



CSRC
RESEARCH
REPORT

NO. 18 • OCTOBER 2014

AN OCCASIONAL SERIES

DACAMENTED IN CALIFORNIA
THE IMPACT OF THE DEFERRED ACTION
FOR CHILDHOOD ARRIVALS PROGRAM
ON LATINA/OS

LINDSAY PÉREZ HUBER, BRENDA PULIDO VILLANUEVA,
NANCY GUARNEROS, VERÓNICA N. VÉLEZ,
AND DANIEL G. SOLÓRZANO

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center • 193 Haines Hall • Los Angeles, CA 90095-1544
Phone: 310-825-2642 • Fax: 310-206-1784 • E-Mail: press@chicano.ucla.edu

Editor: Chon A. Noriega • Senior Editor: Rebecca Frazier • Production: Bill Morosi

MISSION STATEMENT

The UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center supports interdisciplinary, collaborative, and policy-oriented research on issues critical to the Chicano community. The center's press disseminates books, working papers, and the peer-reviewed *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*.

www.chicano.ucla.edu

The first annual Latina/o Education Summit conference was held at UCLA on Friday, March 24, 2006. That morning, conference participants learned that hundreds of high school students in Los Angeles were walking out of their classrooms. As the day progressed, it became clear that their protests were part of a wave of civil actions, including marches and rallies and work stoppages as well as school walk-outs, that had started to sweep across the United States (Associated Press 2006). Those involved were demanding national attention to a critical issue that was only mentioned at the conference: immigration—specifically, immigration reform. The protests were sparked by the passage of the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Immigration Control Act (HR 4437, also known as the Sensenbrenner bill) in the US House of Representatives in December 2005.¹ Demonstrators across the country, including thousands of youth, were galvanized by the rampant racist nativism at the heart of the legislation.²

By day's end, conference participants had heard that there were plans for a protest in downtown Los Angeles on the following day, March 26. That evening, Spanish-language radio hosts encouraged their listeners to come out to show their support for immigration reform and to wear white shirts to symbolize unity and collectivity. The result was one of the largest mass demonstrations in the history of Los Angeles. At least half a million people participated, marching to City Hall and clogging the streets of downtown Los Angeles (Watanabe and Becerra 2006). It was clear that immigration was an issue that Latina/o students, families, communities, and their allies would no longer allow to be ignored.

In the early 2000s undocumented students began demanding civil rights and access to higher education. This activism evolved into a new social movement led by the DREAMers,

students who are working to insure passage of the DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) Act, federal legislation that would provide a pathway to citizenship for undocumented youth.

Nearly a decade has passed since the activism of 2006, yet legislation for comprehensive immigration reform that contains a path to citizenship for undocumented residents still seems unlikely to be enacted. DREAMERS are still dreaming—and the educational achievement of Latino/a students is still critically low. In 2012, acknowledging that comprehensive immigration reform would be difficult to achieve, President Barack Obama announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, designed to protect eligible undocumented immigrant youth from deportation. In this report we focus on the impact of the DACA program on undocumented Latina/o students in Los Angeles. We conclude with recommendations for improving educational and life opportunities for undocumented—and DACAmented—Latina/o students.³

THE LATINA/O EDUCATION PIPELINE

Beginning with the first Latina/o Education Summit in 2006, the CSRC's annual conferences have investigated how Latina/o students move through the "education pipeline" from kindergarten through graduate school (Pérez Huber et al. 2006). Participants have discussed the significant disparities in educational attainment between Latina/o students and those of other major racial/ethnic groups and the barriers and challenges that are unique to Latina/o students (see, for example, Guarneros et al. 2009; Pérez Huber et al. 2008). These are continuing concerns nationwide, but they are especially acute in California, where demographers have predicted that Latina/os will become the largest racial/ethnic group in 2014 (Lopez 2014). In the 2013-14 school year, Latina/o students comprised 53 percent of the K-12

student population in the state (California Department of Education 2014). The education of Latina/o youth who are undocumented is a critical issue, since more undocumented Latina/os reside in California than in any other US state (Passel and Cohn 2009).

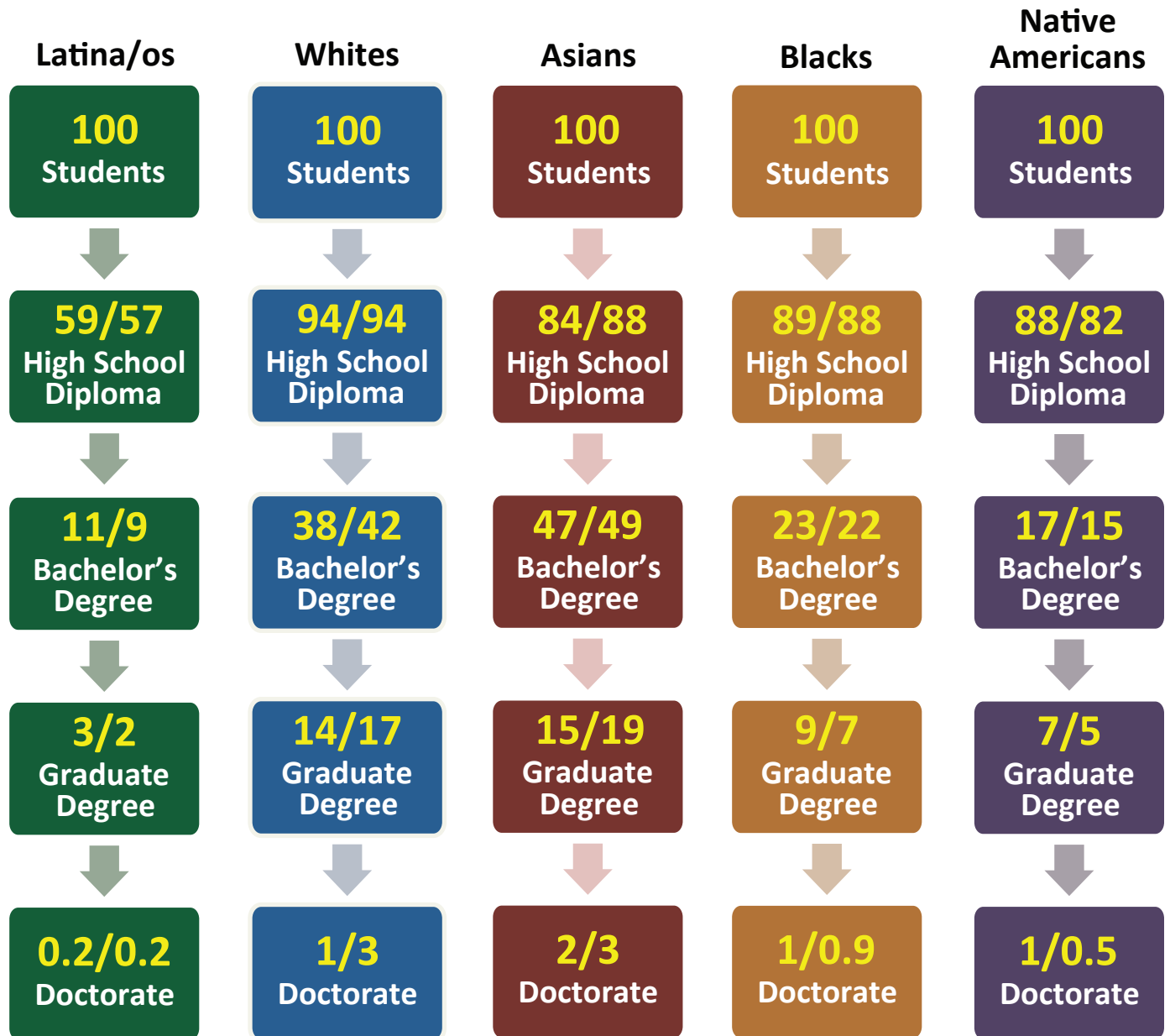
Students of some racial/ethnic groups in California flow smoothly through the education pipeline to yield a consistent and fairly high proportion of high school and postsecondary graduates. For Latina/o students, however, the pipeline does not work in this way, as figure 1 illustrates.

Out of every 100 Latina elementary students, 59 will graduate from high school, 11 will receive an undergraduate degree, and 3 will graduate with a master's or a professional degree; for Latino students these numbers are even lower. Out of every 100 Latino elementary students, 57 will graduate high school, 9 will receive an undergraduate degree, and 2 will graduate with a master's or professional degree. Statistically, only 0.2 of every 100 Latina/o students will earn a doctorate. Figure 1 shows that Latina/os fare much worse in degree attainment than any other major racial/ethnic group in the state.⁴ While we have seen gains in degree attainment for this group in the past decade, it has not increased in proportion to the growth of the Latina/o population in California. In fact, the proportion of Latina/os attaining high school and advanced degrees has decreased since 2000 (Pérez Huber, Vélez, and Solórzano 2014).

CITIZENSHIP MATTERS

A student's citizenship status has a pronounced impact on the educational attainment of Latina/os in California, as figure 2 shows. Out of every 100 US-born Latina elementary students, 83 will graduate from high school, 18 will receive an undergraduate degree, 6 will graduate with a graduate or professional degree, and fewer than 1 will earn a doctorate. When we examine students who do not have lawful status in the United States, the numbers are significantly lower.⁵ Out of every

Figure 1. The California Education Pipeline, by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 2012



Note: The first number in each box represents females; the second, males.
 Source: American Community Survey (ACS) data for 2012, compiled by the US Census Bureau.

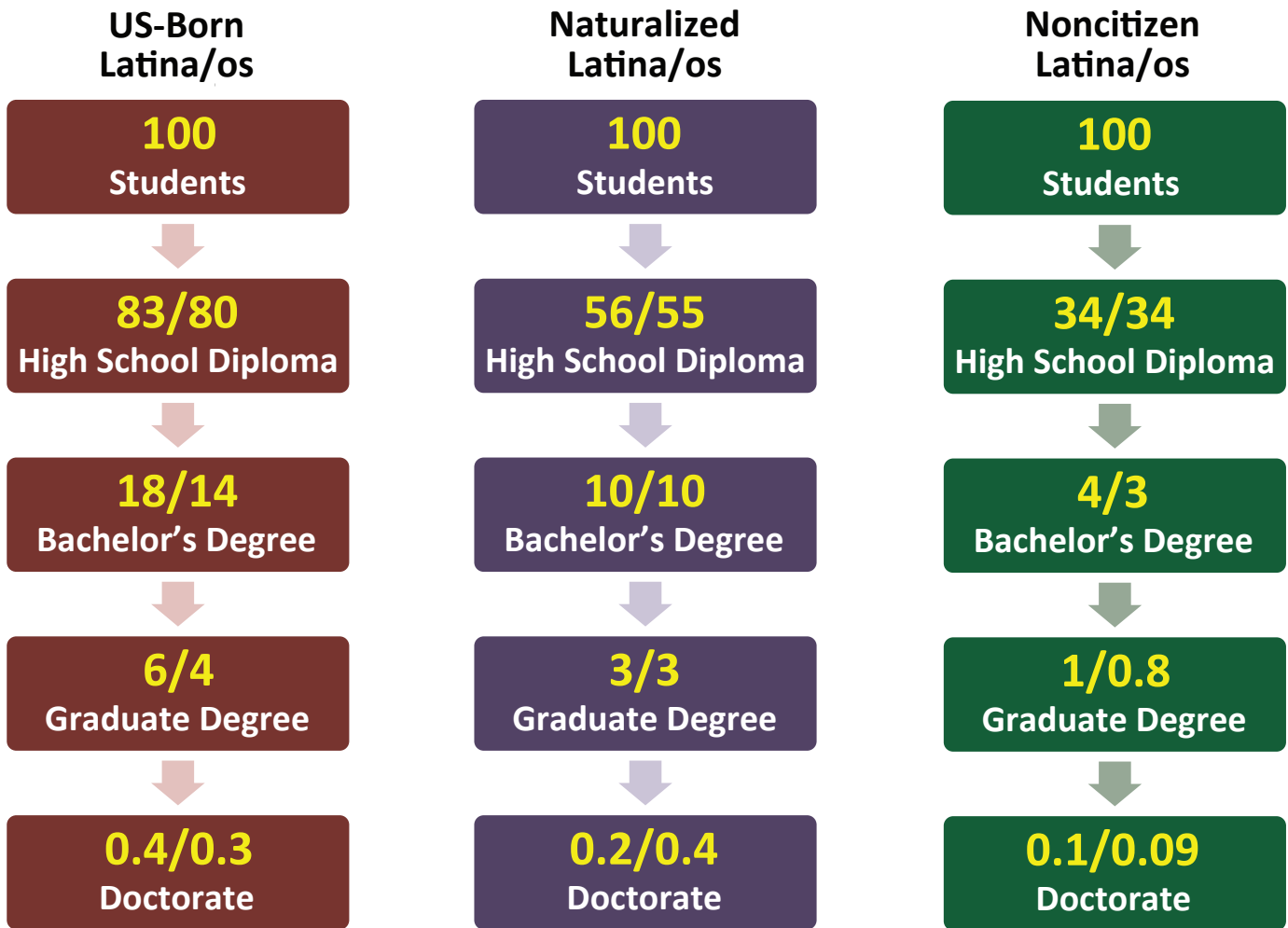
100 non-citizen Latina elementary students, only 34 will graduate from high school, 4 will receive an undergraduate degree, 1 will graduate with a masters or professional degree. The figures for Latinos are even lower. Out of every 100 non-citizen Latino elementary students, 34 will graduate high school, 3 will receive an undergraduate degree, and less than one will graduate with a master's or professional degree. The figures for non-citizen Latina/os (women

and men) earning a doctorate is nearly zero. These data reveal that citizenship matters: non-citizen Latina/o students fare far worse in the education pipeline than their US-born and naturalized counterparts.

Important policy changes in recent years have advanced educational opportunity and access for undocumented students in California. In 2001 AB 540 was passed, allowing undocumented students who meet certain

requirements to qualify for in-state tuition in California's public colleges and universities. In 2011 the California DREAM Act was passed as a package of bills (AB 130 and AB 131) allowing undocumented AB 540 students access to private institution-based funds and enabling some forms of state financial aid programs to pay for college tuition in public higher education. Nevertheless, even under the California DREAM Act, undocumented

Figure 2. The Latina/o California Education Pipeline, by Citizenship and Gender, 2012



Note: The first number in each box represents females; the second, males.
 Source: American Community Survey (ACS) data for 2012, compiled by the US Census Bureau.

college students do not have the same access to all forms of state and federal financial aid enjoyed by US citizens.⁶

The DACA program increased educational and occupational access for undocumented youth across the United States. On June 15, 2012, the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced that DACA would allow undocumented youth who meet specific requirements to receive authorization from the DHS for a two-year stay on deportation removal; the authorization is renewable for two additional years.⁷ Applicants must have been between the ages of fifteen (with some exceptions) and thirty-one when the program was announced; thus, DACA applies only to undocumented youth and young adults. Individuals who

receive DACA authorization are considered to be lawfully present in the United States and may apply for employment authorization. The application fee is \$465.00; the fee for renewing DACA authorization is also \$465.00.

A program like DACA increases the probability that undocumented Latina/o students can successfully navigate the education pipeline, enabling youth who are hoping to make better futures for themselves turn those hopes into reality. Because citizenship matters, DACA has increased educational attainment and economic mobility for the students who qualify.

DACA RECIPIENTS NATIONWIDE

What do we know about the youth who have been approved to participate

in DACA? In the first year of implementation, which began on August 15, 2012, more than 573,000 people applied for DACA authorization nationwide, and more than 430,000 people received it (T. Wong et al. 2013). We also know that DACA applicants are diverse in terms of national origin. According to the Center for American Progress, DACA applicants were born in 205 countries from all across the world. Despite the wide range of national origins, the proportion of Latina/o DACA applicants is staggering. Nearly 75 percent of DACA applicants are from Mexico, nearly 12 percent are from Central America, and nearly 7 percent are from South America. Thus, nearly 94 percent of the total number of applicants are from Latin

American countries. The average age of a DACA applicant is twenty years old (T. Wong et al. 2013).

A national study of DACA recipients sheds light on the impact of the program on the lives of those who receive authorization (González and Terriquez 2013). The report found that of the sub-sample of DACA recipients surveyed, 61 percent obtained new employment, an equal percentage obtained driver's licenses, over 50 percent reported opening their first bank account, and 38 percent opened their first credit card account. The researchers argue that such outcomes will likely widen access to further educational and occupational mobility for program participants.

DACA RECIPIENTS IN CALIFORNIA

California has a larger number of DACA applicants—nearly a third of all DACA-eligible youth—than any other state (T. Wong et al. 2013). When DACA applications were released by the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) in August 2012, the Coalition of Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) began collecting data on the youth who utilized CHIRLA services to apply for the DACA program.⁸ Under the direction of former DREAMer Luis A. Perez, CHIRLA began providing free information workshops, legal advice, and assistance in the application process. Based on these data, we can confirm that DACA applicants in the Los Angeles area reflect national trends.

The majority of DACA applicants from the Los Angeles area are Latina/o, mostly from Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. The majority are also between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. Women have applied at a much higher rate than men: 59 percent of DACA applicants who used CHIRLA services between August 2012 and May 2014 were women, and only 41 percent were men. Moreover, the vast majority of DACA applicants at CHIRLA were currently enrolled in school. Of those enrolled, 73 percent were in high school when they applied,

and 22 percent were enrolled at a community college. Applicants also reported future career aspirations. Business, psychology, accounting, health care and/or medicine, law enforcement, engineering, and teaching were the fields most frequently named.

The data also reveal some of the challenges experienced by the mostly Latina/o undocumented youth in Los Angeles who have sought DACA authorization. Applicants who applied months after the DACA application was released reported that the three major reasons that their applications were delayed were: 1) they did not have enough evidence (40 percent), 2) they did not have the money (36 percent), and 3) they were scared (15 percent). While DACA seems to be increasing educational and occupational opportunities, there are obvious barriers for those who wish to apply.

For those undocumented youth who have endured the rigorous application process and received DACA authorization, “their status is essentially frozen,” as Michael Olivas notes (2012, 543).⁹ DACA does not provide a pathway toward citizenship; instead, recipients gain *lawful presence* during their approval period (USCIS 2014). Because citizenship matters, as figure 2 illustrates, the temporary opportunities offered by DACA are unlikely to have any long-term effects on educational outcomes for undocumented Latina/o students.

TESTIMONIOS ON THE IMPACT OF DACA

Although quantitative data are critical for constructing insightful demographic profiles and descriptive statistics, qualitative data provide a deeper understanding of DACA's impact on the everyday life of immigrant youth. In this section we share excerpts from *testimonios* collected in two qualitative studies of immigrant Latinas in California. These young women explain the effect of DACA on their experiences as undergraduate students (Pulido Villanueva 2014) and as college graduates (Pérez Huber 2014).

SENSE OF PROTECTION

A constant fear of deportation is a part of everyday life for many undocumented immigrants living in the United States (Abrego 2011; Chavez 1997; Chen 2013; Olivas 2012; Pérez 2011; Pérez Huber 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011; Villazor 2013). Even for those immigrant youth who bravely pronounce they are “undocumented and unafraid,” the reality of the serious and life-altering consequences of their undocumented status constantly loom (Madera 2008; Manuel et al. 2012). The *testimonios* revealed that DACA has, in part, changed this. Many of the women spoke of the sense of “protection” that they felt as a result of being granted lawful presence and a work permit under DACA. Mireya was an undergraduate student attending a California State University (CSU) campus when she received DACA authorization. She explained that she felt more comfortable disclosing her undocumented status with others on campus, something she had hesitated to do prior to DACA.

DACA gave me comfort...I remember asking my counselor about a book grant. I told her, “I am one of your DREAMer students.” She was like, “Why didn't you say that?” They also provided me with free printing and counseling. For the first time being undocumented made me feel that I had some advantage. Because you go for such a long time feeling like the underdog. You can't get this, you can't get that. Now they [campus staff] are more welcoming. So it makes you feel that you do have the right to have access to anything that anybody else has [at this university]. (Pulido Villanueva 2014)

Victoria shared a similar experience. A graduate from a University of California (UC) campus, she applied shortly after DACA was announced and received approval within months.

DACA...to me is a step towards having an actual life that I dreamed about when I was younger. [DACA is] about improving the quality of life that undocumented young people have and the opportunities that come with that....You don't feel it

[DACA approval] when it happens, but when you think about it, you just feel a sense of protection. (Pérez Huber 2014)

NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR EDUCATION AND CAREER

The women surveyed felt a sense of protection from DACA, and they also thought that the program expanded their possibilities. Victoria believed that the program could help her realize her dreams. Alicia, another college graduate, also referred to this sense of increased potential: “I mean, talk about the possibilities, you know.... Just the possibilities, I feel, are greater” (Pérez Huber 2014). For students who received authorization, possibilities became realities in the form of access to a social security number, a driver’s license, and a work permit for lawful employment in a position that was appropriate to their education and training.

One of the most significant effects of DACA has been financial relief. The college graduates that we interviewed had been (or still were) relegated to low-wage, gendered occupations; they were what Grace Chang (2000) calls “disposable domestics.” Unlike most undocumented immigrant women who hold positions as nannies and housekeepers, our respondents had college degrees from a top tier UC campus. Victoria summarized the sentiment of many of the college graduates who had experienced greater employment opportunities: “It was two and a half years after graduating that I was going to have my first job...a job that you need a college degree for!” (Pérez Huber 2014).

DACA offers access not only to lawful work but also to scholarships and internships that were previously denied to undocumented students. Studies have shown that financial hardship is the greatest challenge that undocumented students encounter in their pursuit of higher education (Abrego and Gonzalez 2010; Pérez 2011; Pérez Huber and Malagón 2007). DACA enabled Carla, an undergraduate student at CSU, to qualify for significant

scholarships. As a result, she was more confident that she could afford to finish her bachelor’s degree.

There were a lot of scholarships that I was [now] eligible for, so I applied. Then I got the emails. They told me, “You got a \$500 scholarship!” And, “Congratulations! You won a \$2,000 scholarship.” It was the biggest scholarship I had gotten. That’s when I knew [that I would be able to pay for school]. (Pulido Villanueva 2014)

Ruth had worked as a nanny and a housekeeper following her college graduation in 2009 because graduate school was not financially feasible. She explained how DACA influenced her decision to return to school.

I think [DACA] just really helped me to feel confident about the decision of going to grad school.... I felt confident as in, like, “I want this!” But I didn’t know if I would accomplish it....I [had] no idea if I [would] get scholarships....But I felt more ready to leave [my job] and take steps towards that. And I think when DACA passed, it made me feel more confident....Like, I can actually go through [school] without having to take any leave of absence [for not being able to pay tuition]. (Pérez Huber 2014)

The interviews revealed that lawful employment had enabled the Latina college students to obtain better wages to cover educational expenses while they gained work experience that would help them in future careers (Pérez Huber 2014; Pulido Villanueva 2014). Similarly, the college graduates were able to participate in field experience and job training as graduate students, something they would have been unable to do without the lawful status that DACA provides. As a result, the college graduates held positions as college counselors, community organizers, and social workers (Pérez Huber 2014; Pulido Villanueva 2014).

Many women, both undergraduates and college graduates, noted that DACA also promised something beyond new opportunities for themselves: they could now contribute to their communities. Claudia, an undergraduate student, explained that she was able

to acquire employment as a tutor at her campus.

I had always wanted to work in college [tutoring] positions that I could not apply for. So I was finally able to tutor students. I was...in their shoes once, because they don’t speak English very well. I can actually work in something through which I can give back [to my community] and get a good pay for it. (Pulido Villanueva 2014)

Claudia provides one example of a theme that emerged from the women’s *testimonios*: the desire and commitment to “give back” to their communities. These findings align with other research that has found that undocumented students engage in significant forms of civic engagement despite the long hours they spend studying and working (Pérez et al. 2011). The findings discussed here suggest that DACA affects many more than just those who receive authorization. Many of the DACA recipients interviewed intend to extend the benefits of the program to a much broader population in need.

CONTINUING CHALLENGES

While DACA has clearly opened up significant opportunities for some undocumented immigrant youth, many challenges remain. DACA recipients are restricted from travel outside the United States, they are ineligible for federal financial aid, and they do not have access to state health care programs. Victoria acknowledged the constraints that remain, stating, “In a sense, I still feel like I’m undocumented. I know that I can’t travel....There are still limitations to what you can do” (Pérez Huber 2014).

Alicia, now a social worker, emphasized the significance of health care in the challenges faced by the undocumented.

Even if new immigration reform were to pass, this population of DREAMers and their families would not benefit from health care reform because of their legal status. If they’re undocumented, they’re not going to be getting any benefits. Research really needs to [address] how to make health accessible to undocumented

immigrants....So, this population, which has already been experiencing lack of access to health care, is going to have even more lack of access. (Pérez Huber 2014)

Because undocumented immigrant youth and their families are excluded from current health care reform, access to affordable health care will continue to be a major concern. Alicia's comments echo research that has found that health care access is a structural barrier encountered by many undocumented students, one that can hinder access to higher education (Abrego and Gonzalez 2010).

Sandra, a college graduate who is now working in the non-profit sector, stressed another issue: the well-being of her family. Both of Sandra's parents are undocumented. Her father was recently deported after receiving fraudulent information from an immigration attorney about how to adjust his status, and she has become the sole financial provider for her mother and her two younger brothers. Sandra would like to apply to graduate school now that she has received DACA authorization, but she knows that she faces some difficult challenges.

I know it's going to be tough to transition back into being a student....It's going to be hard in a lot of ways... [like] pulling back from feeling like I have to be responsible for all the bills getting paid, if we have food in the fridge, or if [my little brother] has a parent-teacher conference and I have to be there. I think it's definitely going to be a challenge....I think that has also pulled me back from going back to school. I'm just not sure how I'm going to fit it in. (Pérez Huber 2014)

In her *testimonio* Mireya expressed her worries about family members who currently have no way to attain legal status.

DACA is a Band-Aid solution because the majority of students have immediate families that are undocumented. It's a problem because there's no path to citizenship. My family is still at risk. If something were to happen, my mom and my dad are still undocumented. It hurts

me because I see my parents struggle. I see my mom, she still wants to go to school. If a reform were to pass, she would be signing up tomorrow. And my dad would be leaving his crappy job and he would be looking for something better. He has fifteen years of experience in the same job getting paid \$11.00 an hour. So that's all because of his status, so [crying] that makes me emotional. I want better for them, and me not being able to do that, it hurts me. That's why I'm fighting still for a reform, because they are still affected, there are still other people who are affected. So I'm going to keep fighting for them because it's still a problem and it's still an injustice. It is not fair. (Pulido Villanueva 2014)

Mireya provides us with a powerful reminder that despite DACA's value to undocumented students, the program is not enough. Undocumented youth and adults continue to confront injustice in every aspect of their lives, and this cannot be forgotten in discussions of immigration reform.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During the past decade, significant gains have been realized in the availability of educational and career opportunities for undocumented immigrant youth. It is no coincidence that California has taken the lead in these efforts. Coalitions of immigrant youth, comprised largely of Latina/o students, have made tremendous efforts to organize and to demand greater access and opportunities for themselves, their families, and their communities (Amador 2011; Nicholls 2013; Seif, Ullman, and Núñez-Mchiri 2014; Unzueta Carasco and Seif 2014; K. Wong et al. 2012). As a result, at the state level legislation now mandates policies that increase educational access for undocumented college students. At the federal level DACA has improved the lives of the undocumented immigrant youth who qualify for the program.

Despite these gains, serious challenges lie ahead. DACA offers only a temporary, four-year respite, and DHS has made no announcement

concerning the future of the DACA program or the fate of recipients whose lawful presence is scheduled to expire in the coming years. Without a pathway to legal status, the undocumented—with or without DACA—will continue to be excluded from full participation in US society.

Even though DACA has clearly helped eligible undocumented immigrant youth, this report also shows that there is much work to be done before all Latina/o undocumented students will be able to move freely through the education pipeline. The following recommendations were developed with undocumented communities in mind, not only DACAmended youth.

1. REFRAME THE IMMIGRATION REFORM DISCOURSE

Public discourse on immigration reform is framed to suggest that immigration is a problem that needs to be solved. George Lakoff and Sam Ferguson (2006) argue that the term *immigration reform* establishes what they call the "immigrant problem frame." Commentators who see immigration as a problem frequently place most of the blame on Latina/o undocumented immigrants who enter the United States "illegally" and on the government agencies that have failed to secure US borders. Lakoff and Ferguson point out that this framing limits how the issue of immigration might be addressed, providing only a narrow range of strategies to consider in the immigration debate. For example, framing reform in this way does not allow for a discussion of how US foreign policies in Latin America (such as NAFTA and CAFTA) are directly related to patterns of undocumented immigration in the United States.¹⁰ The constraints on debate produced by the framing result in the culturally deficit, racist perspective of undocumented Latina/o immigrants that pervades anti-immigrant claims. What is needed instead is a reframing that reclaims the humanity of undocumented Latina/o immigrants (Pérez Huber 2009). In this way, immigration reform would be seen as a moral and social responsibility that *all*

have a stake in, and one that *all* should work to address. A human rights frame would ultimately recognize Latina/o undocumented immigration for what it is—a humanitarian crisis (Lakoff and Ferguson 2006).

2. CREATE AN INCLUSIVE COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM PLAN

Even if a federal DREAM Act were implemented today, many DACAmented youth would not be eligible because recent versions of the bill set an age limit of around thirty years old. Moreover, as this report has shown, the future and the well-being of undocumented youth are intricately tied to their families and communities. These problems can be solved only by federal comprehensive immigration reform (CIR) that covers not only DACAmented youth but also their undocumented family and community members. Inclusive CIR would also discourage states from creating policies that attempt to regulate the lives of the undocumented, as has occurred in Arizona, where police are required to check an individual's immigration status if they suspect the individual is undocumented. Similar laws are in effect in Alabama and Georgia.¹¹ Providing greater opportunities and some legal protections only for the DACAmented is not sufficient. Inclusive CIR that provides a pathway to citizenship for the DACAmented and the undocumented is imperatively needed.

3. BROADEN DACA

Resources should be provided to broaden the effectiveness of DACA by providing adequate and consistent funding to organizations that serve immigrant communities and assist with DACA applications. According to the Immigration Policy Center (2012), there are potentially hundreds of thousands of people who may be eligible for DACA but have not yet applied.¹² Moreover, a recent study has shown that the number of people applying for DACA is related to the number of nonprofit immigrant-serving organizations that are present (T. Wong et al. 2013). The

researchers found that, at the state level, “for every additional immigrant-serving organization, there is an increase of seventy DACA applications” (5). Many of these organizations rely on philanthropic grants to support their outreach efforts (Bartow 2014). Additional and consistent federal funding would allow these organizations to expand their outreach and support services without depending on grant funding, enabling them not only to help more of the many immigrants who may be eligible for DACA but also to help them sooner.

The recent controversy incited by the tens of thousands of unaccompanied undocumented minors who have arrived in the United States has cast further scrutiny on DACA, with some critics claiming that these youth arrive knowing that they can apply for DACA benefits (T. Wong 2014). A simple review of DACA eligibility would silence those concerns. In reality, these women and children, mostly from Central America, are fleeing violence and death in their home countries and coming to the United States in search of work and a better future (Gonzalez-Barrera et al. 2014). In July 2014 an angry mob of anti-immigrant protestors in Murrieta (a small city located eighty miles southeast of Los Angeles) blocked buses carrying undocumented women and children from entering a local immigrant processing facility. The buses were forced to return to the San Diego area (Hansen and Linthicum 2014). What would happen if we welcomed these children into the United States? What would happen if we gave them access to higher education, jobs, and other opportunities? According to our data, this is what undocumented immigrants seek. They do not wish to drain local resources or take away jobs from US citizens, as many of the Murrieta protestors claimed. The *testimonios* of the Latinas in this report tell us that they want only to make better lives for themselves, their families, and their communities.

NOTES

1. The Senate passed an alternative bill, S 2611 (Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act); both bills died in conference committee.
2. See Pérez Huber et al. (2008) for a lengthy description of racist nativism in the history of US immigration. See also Johnson and Hing (2007) for a discussion of HR 4437, also called the Sensenbrenner bill.
3. *DACAmented* is a term adopted recently to describe those who have been approved under DACA, replacing the term *undocumented*.
4. The information provided in figures 1 and 2 was drawn from statistics compiled by the US Census Bureau for its 2012 American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS asks respondents to indicate their origin: Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano; Puerto Rican; Cuban; or another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. Respondents who select the latter are asked to write in their origin. For this report, the category “Latina/os” includes individuals who identified as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Costa Rican, Guatemalan, Honduran, Nicaraguan, Panamanian, Salvadoran, or other Central American. It is important to note that in the ACS and other census databases, persons who report themselves as Latina/o can be of any race.
5. The US Census Bureau defines US citizens as either native-born (either in the United States; in Puerto Rico or a US island area—American Samoa, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, or the US Virgin Island; or abroad of a US citizen parent or parents) or naturalized. Naturalized citizens are foreign-born individuals who become citizens after fulfilling the requirements established by Congress in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). Non-citizens are foreign-born individuals who are considered either lawful permanent residents; temporary migrants; humanitarian migrants; or unauthorized or undocumented migrants (US Census Bureau 2013). Although the ACS data that we cite here include all four types of immigrant status in the category “non-citizen,” undocumented immigrants likely make up the largest proportion. A report by Kochhar (2008) for the Pew Research Center states that 45 percent of non-citizen immigrant households (of all races/ethnicities) were headed by an undocumented immigrant (4).
6. AB 130 was implemented in January 2012 and AB 131 in January 2013 for students enrolled in a California Community College (CCC), a California State University campus (CSU), or a University of California (UC) institution. AB 130 provided access to private institution-based aid, such as campus scholarships

and grants. AB 131 provided access to some forms of state financial aid programs such as the Board of Governors (BOG) fee waivers (at CCC campuses) and Cal Grants. However, undocumented students are not eligible to apply or receive a Cal Grant until all California resident students have first received the award they are eligible to receive.

7. DACA applicants must have entered the United States before their sixteenth birthday and continuously resided in the United States since July 15, 2007. Other requirements consider, for example, the applicant's status as a student or veteran. A full list of requirements is available on the USCIS website: www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/consideration-deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-daca.

8. The findings reported here are drawn from the CHIRLA project, "Empowering Students, Families, and Community," which is a collaboration with Claremont Graduate University. To date, 1,321 surveys have been collected from DACA applicants in Los Angeles. Data collection is led by Nancy Guarneros. For more information on this project contact dacasurvey@chirla.org.

9. See Olivas (2012) for a detailed history of how DACA is related to the failure to pass the federal DREAM Act in 2010, the intricacies of the policy, and how the future of DACA recipients might be affected.

10. NAFTA is the North American Free Trade Agreement, and CAFTA is the Central American Free Trade Agreement. These policies enabled free trade and investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Researchers have argued that the increasing economic instability of Mexico can be attributed to NAFTA and that the policy has imposed the economic dependency of Mexico on the United States. González and Fernandez (2002) have described NAFTA as "the most recent and devastating example of how US domination over Mexico continues to misdevelop and tear apart the socioeconomic integrity of that society" (51).

11. In 2012 the US Supreme Court struck down several provisions of Arizona's SB 1070 but upheld the "show me your papers" provision, which has severely restricted the lives of undocumented immigrants living in the state. See Campbell (2011) and Delgado (2013) for legislation in Arizona and Johnson (2011) for similar legislation in Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah have also passed anti-immigrant legislation; Georgia's law has been upheld, but the others have been blocked. Summaries of these laws and the continuing legal challenges are available on the American Civil Liberties

Union website: www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/whats-stake-sb-1070-supreme-court-infographic.

12. Roughly 1.8 million immigrants may be eligible for DACA (Immigration Policy Center 2012; T. Wong et al. 2013). Only slightly over 573,000, or 32.5 percent, had applied as of August 2013 (T. Wong et al. 2013).

WORKS CITED

Abrego, Leisy J. 2011. "Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-making for First- and 1.5-Generation Immigrants." *Law and Society Review* 45, no. 2: 337-70.

Abrego, Leisy J., and Roberto G. Gonzales. 2010. "Blocked Paths, Uncertain Futures: The Postsecondary Education and Labor Market Prospects of Undocumented Latino Youth." *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk* 15, nos. 1-2: 144-57.

Amador, Carlos. 2011. "This Is Our Country Too: Undocumented Immigrant Youth Organizing and the Battle for the DREAM Act." *Critical Planning* 18: 108-14.

Associated Press. 2006. "20,000 in Phoenix Rally for Immigrant Rights." *New York Times*, March 25. www.nytimes.com/2006/03/25/politics/25protest.html?_r=0

Bartow, Felicia. 2014. "Mapping DACA: New Tools Track Philanthropy's Investments in Program for Immigrant Youth." *Philanthropic* (blog), March 25. [pndblog/2014/03/new-tool-tracks-investments-in-programs-for-immigrant-youth.html](http://pndblog.typepad.com/pndblog/2014/03/new-tool-tracks-investments-in-programs-for-immigrant-youth.html)

California Department of Education. 2014. "State-wide Enrollment by Ethnicity, 2013-14." California Department of Education, DataQuest website. dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/EnrollEthState.asp?Level=State&TheYear=2013-14&cChoice=EnrollEth1&p=2

Campbell, Kristina M. 2011. "The Road to SB 1070: How Arizona Became Ground Zero for the Immigrants' Rights Movement and the Continuing Struggle for Latino Civil Rights in America." *Harvard Latino Law Review* 14, no. 1: 1-21.

Chang, Grace. 2000. *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Chavez, Leo R. 1997. *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. 2nd ed. Fort Worth: Cengage Learning.

Chen, Angela Chuan-Ru. 2013. "Undocumented Students, Institutional Allies, and Transformative Resistance: An Institutional Case Study." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Delgado, Richard. 2013. "Precious Knowledge: State Bans on Ethnic Studies, Book Traffickers (Librotráfico), and a New Type of Race Trial." *North Carolina Law Review* 91, no. 5: 1513-51.

González, Gilbert G., and Raúl Fernandez. 2002. "Empire and the Origins of Twentieth-Century Migration from Mexico to the United States." *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 1: 19-57.

Gonzales, Roberto G., and Veronica Terriquez. 2013. *How DACA Is Impacting the Lives of Those Who Are Now DACAmented: Preliminary Findings from the National UnDACAmented Research Project*. Immigration Policy Center website. immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/how-daca-impacting-lives-those-who-are-now-dacamented

Gonzalez-Barrera, Ana, Jens Manuel Krogstad, and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2014. "DHS: Violence, Poverty, Is Driving Children to Flee Central America to US." *Fact Tank: News in the Numbers*, Pew Research Center website. www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/07/01/dhs-violence-poverty-is-driving-children-to-flee-central-america-to-us

Guarneros, Nancy, Cyndi Bendezu, Lindsay Pérez Huber, Verónica N. Vélez, and Daniel G. Solórzano. 2009. *Still Dreaming: Legislation and Legal Decisions Affecting Undocumented AB 540 Students*. Latino Policy and Issues Brief, no. 23. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press.

Hansen, Matt, and Kate Linthicum. 2014. "Murrieta Protesters Turn Back Border Patrol Detainees." *Los Angeles Times*, July 1. www.latimes.com/local/la-me-murrieta-immigrants-20140702-story.html

Immigration Policy Center. 2012. *Who and Where the DREAMers Are, Revised Estimates: A Demographic Profile of Immigrants Who Might Benefit from the Obama Administration's Deferred Action Initiative*. Washington, DC: American Immigration Council. www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/who_and_where_the_dreamers_are_two.pdf

Johnson, Kevin R. 2011. "Sweet Home Alabama? Immigration and Civil Rights in the 'New' South." *Stanford Law Review Online* 64: 22-28.

Johnson, Kevin R., and Bill Ong Hing. 2007. "The Immigrant Rights Marches of 2006 and the Prospects for a New Civil Rights Movement." *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 42: 99-138.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2008. *Sharp Decline in Income for Non-Citizen Immigrant Households, 2006-2007*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic

- Center. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/95.pdf>
- Lakoff, George, and Sam Ferguson. 2006. "The Framing of Immigration." Rockridge Institute website. <http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org/immigration.html>
- Lopez, Mark Hugo. 2014. "In 2014, Latinos Will Surpass Whites as Largest Racial/Ethnic Group in California." *Fact Tank: News in the Numbers*, Pew Research Center website. www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/01/24/in-2014-latinos-will-surpass-whites-as-largest-raciaethnic-group-in-california
- Madera, Gabriela, Angelo A. Mathay, Armin M. Najafi, Hector Saldivar, Stephanie Solis, Alyssa Jane M. Titong, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Janna Shadduck-Hernández, Kent Wong, Rebecca Frazier, and Julie Monroe, eds. 2008. *Underground Undergrads: UCLA Undocumented Students Speak Out*. Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.
- Manuel, Jose, Cesar Pineda, Anne Galinsky, and Rebecca Shine, eds. 2012. *Papers: Stories by Undocumented Youth*. Portland, OR: Graham Street Productions.
- Nicholls, Walter J. 2013. *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Olivas, Michael A. 2012. "Dreams Deferred: Deferred Action, Prosecutorial Discretion, and the Vexing Case(s) of DREAM Act Students." *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 21, no. 2: 463–547.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., and D'Vera Cohn. 2009. *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/107.pdf
- Pérez, William. 2011. *Americans by Heart: Undocumented Latino Students and the Promise of Higher Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Pérez Huber, Lindsay. 2009. "Challenging Racist Nativist Framing: Acknowledging the Community Cultural Wealth of Undocumented Chicana College Students to Reframe the Immigration Debate." *Harvard Educational Review* 7, no. 4: 704–29.
- . 2010. "Using Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and Racist Nativism to Explore Intersectionality in the Educational Experiences of Undocumented Chicana College Students." *Educational Foundations* 24, nos. 1-2: 77–96.
- . 2014. "Still DREAMing? Examining the Impact of the California Dream Act and DACA on Undocumented Chicana/Latina College Graduates." Paper presented at the Education and Civil Rights Conference, Pennsylvania State University, June 6–7.
- Pérez Huber, Lindsay, Ofelia Huidor, María C. Malagón, Gloria Sánchez, and Daniel G. Solórzano. 2006. *Falling through the Cracks: Critical Transitions in the Latina/o Educational Pipeline*. CSRC Research Report, no. 7. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press.
- Pérez Huber, Lindsay, Corina Benavides Lopez, María C. Malagón, Verónica N. Vélez, and Daniel G. Solórzano. 2008. "Getting Beyond the 'Symptom,' Acknowledging the 'Disease': Theorizing Racist Nativism." *Contemporary Justice Review* 11, no. 1: 39–51.
- Pérez Huber, Lindsay, and María C. Malagón. 2007. "Silenced Struggles: The Experiences of Latina and Latino Undocumented Students in California." *Nevada Law Journal* 7, 841–61.
- Pérez Huber, Verónica N. Vélez, and Daniel G. Solórzano. 2014. *The Growing Equity Gap for California's Latina/o Students*. Latino Policy and Issues Brief, no. 29. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press.
- Pulido Villanueva, Brenda. 2014. "Succeeding Despite Institutional Barriers: A LatCrit and Chicana Feminisms Analysis of the Journeys of Mexicana Undocumented Students and Their Families into Higher Education." Unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach.
- Seif, Hinda, Char Ullman, Guillermina G. Núñez-Mchiri. 2014. "Mexican (Im)migrant Students and Education: Constructions of and Resistance to 'Illegality.'" *Latino Studies* 12, 172–93.
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola, Hirokazu Yoshikawa, Robert T. Teranishi, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. 2011. "Growing Up in the Shadows: The Developmental Implications of Unauthorized Status." *Harvard Educational Review* 81, no. 3: 438–73.
- Unzueta Carasco, Tania A., and Hinda Seif. 2014. "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-deportation Activism." *Latino Studies* 12, 279–99.
- US Census Bureau. 2013. "About Foreign-Born Population." U.S. Census Bureau website. www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.html
- US Citizenship and Immigration Services. 2014. "Consideration of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Process." US Citizenship and Immigration Services website. www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/consideration-deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-process
- Villazor, Rose C. 2013. "The Undocumented Closet." *North Carolina Law Review* 92: 1–74.
- Watanabe, Teresa, and Hector Becerra. 2006. "500,000 Pack Streets to Protest Immigration Bills." *Los Angeles Times*, March 26. articles.latimes.com/print/2006/mar/26/local/me-immig26
- Wong, Kent, Janna Shadduck-Hernandez, Fabiola Inzunza, Julie Monroe, Victor Narro, and Abel Valenzuela Jr., eds. 2012. *Undocumented and Unafraid: Tam Tran, Cinthya Felix and the Immigrant Youth Movement*. Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.
- Wong, Tom K. 2014. "Statistical Analysis Shows That Violence, Not Deferred Action, Is Behind the Surge of Unaccompanied Children Crossing the Border." Center for American Progress website. www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2014/07/08/93370/statistical-analysis-shows-that-violence-not-deferred-action-is-behind-the-surge-of-unaccompanied-children-crossing-the-border
- Wong, Tom K., Angela S. Garcia, Marisa Abrajano, David FitzGerald, Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Sally Le. 2013. *Undocumented No More: A Nationwide Analysis of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA*. Washington D.C.: Center for American Progress. www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/report/2013/09/20/74599/undocumented-no-more

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

LINDSAY PÉREZ HUBER is an assistant professor of social and cultural analysis of education (SCAE) in the College of Education at California State University, Long Beach. Her research areas include race, immigration, and education; critical race gendered methodologies and epistemologies; and racial microaggressions. Dr. Pérez Huber is also a visiting scholar at the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center and vice president of the Critical Race Studies in Education Association (CRSEA).

BRENDA PULIDO VILLANUEVA is a master's degree candidate in social and cultural analysis of education at California State University, Long Beach. Her research interests are immigration; Latina/o undocumented immigrant students and educational access; pedagogies learned in Latina/o homes; and critical race theory and Chicana feminisms in education.

NANCY GUARNEROS is currently a doctoral student at Claremont Graduate University in Claremont, California. Her research interests include undocumented youth in higher education, spatial analysis, and geographic information systems (GIS) as a social justice tool to study immigrant communities. Ms. Guarneros is also a co-founder of Graduates Reaching a Dream Deferred (GRADD).

VERÓNICA N. VÉLEZ is an assistant professor and the founding director of the Education and Social Justice Program at Western Washington University (WWU). Dr. Vélez's research interests include critical race theory in education, the racial politics of parent engagement in school reform, participatory action and community-based models of research, and the use of GIS technologies to further a critical race research agenda on the study of space and educational (in)opportunity.

DANIEL G. SOLÓRZANO is a professor of social science and comparative education at the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. His teaching and research interests include critical race theory in education; racial microaggressions and other forms of everyday racism; and critical race pedagogy. Dr. Solórzano is also the associate dean of equity and diversity and chief diversity officer of the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies and director of the University of California All Campus Consortium on Research for Diversity (UC/ACCORD).



UCLA CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER

193 Haines Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1544

Phone: 310-825-2642 • Fax: 310-206-1784 • E-Mail: press@chicano.ucla.edu

Director: Chon A. Noriega • Senior Editor: Rebecca Frazier • Designer: William Morosi

Mission Statement: The UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center supports interdisciplinary, collaborative, and policy-oriented research on issues critical to the Chicano community. The center's press produces books, reports, briefs, media, newsletters, and the leading journal in its field, *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*.

CSRC Research Report. An occasional series describing recent research on critical issues facing the Latino community. To receive an electronic copy automatically, register at www.chicano.ucla.edu.

WWW.CHICANO.UCLA.EDU