boards of institutions have varied levels of understanding of the needs and

vulnerabilities of undocumented immigrant communities (Hernández et al., 2013). The use of a certificate of confidentiality from the National Institute of Health is indispensable in any study involving undocumented immigrants (Lahman, Mendoza, Rodriguez & Schwartz, 2011; Schenker, 2010). Hernandez and colleagues (2013) also advise researchers that participants should be given the opportunity to provide feedback and must receive a proper, thorough explanation regarding their involvement in the research process.

Additionally, there is a troubling lack of uniformity when studying such vulnerable populations. Inadequate familiarity with ethical research protocols can result in researchers seeking to interview undocumented individuals without adequate training, not employing appropriate ethical considerations, or failing to frame studies responsibly (McLaughlin & Alfaro-Velcamp, 2015). The employment of unsatisfactory methods jeopardizes not merely the quality of the resulting research but, more importantly, the trust and safety of vulnerable community members. Following rigorous protocols for interactions with participants, as well as data collection, storage and management is crucial for demonstrating the researchers respect for the population.

The Mixed Methods Advantage

My current findings highlight the enormous value of conducting mixed methods research with this population. By integrating the two methods, I combined multiple viewpoints to generate unique insights into the ethnic-racial socialization practices of Latinx immigrants. Through the quantitative methodology, I was able to employ widely used measures of ethnic-racial socialization and discrimination to test an analytical model and learn more about group differences and the relationships between the selected variables. The qualitative interviews then allowed me to go beyond merely establishing differences between the documented and

undocumented groups to learning the details of just how the ethnic-racial socialization of the participants varied. One example of this is the different advice offered by documented and undocumented parents to their children regarding how to respond to discrimination. The richness of the interview content provided several examples of intragroup variation and also revealed other unexpected socialization practices that Latinx immigrants employ, some of which could be attributed to documentation status.

The qualitative findings also provided important information allowing for future refinement of current ethnic-racial socialization measures, in order to more accurately capture the ethnic-racial socialization practices of undocumented immigrants. The convergence of the results provided support for the validity of the findings and allowed for more thorough interpretation, since there were two types of data to draw from. On the other hand, the divergence of results allowed for the development of possible reasons for the lack of quantitative group differences, such as the possibility that the perceived-foreigner objectification scale did not address the actual discrimination participants had experienced as adequately as their interview responses did. Regardless, having access to the different methods improved the final results and allowed for a more thorough examination of the ethnic-racial socialization practices of immigrants, including results that encompass the actual lived experiences of hard-to-reach participants, respecting their cultural singularities and gathered directly through their own voices. The current findings would not have been as rich and robust had only one of the two methods been used. By integrating methods throughout the entire project, I was able to obtain important and innovative evidence that filled a gap in the literature of ethnic-racial socialization. I submit that future studies with this population would similarly benefit from mixed research methods, whereby, through a process of integration, qualitative and quantitative findings could

complement each other. One method could expand on and explain the other, thus providing a more coherent and informative whole (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013).

Limitations

This work faced several limitations that merit discussion. The study was cross-sectional, which precludes the ability to assert the causal direction of relationship between experience of discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization. Employing a longitudinal design would provide the information needed to make these associations. Given the exploratory nature of this study and the community-based sample recruited from a restricted geographic area, the findings have limited generalizability. Although our participants were largely from Mexico and thus reflect the national origin of the overwhelming majority of Latinx immigrants in the United States, their experiences do not account for the full range of diverse practices of immigrants from varied Latinx countries. Moreover, the current study participants were mostly of lower socioeconomic status. Future studies may benefit from including a larger number of participants of diverse economic means and national origins living in different parts of the country to be more representative of Latinx immigrants in general, consequently strengthening the generalization of results. Furthermore, it is possible that the sample size was too small to detect the effect of experience of discrimination on ethnic-racial socialization or group differences in preparation for bias. Thus, future studies should survey a larger sample size to re-test my analytical model, further confirm the associations I found, and revisit my non-significant findings. Another potential limitation is related to the ethnic-racial socialization measure used in this study. While this measure has been validated and widely used in a range of studies with Latinx populations, it captures neither the frequency of transmission of a given ethnic-racial socialization message nor the motivation or reasoning behind parental use of each message. Future work on socialization

with Latinx immigrant families would benefit from using an expanded measure that is more representative of the experiences of this group, one that includes some of the themes that emerged in the interviews such as parental immigration sacrifice, documentation status socialization, and education pursuit as a coping mechanism against discrimination.

Moreover, surveys and interviews relied mostly on self-reported data, which may be subject to bias due to faulty memory from participants in recalling their practices and also due to the effects of social desirability. Future studies would benefit from including more informants, especially extended family members and fathers, as the majority of my participants were mothers. During the interviews, some mothers mentioned that their husbands tended to be more explicit in their conversations with their children, so it would be interesting to examine the variation between the mothers' messages and the fathers'. Gathering data from multiple informants would provide information on ethnic-racial socialization practices from different perspectives while also diminishing the effects of social desirability bias. Despite these limitations, this study contributes towards a greater understanding of Latinx families' ethnic-racial socialization processes. I also wish to mention this study's employment of elements of community-based participatory research methods, such as relying on a community liaison, to bridge the divide between researchers and community members. This practice allowed for the collection of important information regarding participants' documentation status. Many of the challenges associated with approaching vulnerable populations for research were met through the support of the community liaison and my decade of experience working with undocumented Latinx immigrants. This combination of factors allowed for participants to feel safe opening their doors and sharing details about their experiences during the interviews amidst a political environment of fear and vulnerability.

Implications for Practice

This study provides several implications for practice. Latinx parents would benefit from learning about the importance of ethnic-racial socialization for their children's development and for their families as a whole. Schools, community mental health agencies, pediatricians, and other places serving Latinx families would be important outlets for this information. Having access to psychoeducational materials explaining the benefits to children in learning their native language, heritage, and customs would demonstrate to parents the great value of their ethnic-racial socialization. This would encourage parents to continue transmitting their culture and language and talking about race and ethnicity at home, including teaching children about discrimination and promoting mistrust. If parents received specific information about how the different types of ethnic-racial socialization impact their children, they could choose to emphasize some more than others. These families should not be discouraged from promoting mistrust, but they could be informed that these messages might have an even greater impact on children when paired with teaching them what to do in case of discrimination, allowing them to adopt active coping strategies such as standing up to maltreatment by defending themselves or others who are being victimized, and seeking an adult for help (Ayón, 2018).

Furthermore, emphasizing the need to continue engaging in cultural socialization and teaching children the beauty and positive aspects of their ethnicity is of even greater value in the present moment to combat the more negative messages from society regarding having a Latinx immigrant heritage. In addition, utilizing the help of trusted organizations with strong ties to Latinx communities would be helpful. Such entities would provide validation for parents' current cultural practices and desire to protect their children from maltreatment through their ethnic-racial socialization. Such information could also be incorporated into current parenting programs

geared towards improving family communication and adolescent academic and socio-emotional outcomes.

Another important recommendation would be for service providers working with Latinx families to provide them with resources for battling discrimination. Given the pervasiveness of discrimination experiences among Latinx communities, providers should automatically assume that this is an issue the parents and children have faced and are concerned about. Thus, discussing it would promote awareness of the different advocacy resources available to protect both parents and children from discrimination, regardless of their documentation status.

Conclusion

Ethnic-racial socialization happens almost constantly within the homes of most minority families, sometimes in response to events in the media or in the community, other times as a result of parents' need to prepare their children for life beyond the home. As our society continues to dehumanize and marginalize immigrants, better understanding regarding the ways in which they adapt and respond to their social context is helpful. The current study represents an important step in understanding the family processes of Latinx immigrants by examining how parents' documentation status and experiences of discrimination are associated with their ethnic-racial socialization. Parental undocumented status impacts the types of messages they transmit to their children, reflecting the pervasive influence of undocumented status in family processes. This research goes beyond previous studies by including the experience of undocumented immigrants and pursuing further understanding of their specific situation by comparing it to that of documented Latinx immigrants. The findings presented offer important implications for the development of interventions targeting ethnic-racial socialization processes for Latinx families.

TABLES

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample

	Documented	Undocumented
Married	43%	57%
Less than High School	34%	66%
High School and above	52%	48%
Education in US	64%	36%
Income less than $30,000	32%	68%
Free and Reduced School Lunch	37%	63%
Mexican Origin	44%	56%

Table 2

Summary of Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Primary Study Variables

		1	2	3	4
1. Promotion of Mistrust		--	.13	.13	.04
2. Cultural Socialization			--	.58***	-.05
3. Preparation for Bias				--	.06
4. Foreigner Objectification					--
Not at all important		13.3%	1%	0%	31.4%
Not very important		36.2%	0%	1.9%	48.6%
Somewhat important		32.4%	18%	19.1%	14.3%
Very important		18.1%	81%	79%	5.7%
	M	2.56	3.77	3.66	1.84
	SD	0.91	0.44	0.42	0.78
	Range	3.00	2.67	1.75	3.00
	Skewness	0.06	-2.57	-1.32	1.00
	Kurtosis	-1.21	8.79	1.26	0.30

*** $p < .001$.

Table 3.

Path Model for Documentation Status, Ethnic-Racial Socialization, and Foreigner Objectification

Variable	Unstandardized Estimate	*SE*	Unstandardized Estimate/*SE*	Standardized Estimate
Cultural Socialization ON				
Parent Level of Education	0.12	0.08	1.44	0.13
Documentation Status	0.16	0.09	1.84†	0.18*
Foreigner Objectification	-0.03	0.05	-0.58	-0.05
Promotion of Mistrust ON				
Parent Level of Education	-0.46	0.18	-2.60**	-0.25**
Documentation Status	0.37	0.18	2.00*	0.20*
Foreigner Objectification	0.02	0.12	0.15	0.02
Preparation for Bias ON				
Parent Level of Education	-0.01	0.09	-0.09	-0.01
Documentation Status	0.04	0.08	0.42	0.04
Foreigner Objectification	0.03	0.05	0.67	0.06
Foreigner Objectification ON				
Documentation Status	-0.01	0.15	-0.03	-0.00
Length of US residence	-0.04	0.02	-2.34*	-0.26*

†$p < .065$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

FIGURES

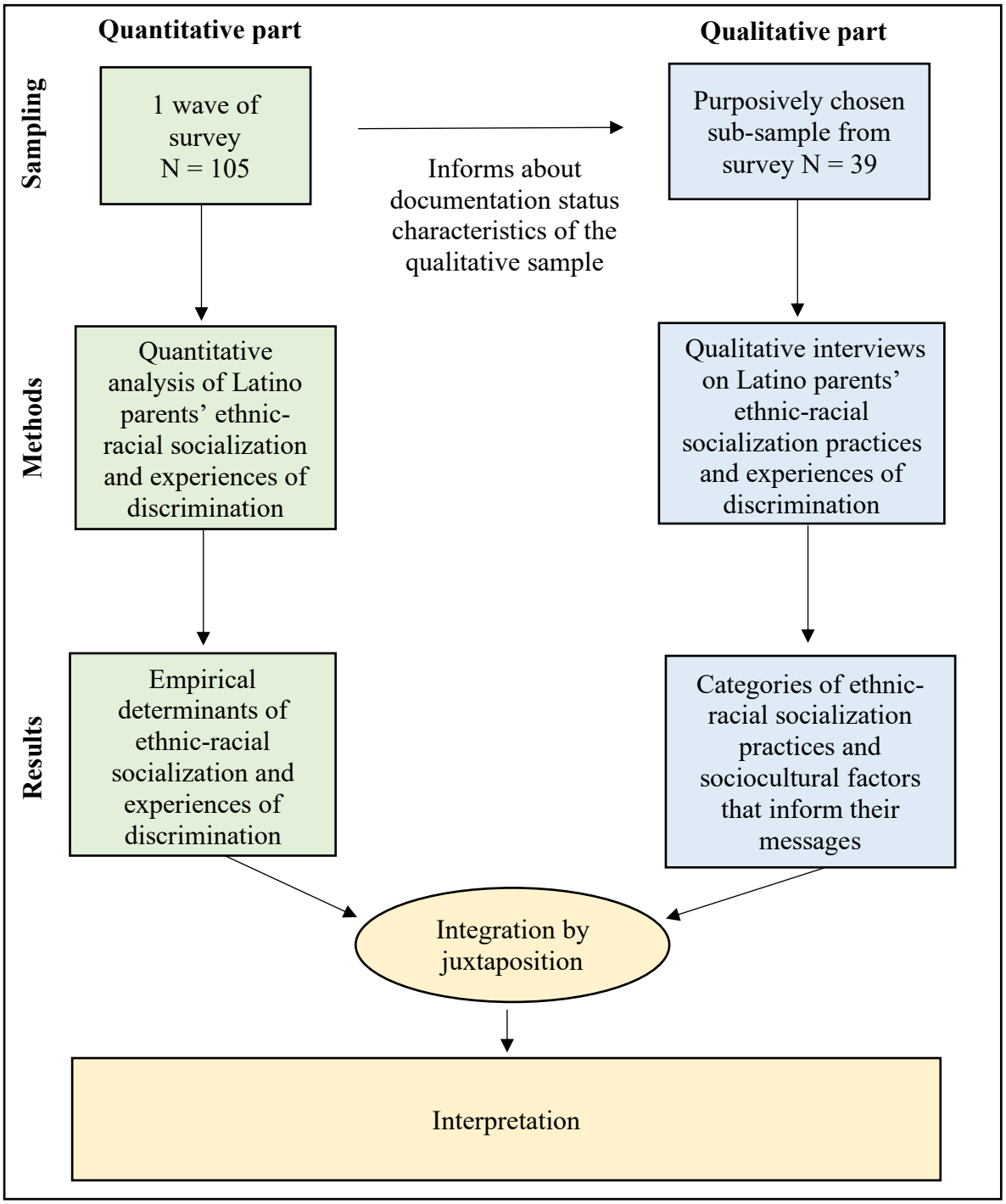

Figure 1. Convergent Design Procedural Diagram

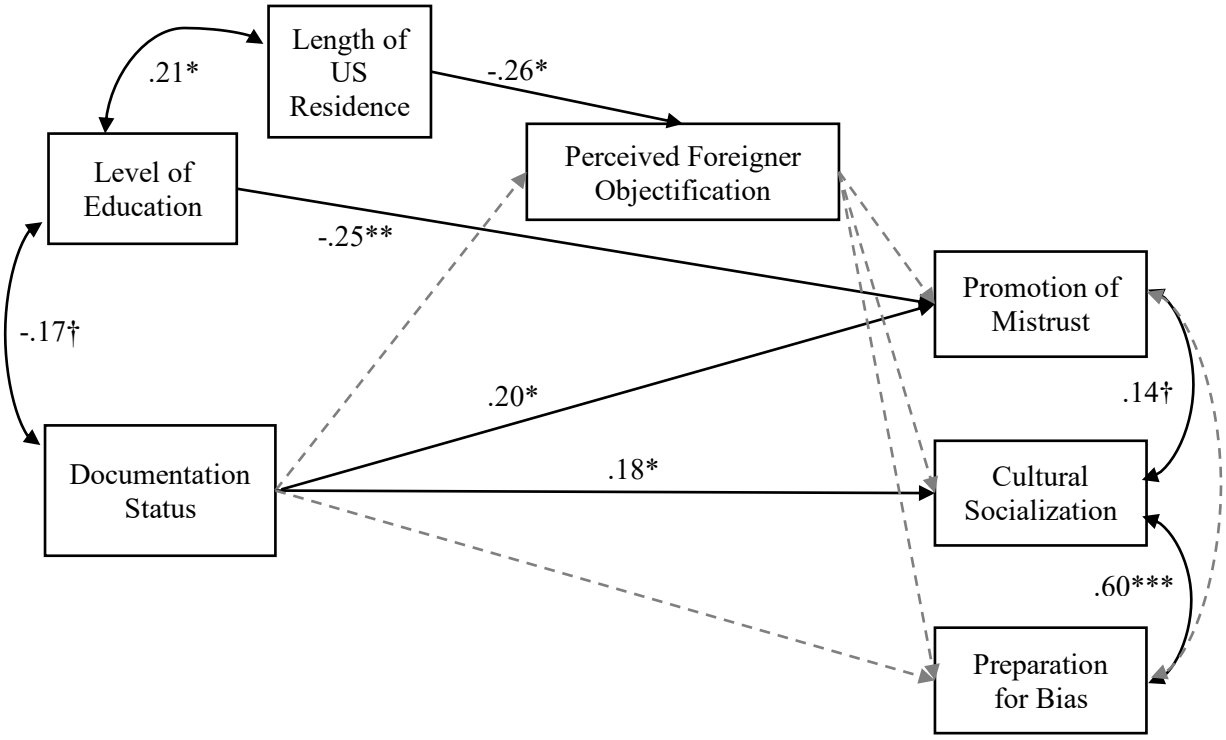

Figure 2. N = 105. Path analysis linking documentation status (0 = no one in the home is undocumented, 1 = at least one person in the home is undocumented) with parent-reported ethnic-racial socialization practices via perceived foreigner objectification, adjusting for education level and length of residence in the U.S. The model fit the data well, $\chi 2(4) = 0.81$, p = 0.9378, RMSEA = .00 [.00, .04], CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.27, SRMR =.02. Standardized results are presented here, and dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths. †$p < .08$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Figure 3.

Joint Display of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Quantitative			Qualitative		
Variable	β	*p*	RQ 2 Theme: Isolation for Survival		Analytical Integration Interpretation
			Undocumented	Documented	
Promotion of Mistrust	.20*	.045	"Very much since this new president came in. We're not at confidence to go out, to the movies and careful if we see the police … Oh, Lord, it's hard to live like that. And they notice it. They feel it. Even my son sees the police and says, 'I stay still. I don't move. I'm very still'."	No mentions of promotion of mistrust messages were identified	● Convergence across quantitative and qualitative findings. ● Undocumented parents often reported transmitting messages of mistrust and teaching children how to behave outside of the home, especially around law enforcement.
Quantitative			Qualitative		
Variable	β	*p*	RQ 2 Theme: Cultural Socialization		Analytical Integration Interpretation
			Undocumented	Documented	
Cultural Socialization	.18*	.040	"To not forget their roots, never. They should know where they come from, to say they have their feet well planted on earth. Uh or	"I think that they feel proud of their roots. I had the opportunity to take them to Mexico, they've been to school	● No convergence across quantitative and qualitative findings.

			like the phrase, too, that they can touch the sky, but without getting their feet off earth. They should always have respect for their origins, for something. Like me, I'm very proud of being Mexican. And the fact that we live in another country, we always have to represent where we come from very well. We should never deny who we are … feel proud of not having green eyes, or blue eyes … feeling always proud of where we come from, and everything we're worth, and what our country is worth, and all of that."	over there, and I feel that it is very different from other people who have not had that experience. Many don't value their language, or they're embarrassed to speak it, and since they don't want to speak Spanish anymore, as a teacher, I've seen many kids of Latino parents who don't know how to speak Spanish. Or they know very little, and they're embarrassed."	● In quantitative results, undocumented parents reported transmitting more cultural socialization than documented parents. ● In interviews, both groups reported engaging in high levels of cultural socialization. ● Documented parents relied more on trips to their native country alongside teachings about their culture, language, and traditions. ● Undocumented parents reported transmitting their culture through teaching about their heritage, celebrating traditions, speaking the language, and

					sharing anecdotes from their own childhood.
Quantitative			Qualitative		
Variable	β	*p*	RQ 2 Theme: Targeted Discrimination		Analytical Integration Interpretation
			Undocumented	Documented	
Preparation for Bias	.04	.675	"I see a lot of kids that are very racist … they will call the others wetbacks and go back where you came from … I always tell them that when someone says something to you don't say anything back, it's better for them to say 'well okay it's fine, that's your opinion you have that opinion we don't have the same opinion, everyone has their own opinion,' … and if someone does something to you … you don't do anything back, that if someone does something to you it's better to talk, talk to whomever is taking care of you, with your teachers, with whomever you are with, with the oldest there."	"Nobody should bully them or tell them you're this, no, and whoever does, don't listen to them, always be alert, if someone at school say something, don't be afraid, defend yourself well, because we're all equal no matter where we come from, we are equal. The same way those people have the same rights here in the United States, the same with other kids, we all have the same rights."	● Convergence across quantitative and qualitative findings. ● Both undocumented and documented parents transmitted preparation for bias messages in interviews. ● Undocumented parents asked children to avoid discussions and to ignore discrimination. ● Documented parents encouraged children to defend themselves.
Quantitative			Quantitative		
Variable	β	*p*	RQ 3 Theme: Discrimination and Devaluation		Analytical Integration Interpretation

			Undocumented	Documented	
Perceived Foreigner Objectification	-.01	.973	"Yes, because racism has always existed but especially these days, so I tell them they have to study very hard. We have to show them not to fall in the in the stereotype that immigrants are always thieves, or gang members or things like that. For example, I tell them that they have to do their best at school."	"Since I got here, well, I've been here legally in the United States. So, there will always be discrimination, even if I have my documentation, there will always be discrimination against Latinos, but that hasn't affected me because my children are from here, my husband, too, and so I came here with my residency, as well. I then became a citizen, and being an immigrant hasn't affected me much, but it has affected my family and other family friends who worry about being caught and those problems. But for me, personally, it hasn't affected me much … the only thing that I tell my children is, 'look kids, you guys speak English well, defend yourselves … if one doesn't know how to defend themselves, well, that person just keeps their head down'."	● Convergence across quantitative and qualitative findings. ● Both undocumented and documented parents believed that discrimination was a part of the reality of being an immigrant. ● Parents used their own experiences of discrimination to prepare their children for what they could possibly face. ● Undocumented parents urged their children to study as a measure of protection from discrimination.

APPENDICCES

APPENDIX A

Preparation for Bias (4 items)

Response Code:
1 = Not at all important
2 = Not very important
3 = Somewhat important
4 = Very important

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to make their children aware of the stereotypes about your ethnic group?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to teach children about racial problems in society?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to explain instances of discrimination to their children when they see it?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to prepare children in your ethnic group to cope with discrimination?

APPENDIX B

Cultural Socialization (3 items)

Response Code:
1 = Not at all important
2 = Not very important
3 = Somewhat important
4 = Very important

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to teach children about the history and traditions of your ethnic group?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to help their children feel connected to others in your ethnic group?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to make sure their children maintain your ethnic group's values and beliefs?

APPENDIX C

Promotion of Mistrust (3 items)

Response Code:
1 = Not at all important
2 = Not very important
3 = Somewhat important
4 = Very important

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to teach their children to be wary of people who are not in your ethnic group?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to make sure children have your ethnic group's friends?

How important is it for parents of your ethnic group to teach children not to trust people who are not in your ethnic group?

APPENDIX D

Foreigner Objectification Scale (4 items)

Response Code:
1 = Never
2 = Once or twice
3 = Three or four times
4 = Five or more times

Instructions: How many times have you experienced the following events in the past year?

Had your American citizenship or residency questioned by others.

Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability.

Asked by strangers, “Where are you from?” because of your ethnicity/race.

Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or loud way.

APPENDIX E

Demographics: Parents' Level of Education

What is the highest level of schooling you have completed? (please choose one)

1 = Elementary school (up to grade 5)
2 = Middle school (grades 6-8)
3 = Some high school, but did not graduate
4 = Graduated from high school
5 = Some college, but did not receive degree
6 = 2-year college degree
7 = 4-year college degree
8 = Advanced degree (i.e. Masters, Doctorate)

APPENDIX F

Interview Invitation Script

Good morning/afternoon/evening _____,

We are contacting you because we would like to interview parents to get a better understanding about your experiences with immigration and with raising your child in the United States. For this one-on-one interview we will provide a $30 gift card. Are you interested in participating?

If NO, thank you for your time.

If YES, can we schedule an interview?

APPENDIX G

Transcription Protocol

STEP 1: Transcribed Log

The transcribed log file shows what interviews need to be done and what interviews are completed. To view this log, follow the directions below.

Click on the windows button -> PSYC-DRIVASS09 -> System (C:) -> Interview material -> PCC_transcribed_log.xlsx .

In the first column labeled *Participant ID* you will see participant ID numbers that are directly linked to their interview audio file.

The second column labeled *RA ID* will show which RA completed the interview and, if applicable, who it was edited by.

The third column labeled *Edited in Word* shows who has completed the editing process in Microsoft Word. NOTE: InqScribe (transcribing software) does not write in Spanish, therefore you need to copy and paste work once finished from InqScribeinto Microsoft Word to begin editing grammar and making sure accent marks and spelling are in order.

NOTE: Any work you do make sure to initial your name under *RA ID* next to the *Participant ID* audio that you completed and label (in progress) if it is not yet completed.

How to Transcribe

STEP 2: InqScribePathway

Once logged in, click on windows button -> PSYC-DRIVASS09 -> System (C:) -> Interview material -> InqScribe

Once you are logged into InqScribe, you will need to drag the audio interview you wish to transcribe into InqScribe.

NOTE: Once you start a transcription you do not need to drag the audio file in again. To open past work in InqScribe, look to the upper left and click File -> Open Recent -> Click on the file you were working on to continue.

STEP 3: Audio Pathway

Once logged in, first open InqScribethrough the pathway explained above, then click on windows button -> PSYC-DRIVASS09 -> System (C:) -> Interview material -> Audio Files -> Choose whichever file you need to complete

Click on the file and drag it to the square audio drop box in InqScribe.

NOTE: Once the audio file is dragged into InqScribe, you will not need to drag it in again. Save document as Language_ Documentation Status_ Participant ID_DATE

Example: Spanish_Doc_1003_6.15.17 or Spanish_Undoc_1053_2.12.17 or English_Doc_1001_1.20.17

Using Foot Pedal:

Use the foot pedal as follows:
To rewind press the left side of the pedal.
To pause and play press the middle of the pedal.
To fast forward press the right side of the pedal.
When transcribing, always label who is talking as Interviewer or Entrevistador (Fernanda) and Participant or Participante as follows:
Entrevistador: Hola
Participante: Hola

Make sure you capture the conversation exactly as it is happening. Do not change the language or correct how they are speaking, capture any stuttering, or if a third party comes and interrupts a conversation.

Saving Work:

InqScribe

Always save work by clicking in the upper left corner of InqScribe. Click File ->Save as-> You will see a folder at the top middle, click and select Transcribed Files -> Select Language of folder
NOTE: Make sure to manually save periodically in InqScribe! Sometimes it does not save automatically; therefore, you must manually save by looking to the top left of InqScribe and click File -> Save.

STEP 4: Microsoft Word

When you finish transcribing for the day, go to Microsoft Word and open a new blank document. Copy the text from InqScribe and paste it into Word. Click File -> Save as -> and type Language_ Documentation Status_ Participant ID_DATE
Example: Spanish_Doc_1003_6.15.17 or Spanish_Undoc_1053_2.12.17 or English_Doc_1001_1.20.17
MAKE SURE when you are "*saving as"* that you save to System (C): -> Interview materials -> transcribed files and select Spanish or English so that everyone can have access to view these files.
When a file is saved, conduct a spelling and grammar check. Click the review tab -> spelling and grammar. Make sure to change the language in Word if the interview is in Spanish so that edits can be made in Spanish. Do this by looking to the top of the page and click Review -> Language -> Set Proofing Language -> Spanish.
NOTE: Always copy and paste your work from InqScribe into Word to have as a back-up in case you ever lose your transcription in InqScribe. If that should ever happen, you can then copy and paste your work from Word into InqScribe.

Time Stamping

You must time stamp the beginning of each question the interviewer asks as well as the beginning of places you find are inaudible.
To time stamp in InqScribe look to the upper left corner and click edit -> insert time

Questions or Concerns

In case a problem arises, such as loss of a transcript, you may contact InqScribe on their site https://www.InqScribe.com/support.html. They will usually get back to you in 24-48 hours.

APPENDIX H

Interview Questions

[Greet participant and thank them for agreeing to be interviewed. Check recording device to ensure it is working properly.]

1. As you are raising your children here in the United States, what do you think are some important things for them to know about growing up in an immigrant family?
2. Do you think is important to transmit to your child knowledge of your culture, traditions or history?
    a. Probe: What do you think is important for (name of child) to know or understand about your culture and traditions?
    b. What do you do to teach him/her about your culture and traditions?
3. In what ways has being an immigrant affected your family?
    a. How has it affected your child, if at all?
    b. Probe: Tell me about a time when this issue came up?
4. How has your life changed since you came to the U.S.?
    a. Probe: Do you talk about this with your children? How so?
5. What are some important lessons/messages your children should know about the way your family lives here in the U.S.?
6. Has your documentation status influenced what you teach your child about how you live your life in this country?
    a. Probe: If so, tell me about some of the ways in which this has happened.
    b. Probe: Do you talk about this with your children? How so?
7. [IF UNDOCUMENTED OR FAMILY/HOUSEHOLD MEMBER IS UNDOCUMENTED] Do you feel that your/your family member's documentation status has affected how you raise your child?
    a. Probe: If so, tell me about some of the ways in which this has happened.
    b. Probe: If not, tell me about something in your life that has influenced how you raise your child.

    [IF UNDOCUMENTED] Do you think it is important to tell your child about the documentation status issues your family has had to deal with and how that has affected your family?
    a. Probe: What are some of the reasons you think it might be important for you to share these issues with them?
8. What are three ways you want your child's life to be like yours when he or she is an adult?
    a. Probe: Do you discuss these aspirations with your children? How so?
9. How would you like his or her life to be different than yours when he or she is an adult?
    a. Probe: Do you discuss these aspirations with your children? How so?

APPENDIX I

Rationale Guiding Interview Questions

These questions have the purpose of getting information on the ethnic socialization practices parents engage in at home. It also tells me about parents' goals and hopes for their children's identity development. I expect to get responses discussing how parents celebrate their culture, traditions and holidays, plus examples of activities they do to celebrate their culture, like cooking or speaking in their native language.

1) As you are raising your children here in the United States, what do you think are some important things for them to know about growing up in an immigrant family?
2) Do you think is important to transmit to your child knowledge of your culture, traditions or history?
    a. Probe: What do you think is important for (name of child) to know or understand about your culture and traditions?
    b. What do you do to teach him/her about your culture and traditions?

With these two questions I hope to get background on parents' immigration and discrimination experiences as they inform their ethnic socialization practices and messages. I expect to get responses talking about experiences they've had as immigrants that have affected how they view themselves and our society as a whole. I also hope that the undocumented parents will talk about the difficulties they face on a daily basis and how it limits their lives and negatively affects their children. I expect to get both positive and negative replies to question 3, which would tell me what experiences are more salient in their lives or what type of experiences they choose to focus on.

3) In what ways has being an immigrant affected your family?
    a. How has it affected your child, if at all?
    b. Probe: Tell me about a time when this issue came up?
4) How has your life changed since you came to the U.S.?
    a. Probe: Do you talk about this with your children? How so?

These questions are designed to learn whether parents' documentation status informs their ethnic socialization messages. I hope that parents will draw on their experiences to come up with the lessons. I anticipate that undocumented parents will give concrete examples of how they have had to adapt as a family in order to live their lives despite their undocumented status. I also hope parents can talk about wanting their children to assimilate and attract less attention by speaking Spanish at home and English everywhere else.

5) What are some important lessons/messages your children should know about the way your family lives their life here in the U.S.?

6) Has your documentation status influenced what you teach your child about how you live your life in this country?
   a. Probe: If so, tell me about some of the ways in which this has happened.
   b. Probe: Do you talk about this with your children? How so?

These questions are designed to evaluate the extent that parents' documentation status and immigration experiences influence how they raise their children and whether parents share these issues with their children. I hope to get responses on whether parents are more or less involved in some aspects of their child's life (e.g., school involvement) or parents relying on a child to act as a cultural broker or interpreter. Also, I hope that they can talk about how their family's dynamics have been affected by living in the shadows (e.g., not driving, devising a plan in case of deportation, etc.).

[IF UNDOCUMENTED OR FAMILY/HOUSEHOLD MEMBER IS UNDOCUMENTED]

7) Do you feel that your/your family member's documentation status has affected how you raise your child?
   a. Probe: If so, tell me about some of the ways in which this has happened.
   b. Probe: If not, tell me about something in your life that has influenced how you raise your child.

[IF UNDOCUMENTED] Do you think it is important to tell your child about the documentation status issues your family has had to deal with and how that has affected your family?
   a. Probe: What are some of the reasons you think it might be important for you to share these issues with them?

With these questions I hope to learn about undocumented parents' goals and hopes for their children's identity development and overall future. Does their documentation status influence the goals and dreams they hold for their children? I expect interviewees to talk about how they made the effort to come to this country to provide a better life for their children, how they want them to work hard to get what they need, etc. I further hope to hear parents say something about wanting their children to stay connected to their culture and not forget their heritage.

8) What are three ways you want your child's life to be like yours when he or she is an adult?
   a. Probe: Do you discuss these aspirations with your children? How so?

9) How would you like his or her life to be different than yours when he or she is an adult?
   a. Probe: Do you discuss these aspirations with your children? How so?

REFERENCES

Adler, R. H. (2006). “But they claimed to be police, not la migra!”: The interaction of residency status, class, and ethnicity in a (Post–PATRIOT Act) New Jersey neighborhood. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *50*(1), 48-69. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0002764206289654.

Alamilla, S. G., Kim, B. S., & Lam, N. A. (2010). Acculturation, enculturation, perceived racism, minority status stressors, and psychological symptomatology among Latino/as. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*(1), 55-76. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986309352770.

Alarcón, A. V. M, & Novak, K. B. (2010). Latin American immigrants in Indianapolis: Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. *Latino Studies, 8*(1), 93-120. https://dx.doi.org/10.1057/lst.2010.2.

Alderete, E., Vega, W. A., Kolody, B., & Aguilar-Gaxiola, S. (1999). Depressive symptomatology: Prevalence and psychosocial risk factors among Mexican migrant farmworkers in California. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *27*(4), 457-471. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(199907)27:4<457::AID-JCOP7>3.0.CO;2-D

Alfaro, E. C., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Gonzales-Backen, M. A., Bámaca, M. Y., & Zeiders, K. H. (2009). Latino adolescents' academic success: The role of discrimination, academic motivation, and gender. *Journal of Adolescence*, *32*(4), 941-962. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2008.08.007

Araújo, B. Y., & Borrell, L. N. (2006). Understanding the link between discrimination, mental health outcomes, and life chances among Latinos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *28*(2), 245-266. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986305285825.

Arce, C. H., Murguia, E., & Frisbie, W. P. (1987). Phenotype and life chances among Chicanos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *9*(1), 19-32. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/073998638703090102.

Armenta, B. E., Lee, R. M., Pituc, S.T., Jung, K., Park, I. J. K., Soto, J. A., Kim, S. Y., & Schwartz, S. J. (2013). Where are you from? A validation of the foreigner objectification scale and the psychological correlates of foreigner objectification among Asian Americans and Latinos. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19*(2), 131-142. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0031547.

Ayón, C. (2016). Talking to Latino children about race, inequality, and discrimination: Raising families in an anti-immigrant political environment. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, *7*(3), 449-477. https://dx.doi.org/10.1086/686929.

Ayón, C. (2017). "Vivimos en jaula de oro": The impact of state-level legislation on immigrant Latino families. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *16*(4), 351-371. https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2017.1306151.

Ayón, C. (2018). Latino immigrant family socialization scale: Development and validation of a multidimensional ethnic–racial socialization measurement. *Social Work, 63*(3), 222-233. https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/sw/swy016.

Ayón, C., & Becerra, D. (2013). Mexican immigrant families under siege: The impact of anti-immigrant policies, discrimination, and the economic crisis. *Advances in Social Work*,

14(1), 206-228. Retrieved from https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/advancesinsocialwork/article/view/2692.

Ayón, C., & García, S. J. (2019). Latino immigrant parents' experiences with discrimination: Implications for parenting in a hostile immigration policy context. *Journal of Family Issues*. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513x19827988.

Ayón, C., Marsiglia, F. F., & Bermudez-Parsai, M. (2010). Latino family mental health: Exploring the role of discrimination and familismo. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *38*(6), 742-756. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20392.

Ayón, C., Ojeda, I., & Ruano, E. (2018). Cultural socialization practices among Latino immigrant families within a restrictive immigration socio-political context. *Children and Youth Services Review, 88*, 57-65. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.02.042.

Ayón, C., Valencia-Garcia, D., & Kim, S. H. (2017). Latino immigrant families and restrictive immigration climate: Perceived experiences with discrimination, threat to family, social exclusion, children's vulnerability, and related factors. *Race and Social Problems*, *9*(4), 300-312. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12552-017-9215-z.

Becerra, D., Androff, D. K., Ayon, C., & Castillo, J. T. (2012). Fear vs. facts: Examining the economic impact of undocumented immigrants in the US. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, *39*(4), 111-135. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol39/iss4/7

Becerra, D., Androff, D., Cimino, A., Wagaman, M. A., & Blanchard, K. N. (2012). The impact of perceived discrimination and immigration policies upon perceptions of quality of life among Latinos in the United States. *Race and Social Problems, 5*(1), 65-78. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12552-012-9084-4.

Benner, A. D., & Kim, S. Y. (2009). Experiences of discrimination among Chinese American adolescents and the consequences for socioemotional and academic development. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*(6), 1682-1694. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016119.

Berkel, C., Murry, V. M., Hurt, T. R., Chen, Y. F., Brody, G. H., Simons, R. L., Cutrona, C, & Gibbons, F. X. (2009). It takes a village: Protecting rural African American youth in the context of racism. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(2), 175-188. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9346-z.

Bernal, M. E., & Knight, G. P. (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (pp. 105-129). Albany, NY, US: State University of New York Press.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology an International Review*, *55*(3), 303-332. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x.

Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide.* New York, NY, US: Routledge.

Bowman, P. J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of black youths in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, *24*(2), 134-141. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0002-7138(09)60438-6.

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 33-51). Thousand Oaks, CA., US: Sage Publications.

Brabeck, K. M., Sibley, E., & Lykes, M. B. (2016). Authorized and unauthorized immigrant parents: The impact of legal vulnerability on family contexts. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *38*(1), 3-30. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986315621741.

Brabeck, K., & Xu, Q. (2010). The impact of detention and deportation on Latino immigrant children and families: A quantitative exploration. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*(3), 341-361. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986310374053.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In R.M. Lerner & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development, Vol. 1, 6th ed* (pp. 793-828). Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470147658.chpsy0114.

Brown, C. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2005). Children's perceptions of discrimination: A developmental model. *Child Development*, *76*(3), 533-553. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00862.x.

Brown, T. N., Tanner-Smith, E. E., Lesane-Brown, C. L., & Ezell, M. E. (2007). Child, parent, and situational correlates of familial ethnic/race socialization. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *69*(1), 14-25. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00339.x-i1.

Brown, T. N., Williams, D. R., Jackson, J. S., Neighbors, H. W., Torres, M., Sellers, S. L., & Brown, K. T. (2000). "Being black and feeling blue": The mental health consequences of racial discrimination. *Race and Society*, *2*(2), 117-131. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1090-9524(00)00010-3.

Calzada, E. J., Fernandez, Y., & Cortes, D. E. (2010). Incorporating the cultural value of respeto into a framework of Latino parenting. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(1), 77-86. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016071.

Capps, R., Castaneda, R. M., Chaudry, A., & Santos, R. (2007). Paying the price: The impact of immigration raids on America's children. Retrieved from http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411566_immigration_raids.pdf.

Caughy, M. O. B., O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. *Child Development*, *73*(5), 1611-1625. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00493.

Cavazos-Rehg, P.A., Zayas, L.H., & Spitznagel, E.L. (2007). Legal status, emotional wellbeing, and subjective health status of Latino immigrants. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 99*(10), 1126-1131. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986310373210.

Chaudry, A., Capps, R., Pedroza, J., Castaneda, R. M., Santos, R., & Scott, M.M. (2010). *Facing our future: Children in the aftermath of immigration enforcement.* Retrieved from https://www.urban.org/research/publication/facing-our-future.

Codina, G. E., & Montalvo, F. F. (1994). Chicano phenotype and depression. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *16*(3), 296-306. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/07399863940163007.

Colby, S. L., & Ortman, J. M. (2015). Projections of the size and composition of the US population: 2014 to 2060. *US Census Bureau*, *9*. Retrieved from https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2015/demo/p25-1143.pdf

Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), 685-704. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00725.x.

Constante, K., Marchand, A., Cross, F. L., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2018). Understanding the promotive role of familism in the link between ethnic-racial identity and Latino youth

school engagement. *Journal of Latina/o Psychology*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/lat0000117.

Constantine, M. G., & Blackmon, S. K. M. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences: Their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies*, *32*(3), 322-335. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002193470203200303.

Contrada, R. J., Ashmore, R. D., Gary, M. L., Coups, E., Egeth, J. D., Sewell, A., … Chasse, V. (2001). Measures of ethnicity-related stress: Psychometric properties, ethnic group differences, and associations with well-being. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *31*(9), 1775–1820. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2001.tb00205.x.

Córdova, D., & Cervantes, R. C. (2010). Intergroup and within-group perceived discrimination among U.S.-born and foreign-born Latino youth. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32*(2), 259-274. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986310362371.

Cross, F. L., Medina, A., Montoro, J., Medina, M., Pinetta, B., Miller, S., Tran, M., Rivas-Drake, D. (under review). Illuminating ethnic-racial socialization among undocumented Latinx parents and its implications for adolescent psychosocial functioning.

Crouter, A. C., Baril, M. E., Davis, K. D., & McHale, S. M. (2008). Processes linking social class and racial socialization in African American dual-earner families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*(5), 1311-1325. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00568.x.

Deaux, K. (2006). A nation of immigrants: Living our legacy. *Journal of Social Issues*, *62*(3), 633-651. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2006.00480.x.

De Genova, N. (2010). The queer politics of migration: Reflections on "illegality" and incorrigibility. *Studies in Social Justice*, *4*(2), 101. https://dx.doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v4i2.997.

DeLuca, L. A., McEwen, M. M., & Keim, S. M. (2010). United States–Mexico border crossing: Experiences and risk perceptions of undocumented male immigrants. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *12*(1), 113. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10903-008-9197-4.

Delva, J., Horner, P., Martinez, R., Sanders, L., Lopez, W., & Doering-White, J. (2013). Mental health problems of children of undocumented parents in the United States: A hidden crisis. *Journal of Community Positive Practices, 13*(3), 25-35. Retrieved from http://www.jppc.ro/reviste/JCPP%20Nr.%203%202013/articole/art02.pdf.

Derlan, C. L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Updegraff, K. A., & Jahromi, L. B. (2017). Longitudinal relations among Mexican-origin mothers' cultural characteristics, cultural socialization, and 5-year-old children's ethnic-racial identification. *Developmental Psychology*, *53*(11), 2078 –2091. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dev0000386.

Detroit Regional Chamber. (2018). Demographics. Retrieved from http://www.detroitchamber.com/econdev/data/demographics/.

Dreby, J. (2012). The burden of deportation on children in Mexican immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *74*(4), 829-845. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00989.x.

Dwyer, C. S., & Buckle, L. J. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *8*(1), 54-63. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800105.

Espinoza, G., Gonzales, N. A., & Fuligni, A. J. (2016). Parent discrimination predicts Mexican-American adolescent psychological adjustment 1 year later. *Child Development, 87*(4), 1079-1089. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12521.

Facchini, G., Mayda, A. M., & Puglisi, R. (2017). Illegal immigration and media exposure: Evidence on individual attitudes. *IZA Journal of Development and Migration*, *7*(1), 14. https://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s40176-017-0095-1.

Fetters, M. D., Curry, L. A., & Creswell, J. W. (2013). Achieving integration in mixed methods designs—principles and practices. *Health Services Research*, *48*(6pt2), 2134-2156. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.12117.

Finch, B. K., Hummer, R. A., Kol, B., & Vega, W. A. (2001). The role of discrimination and acculturative stress in the physical health of Mexican-origin adults. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *23*(4), 399-429. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986301234004.

Finch, B. K., Kolody, B., & Vega, W. A. (2000). Perceived discrimination and depression among Mexican-origin adults in California. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *41*(3), 295-313. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2676322.

Fishbein, H. D. (1996). *Peer prejudice and discrimination: Evolutionary, cultural, and developmental dynamics*. Westview Press.

Fisher, C. B., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *29*(6), 679-695. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1026455906512.

Flippen, C. A., & Parrado, E. A. (2015). Perceived discrimination among Latino immigrants in new destinations: The case of Durham, North Carolina. *Sociological Perspectives*, *58*(4), 666-685. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0731121415574397.

Flores, E., Tschann, J. M., Dimas, J. M., Pasch, L. A., & de Groat, C. L. (2010). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and health risk behaviors among Mexican American adolescents. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *57*(3), 264-273. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020026.

Foley, S., & Kidder, D. L. (2002). Hispanic law students' perceptions of discrimination, justice, and career prospects. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *24*(1), 23-37. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986302024001002.

García Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891-1914. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x.

Garcia-Preto, N. (2005). Latino families. In M. McGoldrick, J.Giordano & N. Garcia-Preto (Eds), *Ethnicity and Family Therapy* (pp. 153- 165). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Gassman-Pines, A. (2015). Effects of Mexican immigrant parents' daily workplace discrimination on child behavior and family functioning. *Child Development*, *86*(4), https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12378

Gee, G. C., Morey, B. N., Walsemann, K. M., Ro, A., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2016). Citizenship as privilege and social identity. *American Behavioral Scientist, 60*(5-6), 680-704. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0002764216632834.

Gee, G. C., Spencer, M., Chen, J., Yip, T., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2007). The association between self-reported racial discrimination and 12-month DSM-IV mental disorders among Asian Americans nationwide. *Social Science & Medicine*, *64*(10), 1984-1996. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.02.013.

George, S., Duran, N., & Norris, K. (2014). A systematic review of barriers and facilitators to minority research participation among African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders. *American Journal of Public Health, 104*(2), 680-704. https://dx.doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2013.301706.

Gleeson, S., & Gonzales, R. G. (2012). When do papers matter? An institutional analysis of undocumented life in the United States. *International Migration*, *50*(4), 1-19. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00726.x.

Gonzales, R. G., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Dedios-Sanguineti, M. C. (2013). No place to belong: Contextualizing concepts of mental health among undocumented immigrant youth in the United States. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57*(8), 1174-1199. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0002764213487349.

González, A. G., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Bámaca, M. Y. (2006). Familial ethnic socialization among adolescents of Latino and European descent: Do Latina mothers exert the most influence? *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(2), 184-207. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513X05279987.

Gorman, C. S. (2017). Redefining refugees: Interpretive control and the bordering work of legal categorization in U.S. asylum law. *Political Geography, 58*, 36-45. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.12.006.

Grindal, M., & Nieri, T. (2015). An examination of ethnic identity and academic performance: Assessing the multidimensional role of parental ethnic–racial socialization among a sample of Latino adolescents. *Race and Social Problems, 7*(3), 242-255. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12552-015-9154-5.

Hacker, K., Chu, J., Leung, C., Marra, R., Pirie, A., Brahimi, … Marlin, R. P. (2011). The

impact of immigration and customs enforcement on immigrant health: Perceptions of immigrants in Everett, Massachusetts, USA. *Social Science & Medicine*, *73*(4), 586-594. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.06.007.

Hall, M. A. (2011). Rethinking safety-net access for the uninsured. *New England Journal of Medicine*, *364*(1), 7-9. https://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMp1011502.

Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *70*(1), 42-57. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0087722.

Harrell, J. P., Hall, S., & Taliaferro, J. (2003). Physiological responses to racism and discrimination: An assessment of the evidence. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*(2), 243-248. https://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.2.243.

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach.* New York: NY, US: Guilford Press.

Henderson, S. W., & Baily, C. D. (2013). Parental deportation, families, and mental health. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *52*(5), 451-453. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2013.01.007.

Hernández, D. M. (2005). Undue process: Immigrant detention, due process, and lesser citizenship. UC Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/content/qt15b1h07r/qt15b1h07r.pdf.

Hernández, D. (2016). A "crisis" of his own making: Trump and immigration [Blog Post]. Retrieved from https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2016/11/crisis-his-own-0

Hernández, M. G., Nguyen, J., Casanova, S., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Saetermoe, C. L. (2013). Doing no harm and getting it right: Guidelines for ethical research with immigrant communities. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2013*(141), 43-60. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/cad.20042.

Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*(1-2), 15-33. https://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1023066418688.

Hughes, D. (2004). Parental ethnic-racial socialization scale. Unpublished instrument. Department of Applied Psychology, New York, NY, United States.

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*(4), 200-214. https://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4.

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1999). The nature of parents' race-related communications to children: A developmental perspective. In L. Balter & C. S. Tamis-Lemonda (Eds.), *Child psychology: A handbook of contemporary issues*, (pp. 467–490). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Hughes, D., Hagelskamp, C., Way, N., & Foust, M. D. (2009). The role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity among early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(5), 605-626. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9399-7.

Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *63*(4), 981-995. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00981.x.

Hughes, D., Rivas D. F., Hagelskamp, M., Gersick, C., & Way, N. (2008). How to catch a moonbeam: A mixed-methods approach to understanding ethnic socialization processes in ethnically diverse families. In S. M. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and the developing child* (pp. 226-277). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747-770. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747.

Hughes, D., Watford, J. A., & Del Toro, J. (2016). A transactional/ecological perspective on ethnic–racial identity, socialization, and discrimination. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, *51*, 1-41. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2016.05.001.

Huynh, V. W., & Fuligni, A. J. (2008). Ethnic socialization and the academic adjustment of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*(4), 1202. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.4.1202.

Johnson, K. R., Ingram, J. (2013). Anatomy of modern-day lynching: The relationship between hate crimes against Latina/os and the debate over immigration reform. *North Carolina Law Review* 91(5), 1613-1656. Retrieved from https://scholarship.law.unc.edu/nclr/vol91/iss5/5.

Kline, R. B. (2004). *Beyond significance testing: Reforming data analysis methods in behavioral research*. Washington, DC: APA Books.

Kline, R. B. (2010). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (3rd ed.). New York: Guilford Press. Kline, R. B. (2011). Principles and Practice of Structural Equation Modeling (5th ed., pp. 3–427). New York: The Guilford Press.

Knight, G. P., Bernal, M. E., Cota, M. K., Garza, C. A., & Ocampo, K. A. (1993). Family socialization and Mexican American identity and behavior. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 24*(1), 99-114. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022022193241007.

Knight, G. P., Gonzales, N. A., Saenz, D. S., Bonds, D. D., Germán, M., Deardorff, J., Roosa, M. W., & Updegraff, K. A. (2010). The Mexican American cultural values scale for adolescents and adults. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *30*(3), 444-481. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0272431609338178.

Knight, G. P., Roosa, M. W., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2009). Putting research into action: Preventive intervention research. In, *Studying ethnic minority and economically disadvantaged populations: Methodological challenges and best practices,* (pp.167-190). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/11887-006.

Krysan, M., & Couper, M. P. (2003). Race in the live and the virtual interview: Racial deference, social desirability, and activation effects in attitude surveys. *Social psychology quarterly*, 364-383. https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1519835.

Kulis, S., Marsiglia, F. F., & Nieri, T. (2009). Perceived ethnic discrimination versus acculturation stress: Influences on substance use among Latino youth in the Southwest. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *50*(4), 443-459. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002214650905000405.

Lahman, M. K., Mendoza, B. M., Rodriguez, K. L., & Schwartz, J. L. (2011). Undocumented research participants: Ethics and protection in a time of fear. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *33*(3), 304-322. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986311414162.

Lamont, M., Park, B. Y., & Ayala-Hurtado, E. (2017). Trump's electoral speeches and his appeal to the American white working class. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *68*(S1). https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12315.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The schedule of racist events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *22*(2), 144-168 https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/00957984960222002.

Landrine, H., Klonoff, E. A., Corral, I., Fernandez, S., & Roesch, S. (2006). Conceptualizing and measuring ethnic discrimination in health research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *29*(1), 79-94. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10865-005-9029-0.

Lee, R. M. (2003). Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans? *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *50*(2),133-1441. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.50.2.133.

Lee, D. L., & Ahn, S. (2012). Discrimination against Latina/os: A meta-analysis of individual-level resources and outcomes. *The Counseling Psychologist, 40*, 28-65. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011000011403326.

Leon, A. L. (2014). Immigration and stress: The relationship between parents' acculturative stress and young children's anxiety symptoms. *Inquiry Journal*, *6*(3), 1-5. Retrieved from http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=861.

Leong, F., Park, Y. S., & Kalibatseva, Z. (2013). Disentangling immigrant status in mental health: Psychological protective and risk factors among Latino and Asian American immigrants. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *83*(2-3), 361-371. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/ajop.12020.

Lesane-Brown, C. L., Brown, T. N., Tanner-Smith, E. E., & Bruce, M. A. (2010). Negotiating boundaries and bonds: Frequency of young children's socialization to their ethnic/racial heritage. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *41*(3), 457-464. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022022109359688.

Levine, E. B. & Trickett, E. J. (2000). Toward a model of Latino parent advocacy for educational change. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community, 20*(1-2), 121-137. https://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J005v20n01_09.

Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). The influence of experiences of discrimination on psychological stress: A comparison of seven immigrant groups. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *10*(1), 1-16. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022022109359688.

Liu, L.L., & Lau, A.S. (2013). Teaching about race/ethnicity and racism matters: An examination of how perceived ethnic racial socialization processes are associated with depression symptoms. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(4), 383-394. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0033447.

Lopez, G. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im)migrant household. *Harvard Educational Review, 71*(3), 416-437. https://dx.doi.org/10.17763/haer.71.3.43x7k542x023767u.

Lopez, M. H., Morin, R., & Taylor, P. (2010). *Illegal immigration backlash worries, divides Latinos.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2010/10/28/illegal-immigration-backlash-worries-divides-latinos/.

López, L. C., Sanchez, V. V., & Hamilton, M. (2000). Immigrant and native-born Mexican-American parents' involvement in a public school: A preliminary study.

Psychological Reports, 86(2), 521-525. https://dx.doi.org/10.2466/PR0.86.2.521-525.

Lorenzo-Blanco, E. I., Meca, A., Unger, J. B., Romero, A., Szapocznik, J., Piña-Watson, B., ... Schwartz, S. J. (2017). Longitudinal effects of Latino parent cultural stress, depressive symptoms, and family functioning on youth emotional well-being and health risk behaviors. *Family Process*, *56*(4), 981-996. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/famp.12258.

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *24*(4), 377-396. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01537187.

Massey, D. S. (2007). The strength of weak politics. In D. Clawson, R. Zussman, J. Misra, N. Gerstel, R. Stokes, D. L. Anderton, ... M. Burawoy (Eds.), *Public Sociology: Fifteen eminent sociologists debate politics and the profession in the twenty-first century* (pp. 145-157). Berkeley, CA, US: University of California Press.

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J. Y., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., & Swanson, D. P. (2006). Mothers' and fathers' racial socialization in African American families: Implications for youth. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1387-1402. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00942.x.

McLaughlin, R. H., & Alfaro-Velcamp, T. (2015). The vulnerability of immigrants in research: Enhancing protocol development and ethics review. *Journal of Academic Ethics, 13*(1), 27-43. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10805-015-9225-7.

Michelson, M. R., & Pallares, A. (2001). The politicization of Chicago Mexican Americans: Naturalization, the vote, and perceptions of discrimination. *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, *26*(2), 63-85.

Moradi, B., & Risco, C. (2006). Perceived discrimination experiences and mental health of Latina/o American persons. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *53*(4), 411. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.53.4.411.

Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*(3), 295-303. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00239.x.

Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *40*(3), 193-207. https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2676348.

Nuñez-Janes, M., & Chapa, S. (2013). 'Do I look illegal?': Undocumented Latino students and the challenges of life in the shadows. In B. Gastic, R. R. Verdugo (Eds.), *The Education of the Hispanic Population: Selected essays* (pp. 99-117). Charlotte, NC, US: IAP Information Age Publishing.

Ou, Y., & McAdoo, H.P. (1993). Socialization of Chinese American children. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity* (pp. 245-270). Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *135*(4), 531-554. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016059.

Passel J. S. & Cohn D. (2016). Size of U.S. unauthorized immigrant workforce stable

after the Great Recession. Pew Research Center. November. Retrieved from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/11/03/size-of-u-s-unauthorized-immigrant-workforce-stable-after-the-great-recession/.

Pérez, D. J., Fortuna, L., & Alegria, M. (2008). Prevalence and correlates of everyday discrimination among US Latinos. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *36*(4), 421-433. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20221.

Perez-Brena, N. J., Rivas-Drake, D., Toomey, R. B. & Umaña-Taylor A. J. (2018) Contributions of the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children: What have we learned about adaptive culture? *American Psychologist, 73*(6), 713-726. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000292.

Perreira, K. M., Chapman, M. V., & Stein, G. L. (2006). Becoming an American parent: Overcoming challenges and finding strength in a new immigrant Latino community. *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(10), 1383-1414. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513X06290041.

Pessar, P. R. (1995). *A visa for a dream: Dominicans in the United States*. New York: Allyn & Bacon.

Pew Hispanic Center. (2009). Between two worlds: How young Latinos come of age in America. Retrieved from: http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/12/11/between-two-worlds-how-young-latinos-come-of-age-in-america/.

Pew Research Center. (2018). ICE immigration arrests went up in 2017, with biggest increases in Florida, northern Texas, Oklahoma. Retrieved from: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/02/08/ice-arrests-went-up-in-2017-with-biggest-increases-in-florida-northern-texas-oklahoma/.

Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *5*(1), 31-53. https://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327795jra0501_2.

Pituc, S. P., Jung, K.-R., & Lee, R. M. (2009, August). *Development and validation of a brief measure of perceived discrimination*. Poster presented at the 37th Annual Asian American Psychological Association Conference, Toronto, Canada.

Portes, A., Parker, R. N., & Cobas, J. A. (1980). Assimilation or consciousness: Perceptions of US society among recent Latin American immigrants to the United States. *Social Forces*, *59*(1), 200-224. https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2577841.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (1996). *Immigrant America*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. University of California Press.

Priest, N., Walton, J., White, F., Kowal, E., Baker, A., & Paradies, Y. (2014). Understanding the complexities of ethnic-racial socialization processes for both minority and majority groups: A 30-year systematic review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *43*(part B), 139-155. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.08.003.

Quesada, J., Arreola, S., Kral, A., Khoury, S., Organista, K. C., & Worby, P. (2014). "As good as it gets": Undocumented Latino day laborers negotiating discrimination in San Francisco and Berkeley, California, USA. *City & Society*, *26*(1), 29-50. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12033.

Quintana, S. M., Castañeda-English, P., & Ybarra, V. C. (1999). Role of perspective-taking abilities and ethnic socialization in development of adolescent ethnic identity. *Journal of*

Research on Adolescence, *9*(2), 161-184. https://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327795jra0902_3.

Quintana, S. M., & Vera, E. M. (1999). Mexican American children's ethnic identity, understanding of ethnic prejudice, and parental ethnic socialization. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *21*(4), 387-404. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986399214001.

Ramirez, A. F. (2003). Dismay and disappointment: Parental involvement of Latino immigrant parents. *The Urban Review*, *35*(2), 93-110. https://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1023705511946.

Ramos, B., Jaccard, J., & Guilamo-Ramos, V. (2003). Dual ethnicity and depressive symptoms: Implications of being Black and Latino in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *25*(2), 147-173. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986303025002002.

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2009). A preliminary analysis of associations among ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic discrimination, and ethnic identity among urban sixth graders. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *19*(3), 558-584. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00607.x.

Roche, K. M., Vaquera, E., White, R. M., & Rivera, M. I. (2018). Impacts of immigration actions and news and the psychological distress of U.S. Latino parents raising adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 62*(5), 525-531. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2018.01.004.

Romero, A. J., Cuéllar, I., & Roberts, R. E. (2000). Ethnocultural variables and attitudes toward cultural socialization of children. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*(1), 79-89. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(200001)28:1<79::AID-JCOP8>3.0.CO;2-N.

Salgado de Snyder, V. N. (1987). Factors associated with acculturative stress and depressive symptomology among married Mexican immigrant women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *11*(4), 475-488. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00919.x.

Sanchez, M. (2012). Influence of religious coping on the substance use and HIV risk behaviors of recent Latino immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, *21*(3), 171-194. https://dx.doi.org/10.25148/etd.fi12050209.

Sawyer, S. M., Afifi, R. A., Bearinger, L. H., Blakemore, S. J., Dick, B., Ezeh, A. C., & Patton, G. C. (2012). Adolescence: A foundation for future health. *The Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1630-1640. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60072-5.

Schenker, M. B. (2010). A global perspective of migration and occupational health. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine, 53*(4), 329-337. https://dx.doi.org/0.1002/ajim.20834.

Smith, J., Stern, K., & Shatrova, Z. (2008). Factors inhibiting Hispanic parents' school involvement. *Rural Educator*, *29*(2), 8-13. Retrieved from https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ869288.

Southern Poverty Law Center. (2016). 1,094 bias-related incidents in the month following the election. Retrieved from https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/12/16/update-1094-bias-related-incidents-month-following-election.

Spencer, M. B., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child Development*, *61*(2), 290-310. https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1131095.

Stacey, M., Carbone-López, K., & Rosenfeld, R. (2011). Demographic change and ethnically

motivated crime: The impact of immigration on anti-Hispanic hate crime in the United States. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, *27*(3), 278-298. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1043986211412560.

State of Michigan. (2018). Southeast Michigan. Retrieved from: https://www.michigan.org/regions/southeast#?c=44.4299:-85.1166:6&tid=all&page=0&pagesize=20&pagetitle=null

Stein, G. L., Gonzales, R. G., García Coll, C., Prandoni, J. I. (2016) Latinos in Rural, New Immigrant Destinations: A Modification of the Integrative Model of Child Development. In Crockett & Carlo, Rural ethnic minority youth in the United States: Theory, research and applications. In R. Levesque, *Advancing Responsible Adolescent Development.* New York: Springer. Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-20976-0_3

Stevenson, H. C. (1994). Racial socialization in African American families: The art of balancing intolerance and survival. *The Family Journal*, *2*(3), 190-198. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1066480794023002.

Stevenson, H. C., Reed, J., Bodison, P., & Bishop, A. (1997). Racism stress management: Racial social beliefs and the experience of depression and anger in African American youth. *Youth & Society*, *29*(2), 197-222. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0044118X97029002003.

Street, A., Jones-Correa, M., & Zepeda-Millán, C. (2017). Political effects of having undocumented parents. *Political Research Quarterly, 70*(4), 818-832. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1065912917717351.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Birman, D., Casas, J. M., Nakamura, N., Tummala-Narra, P., Zárate, M., & Vasquez, M. (2012). Crossroads: The psychology of immigration in the new

century. *Report of the 2011 APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration.* Retrieved from http://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/executive-summary.pdf.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (1995). *Transformations: Immigration, family life, and achievement motivation among Latino adolescents*. Stanford University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigrants.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Yoshikawa, H. (2013). Undocumented status: Implications for child development, policy, and ethical research. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2013*(141), 61-78. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/cad.20043.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, H., Teranishi, R. T., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2011). Growing up in the shadows: The developmental implications of unauthorized status. *Harvard Educational Review*, *81*(3), 438-473. https://dx.doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.3.g23x203763783m75.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, H., & Tseng, V. (2015). Intersecting inequality: Research to reduce inequality for immigrant-origin children & youth. New York: W.T. Grant Foundation. Available at http://www.wtgrantfoundation.org/post/111903703827/intersecting-inequalities-research-to-reduce

Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). Globalization, immigration, and education: The research agenda. *Harvard Educational Review*, *71*(3), 345-366. https://search.proquest.com/docview/212258944?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=14667

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical

practice. *American Psychologist*, *62*(4), 271. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271.

Sullivan, M. M., & Rehm, R. (2005). Mental health of undocumented Mexican immigrants: A review of the literature. *Advances in Nursing Science*, *28*(3), 240-251. https://dx.doi.org/10.1097/00012272-200507000-00006.

Supple, A. J., Ghazarian, S. R., Frabutt, J. M., Plunkett, S. W., & Sands, T. (2006). Contextual influences on Latino adolescent ethnic identity and academic outcomes. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1427-1433. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00945.x.

Szalacha, L. A., Erkut, S., Coll, C. G., Alarcón, O., Fields, J. P., & Ceder, I. (2003). Discrimination and Puerto Rican children's and adolescents' mental health. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *9*(2), 141-155. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.9.2.141.

Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *25*(2), 152-170. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798499025002002.

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development*, *61*(2), 401-409. https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1131101.

Tran, A. G. T. T., Lee, R. M., & Burgess, D. J. (2010). Perceived discrimination and substance use in Hispanic/Latino, African-born Black, and Southeast Asian immigrants. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*(2), 226-236. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016344.

Troxel, W. M., Matthews, K. A., Bromberger, J. T., & Sutton-Tyrrell, K. (2003). Chronic stress burden, discrimination, and subclinical carotid artery disease in African American and Caucasian women. *Health Psychology, 22*(3), 300-309. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0278-6133.22.3.300.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Alfaro, E. C., Bámaca, M. Y., & Guimond, A. B. (2009). The central role of familial ethnic socialization in Latino adolescents' cultural orientation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(1), 46-60. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00579.x.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Bhanot, R., & Shin, N. (2006). Ethnic identity formation during adolescence: The critical role of families. *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(3), 390-414. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0192513X05282960.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Fine, M. A. (2004). Examining ethnic identity among Mexican-origin adolescents living in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *26*(1), 36-59. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986303262143.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Updegraff, K. A. (2007). Latino adolescents' mental health: Exploring the interrelations among discrimination, ethnic identity, cultural orientation, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence*, *30*(4), 549-567. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.08.002.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Yazedjian, A. (2006). Generational differences and similarities among Puerto Rican and Mexican mothers experiences with familial ethnic socialization. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 23*(3), 445-464. https://dx.doi/org.10.1177/0265407506064214.

Urciuoli, B. (1996). *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., & Jardina, A. E. (2013). Immigration opposition among US Whites: General ethnocentrism or media priming of attitudes about Latinos? *Political Psychology*, *34*(2), 149-166. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00928.x.

Vargas, E. D., Juárez, M., Sanchez, G. R., & Livaudais, M. (2018). Latinos' connections to immigrants: How knowing a deportee impacts Latino health. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,*1-18. https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2018.1447365.

Villenas, S., & Deyhle, D. (1999). Critical race theory and ethnographies challenging the stereotypes: Latino families, schooling, resilience and resistance. *Curriculum Inquiry, 29*(4), 413-445. https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0362-6784.00140.

Waters, M. C. (1999). *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Watkins, D. C. (2017). Rapid and rigorous qualitative data analysis: The "RADaR" technique for applied research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *16*(1), 1-9. https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1609406917712131.

White-Johnson, R. L., Ford, K. R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Parental racial socialization profiles: Association with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood socialization, and racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*(2), 237-247. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016111.

Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 200-208. https://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.2.200.

Wray-Lake, L., Wells, R., Alvis, L., Delgado, S., Syvertsen, A. K., & Metzger, A. (2018). Being a Latinx adolescent under a trump presidency: Analysis of Latinx youths reactions to immigration politics. *Children and Youth Services Review, 87*, 192-204. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.02.032.

Yoshikawa, H. (2011). *Immigrants raising citizens: Undocumented parents and their children*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Yoshikawa, H., Kholoptseva, J., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2013). The role of public policies and community-based organizations in the developmental consequences of parent undocumented status. *Social Policy Report*, *27*(3), 1-17. https://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.2379-3988.2013.tb00076.x.

Zárate, M. A., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2004). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*(1), 99-105. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00067-2.

Zayas, L. H. (2015). *Forgotten citizens: Deportation, children, and the making of American exiles and orphans*. Oxford University Press.

Zayas, L. H., & Gulbas, L. E. (2017). Processes of belonging for citizen-children of undocumented Mexican immigrants. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *26*(9), 2463-2474. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0755-z.

Zhou, M. (2014). Segmented assimilation and socio-economic integration of Chinese immigrant children in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*(7), 1172-1183. https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.874566.