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“*Tenemos que ser la voz*”: Exploring Resilience among Latina/o Immigrant Families in the Context of Restrictive Immigration Policies and Practices

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Abstract

Research investigating associations between immigration policies and practices and indicators of mental health among Latina/o immigrant families has identified a number of risk factors for this population, such as family separation. The role of protective factors tied to the mental health of Latina/o immigrants, however, often has been neglected. This study explored internal and external sources of resilience that may protect Latina/o immigrant families against the potentially negative effects of restrictive immigration policies and practices on psychological well-being. Six focus groups (N = 50) were conducted with Latina/o immigrant parents of varying residency statuses (i.e., undocumented, permanent residents, Temporary Protected Status beneficiaries, and U.S. citizens). Data were analyzed using thematic analysis. Three themes were identified: Social Support, Faith, and Civic Commitment and Action. Across groups, Latina/o parents referenced family, peer, and community support, as well as their spiritual faith and involvement in advocacy efforts as coping mechanisms. Overall, results suggest that Latina/o immigrant parents of varying residency statuses rely on both internal and external sources of resilience to protect themselves and their families when navigating restrictive immigration policies and practices. This research is particularly timely in light of the increasingly restrictive nature of immigration policies in the U.S. and the growing literature on the influence these may have on immigrant wellbeing. Intervention efforts should build upon existing strengths, such as providing opportunities for Latina/o immigrant families to participate in political activism.

Keywords

Latina/o Immigrants; Restrictive Immigration; Resilience; social support; Faith; Civic Commitment and Action

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INTRODUCTION

Immigrant integration refers to “the process of economic mobility and social inclusion for newcomers and their children” (Migration Policy Institute, n.d.). This process is influenced by local, state, and federal policies and practices, and has implications for the adaptation and psychological well-being of immigrant-origin groups (e.g., Filindra, Blanding, & Coll, 2011). For example, studies have found that policies geared towards inclusion in school systems are associated with a stronger sense of school belonging among immigrant-origin students (Ham, Yang, & Cha, 2017). In turn, sense of belonging across domains is associated with immigrant students’ positive outcomes, such as academic competence and achievement, and lower levels of depression (e.g., Kuperminc, Darnell, & Alvarez-Jimenez, 2008; Maurizi, Ceballo, Epstein-Ngo, & Cortina, 2013). Additionally, studies have found immigrant inclusion in state welfare programs contributes to higher rates of high school graduation among US-born children of immigrant parents (Filindra, Blanding, & Coll, 2011). Thus, there may be a multi-generational influence of local, state, and federal-level policies on immigrant youth’s well-being. Although these policies typically focus on first-generation (i.e., foreign-born) immigrants, they may facilitate the well-being of both foreign and native-born immigrants.

In contrast, restrictive immigration policies are those which aim to “reduce access to education, health care, and employment opportunities as well as criminalize immigrants” (Ayón et al., 2017, p. 300). In the U.S., immigration policies were historically under federal control (i.e., enforced by the federal government). However, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 allowed for the devolution of enforcement power to the state and local level, and many states began to adopt laws that posed considerable barriers to the integration and well-being of Latina/o immigrants (Varsanyi, Lewis, Provine, & Decker, 2012). For example, in recent examinations of restrictive immigration policies enacted in the mid to late 2000s, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Utah, Virginia, and Tennessee were identified as the states with the most restrictive laws (e.g., Gómez-Aguinaga, 2016; Ybarra, Sanchez, & Sanchez, 2016). Arizona’s SB1070 and copycat laws, like Alabama’s HB56, which mandate that police officers investigate the immigration status of anyone they come into contact with and who they “suspect” to be undocumented, have received considerable attention in social science research as well as in popular media. Indeed, much of the research on immigration policies and Latina/o well-being has been conducted in Arizona and focused on state laws (e.g., Ayón, 2018; Gurrola, Ayón, & Moya Salas, 2016). On the other hand, less is known about the experiences of Latina/o immigrant families in areas that are less restrictive at the state level, but which are nevertheless influenced by restrictive immigration policies at the federal level. The current study was conducted in the suburbs of a major metropolitan Mid-Atlantic city that is diverse in terms of culture, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and political ideology, and which is affected by increasingly restrictive federal policies.

Starting in 2017, many executive orders have been signed that directly affect immigrant communities (e.g., Barajas-Gonzalez, Ayón, & Torres, 2018; Chawla, 2018). Some of these orders have criminalized immigrants and increased the “enforcement capacity” of Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE; Barajas-Gonzalez, Ayón, & Torres, 2018, p. 6).

Others have sought to terminate temporary protection programs, including the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA; U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services, 2017) and the Temporary Protected Status (TPS; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017a, 2017b, 2018). These policies represent barriers to the socioeconomic integration of Latina/o immigrants and contribute to anti-immigrant rhetoric across the U.S. (Barajas-Gonzalez, Ayón, & Torres, 2018). This highlights the importance of investigating strategies Latina/o families may be employing to navigate increasingly restrictive climates.

Whereas research on the impact of restrictive federal laws in immigrant well-being is still in its infancy, considerable research has documented negative associations between restrictive state and local policies and physical and psychosocial outcomes among Latina/o immigrant families (e.g., Ayón, 2018; Philbin et al., 2018). Most prominently, studies have found that these policies contribute to a state of fear and emotional distress among Latina/o children and parents (e.g., Roche et al., 2020; Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). Rhodes et al. (2015) found these policies are perceived by Latina/o communities as “exacerbating anti-immigrant sentiments and promoting racial profiling and discrimination” (p. 332). Restrictive state-level policies also are related to poor physical health outcomes via stress emanating from experiences of discrimination and limited access to social institutions, healthcare, and basic resources (see Philbin et al., 2018 for a review). Although some of these stressors are more salient for foreign-born, undocumented immigrants (e.g., threat of deportation), Latino families have been found to experience negative consequences of restrictive immigration policies and climate, regardless of generation or documentation status (e.g., Dreby, 2012).

Dreby’s (2012) deportation pyramid model offers a useful framework for understanding this phenomenon. The top of the pyramid includes infrequent but harsh consequences of the enforcement of immigration policies, such as family dissolution resulting from deportation. Consequences at the bottom of the pyramid are subtle but pervasive and include fear and confusion about the status of a person and their family in the U.S., regardless of whether there is an actual threat of deportation. These kinds of immigration impacts are complicated by the fact that a large number of immigrant families are of mixed status (i.e., some members are documented and others are not; Capps, Fix, & Zhong, 2016). Thus, although an individual might not be at risk for deportation, a different family member might be. Indeed, Dreby (2012) argued that, in the context of restrictive immigration policies, “it is not the deportation act itself, but the possibility of deportation” (p. 830) that affects many immigrant families. Thus, there is theoretical and empirical support for the potential negative effects of restrictive immigration policies on the development and well-being of Latina/o immigrant communities.

A notable limitation of the existing literature is the lack of studies clearly distinguishing how restrictive immigration policies matter for Latina/o immigrants of varying residency statuses. Additionally, little research has investigated potential effects of restrictive federal - rather than state or local - immigration legislation, despite the rise in these policies over the last few years (e.g., Chawla, 2018). Also, most of the literature examining how restrictive immigration policies are associated with well-being has focused on risk factors whereas protective factors have often been neglected. The current study thus addresses these gaps in the literature by qualitatively exploring sources of resilience that Latina/o immigrant parents

of varying residency statuses (i.e., undocumented, permanent residents, TPS beneficiaries, and U.S. citizens) may rely on to navigate restrictive immigration policies and practices.

Restrictive U.S. Immigration Policies and Practices and Latina/o Immigrant Well-Being

Existing research suggests that immigration policies may shape a range of outcomes among immigrant-origin groups (e.g., Lebrón et al., 2018; Roche et al., 2020). Findings from qualitative research with Latino immigrant families have documented the increased number of sociocultural barriers that these families experience in the face of restrictive immigration legislation, such as financial instability and limited educational and work opportunities (e.g., Chaudry et al., 2010). In their examination of the impact of changes in immigration legislation on the well-being of Latina/o adolescents and their parents, Gurrola, Ayón, and Moya Salas (2016) found both Latina/o youth and parents were concerned about youth's prospects of higher education due to state laws that require undocumented students to pay out of state tuition and consider them ineligible for financial aid. Also, Latina/o parents associate such sociocultural barriers with negative psychosocial outcomes among their children, including both externalizing (e.g., anger, delinquency) and internalizing problems (e.g., fear, depression; Chaudry et al., 2010; Gurrola, et al., 2016).

Studies have further alluded to potential mental health impacts of restrictive immigration policies among Latina/o immigrant parents themselves, such as experiencing social isolation, frustration, low self-esteem, and symptoms of anxiety and depression (e.g., Roche et al., 2018; Roche et al., 2020). In a recent investigation of the different ways that restrictive state-level immigration policies in Arizona have compromised the lives of Latina/o immigrant parents, Ayón (2018) found that they live in fear of being detained/deported and experience a "loss of liberty" (p. 359). Because of restrictive policies, parents described being metaphorically and literally "*locked in the house*" (p. 360), highlighting that they avoid leaving their house to lower the chance of being detained by local law enforcement. Further, in the context of restrictive state or local immigration policies, Latina/o immigrant families may choose to relocate to new cities and, as a result, experience challenges in maintaining stable support networks (e.g., Ayón, 2018), thereby, increasing their vulnerability to negative outcomes. These findings are consistent with previous studies that have found Latina/o immigrant parents frequently worry about the "disruption of social support systems, children's schooling, and loss of assets" (Quiroga, Medina, & Glick, 2014; p. 1734) that often result from enforcement of restrictive immigration policies.

Collectively, these findings shed light on the direct and indirect consequences of restrictive immigration policies for the well-being of Latina/o immigrant families. However, existing studies have often failed to consider factors that may facilitate resilience in restrictive contexts. Also, as previously noted, the majority of research has focused on the experiences of Latina/o immigrants faced with restrictive state policies in places like Arizona, neglecting other immigrant destinations as affected by federal policies. This study thus seeks to advance the literature by qualitatively examining sources of resilience among Latina/o immigrant families within the context of restrictive federal policies in the Mid-Atlantic.

Resilience Theory

Resilience is commonly defined as positive adaptation in the face of “adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress” (American Psychological Association, 2014). Positive adaptation can refer to the presence of a positive outcome (e.g., life satisfaction) or the absence/attenuation of a negative outcome (e.g., depression). However, it is important to note that positive adaptation alone does not signify resilience; as the definition indicates, exposure to risk is a necessary condition (Masten, 2001). A growing body of resilience research has facilitated a shift in the literature by exploring existing strengths rather than primarily focusing on deficits. Cardoso and Thompson (2010) conducted a systematic review of resilience among Latina/o immigrants and identified a variety of protective factors across individual (e.g., ethnic identity), family (e.g., parental involvement), cultural (e.g., biculturalism), and community (e.g., school connectedness) systems that contributed to positive adaptation in the face of risk factors such as discrimination, trauma, and acculturative stress.

Researchers have conceptualized resilience in several different ways, which has led to the development of multiple models of resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). The present study uses a protective model of resilience, which considers the ways in which protective factors interact with risk factors to reduce or eliminate the negative effects of risk. Under this model, protective factors are further categorized as assets or resources. Assets refer to internal positive qualities, such as ethnic identity, while resources refer to external factors, such as social support, that protect against negative outcomes (Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010; Zimmerman, 2013). Investigating both resources and assets allows us to move beyond considering resilience as an individual process to recognize the important role of sociocultural context in shaping one’s capacity for resilience. It is important to note that while these categories (i.e., assets vs. resources) are intended to facilitate conceptualizations of resilience research, psychological processes and characteristics are nuanced and cannot always be clearly placed into a particular class. For the current study, we rely on this categorization as a guiding framework but apply it with flexibility.

Sources of Resilience Amidst Restrictive Immigration Policies and Practices

In the face of restrictive immigration policies and practices, Latina/o families of varying residency statuses may rely on internal and external sources of resilience to protect their own and others’ psychological well-being. Qualitative studies have identified various cultural factors within families that promote resilience among Latina/o immigrant families. For instance, Ayón, Ojeda, and Ruano (2018) found that Mexican immigrant parents engage in cultural and religious socialization practices to help their children remember “where they come from” (p. 59). Parents in that study also described challenging the increasingly anti-immigrant climate by offering their children counternarratives about the contributions of Latina/o immigrants in the U.S. Similarly, some research indicates that Latina/o parents emphasize both teaching their children values of their native culture and learning those of American culture to facilitate bicultural development (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). This research is consistent with a larger literature identifying cultural identities, particularly ethnic identity, as internal assets that can both protect against negative psychosocial

outcomes and promote positive ones among racial/ethnic minority groups (Yip, Wang, Mootoo, & Mirpuri, 2019).

Social support - including dimensions of social integration (e.g., reliable relationships), as well as emotional (e.g., validating a person's worth), instrumental (e.g., providing financial or material resources), and informational (e.g., offering advice or guidance around a problem) support (Cohen & Wills, 1985) - also plays a critical role in facilitating resilience among Latina/o immigrant families. Latina/o parents use open parent-child communication about acculturative stressors and engage in reciprocally supportive relationships with their children and the larger Latina/o community (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). Research conducted within the context of Arizona's restrictive state policies suggested that immigrant parents worked to reassure, provide a sense of safety, educate their children about their rights and privileges, and encourage them to "avoid bad paths" (Philbin & Ayón, 2016, p. 132).

Sources of resilience outside the family include support in systems, such as schools and community-based organizations, as well as spirituality and religiosity within faith-based organizations. As these contexts represent 'safe havens,' they are especially well-suited to protect and support immigrant families facing immigration threats (Chaudry et al., 2010). Considerable research has shown that Latina/o immigrants use religious faith to cope with a range of immigration stressors, including unfair treatment and acculturative stress. Studies suggest that religion can offer social support, moral values, and the belief that God is in control, processes that facilitate the well-being of immigrant groups facing external stressors (Bekteshi & Kang, 2018; Moreno & Cardemil, 2018; Woo, Wang, & Falcón, 2019).

Also, a growing body of research suggests that many Latina/o families find resilience by way of civic engagement. Studies have found both Latina/o adults and adolescents engage in community and political activism, such as marching and encouraging others to contact senators and vote if eligible, in response to anti-immigrant legislation (Philbin & Ayón, 2016; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Additionally, Latina/o parents have been found to be proactive in pursuing education, learning their rights, and acquiring more civic knowledge, in order to enhance their capacity to support their children in the face of restrictive immigration policies (Philbin & Ayón, 2016). These findings are consistent with critical consciousness theory, which identifies awareness of systemic inequities as an antecedent of civic engagement among marginalized groups (Diemer & Li, 2011). Together, these findings suggest that, in the face of restrictive immigration policies, Latina/o families may turn to both internal assets (e.g., ethnic and/or religious identity) and external resources (e.g., social support) to protect their well-being.

Current Study

Research on potential sources of resilience that Latina/o parents draw upon to protect their own and others' well-being in the face of restrictive immigration policies remains quite limited. Further, research has not yet carefully examined whether and how parents of varying residency statuses differ in these sources of resilience. The present study therefore explores sources of resilience among Latina/o immigrant families, as described by parents of varying

residency statuses (i.e., undocumented, Permanent residents, TPS beneficiaries, and U.S. citizens), in the context of restrictive immigration policies and practices.

METHOD

This study is part of a larger, mixed-methods research project investigating the well-being of Latina/o immigrant families in the context of increasingly restrictive immigration policies at the federal level. The purpose of this larger study was to explore how Latina/o immigrant families with adolescent children report that their lives have been affected by recent immigration actions and news, with specific attention to how their experiences differ by residency status. Data collection took place during the Fall of 2017, a time when important immigration policy changes (e.g., the end of the DACA and TPS programs) were announced or implemented (U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services, 2017; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017a; 2017b; 2018). As a first step, we identified 50 parents to participate in both focus groups and surveys for this study. Subsequent to recruitment for the qualitative and quantitative component, we selected an additional 163 parents to participate in the quantitative component (i.e., surveys) only. Purposive sampling techniques were used to ensure representation of diverse residency statuses. The procedure and data analysis detailed below are representative of the entire qualitative dataset from the mixed-methods project, but only findings related to resilience are reported in the present study. For a detailed description of how Latina/o parent participants in this study described the daily adversity they face, see Roche et al. (2020).

Participants and Recruitment

Focus group data were collected from 50 U.S. Latina/o immigrant parents who had at least one child between 12 and 18 years old. A convenience sample of parents was selected within strata representing the main residency statuses in the population: undocumented, permanent resident, and U.S. citizen. However, during recruitment, research staff learned that the target population included a sizable number of parents with Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a group not included in the original sampling plan. Given a relatively small number of U.S. citizen parents, we modified the sampling strata by dividing the strata originally designated for U.S. citizens into two: half of this strata included U.S. citizens and the other half included TPS parents. A research collaborator and trusted community leader in the target population used her existing network of Latina/o immigrants in a suburban immigrant area of a large Mid-Atlantic city to recruit parents and, during this process, inquire about documentation status. Two focus groups were conducted with undocumented parents ($n = 16$), two with permanent resident parents ($n = 18$), one with TPS parents ($n = 8$); and one with U.S. citizen parents ($n = 8$). Participants were provided with a \$50 incentive.

Participant characteristics are included in Table 1. The total sample included more mothers than fathers. Parents' country of origin varied, but the majority of participants were from the Northern Triangle (i.e., El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras), or other Latin American countries. Only two participants reported they were born in the U.S. Parents not born in the U.S. had lived in the U.S. for an average of 16 years ($M = 16.41$; $SD = 6.73$). For non-U.S. citizens ($n = 41$), there were multiple reported reasons for having moved to the U.S.,

including escaping gangs or violence, children getting a good education, and reuniting with family already living in the U.S. Approximately 29% of parents reported having a DACA or DACA-eligible child. Finally, 18% of parents reported having had a family member detained or deported in the past year.

Procedure

All study procedures received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval at the university where the research was conducted. Several measures were taken to protect participants' privacy including collecting data anonymously, obtaining oral consent only, and obtaining a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health. Recruitment and data collection were carried out in a church setting and conducted in Spanish by bicultural and bilingual research staff. The focus group facilitator was trained and experienced in facilitating focus groups. The focus group guide (see Appendix) was composed of open-ended questions designed to encourage conversation about how news and activities regarding immigration have affected them and their families. Spanish versions of the focus group guide were developed using the double translation and double back-translation method (Brislin, 2000). The focus group facilitator, who was closely connected to the community, used probing techniques to follow-up on participants' responses (Smith & Dunworth, 2003). Focus group sessions were 60 to 90 minutes in duration. Discussions were audio-recorded, transcribed into Spanish, and transcriptions were then translated into English. Transcriptions and translations were completed in pairs by four bilingual and bicultural members of the research staff.

Data Analysis

Focus group data were analyzed using thematic text analysis (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2006). Analysis was conducted in four phases: 1) open coding, 2) theme development, 3) thematic coding, and 4) thematic analysis. These phases of analysis were completed in a cyclical rather than linear manner (i.e., certain steps of the analytic process were repeated in order to increase researcher responsiveness to the data; Morse et al., 2002).

Open coding.—Research staff open coded two focus groups (33% of the data) line-by-line. At this stage, participants' own words were used in coding as much as possible in order to encourage researchers to develop codes inductively rather than imposing existing theories onto the text.

Theme development.—All codes developed by research staff were compiled and sorted categorically. These sorted codes were used to create themes, which were then compiled in a preliminary codebook. The preliminary codebook included the themes, their definitions (with inclusion and exclusion criteria), and salient examples from the text of each.

Thematic coding.—Four members of the research staff used the themes identified in the preliminary codebook to code the remaining data. Each transcript was coded by two coders independently and any discrepancies in coding were discussed. Modifications were made to the codebook in order to account for these discrepancies, such as adjusting the inclusion/exclusion criteria for existing themes. New themes were also added if the preliminary

codebook did not sufficiently capture the additional data. Edits were used to develop a final codebook based on all six focus group transcripts, and researchers used the list of themes in this final codebook to code all six focus group transcripts for a second time. This last round of coding was again completed in pairs. There were only minor discrepancies at this stage and these were discussed until consensus was reached.

Thematic analysis.—All the passages that were assigned to a given theme were compiled. Summaries were composed for each theme and particularly representative quotes were emphasized. Similarities and differences in ways in which themes were discussed among groups of differing residency statuses were also considered.

RESULTS

Consistent with the definition of resilience, participants described exposure to a range of adverse experiences, including discrimination and bullying in public spaces, as well as perceived daily impacts of increased U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and police activity, among others (see Roche et al., 2020). The next section summarizes three resilience themes which emerged across groups: Social Support, Faith, and Civic Commitment and Action. Latina/o immigrant parents in the undocumented, TPS, permanent resident, and citizen groups described receiving and offering support to/from family as well as religious, school, and community members. Although to a lesser extent, participants across groups also described turning to their spiritual faith to help them overcome challenges presented by a restrictive immigration climate. Finally, participants in all but one group (i.e., TPS holders) expressed a sense of civic commitment and/or involvement in advocacy efforts to ameliorate the perceived impact of restrictive immigration policies on their own and others' well-being. Quotes embedded in text are translated from Spanish. The original Spanish quotes and the English translations are included in Tables 2–4, identified by theme and residency status.

Social Support

Undocumented.—Undocumented participants described providing and receiving support within a variety of social contexts. Relationships with friends and family are key sources of social support, and this support can take different forms. Some parents described verbally supporting one another through warnings about restrictive immigration practices (e.g., “*Look, [name], please do not go out, they say that [im]migration will be around this day*”¹) or messages of hope (e.g., “*the truth will set you free*”²). Parents also gave examples of engaging in prosocial behavior, such as financial support for other Latina/o immigrants in need. This support was facilitated by a community-based ethnic organization: “*We had an event, as I mentioned, to raise funds to help that young man who was detained by immigration.*”³ Another parent described donating money to this man's wife and child, saying, “*I help her even just a little bit because I send her [money] for her baby.*”⁴

Religious organizations were another major source of support for Latina/o parents. Pastors serve as supportive figures to motivate members of the Latina/o community. One parent noted, “*[the pastor] always encourages people not to be afraid, and to continue living a normal life.*”⁵ Beyond providing encouragement and hope, pastors also provide practical

advice to help undocumented parishioners. For example, a parent stated, “*the pastor has also motivated people to consult with a lawyer to review their case, so that your entire file - to check if there is any possibility to apply for some status so people feel safer.*”⁶ These comments indicate that, in the context of restrictive immigration policies and practices, support from pastors is not limited to religious and emotional domains and also includes instrumental support with immigration-related concerns.

Institutional support was also reported in school settings. Although some parents reported that they and their children had been victims of racism and bullying at school, other parents spoke highly of their children’s teachers. For example, “*They’ve had teachers who protect them, who care for them and support them. I try to get along with the teachers, to be very close to them and so they [the children] feel protected. They don’t have as much fear.*”⁷ Parents also described support beyond good relationships with individuals, providing several examples of actions taken by administration to advocate for Latina/o immigrant students. Multiple undocumented parents described the fear they felt sending their children to school after the 2016 presidential election, given worries about the consequences of restrictive immigration policies, and they shared that the school administration acknowledged this fear. One parent shared, “*[the administrator] immediately wrote a letter, letting us know that he supported immigrant families and that everyone was welcomed so they could receive classes.*”⁸

Similarly, another parent referenced this same letter and provided additional information on its significance: “*The board of education and [administrator’s name] are giving relevance to Latinos. By saying ‘You know what? Do not worry, send your children [to school] because nothing will happen to them. If immigration arrives to ask for Pedro, Juan, Mario, whoever - No children will be turned in.’ So, they provide us with some support and some confidence.*”⁹ Some parents also advocated to the school administration for additional resources for their children and as a result “*they sent us psychologists to support the children,*”¹⁰ indicating that the schools were again acting in response to parent concerns.

TPS holders.—Only two examples of social support were provided by TPS holders, both of which involved support that children provided to their parents following rumors and news at the time that the TPS program would soon be canceled. These participants shared that their U.S.-born children recognize their relative legal protection because of their citizenship status and want to help their parents since they do not have the same protection. For example, one parent stated, “*My son has just asked me what he can do for me. He believes that he, because he is born here, can do something for me.*”¹¹ Similarly, another parent said that her son has asked “*Mommy, what can I do?*”¹² out of a desire to make a positive difference for their family. Both of these parents told their children that there was nothing they could do to help protect them from losing their status, demonstrating that although children have a desire to support their parents (a form of emotional support in and of itself), there may be very little supportive action taken.

Permanent Residents.—Across the two groups of permanent residents, support was described primarily in the school context. The examples of school support were very similar to those described by undocumented parents, including a reference to the same letter

informing parents about the school's support of immigrant families and encouraging them to send their children to school. Schools also worked to provide additional social support to their students given their observable emotional distress. As one parent shared, "*in certain schools of the area, the kids had entered as if in a panic and there was a lack of control to the degree that the school management called [the pastor] and so that he would go to like give them some psychological support.*"¹³ This suggests that in certain cases, religious and education institutions worked together to support Latina/o immigrant families.

U.S. Citizens.—U.S. citizens also provided examples of social support, but primarily focused on ways to provide instrumental, emotional, and informational support to others rather than discussing ways in which they have personally been supported. Multiple participants noted the importance of using their relative privilege to help more vulnerable members of the Latina/o community. For example, one parent used a metaphor to describe her view of how Latina/o citizens should respond in the context of restrictive immigration policies and a negative climate toward immigrants: "*For me, I do not see it as a dark future because I see it this way. I believe that, in every storm, in every darkness God gives light. We are the light. I have to take my place, do my work so that later others can reach what they need. So, even if they do not have it, we do. So, when we have resources it is about giving it to them when they need it and give them the help.*"¹⁴ Similarly, another parent described the unjust legal struggles faced by undocumented immigrants and stated, "*What we should do is use the resources we have to remedy the problem.*"¹⁵ U.S. citizen parents clearly believe they have a role to play in supporting other members of the Latina/o immigrant community.

Citizen parents also provided several specific examples of acting on this belief through prosocial behaviors. One parent offered verbal encouragement to another Latina/o immigrant who was anxious about his citizenship test. This parent described their conversation, stating: "*He says that, 'I'm stupid, the questions don't stick.' And I tell him, 'No,' I tell him, 'do not traumatize yourself, hang on, study, put on a pot of coffee.'*"¹⁶ Another parent shared work being done in their family to build relationships with other Latina/o immigrants and that, in response, they have advocated for them in the legal system: "*My brother has had to serve many times in the courts because sometimes they are detaining a person. And he has to go or sometimes someone from the family or a brother and we have to go to present...*"¹⁷

Similar to parents of other documentation statuses, U.S. citizens discussed supporting other immigrants by "*informing them about all the resources there are for them*"¹⁸ that they may not otherwise be aware of. For example, parents said that they tell other immigrants about free English language and citizenship classes with childcare provided that are available through colleges or community organizations. Additionally, one parent noted the importance of making other immigrants without legal status aware of available resources, noting that she told a friend, "*Look, she can go here...or she can consult the pro bono lawyers.*"¹⁹ Overall, citizen parents emphasized that they needed to do their part to provide a unique form of support to the broader Latina/o immigrant community. "*I believe that as a community we need to educate ourselves and know what is outside to be able to guide others.*"²⁰

Faith

Undocumented.—Overall, in the face of restrictive immigration policies and practices, including ICE and police activity in their neighborhood, undocumented parents reported turning to their faith to remain hopeful about their future. For instance, one mother described encouraging her husband to trust God and keep their faith: “*And I tell him, ‘God first, we have to trust in God and hope that nothing will happen to us.’*”²¹ Parents often referenced God as protector when describing instances of encountering ICE officials or other authorities. For example, one mother described a time when ICE came to her apartment complex looking for an upstairs neighbor and she was “*in a panic*”²² that if she let them in the building they would also take her. “*Thank God that God protected me that time,*”²³ she clarified. Another parent reported believing that God saved her from being pulled over at a checkpoint on one occasion, “*they were stopping some cars and not others, and precisely, what God does, they let me pass.*”²⁴

In addition to trusting God for their own protection, undocumented parents also seemed to rely on their faith for the protection of others. Specifically, despite notable negative impacts of immigration policies implemented by the current administration, undocumented parents often described praying for President Trump because “*even though things look really bad, we have to trust that God knows why He has put him in that position.*”²⁵ This parent also noted that, “*in the end, the decision maker is always God.*”²⁶ One parent who serves as a pastor in his church described becoming aware that the government may be “abusing” its power, particularly against undocu and DACAmented youth and, still, he reported believing that “*God can touch the heart of the government*”²⁷ and described working to give church members, particularly youth at risk of deportation, “*strength through faith.*”²⁷

TPS Holders.—In the TPS group, faith was referenced by only one parent. To comfort her adolescent son who was worried about their father potentially being deported and expressed a desire to help, this TPS mother described telling him, “*You can’t do anything right now...*” and instead encouraging him to “*trust in God that everything will be fine.*”²⁸

Permanent Residents.—Much like undocumented parents, resident parents also described trusting God and putting everything in “*God’s hands,*”²⁹ including government action. In the context of policy changes proposed by President Trump, one parent noted, “*God has the last answer and we support ourselves there because we can say this and this and the president can put this, but since we attend a church and we believe in a living God then our faith and our hope is there. That he [President Trump] says one thing, but God has his own plan.*”³⁰ Additionally, one parent whose son is not yet a lawful permanent resident reported being afraid that he may not be allowed to stay in the country, but trusting that, “*In God’s name, everything is going to go well.*”³¹

U.S. Citizens.—Citizen parents described turning to their faith and encouraging their children to do the same when concerned about changes in immigration policies and the impact that these could have on their more vulnerable peers. After sharing that her daughter was worried about the standing of programs like TPS under the current administration, and what could happen to some of her peers who are TPS beneficiaries, one mother described

thinking “we will have to move forward and ask God at least for help, to help us.”³² This mother went on to describe distrust of the U.S. government (“*But the government, the truth, at any given moment anything [can] happen. [The government] has no interest in helping, he does not put a stop*”³²), perhaps contributing to her turning to God for help instead. In addition, one citizen parent reported thinking that, although taking action to protect their more vulnerable peers is important, they also “*teach them that we have to have faith. That the protection of God is on us*”³³ and others agreed that, in such challenging times, “*God gives light*.”³⁴

Civic Commitment and Action

Undocumented.—Across two groups, undocumented parents described primarily supporting their children’s civic commitment and efforts to protect their immigrant parents and the larger immigrant community. Specifically, undocumented immigrants frequently stated that, as a result of their increased awareness of restrictive policies and practices, their U.S.-born children were increasingly motivated to act and effect sociopolitical change, both in the short and long term. For example, referring to her U.S.-born son, who she described as feeling “frustrated” with the current (mis)treatment of Latina/o immigrants in the U.S., an undocumented mother shared, “*So, he says, ‘I’m going to study to be able to change this.’ And we say, ‘that’s the best way we can protest and make a change, studying.’*”³⁵ Similarly, referring to her U.S.-born daughter, a mother described a conversation where her daughter stated, “*because I am an American citizen and I need to be an [im]migration lawyer to help people just like my parents.*”³⁶ Notably, Latina/o children in these mixed-status families are responding to injustice by building long-term civic commitments to protect undocumented immigrants via education and the pursuit of relevant service careers.

In addition to long-term commitments, undocumented parents described their children’s agency and bravery to engage in more immediate efforts to defend their immigrant community against increasingly restrictive policies and practices. An undocumented parent expressed that, “*with all this controversy going on, my children have ... they have armed themselves with more courage, they have become defenders, protectors. So, they say, ‘we respect the laws’ my eldest daughter tells me ‘but there are things that can be changed’ so now they participate in hearings.*”³⁷ This parent further explained that her children have engaged in efforts to defend such pro-immigrant policies as DACA and TPS, and these efforts have included speaking to city councilors, mayors, and several congressmen. She emphasized that her children “*participate a lot in public hearings, they grab the microphone and they are defending DACA, they are defending the TPS, they are very participative, so I see them very motivated because they say ‘we have to do something. They will listen to us.’*”³⁸

TPS Holders.—The theme of civic commitment and action did not emerge in this group.

Permanent Residents.—Participants in the U.S. Resident group also shared instances of their children engaging in both immediate and long-term commitments and action. However, these examples were fewer in number and did not seem to have the level of urgency expressed by participants in the Undocumented group. For example, one resident mother

noted that her daughter who is in college, “*says she is supporting and is going to visit Congress to support DACA - because she has her friends who are from DACA and they don’t want them to be deported, and she is in that.*”³⁹ Still, resident parents reported their children are saddened and upset by the treatment of Latina/o immigrants in the current climate and described them as motivated to effect change. One mother shared that her daughter and her friends are taking a stance against the restrictive immigration policies at school. She noted, “*when they say the prayer to the flag of the United States, they no longer extend their hand to the chest, but they instead close it. My daughter says that they close it because, “Hispanics are no longer free.” She says they close it because there’s—that’s what she told me that she had—“sadness” in her heart.*”⁴⁰

In addition to describing their children’s participation in civic efforts, resident parents made references to their own direct and indirect involvement in activities aimed at benefiting the immigrant community. For instance, parents described protesting at the White House and there were specific references to marching in favor of DACA. One parent noted that others from her church community have previously passed around petition forms “*that we signed to support DACA and then we go to the Congress or things like that - to see if, well to put pressure for the young people.*”⁴¹ Thus, it appears Latina/o immigrant parents and children who hold lawful permanent status engage in a wide range of civic activities, despite the stakes being lower for their families.

U.S. Citizens.—Although they did not describe participation in specific social change efforts (e.g., protesting in favor of DACA), or reference their children’s civic commitment, as participants in the other groups did, citizen parents frequently emphasized the importance of utilizing their voice and rights as citizens to speak up for and protect those whose voices are not being heard in the current political climate. For example, one parent shared, “*my rights are those of the people - to not endure injustice - at least when I see a gesture or something... I speak.*” This parent further argued for giving “*our people security, no matter what... make them feel safe.*”⁴²

Citizen parents also emphasized the importance of making their political voice count by voting and encouraged others to participate in mainstream electoral politics in order to effect change. One parent powerfully noted, “*I think we have the power. We are citizens. We have to start inculcating, for example, people, vote, vote. I believe that many who did not vote now regret not having voted, and to see the situation they are seeing right now. So, we have to be the voice. Raise awareness of our people, register to vote. That they vote. That they take into account everything that is happening right now so that it does not happen again.*”⁴³

DISCUSSION

The present study explored internal and external sources of resilience that Latina/o immigrant parents of varying statuses rely on to navigate increasingly restrictive immigration policies and practices. We identified social support, faith, and civic commitment and action as important sources of resilience for the Latina/o immigrant community. Notably, these resilience themes emerged across undocumented, permanent resident, and citizen groups, although they appeared to be less salient for TPS holders.

Further, similarities and differences were noted in the nature and function of these resilience themes across residency groups. We speculate on potential contextual explanations for these in this section.

Consistent with previous research (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006; Philbin & Ayón, 2016), our results revealed that Latina/o immigrant families rely on both internal assets (i.e., faith) and external resources (i.e., social support) to protect themselves against the negative effects of the oppressive immigration climate. Specifically, our findings suggest that Latina/o immigrant parents of all statuses rely on their faith to remain hopeful at a time when the future of the Latina/o immigrant community in the U.S. seems uncertain. Additionally, parents of all residency statuses referenced being part of generally supportive networks, which included family, religious, and ethnic groups, and described high levels of engagement with their Latina/o immigrant community. The nature of parents' engagement ranged from providing financial support to other immigrant families at risk of being deported to advocating for more resources for Latina/o children being bullied at school. These findings on faith and social support are consistent with previous studies highlighting the role of organizational contexts, including faith and community-based organizations, for promoting social capital (e.g., Coddou, 2016). Also, these findings are in line with the larger social support literature, which supports the multidimensional nature of this construct and emphasizes a need to consider several sources and types of support, including emotional, instrumental, and informational (e.g., Malecki & Demaray, 2003).

Further, parents in all but the TPS group demonstrated high levels of commitment to supporting the rights of Latina/o immigrants via a range of civic behaviors, which included encouraging others to become U.S. citizens and vote in the elections, as well as attending protests and signing petitions in favor of TPS and DACA. This third set of resilience factors (i.e., civic commitment and action) does not fall neatly into the categorization of internal assets or external resources and is considered an integrated asset and resource (Zimmerman et al., 2013). While commitment may be considered an individual-level strength, parents' related beliefs about their ability to effect change - also referred to as sociopolitical control or efficacy (Peterson et al., 2011) - seemed largely influenced by external factors, as were their opportunities/barriers to actual participation in civic efforts. Indeed, a growing body of research on the sociopolitical development of immigrants and other groups of color has highlighted the influence of contextual factors in facilitating or hindering active participation in civic matters among these groups (e.g., Dixon, Bessaha, & Post, 2018; Wray-Lake & Sloper, 2016). Collectively, these findings seem to reflect both the complex nature of processes of civic development among Latina/o immigrants, as well as the benefits of active engagement for their individual and collective well-being.

Although these themes of resilience were similar across groups, there are several notable differences that warrant further attention to context. First, it is important to note that all focus groups were conducted in November 2017, just a few months after DACA was rescinded, and around the time when TPS was canceled for Nicaragua and Haiti. The standing of TPS for El Salvador and Honduras was also uncertain at the time. It is thus not surprising that parents with TPS described fewer resilience factors than the other groups and, of those factors they did discuss, they provided fewer examples. For instance, with regards to

social support, TPS holders discussed only their children's concern for their parents' unstable legal status and their desire to support them, while other groups provided more detailed examples of their own and others' prosocial behaviors to support the Latina/o immigrant community. In this sense, our findings are different from estimates in a recent report based on data collected in 2016, which found that close to 30% of surveyed TPS holders volunteered at various organizations and showed "high levels of social integration" (Menjívar, 2017). Seemingly, the precarious conditions of TPS holders at the time our data were collected contributed to their providing only examples of support offered to them. Relatedly, faith was only referenced once in this group and it was used to lessen their families' distress over the uncertain standing of the TPS program. Menjívar (2017) documented that, among TPS holders, having a protected status is associated with fewer worries related to deportation for themselves and their family members. Thus, it appears that, with their immigration status in limbo, TPS holders may have been less optimistic about their future in the U.S. than other groups, and more attuned to risk rather than resilience factors.

A few and more subtle differences were also observed among undocumented, resident, and U.S. citizen parents. Undocumented parents reported both personally receiving and providing support from/to other community members across a variety of contexts, while citizen parents primarily described utilizing their privileged status to support those without legal protection. Additionally, resident parents emphasized instances of support offered to their children, particularly at school. Regarding faith, parents of all statuses described trusting in God above all else, including - and perhaps especially - above the U.S. government. Indeed, parents across groups seemed to be distrustful of the government and its institutions and officials. Still, undocumented parents prayed for the protection and guidance of God on the leader of the U.S. federal government, President Donald Trump. The faith and optimism of these parents is remarkable given their continuously threatened status and the harsh consequences that they experience from restrictive immigration legislation. Such optimism was not noted in TPS holders, another vulnerable group, perhaps due to a greater risk salience associated with losing their status.

Finally, undocumented parents frequently highlighted their children's civic commitment and efforts, although they made fewer references than residents and citizens to their own involvement in civic activities to support immigrants, perhaps as a result of fear and systemic barriers to participation. In fact, as described in the Social Support section, undocumented parents described high levels of engagement in prosocial activities within school and community-based organizations, while there was only one mention of attending a protest. On the other hand, resident parents described instances of both their own and their children's commitment to and involvement in efforts to support the rights of immigrants. Similarly, citizen parents emphasized their commitment to utilizing their voting rights and privileges to serve and protect more vulnerable immigrant groups. Overall, civic commitments were discussed more frequently as being emphasized and/or enacted by those with greater protections (e.g., U.S.-born children in mixed status families, citizens) and less frequently or not at all among those who were most vulnerable (undocumented, TPS).

Limitations and Future Directions

This study addresses important gaps in the literature but is not without limitations. First, this study sought to explore resilience among Latina/o immigrant families, relying only on parent-report. Parents may be better positioned than children to understand and describe family experiences with complex U.S. institutions, systems, and politics, including those related to immigration. Still, multi-informant data (from both parents and children) is likely to yield a more comprehensive picture of the ways Latina/o families navigate restrictive immigration policies. Future studies should thus consider expanding this research by examining experiences of multiple family members. Also, although the voices of Latina/o immigrant parents who participated in this study offer valuable insight into the everyday impact of restrictive immigration policies, factors such as small sample size mean that results are not generalizable. Sample sizes were especially small for U.S. citizen and TPS groups, with only one focus group for each of these residency statuses. The limited generalizability of the results means it is especially important to consider the context in which the data were collected. For example, Latina/o parents who live in politically conservative states with more state-level restrictive immigration policies may have a different perspective on risk and resilience (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018). Future research should consider replicating these findings in a larger sample and across multiple geographic areas to better understand the influence of context of reception (Schwartz et al., 2014) on facilitating or hindering Latina/o immigrant integration and resilience. Further, the broader research project of which this study is a part was not designed to investigate resilience, such that resilience may have been discussed differently if queried about it directly. However, given that examples of resilience emerged spontaneously, there is support for the salience of resilience to the families in this research. Relatedly, it is important to note that parents provided examples of resilience not only in themselves but among members of their families. This points to the importance in future studies to examine the perspectives of other family members, including partners and children. Mixed-methods studies would be particularly valuable to provide a more comprehensive understanding of Latina/o immigrant families' experience of resilience in the face of restrictive immigration policies and how resilience factors are associated with well-being.

Implications

Findings from the current study have important implications for policy and practice. Behavioral health fields are often inherently focused on addressing deficits but results from this study demonstrate the importance of also recognizing the role of resilience in promoting well-being. Providers working with Latina/o immigrant families should inquire about their strengths and work together to build on them in helpful ways. A similar process can occur at the institutional level. Rather than starting from the ground up, non-profit organizations designing programming for Latina/o immigrants can provide structure to augment existing protective factors, such as offering support groups or volunteer opportunities. Latina/o immigrant parents in this study also shared examples of valuable collaborations between different types of organizations, suggesting that community, religious, and educational institutions can partner with one another to further benefit the Latina/o community.

Additionally, Latina/o immigrant parents of varying residency statuses discussed different forms of civic commitment and action, including political protests, communication with political representatives, and voting. Their ongoing civic involvement shows that members of the Latina/o community should be invited into efforts to advocate for more inclusive immigration policies. However, while the civic engagement of Latina/o immigrant families is remarkable and worth supporting, it is also important to acknowledge that their resilience occurs in the context of significant risk; advocating for more inclusive immigration policies should not primarily be their responsibility. Widespread advocacy for policies that support immigrant families would increase the likelihood of implementing such policies and address the underlying systemic injustice, thereby ameliorating the problem instead of simply treating its symptoms.

Conclusions

The present study identified social support, faith, and civic commitment and action as key sources of resilience for Latina/o immigrant families in the face of restrictive immigration policies and practices. Findings indicate that Latina/o immigrant families across residency statuses rely on both internal assets and external resources, but that these resilience factors are experienced and expressed in different ways depending in part on the vulnerability of their status. This research is particularly timely considering the increasingly restrictive nature of immigration policies in the U.S. and the growing literature on the impact these policies have on immigrant health outcomes. A better understanding of resilience factors can help policy and intervention efforts to enhance existing strengths within Latina/o immigrant communities and, in doing so, promote holistic well-being.

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Appendix: Focus Group Guide

“As you know, there is a lot of talk these days about immigration and deportation of immigrants in the United States. We want to know how the current news and activities are affecting your daily lives.”

--- SOURCES OF INFORMATION ---

(1) Let's begin by sharing what you are hearing about changes in immigration laws and activities these days. What do you know about these changes?

Where have you been hearing about the immigration activities?

If RADIO not mentioned, No one has mentioned the radio - have you heard any news on the radio?

If Social Media not mentioned, “No one has mentioned things like twitter or Facebook or snapchat. Have you, you family or others you know heard anything through those things?”

If TV not mentioned, “No one has mentioned the TV. Has anyone read anything in any newspaper on this?” Ask about specific newspapers.

If School not mentioned, “No one mentioned school. Has anyone at your child’s school discussed this with you?”

If Church not mentioned, “How about at church - do people there talk about these issues?”

If neighbors and workplace not mentioned, “How about your neighbors or work places. Is there any talk about these issues?”

If Newspaper not mentioned, “No one has mentioned the newspaper. Has anyone read anything in any newspaper on this?” Probe by asking about specific newspapers.

(2) Does anyone know about specific activities of immigration authorities over the past few months here in this community?

- Have you known of anyone stopped by immigration authorities? What were the circumstances around that?
- Who is being targeted by the deportation laws?
- How are immigration officials identifying people to deport?

Probe: Tell us more about what happened. Where did you hear about it?

If travel not mentioned, ask: “How about travel? Has anyone changed plans for travel outside of the United States?”

(3) Next, I’d like to talk about how these changes around immigration have affected you, your family, and people you know. What changes have you noticed?

- PROBE: FEELINGS ON BEING AFRAID, WORRIED, FEARFUL
- PROBE: CHANGES IN DAILY LIFE ROUTINES

Are there changes in how you are treated when you go out in public such as to the grocery store and other places?

If work not mentioned, How about at a place where you work or in looking for a new work?

If kids not mentioned, “What about your kids? Do they talk about specific things that have happened? Do they worry about certain things? Do you as a parent have specific worries about the children? Have you made any changes about your kid’s activities (work on this)

- PROBE ON SPECIFIC WORRIES OR FEARS RELATED TO KIDS, “When you say your child is afraid - what are they saying and doing?”

--- THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE ---

Thank you all very much for this information - it is very helpful. Before we end, I'd like to spend a little bit of time hearing about how you think the actions around immigration will affect your future and the lives of children in immigrant families.

PROBE: No one has mentioned moving back to the country they came from. Is this something you or others you know are considering? Can you talk more about the reasons why or why not?

-- CLOSING --

Is there anything else that you think we should know in order to better understand this situation?

Thank you very much for your time providing this important information to us today.

We will now provide you a \$50 gift card for your time today.

Table

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Highlights

- Latina/o immigrant parents of all residency statuses (i.e., undocumented, TPS holders, permanent residents, and U.S. citizens) rely on both internal (i.e., faith) and external (i.e., social support) sources of resilience to protect themselves and their families against the negative effects of restrictive immigration policies and practices.
- Civic commitment and action (an internal *and* external source of resilience) was discussed more frequently as being emphasized and/or enacted by those with greater protections in terms of their residency status.
- Latina/o immigrant parents of all residency statuses described being aware that the TPS and DACA programs were under threat at the time of this investigation and expressed their support for keeping these programs in place. TPS holders may have been less optimistic about the future of these programs.

Table 1.

Participant Characteristics.

Characteristic	Mean or Percentage (N = 50)
Gender	73% Female
Education	46% at least high school
Country of Birth	
El Salvador	56%
Guatemala	14%
Honduras	6.1%
United States	4.1%
Other Latin American country	18.4%
Reasons moved to the U.S.	
Get a job or a better job	18%
Better education for child	36%
Escape gangs or violence	48%
Escape war or government abuse	12%
Reunite family in U.S.	24%
Has DACA or DACA-eligible child	29%

Table 2.

Quotes for Theme of Social Support.

Residency Status	Spanish Quotes	English Quotes
Undocumented	1 "Mira, [nombre], que por favor no vaya a salir, que dicen que anda, que tal día va a andar migración ahí."	1 "Look, [name], please do not go out, they say that [in]migration will be around this day."
	2 "La verdad te hará libre"	2 "The truth will set you free"
	3 "Tuvimos nosotros una actividad, como le digo, para recardarfondospara ayudar a ese joven que ha sido...que está preso en migración."	3 "We had an event, as I mentioned, to raise funds to help that young man who was detained by immigration."
	4 "Yo le ayudo aunque sea poquito le mundo [dinero] yo a ella, para su bebe."	4 "I help her even just a little bit because I send her [money] for her baby."
	5 "Y [elpastor] siempre motiva en el sentido de no tener temor y de seguir continuando con la vida normal."	5 "And [the pastor] always encourages people not to be afraid, and to continue living a normal life."
	6 "Ha motivado mucho el pastor de asesorarse con un abogado para que revise su caso, para que todo su expediente - para que chequee si hay alguna posibilidad aplicar para algún estatus para que se sientan más seguros."	6 "The pastor has also motivated people to consult with a lawyer to review their case, so that your entire file - to check if there is any possibility to apply for some status so people feel safer."
	7 "Han tenido maestros que los protegen, que los cuidan, que los apoyan. Yo trato de llevarme re-bien con los maestros, de estar bien cerca de ellos y entonces ellos se sienten protegidos. Ellos no tienen tanto temor."	7 "They've had teachers who protect them, who care for them and support them. I try to get along with the teachers, to be very close to them and so they [the children] feel protected. They don't have as much fear."
	8 "[el administrador] inmediatamente hizo una carta también, dejando saber que apoyaba a las familias inmigrantes y que era bienvenidos todo el mundo para poder recibir clases"	8 "[the administrator] immediately wrote a letter, letting us know that he supported immigrant families and that everyone was welcomed so they could receive classes."
	9 "El mismo board de educación y [nombre del administrador] le están dando la importancia a los Latinos. Al decirles ¿saben qué? no se preocupen, envíen a sus hijos que ahí no les va a pasar nada. Si llega inmigración a preguntarle por Pedro, Juan, Mario, quien sea - No se les va a entregar ningún niño. Entonces nos han dado un poco de respaldo y un poco de confianza."	9 "The board of education and [administrator's name] are giving relevance to Latinos. By saying 'You know "hat? Do not worry, send your children [to school] because nothing will happen to them. If immigration arrives to ask for Pedro, Juan, Mario, whoever - No children will be turned in.' So, they provide us with some support and some confidence."
	10 "Nos mandarin psicólogos para apoyar a los niños"	10 "They sent us psychologists to support the children"
TPS holders	11 "Mi hijo solo me ha preguntado, que qué puede hacer él por mí. El cree, que él, porque es nacido acá puede hacer algo por mí."	11 "My son has just asked me what he can do for me. He believes that he, because he is born here, can do something for me."
	12 "Mami, ¿qué puedo hacer?"	12 "Mommy, what can I do?"
Permanent Residents	13 "En ciertas escuelas del área, los muchachos habían entrado como en pánico y había un descontrol a tal grado que de la dirección de la escuela lo llamaron y para que el fuera como a dárles un poco de soporte psicológico"	13 "In certain schools of the area, the kids had entered as if in a panic and there was a lack of control to the degree that the school management called [the pastor] and so that he would go to like give them some psychological support."
	14 "Para mí, yo no lo veo como un futuro oscuro porque lo veo de esta forma. Creo que, en cada tempestad, en cada oscuridad, Dios da luz. Nosotros somos la luz. Quiere decir, yo tengo que tomar mi lugar, hacer mi trabajo para que después otros puedan alcanzar lo que necesitan. Así que, aunque ellos no lo tengan, nosotros sí tenemos. Así que, cuando tengamos recursos es de dárseles a ellos cuando lo necesiten y dárles la ayuda."	14 "For me, I do not see it as a dark future because I see it this way. I believe that, in every storm, in every darkness, God gives light. We are the light. I have to take my place, do my work so that later others can reach what they need. So, even if they do not have it, we do. So, when we have resources, it is about giving it to them when they need it and give them the help."
U.S. Citizens	15 "Lo que debemos de hacer es usar los recursos que tenemos para remediar el problema."	15 "What we should do is use the resources we have to remedy the problem."

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Residency Status	Spanish Quotes	English Quotes
16	“Él dice que, ‘Yo soy tonto, a mí no se me quedan las preguntas.’” Y le digo, “No”, le digo yo, “no se traume, agárrelo tranquilo, estudie, ponga un café.”	16 “He says that, ‘I’m stupid, the questions don’t stick.’ And I tell him, ‘No.’ I tell him, ‘do not traumatize yourself, hang on, study, put on a pot of coffee.’”
17	“Mi hermano ha tenido que servir en muchas ocasiones en las cortes porque a veces están deteniendo una persona. Y él tiene que ir o a veces alguien de la familia o un hermano y tenemos que irnos a presentar así que... si estamos involucrados personalmente con el tema.”	17 “My brother has had to serve many times in the courts because sometimes they are detaining a person. And he has to go or sometimes someone from the family or a brother and we have to go to present, so... we are personally involved with the topic.”
18	“Informándoles acerca de todos los recursos de que hay para ellos.”	18 “informing them about all the resources there are for them.”
19	“Mira, puede ir aquí”, le digo, “puede ir a casa de [nombre de participante] o que consulten a los abogados pro bono.”	19 “Look, she can go here,” I say, “she can go [participant name]’s house or she can consult the pro bono lawyers.”
20	“Yo creo que como comunidad necesitamos educarnos nosotros y saber lo que hay afuera para poder guiar a los otros.”	20 “I believe that as a community we need to educate ourselves and know what is outside to be able to guide others.”

Table 3.

Quotes for Theme of Faith.

Residency Status	Spanish Quotes	English Quotes
Undocumented	21 "Y le digo, 'primero Dios las cosas, tenemos que confiar en Dios y esperar a que no nos pase nada.'"	21 "And I tell him, 'God first, we have to trust in God and hope that nothing will happen to us.'"
	22 "Yo me asusté tanto que yo me quedé en pánico."	22 "I was so scared that I was still in panic."
	23 "Gracias a Dios que Dios me protegió en ese momento."	23 "Thank God that God protected me that time."
	24 "Y estaban parando a unos sí, a otros no y justamente, lo que Dios hace, me dejaron pasar."	24 "They were stopping some cars and not others, and precisely, what God does, they let me pass."
	25 "Lo que tenemos que hacer es orar por él, aunque las cosas se vean de lo peor, que tenemos que confiar que Dios sabe por qué lo ha puesto en ese mando."	25 "So, what we have to do is pray for him, even though things look really bad, we have to trust that God knows why He has put him in that position."
	26 "Al final el que toma las decisiones es siempre Dios."	26 "In the end, the decision maker is always God."
	27 "Como pastores hemos tratado de fortalecerlos por medio de la fe, pero también hay una realidad ¿verdad? donde vemos que el gobierno está abusando y está como dejando afuera jóvenes que tienen un futuro brillante... Creemos en fe, creemos que Dios puede tocar el corazón del gobierno..."	27 "As pastors we have tried to give them strength through faith, but there is also a reality, right? Where we see that the government is abusing and leaving out young people who have a bright future... We believe in faith, we believe that God can touch the heart of the government..."
TPS holders	28 "Le digo, 'Tú no puedes hacer nada ahorita, espérate a que tengas veintinueve, entonces sí.' Pero siempre le digo, 'hay que confiar en Dios, que todo va estar bien.'"	28 I say, "You can't do anything right now, wait until you're 21, then yes." But always I say, "you have to trust in God, that everything will be fine."
Permanent Residents	29 "hay que ponerse en mano de Dios."	29 "one has to put oneself in God's hand."
	30 "Nosotros lo que hablamos es el señor Donald Trump - pues dice una cosa, pero Dios tiene la última respuesta y ahí nos mantenemos porque nosotros podemos decir esto y esto y el presidente puede poner esto, pero como nosotros asistimos a una iglesia y creemos en un Dios vivo, entonces nuestra fe y nuestra esperanza está ahí. Que él [Presidente Trump] dice una cosa, pero Dios tiene dispuesto es otra."	30 "What we're talking about is Mr. Donald Trump - he says one thing, but God has the last answer and we support ourselves there because we can say this and this and the president can put this, but since we attend a church and we believe in a living God, then our faith and our hope is there. That he [President Trump] says one thing, but God has his own plan."
U.S. Citizens	31 "En el nombre de Dios que todo salga bien."	31 "In God's name, everything is going to go well."
	32 "habrá que seguir adelante y pedir a Dios por lo menos la ayuda, que nos ayude. Pero el gobierno, la verdad, en cualquier momento pasa cualquier cosa. No tiene interés de ayudar, no pone un alto."	32 "we will have to move forward and ask God at least for help, to help us. But the government, the truth, at any given moment anything [can] happen. [The government] has no interest in helping, he does not put a stop."
	33 "sí creo que hay que accionar, pero si - nosotros también les enseñamos que tenemos que tener fe Que la protección de Dios si está sobre nosotros..."	33 "I do believe that we must act, but if - we also teach them that we have to have faith. That the protection of God is on us..."
	34 "Dios da luz."	34 "God gives light."

Table 4.

Quotes for Theme of Civic Commitment and Action.

Residency Status	Spanish Quotes	English Quotes
Undocumented	<p>35 "Entonces él dice 'yo voy a estudiar para poder cambiar esto'. Y nosotros le decimos 'esa es la mejor manera que todos podemos protestar y hacer un cambio, estudiando.'"</p> <p>36 "porque yo soy ciudadana americana y yo necesito ser abogada de migración para ayudar a la gente igual que mis padres."</p> <p>37 "con toda esta polémica que se ha vivido, mis hijos se han... se han armado más de valor, se han hecho defensores a proteger. Dicen pues, 'respetamos las leyes' me dice mi niña mayor 'pero hay cosas que se pueden cambiar' entonces ahora ellos participan en las audiencias..."</p> <p>38 "Ahora participan mucho en las audiencias públicas, agarran ese micrófono y están defendiendo a DACA, están defendiendo al TPS, están bastante participativos, entonces los veo bien motivados porque dicen 'nosotros tenemos que hacer algo. A nosotros sí nos van a escuchar'."</p>	<p>35 "So, he says, 'I'm going to study to be able to change it. s.' And we say, 'that's the best way we can protest and make a change, studying.'"</p> <p>36 "because I am an American citizen and I need to be an [im]migration lawyer to help people just like my parents."</p> <p>37 "with all this controversy going on, my children have... they have armed themselves with more courage, they have become defenders, protectors. So, they say, 'we respect the laws' my eldest daughter tells me 'but there are things that can be changed' so now they participate in hearings..."</p> <p>38 "Now they participate a lot in public hearings, they grab the microphone and they are defending DACA, they are defending the TPS, they are very participative, so I see them very motivated because they say 'we have to do something. They will listen to us.'"</p>
Permanent Residents	<p>39 "ella dice de que está apoyando y está yendo a visitar a los congresistas por apoyar DACA - porque tiene sus amigas que son de DACA y no quieren que los deporten, y ella está en eso."</p> <p>40 "Cuando dicen la oración a la bandera de los Estados Unidos, ya no extiende su mano al pecho, sino que la cierran. Mi hija dice que la cierran porque, 'Ya no están libres los hispanos.' Ella dice que la cierran porque, 'Hay': eso me dijo ella que tenía, 'tristeza en su corazón.'"</p> <p>41 "Ellos pasaron unas hojas que las firmáramos para apoyar el, a DACA y pues vamos al congreso o cosas así- a ver si, bueno a hacer presión pues por los jóvenes."</p>	<p>39 "she says she is supporting and is going to visit Congress to support DACA - because she has her friends who are from DACA and they don't want them to be deported, and she is in that."</p> <p>40 "When they say the prayer to the flag of the United States, they no longer extend their hand to the chest, but they instead close it. My daughter says that they close it because, 'Hispanics are no longer free.' She says they close it because there's—that's what she told me that she had—"sadness" in her heart."</p> <p>41 "They passed some sheets that we signed to support DACA and then we go to the Congress or things like that- to see if, well to put pressure for the young people."</p>
U.S. Citizens	<p>42 "Mis derechos son los de las personas- que no aguanté injusticia - cuando yo veo por lo menos un gesto o algo... hablo... Uno tiene que también darle seguridad a nuestra gente, no importando lo que - yo sé que es fácil decir - pero no importa lo que está alrededor... hacerles que se sientan seguros."</p> <p>43 "Yo pienso que nosotros tenemos el poder. Nosotros somos ciudadanos. Tenemos que comenzar a inculcar, por ejemplo, a las personas, voten, voten. Yo creo que muchos que no votaron ahora se arrepienten de no haber votado, y de ver la situación que están viendo ahorita. Entonces nosotros tenemos que ser la voz. Concientizar nuestra gente, que se inscriban para votar. Que voten. Que tomen en cuenta todo lo que está pasando ahorita para que no se vuelva a repetir."</p>	<p>42 "My rights are those of the people - to not endure injustice - at least when I see a gesture or something... I speak... One also has to give our people security, no matter what... I know it's easy to say - but it does not matter what's around... make them feel safe."</p> <p>43 "I think we have the power. We are citizens. We have to start inculcating, for example, people, vote, vote. I believe that many who did not vote now regret not having voted, and to see the situation they are seeing right now. So, we have to be the voice. Raise awareness of our people, register to vote. That they vote. That they take into account everything that is happening right now so that it does not happen again."</p>