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Discrimination Threats for U.S.-Born Latinx During the Trump Administration

Isaac Cudjoe
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Health Sciences and Public Policy

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Isaac K. Cudjoe

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Walden University
2022

Abstract

Discrimination Threats for U.S.-Born Latinx During the Trump Administration

by

Isaac K. Cudjoe

MA, Walden University, 2021

MA, Brandeis University, 2019

BS, Mount St. Mary's University, 2016

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2022

Abstract

U.S.-born Latinx tend to have greater proximity to the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) than their European American, African American, and Asian American counterparts. The purpose of this generic qualitative study was to explore whether and how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during CBP and ICE investigations, arrests, and deportation during the Trump administration. The narrative policy framework guided the study. Data were collected from interviews with seven U.S.-born Latinx young adults who were between 18 and 34 years old during the Trump administration. Findings from coding analysis indicated conflicting identities adversely impacted the socio-emotional wellness of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. That impact led to socio-emotional declivity, which led to stressors that caused cyclical self-stigma within the Latinx community. Findings may inform the public debate and practice of immigration policy and may lead to positive social change outcomes for immigration advocacy efforts.

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Dedication

To the friends and family whom I had before I started this journey, and the friends and family whom I gained during it.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Immigration and immigration policy have been a fundamental part of U.S. history (Timmons, 2017). Although some researchers contend that the immigration policy in the United States has been contentious for many ethnic groups, they also acknowledge that immigration policies under President Donald Trump's administration were unique and created new challenges for immigrants (Lastres, 2020; Roth et al., 2018). The Trump administration spent a great deal of their 4-year term implementing legislation centered on undocumented immigration within the United States (D. Becerra et al., 2012; Callister et al., 2019; B. S. Jones, K. F. Victor, et al., 2019; Roth et al., 2018). This legislation caused much discourse around anti-immigration discrimination within the country and the world (Lastres, 2020). Researchers have contended that the forceful separation of parents and children at the border had devastating impacts on many Latinx immigrants' social and emotional well-being (Roth et al., 2018). Researchers have continued to assess the effects of immigration policies from three primary lenses: adolescents, adults, and quality of life (D. Becerra et al., 2012; Callister et al., 2019; B. S. Jones, K. F. Victor, et al., 2019; Roth et al., 2018). These lenses are critical to shaping immigration policies. However, they do not address the gap in the literature regarding how immigration policy and practices impact U.S.-born Latinx young adults.

Although researchers have investigated this issue, they have not explored how immigration policy and practices impact U.S.-born Latinx young adults. Researchers determine how undocumented Latinx perceive discrimination in many areas of their lives, but not U.S.-born Latinx (Cobb et al., 2019). Cobb et al. (2019) noted that the

discrimination that undocumented Latinx perceive impacts their psychological well-being and life satisfaction, but researchers have not made such claims for U.S.-born Latinx. Studies have found that discrimination impacts undocumented Latinx regardless of their age. For example, Forster et al. (2017) found that perceived discrimination affected the decision to seek help for some young adult Latinx experiencing domestic violence. A common theme within the previous studies was that Latinx youths, even U.S.-born, have high levels of discrimination stress (D. Becerra et al., 2012). The literature did address how Hispanics feel about discrimination and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), but researchers did not examine the perceptions and experiences of U.S.-born Latinx. Compared to their undocumented counterparts living in the United States, U.S.-born Latinx had a different experience that needed to be examined. The current study filled that gap by exploring how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and ICE during the Trump administration.

This study may help shape the conversation from a lens that few seem to recognize as an indispensable component of policy considerations. The results of this study may contribute to the public policy field, discipline, and the professional practice of lobbyists, legislators, and activists. Legislators may use this study to help them recognize the impact of their legislation not only on who it is centered on but also all who are impacted. Legislators may benefit from identifying whether their policies are inadvertently targeting U.S. citizens because it would prove their policies are discriminatory regardless of immigration status. As a new administration is now in office

with others to follow, this study's results may provide lobbyists and activists with insight into new arguments for or against any lingering discriminatory decisions concerning the enforcement of ICE during the Trump administration.

Primary topics in this chapter include the background, problem statement, purpose of the study, research question, theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and the nature of the study. Limitations, challenges, barriers, and significance are also discussed in this chapter. These significant sections introduce the research and lay the foundation for Chapter 2's literature review. This chapter and its sections present why this study needed to be conducted and the potential impact on social change on U.S. immigration policies.

Background

Immigration policy in the United States has internal and external implications, but those impacted the most are not the general population. President Trump's administration pushed for immigration policies that created unprecedented challenges for immigrants, especially Latinx immigrants (Lastres, 2020; Roth et al., 2018). The Trump administration implemented legislation centered on arresting and deporting undocumented migrants at the southern border of in the United States (Lastres, 2020). B. S. Jones, K. F. Victor, et al. (2019) focused on the influence stigmatized attributes have on Latina/o judgment about discrimination. B. S. Jones, K. F. Victor, et al. concluded that second-generation Latinx held similar views on discrimination with their first-generation counterparts. B. S. Jones, K. F. Victor, et al. proposed that Latinx people who have become citizens still face discrimination and disenfranchisement. D. Becerra et al. (2012) researched the impact of perceived discrimination and immigration policies upon

perceptions of quality of life among Latinx in the United States. Their findings indicated that discrimination and discriminatory policies destroy people's quality of life. D.

Becerra et al. found that enforcement of U.S. immigration policies had led to a rise in fears of deportation, and the same is true today. The impact of immigration policies on Latinx people is far-reaching and even impacts children (Lovato, 2019). Latinx adolescents are forced to cope with parental deportation (Lovato, 2019). Although many studies have been conducted examining the impact of immigration policy on adolescents, adults, and quality of life, the current study addressed the impact on U.S.-born Latinx young adults.

I explored the formation and implementation of immigration policies that involve CBP's and ICE's procedures and their practice of arresting and deporting undocumented Latinx. Legislators, government officials, government agencies, and civil society organizations that focus on immigration policy and advocacy may also be impacted by this research. If immigration policies that the United States implemented during the Trump administration are found to be discriminatory, then any policies that may be lingering since the change of administration would have to be evaluated and addressed. By focusing on U.S.-born Latinx young adults, the current study may initiate conversation on the wide-ranging impact of immigration policy. The findings may mobilize U.S.-born Latinx young adults to be engaged with ongoing advocacy and legislative work to improve immigration policy.

Chapter 2 of this study includes an in-depth analysis of the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. As the complexity of immigration policy's

impact increases, research must examine how it shapes the United States at large. There needs to be a better understanding of how those in proximity to undocumented immigration are impacted (see Shin et al., 2015). Scholars have noted how the Trump era policies have separated families and jeopardized the social-emotional well-being of Latinx people living in the United States (Mayer, 2020; Morey, 2018; Nichols et al., 2018; Vargas et al., 2017; Wallace & Young, 2018). Of this group, U.S.-born Latinx young adults have the most power to address unjust systems by voting and mobilizing on their undocumented counterparts who do not have the same privileges.

This generic qualitative study addressed the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of U.S.-born Latinx young adults on discrimination and immigration policy. This knowledge gap can be attributed to the minimal research conducted on U.S.-born Latinx young adults. Many researchers grouped Latinx into a homogenous entity but did not consider the powers and rights that U.S.-born Latinx young adults have that their undocumented counterparts do not have. The findings of this study may provide decision makers with alternative ways of thinking about immigration policy that will be less discriminatory.

Problem Statement

The impact of the U.S. immigration policy had been studied through many lenses. However, it had not been explored through U.S.-born Latinx perceptions and experiences. Although immigration policy enforcement such as CBP and ICE are meant to investigate, arrest, detain, and remove undocumented immigrants, they also impact Americans' lives, especially U.S.-born Latinx. Prior research on U.S. public opinion of

immigration suggested that U.S.-born Latinx have greater proximity to undocumented immigrants than their European American, African American, and Asian American counterparts (B. S. Jones, Victor, & Vannette, 2019). Therefore, U.S.-born Latinx may also have greater proximity to the impact of immigration and customs enforcement. The U.S.-born Latinx's perceptions and experiences were addressed in the current study because they have a unique position in the United States. Although they are American citizens, their proximity to immigration due to their ethnicity exposes them to potential racism and discrimination. Their insights shed light on the strengths or deficiencies within the nation's increased interior immigration enforcement. Capturing their experiences and interpreting them may expand the understanding of policy in this area.

Previous research on the Latinx political opinion of immigration revealed strengths and deficiencies in the nation's increased immigration and customs enforcement and recognized the discrimination that Latinx face (Callister et al., 2019). However, previous research rarely focused on U.S.-born Latinx alone and often categorized Latinx into one data category with multiple lenses. Based on such research, language preference and proximity to an undocumented immigrant influence the Latinx political opinion of immigration (Callister et al., 2019). Research has also shown that, although proximity may play a role, second-generation Latinx have more in common with their first-generation counterparts regarding their beliefs about discrimination (B. S. Jones, Victor, & Vannette, 2019). Research that leads to new information and knowledge about what policies must be abolished and what new policies must evolve that are not discriminatory must also be based on the experience of U.S.-born Latinx young adults because they too

are impacted (see Shin et al., 2015). Because immigration policies are inherited by different administrations, understanding the impact of immigration policies on U.S. citizens makes it easier to push for reforms where necessary (see Kerwin, 2018).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this generic qualitative study was to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The insights gained from this study may provide researchers, policymakers, and Latinx people living in the United States with a richer understanding of how discriminatory these policies can be. In addition, this study could lead to the mobilization of a new class of organizers, lobbyists, and activists who are mobilized to fight for nondiscriminatory immigration policies regardless of their immigration status. Finally, the findings of this study may suggest the need to consider a cross-generational assessment when creating immigration policies and the creation of services and programs to prevent discrimination as a result of these policies.

This research may provide substantive findings regarding the impact the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration had on U.S.-born Latinx young adults. These findings may effect social change by promoting a holistic view of the impact of immigration policies and considering the ripple effect of potential discrimination that take place based on a person's ethnic background. The phenomenon of interest in this study was U.S.-born Latinx young adults experiencing discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration, and this study's findings may lead to impactful outcomes on immigration policy.

Research Question

How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 experience discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration?

Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was the narrative policy framework (NPF; M. D. Jones et al., 2014). The NPF is a systematic approach to narrative that can be used in policy analysis (M. D. Jones et al., 2014), which in the current study was identifying the impact of the enforcement of CBP and ICE on U.S.-born Latinx young adults. The NPF helps researchers qualitatively identify the potential heroes, victims, and villains of a policy. The NPF has four policy narrative core elements: setting, characters, plot, and moral (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). In addition, the NPF has five assumptions that must be considered before deciding to apply it as a research framework:

1. The first assumption is that social constructions matter in public policy (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).
2. The second assumption is called bounded relativity, which means that social constructions of policy-related objects/processes create policy realities that are bounded and not random (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).
3. The third assumption is that policy narratives have generalizable structural elements (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).
4. The fourth assumption is that individual, group, and cultural/institutional narratives operate simultaneously (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

5. The fifth assumption is called the homo narrans model of the individual, which means that narrative is assumed to play a large role in how people communicate, reason, and process information (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

Although all five assertions aligned with the current study, the fourth assertion was core to this study. The fourth assertion proposes that narratives operate at three interacting levels: individual, group, and cultural/institutional (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). To change how immigration policy operates, researchers must examine the impact the policies have on people directly and indirectly, and the NPF allowed me to do that.

Nature of the Study

A systematic approach and research design allowed me to explore the perspectives of U.S.-born Latinx young adults to answer the research question in this qualitative study. The nature of this study was a generic qualitative approach to data collection as well as the NPF to approach the analysis. A generic qualitative approach helped me conduct a real-world study on U.S.-born Latinx young adults to gain insight into their perspective of discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration (see Ravitch & Carl, 2015). This approach allowed me to describe the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults and gain an understanding of how they believe they may or may not have experienced it (see Patton, 2015).

A self-developed list of interview questions with content validity obtained through a review by three Walden faculty experts was used to collect data to answer the research question. The self-developed questionnaire enhanced my ability to collect personal and thorough data. The first six volunteers were identified through purposeful

sampling. The other volunteers were intended to be found through the snowball method, a type of convenience sampling (see Saldana, 2015). Research suggested that Latinx residents living in Arizona, California, Texas, and Florida are more likely to be deported by ICE (Ten-Fold Difference in Odds of ICE Enforcement Depending Upon Where You Live, n.d.). I aimed to recruit volunteers from those areas. The sample for these interviews was aligned with the selection criteria. Guest et al. (2006) proposed that 12 interviews should be the point of saturation for qualitative studies. The interviews were conducted, transcribed, and coded for themes. Inductive coding was performed because I relied on the raw text from audio interview recordings to interpret the data. The process of transcribing and coding for themes led to an understanding of what common themes emerged throughout the interviews (Patton, 2015).

Definitions

The following terms are defined as they were used in this study:

Deportation: Deportation is the removal of an undocumented immigrant from a country for violating that country's immigration laws (USA Gov, n.d.).

Discrimination: Discrimination is prejudicial maltreatment of a person or group of people based on race, gender, age, or sexual orientation (American Psychological Association, 2019). Although it is essential to recognize the intersectionality of all types of discrimination, racial discrimination was the focal point of the current study.

Ethnicity: Ethnicity categorizes a group of people who share a culture, language, traditions, history, and more (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). For the current study, the focal ethnicity was Hispanic, Latino/a.

Immigrant: An immigrant is an individual who has migrated to a country that is not their place of birth to stay in that new country (Bolter, 2019). Immigrant is not a universal term. Terms like migrant, foreign born, and international migrant are used around the world as well (Bolter, 2019).

Latinx: Latinx is a contemporary term that refers to people of Latin American origin or descent. What differentiates this term from Latino, Latina, and Hispanic is its ability to serve as a gender-neutral or nonbinary alternative to the terms mentioned earlier (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a).

Naturalized citizen: This is an immigrant who has spent the appropriate number of years within a country they migrated to and has applied and received citizenship in that country (Bolter, 2019).

Permanent resident: This is an immigrant who has not received citizenship in the country they have migrated to but has received permanent residence. Their status as permanent resident does not expire, and they are lawful/legal residents in the country they reside in (Bolter, 2019).

Race: Race categorizes groups of people based on physical traits that are considered typical among their ancestry (National Research Council, 2004). The five races that the U.S. Census Bureau (2021) classifies are White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

Undocumented immigrant: This is an immigrant unlawfully living in a country (Bolter, 2019). This categorization can happen due to entering a country illegally or overstaying a visa (Bolter, 2019).

Assumptions

One assumption in this study was that U.S.-born Latinx young adults would be willing to talk about immigration policies because of their perceived immunity from deportation. A second assumption was that the volunteers would provide honest and accurate responses without fear of putting undocumented people in their proximity at risk. Assuming volunteers would be honest and trust that their identities would be private was critical to this study and helped support the validity of the research findings. A third assumption was that volunteers would recognize themselves to be Latinx. Exploring their perception of their identity was a focal point of the interview questions.

Scope and Delimitations

I explored how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The study focused on the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults who lived in the United States during the Trump administration. The study did not focus on specific states when securing participants for this study. An inclusion criterion that was central to this study was the volunteers had to recognize themselves as U.S.-born Latinx, Latino, or Hispanic young adults. The attention to lived experiences aligned with the theoretical framework and conceptual framework. Focusing on participants' lived experience in an interview

allowed me to recognize the setting, characters, plot, and moral of the story, per the NPF (see M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

The population, objectives, and research questions were what I had control over during the study as the researcher. All three had to align for the purpose of the research, but each had an individual role. Choosing to do purposeful sampling allowed me to ensure that my first six volunteers satisfied my inclusion criteria. This increased the odds that the snowball method would have led to people who had a similar alignment. The research question served as a guideline when forming the interview questions to ensure that none of the questions led volunteers to go off topic and discuss things outside of the scope of the study. The interview questions needed to help the volunteers stay on topic, open, and honest about their experiences. Findings may be used by researchers who wish to study other immigrant groups or more homogenous Latinx populations such as Mexicans.

Limitations, Challenges, and/or Barriers

Recognizing limitations in this study was critical to ensuring that the study remained valid and significant. Addressing limitations was done in a thoughtful and decisive manner at all stages of the study. The first limitation was my role as the interviewer. As an immigrant, I needed to ensure that I prevented personal bias from influencing the study's results. The generic research design helped me ensure that my biases did not influence the study's findings. Interviewing volunteers and allowing them to share their experiences mitigated any bias I had. I developed list of interview questions with content validity obtained through a review by three Walden faculty experts. This

review helped ensure that the questions were not biased or leading and were positioned in the best order. Seeking IRB approval was another method to address this limitation.

Accessing volunteers was another limitation to this study. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, finding volunteers was expected to be a challenge. Although the snowballing method was anticipated to be an effective way to recruit volunteers, it would have likely resulted in a relatively homogenous sample by itself. I used Zoom to conduct the interviews. Zoom made it easier to get the interviews set up because it allowed for more manageable scheduling and helped ensure that this study adhered to all Walden COVID-19 guidelines.

Another limitation of this study was that the volunteers may not have been open to discussing their experiences with a stranger. Trust was to be gained, and this was addressed in how the volunteers were approached and what information was given to them. This limitation was addressed through a well-outlined interview guide. The interview guide helped ensure that rapport with the volunteer was established at the onset of the process. The interview guide helped me formulate how the request, time estimation, and the research topic should be stated. It was also important to inform the volunteers of their privacy in the study. Volunteers were made aware of how their names and identifiers would be redacted in the study to avoid any tracing back to them.

Another limitation with sampling was the location of volunteers and the fear that they may offer information that could put others in jeopardy. An ethical procedure to protect the volunteers during the recruiting, data collection, and debriefing process was to scrub their names from all data to ensure that their privacy was maintained. The issue of

trustworthiness is a common issue in qualitative studies. Data from this study were kept secure on electronic files that were stored on my password protected computer and backed up on a password protected external hard drive. The data will be kept for a period of at least 5 years, as required by the university. I will shred papers and erase and reformat electronic files containing this study's data so that the information cannot be read or reconstructed after 5 years. I provided detailed descriptions of how alignment was maintained throughout the study to improve its credibility. I also outlined how the data collection was conducted so that other researchers could transfer the study to another context.

Significance

Immigration has been a topic of debate for some time in the United States. The Trump administration spent a great deal of their 4-year term creating legislation regarding undocumented immigrants in the United States. This legislation caused much discourse regarding discrimination in the United States. The current study contributed to the conversation from a lens that few recognized as an indispensable component of policy considerations. The results of this study may contribute to the public policy field, discipline, and the professional practice of lobbyists, legislators, and activists. The results of this study may help legislators recognize whether their policies are inadvertently targeting U.S. citizens, which would mean the policies are discriminatory regardless of immigration status. With a new administration in office, this study's results may give lobbyists and activists insight into new arguments for or against lingering decisions concerning the enforcement of ICE during the Trump administration.

This study's social change implications center around the mobilization of a new class of organizers, lobbyists, and activists who are mobilized to fight for nondiscriminatory immigration policies regardless of their immigration status. For activists to engage more people to care about ICE's impact on immigrants, they need to have research that backs their claims. Immigration impacts everyone, but there must be research to prove the connectedness, and this study supported that.

Summary

Immigration is a complex issue in the United States. For immigration policy to be effective and lead to pathways for peace, legislators need to recognize that immigration policy impacts immigrants' lives generationally and all who are in proximity to them, their contributions, and their cultural impact (see Shin et al., 2015). Although the number of authorized immigrants migrating to the United States continues to grow, so does the number of undocumented immigrants (Fazel-Zarandi et al., 2018). Immigration policies under President Trump's administration were unique and created new challenges for undocumented immigrants aiming to migrate to the United States and those already living in the country at the time (Lastres, 2020; Roth et al., 2018). These policies had ripple effects, such as separating families and leaving many fearful of living their lives (Lastres, 2020; Roth et al., 2018). Additional research on these ripple effects and their impact must include U.S.-born Latinx to provide a new perspective into the impact of immigration policy during the Trump administration and to address whether the policies were discriminatory. The implications for social change include the progress made in immigration policy if these perspectives are considered. This study may lead to debates

about the moral efficacy of immigration policies that may discriminate against people based on their ethnicity or race.

Chapter 2 of this study provides a literature review that contains a synthesis of current research. Chapter 2 includes material that clarifies what evidence exists on the impact of immigration policy on Latinx people living in the United States during the Trump administration. Chapter 2 also points to the three primary lenses that researchers use to examine the impact of the Trump administration's immigration policies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this generic qualitative study was to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Although there was a sizeable amount of research on immigration policies, practices, and comprehensive data on immigration in the United States, there was a literature gap regarding the impact immigration policies and practices have on U.S. citizens who share ancestry with racial and ethnic groups who are deported the most by CBP and ICE. Immigration policies have direct and indirect impacts on both immigrants and those in close proximity to immigration (D. Becerra et al., 2012). The direct and indirect influence of immigration policies makes anti-immigration rhetoric dangerous because policies rooted in them can have enduring consequences for U.S. citizens as well.

The general approach in the literature focused on foreign-born Latinx immigrants living in the United States, which skewed public perception of anti-immigration discrimination as exclusively impacting immigrants. However, existing studies shed light on how impactful immigration policies and practices can be on people's lives. The impacts of anti-immigration discrimination include worsening the racial and ethnic health disparities in the United States (Morey, 2018). The impacts of anti-immigration discrimination are not exclusive to older migrants and citizens. They affect people of all ages. For Latinx adolescents, avoiding confrontation is only one of the many coping mechanisms to confront anti-immigration discrimination (McDermott et al., 2018). Further research must consider the impact on U.S. citizens as well. By focusing on the

lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults, the current study contributed new insight into how U.S. citizens experience discrimination due to immigration policies and practices.

Although this study focused on U.S.-born Latinx young adults, I did not imply that people of Latinx descent were the only racial or ethnic group deported by CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. However, from FY2017 to FY2019, people of Latinx descent accounted for 95% or more of deportations conducted by CBP and ICE. In FY2017, the top 11 nations were Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia, Nicaragua, and Jamaica (ICE, 2017). Those 11 nations accounted for over 95% (216,379 of 226,119) of the people deported by ICE in 2017 (ICE, 2017). In 2018, those same 11 nations accounted for 96% (244,265 of 256,085) of the people deported by ICE (ICE, 2018). In 2019, the same 11 countries accounted for 95% (254,240 of 267,258) of deportation by ICE (ICE, 2019). These findings make U.S.-born Latinx an exceptional group to study because they have a greater chance of being in proximity to immigrants with a similar ethnicity.

In this section, I also provide a synthesized literature review that examines immigration, particularly in the United States. The literature review also addresses contemporary immigration policies and what distinguished Trump from his predecessors. I discuss other qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods studies investigating the impact of immigration policies and how they informed the current study.

Strategy for Literature Review

The literature review consists of primary sources such as books, peer-reviewed journal articles, dissertations, and federal government reports. The peer-reviewed journal articles cited in this literature review were accessed through databases such as SAGE Journals, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, and EBSCOhost. Walden University provided access to these databases. The keywords and phrases used during database searches were *immigration to the United States, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement deportations, The Department of Homeland Security deportation, Latinx experience, Hispanic, Latino, U.S.-born Hispanic, Hispanic Young Adults, anti-immigration discrimination, immigration discrimination, Immigration impact, ICE and immigration, CBP and immigration, Homeland Security, Trump and immigration, Bush and immigration, Obama and immigration*, as well as several combinations of these phrases. The focus of most of the literature identified for this study was on Latinx immigrants, second-generation Latinx, racial and ethnic discrimination, and U.S. immigration for Latinx. I found no literature that focused on U.S.-born Latinx young adults exclusively. As a result, the literature review was limited to the experiences of or studies conducted on Latinx people as a whole and U.S. citizens of Latinx descent who do not clarify whether they are naturalized citizens or U.S. born.

The literature review is divided into nine sections. After the introduction and strategy for the literature review, the first section of the literature review introduces the NPF. It identifies how each of the five pillars of NPF shaped this study. In the second section of this study, I look at the historical context of immigration by evaluating

immigration from three primary lenses: early homo sapiens migration, empire to nation-state migration, and globalized migration. The globalized migration lens addresses economic migration, environmental migration, and conflict migration. The third section of the literature review includes a discussion of the contemporary immigration to the United States, primarily the two types of immigration that shaped immigration in the United States.

The fourth section of the literature review brings the literature review to the central issue of this study. I discuss immigration policies in the United States by looking at how policies approach documented immigration and undocumented immigration. I also discuss the United States Department of Homeland Security and its connection to immigration through CPB and ICE. Because this study aimed to provide an objective assessment of immigration policies, it was critical to look at multiple administrations to understand the context. Therefore, the fifth section addresses immigration before the Trump administration, particularly during the Bush and Obama presidencies. The sixth section includes a discussion of immigration during the Trump administration by looking at anti-immigration rhetoric, travel bans, and deportation practices and procedures. After a review of three administrations, the seventh section focuses on discrimination experienced by Latinx immigrants. In the eighth section, I look at discrimination experienced by undocumented Latinx immigrants by discussing family separations and impacts on cultural identity development. The ninth section concludes the chapter and introduces Chapter 3.

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical basis for this study was NPF (M. D. Jones & McBeth, 2010). I explored the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults and considered what role narratives around immigration played in their experiences with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. M. D. Jones and McBeth (2010) asserted that narratives play a role in forming, implementing, and ratifying policies. NPF's core theory is that narratives contribute to any policy's success or failures, thereby making it critical to understand how much power narratives have (M. D. Jones & McBeth, 2010). M. D. Jones and McBeth further asserted that learning the role narratives play in policies reveals the formal and informal institutions in which policy debates occur. Because the current study focused on the experiences of discrimination of U.S.-born Latinx young adults during the Trump administration, it was imperative to reflect on how narratives around immigration may have shaped participants' experiences with discrimination from January 20, 2017, to January 20, 2021. Before 2017, the Donald J. Trump presidential campaign partially launched with a narrative around immigration when, in 2015, he asserted that Mexico and Mexicans sent drugs and crime to the United States (Scribner, 2017). Trump's assertion at the time not only became a policy debate in formal and informal institutions in the country, but it went on to serve as a precursor to more restrictive policies on immigration in the United States during his administration (Scribner, 2017). I used the NPF to develop a more thorough understanding of how narratives may have shaped U.S.-born Latinx young adults' experiences with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Seminal Works

M. D. Jones and McBeth (2010) constructed their contention around narratives and policies using seminal scientific orientation work. Seminal scientific studies helped demonstrate that scientific studies support the power of narratives in shaping people's lives. M. D. Jones and McBeth relied on seminal work from Troiani et al. (2006) and Young and Saver (2001) to support their claim that the capacity to observe reality through narrative structures comes from the neural network in the human brain, thereby making it a fundamental human function. Young and Saver's work helped M. D. Jones and McBeth pose the argument that not only are narratives a fundamental human function, but the loss of that would be more damaging than the loss of other cognitive functions. These scientific studies make a case for the importance of narrative to human communication and cognition, but M. D. Jones and McBeth needed to make a case for how it connects to public policy, and it was in that attempt that they exposed the literature gap that led to the NPF.

Influence of Positivism Versus Postpositivism

M. D. Jones and McBeth (2010) examined two decades of discussions on policy change theory to realize that narrative failed to gain the attention they believed it deserved in policy theory and the need to position it better to appeal to different methodological approaches. M. D. Jones and McBeth found that the debate over a positivism and postpositivism dichotomy among scholars would play a role in how they approached the construction of NPF. Scholars saw value in both positivism and postpositivism but differed in what they believed to be the most helpful approach for

research. Weimer (1998) contended that postpositivism had significance, but the positivist approach centralized prediction, making quantitative methodology more valuable to researchers. Fischer (1998) saw value in the positivist approach but contended that, because facts are social constructs, it is more valuable to take a postpositivist approach to address social problems. Although Weimer and Fischer had respect for each position, others were stauncher in their preference for one approach over the other. Sabatier (1999) received much criticism from other scholars when he omitted postpositivism from his book. The growing disagreement on approaches prompted M. D. Jones and McBeth to aim for NPF to be used in both approaches.

Rationale for NPF

The rationale to use M. D. Jones and McBeth's (2010) NPF was that it enabled me to explore the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults and consider what role narratives around immigration played in their experiences with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Since M. D. Jones and McBeth's (2010) earliest iteration of the NPF, additional work from M. D. Jones et al. (2014), M. D. Jones (2018), Shanahan et al. (2018), and M. D. Jones and McBeth (2020) has helped the NPF continue to emerge as a usable framework for research. The NPF allowed me to extend the existing literature beyond the generalizations about Latinx experiences with anti-immigration discrimination by assessing it from the structures and layers that the framework outlines.

Five Assumptions

The NPF has five main assumptions underpinning the research (M. D. Jones & McBeth, 2020).

Public Policy Social Constructs

The first assumption is that public policy is socially constructed because various groups and people assign different meanings to the objects and processes that make up policy (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

Bounded Relativity

M. D. Jones et al. (2014) referred to the second assumption as bounded relativity. This assumption is that although the socially constructed nature of public policy creates different policy realities for groups and people, these realities are bounded rationally, not randomly (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

NPF's Generalizable Structural Elements

The third assumption refers to the generalizable structural elements of NPF (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This assumption is that narratives have generalizable structures identifiable in different narrative contexts, such as the setting, characters, plot, and moral of the story (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

Three Levels

The fourth assumption is that policy narratives simultaneously interact at three levels (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). The first level is the individual level, which M. D. Jones et al. (2014) referred to as the micro. The second level is the group level, which M. D.

Jones et al. referred to as the meso. The third level is the cultural or institutional level, which M. D. Jones et al. referred to as the macro.

Homo Narrans Model of the Individual

The final assumption of NPF is called the homo narrans model of the individual (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This assumption ties NPF together because it asserts that narrative helps humans process information from experiences, communicate with others, and reason, making narratives critical to the human experience (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

Evolution of Immigration

According to Sowell (1997) and Fisher (2013), migration is not a new phenomenon, and the practice has an extensive history worth studying. Evidence of migration has been abundant throughout human history. Germans, Japanese, Italians, Indians, the Jewish Diaspora, and more have long histories regarding migration patterns worldwide (Sowell, 1997). Migration patterns have become increasingly complex. However, discourse around contemporary immigration issues often limits the topic of migration, centralizing it to recent events. This omits a vast history of how nearly all humans are descendants of migrants. McKeown (2004) proposed that historians struggle to accept the magnitude of migration's impact on global history. As a result, many attempts to create lasting policies that address the most pressing immigration issues today are weakened by a lack of recognition that migration is not a new phenomenon and, although current migration issues are complex, they are similar to what has happened in the past.

The literature search led to this research study outlining the history of migration into three principal sections. The first is called early homo sapiens migration. This section of migration history focuses on the earliest stages of human migration patterns and behaviors, which inaugurated all other forms of migration. The second is called migration's impact on empires. It focuses on how migration impacted empires and what other stressors enlightened migration's ability to do that. The third section of migration history is called globalized migration. Globalized migration considers the impact of globalization and the advent of high technological advancements on migration movements worldwide. In each of these sections, it is clear that migration has always been impacted by economic, environmental, and conflicts.

Early Homo Sapiens Migration

Migration can be traced as far back as 100,000 years ago when homo sapiens within Africa started developing complex languages, identifying with groups, and developing new tools to expand their hunting and gathering skills (Fisher, 2013). Similar to today's migration patterns, early homo sapiens were thought to be migrating to or away from something, but Fisher (2013) also noted that migrating was a nomadic way of life for some. As early homo sapiens migrated out of Africa, many began finding new resources such as food, water, and land that did not have the same diseases and illnesses due to climate. McKeown (2004) expanded on Sowell's (1997) work by elaborating on how early homo sapiens migration becomes most notable during early mass group migrations. Early mass group migrations are distinctive because different bands began to

move around in search of land, resources, and opportunities, which led to the empire to the nation-state migration period (McKeown, 2004).

Fisher (2013) proposed that the very idea that Africa is its own continent today should remind the world of how successful early migration was and how it led to where the world is today. Eventually, many early homo sapien migrants abandoned the nomadic way of life and settled in regions such as Eurasia, the Americas, and more that were abundant in resources that would allow their group to survive for hundreds of years before having to migrate again (Fisher, 2013). As migration continued and some settled in regions, complex identities and cultures formed again around new territories and lands, leading to empires.

Migration's Impact on Empires

As early migrants formed cultures and beliefs unique to their groups and bands, empires began to form (Fisher, 2013). Many empires were formed as means to preserve identity and to gain more land for a growing population. But growing an empire meant accepting migrants that had different languages, cultures, and beliefs. For some empires, this type of migration would eventually help destroy the empire rather than expand it. One notable empire to consider when studying empire to nation-state migration is the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire is an example of one of the most formidable empires post early homo sapien migration (Fisher, 2013). At its peak power, the Roman Empire controlled the western part of Africa, Continental Europe, and the Middle East (Drake, 2017). While wars and the demise of rulers played roles in the collapse of the Roman

empire, Drake (2017) contended that migration and climate change should also be considered in the discussion. Both Fisher (2013) and Drake (2017) noted that as empires like the Roman empire expanded, they welcomed in a large number of migrants from different lands. Drake designated the major migration shifts that the Roman Empire experienced into two phases. The first migration phase began in 376 A.D. and brought in migrants from Gothic, Franks, Vandals, Alemanni, and Alans. Drake proposed that this would eventually weaken the empire's control over its western region. The second phase changed the linguistic landscape of the Roman Empire as more Slavic and Turkic-speaking people migrated to the empire.

Migration shifts did not just put stressors and demands on empires to create solutions to address political and social issues (Fisher, 2013). Drake (2017) notes that the migration shifts were not the only stressor on the Roman Empire as changes in the North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO) were responsible for droughts in the Roman empire. Drake proposed that the climate can act as a conflict amplifier and has had a tremendous impact on populations. Even as the world shifted away from empires to nation-states and globalization ushered in new types of migration, the climate still plays a large role.

Contemporary Global Migration

The advent of technological advancements has improved global mobility, making it easier for more people to migrate at a much faster rate than homo sapien ancestors (Fisher, 2013). A 2017 United Nations report discovered that, since 2000, the number of international migrants had grown by nearly 50% (The United Nations, 2017). Regions like Asia, Europe, and the United States continue to see a significant rise in international

migrants (The United Nations, 2017). In 2017, the majority of international migrants lived in the United States of America. In 2020, the number of international migrants reached 283 million, and Asia, Europe, and North America continued to lead the world in hosting international migrants (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Since 1970, the percent of the world that are considered international migrants has increased by 1.3%. The number of international migrants continues to rise and the impact of this is worth studying.

Migration continues to shape the world and is still impacted by many conflicts that are largely influenced by social, economic, and environmental factors. Much like the early migrating homo sapien ancestors, people continue to migrate for a multitude of reasons, but clearer classifications of migrants can be outlined. Segal (2019) proposes that contemporary global migration includes economic migrants, trafficked migrants, temporary migrants, refugees, and more. Each of these classifications has mixed experiences with migration.

Despite their economic impact on countries, the portrayal and rhetoric around immigrants and refugees have made some countries and people less hospitable to migrants (Cap, 2018; Hoewe, 2018; Wright et al., 2020). Cap (2018) found that anti-immigration policies have influenced Polish citizens to be less welcoming to Syrian refugees. Hoewe (2018) argued that even beyond policies, the media's portrayal of refugees often erases their unique experiences and lumps them into the category of immigrant. Wright et al. (2020) reached similar conclusions when they posed that fake news media have the power to sway the public's perception of immigrants and refugees. McAuliffe

and Triandafyllidou (2021) noted that disinformation is not a new battle when it comes to international migration. Segal (2019) contends that global north nations that welcome in more international migrants should create opportunities for migrants because it contributes to economic gain. Migrants are leaving the countries for opportunities, but they are not just low-skill jobs, and as countries create social and economic opportunities, migrants can thrive.

Seminal work by Sowell (1997) recommended that studying migration should also mean understanding where and what migrants travel to and how that impacts those places. Before Sowell's proposition about the importance of monitoring how migration impacts places, Swain (1996) called direct attention to how the environmental changes cause migration and what policy hurdle it would create. Swain warned that as migrants travel to new regions, it would stress already limited resources. Environmental factors are still shaping migration today (Merone & Tait, 2018). Merone and Tait (2018) called for international migrants impacted by climate changes to be considered refugees, not just international migrants.

Conflicts still play a large role in why people migrate today. Both economic and environmental conflicts have been discussed, but Swain's (1996) seminal work pointed out that group versus group conflicts can arise when migrants stress the resource capacity of places. Scholars like Cap (2018) and Hoewe (2018) would contend that media and policy narratives are responsible for what can lead to group versus group conflicts. McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou (2021) noted that as wars and conflicts put people's lives at risk, people flee to avoid them. McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou noted that migrants

have to play a role in peace and security efforts around the world to help reduce conflicts. Contemporary global migration has higher numbers of international migrants, but at the core, the reason why people immigrate is still similar to why early homo sapiens ancestors migrated. Economic and social opportunities, conflict, and the environment still play a large role in contemporary global migration.

Contemporary Immigration in the United States

Similar to other nations around the world, The United States of America has had a strong relationship with migration since its founding, and it continues to shape the nation's social fabric today. Individuals worldwide pick the U.S. as a place to call home, refuge, and more (Artuc & Ozden, 2018). For many migrants worldwide, their goal is to get to the U.S., and the countries they travel to beforehand are transits. Artuc and Ozden's (2018) research indicated that the U.S. was still perceived favorably by migrants seeking a better life, but that may not be the case anymore. Data from the Pew Research Center shows that from 2017 to 2020, many people surveyed worldwide had lost confidence in the U.S. regarding global affairs, its willingness to respect U.S. citizens' freedoms, and how the nation handled the COVID-19 pandemic (Wike et al., 2020). U.S. favorability among people outside the country did see a sharp increase from 2020 to 2021, but there are still growing concerns over the nation's political climate. Even within the U.S., there is a widening generational and partisan gap in perceptions of the nation's greatness (Hartig & Gilberstadt, 2020). Although there has been a shift in global perceptions about the U.S., immigration to the U.S. has not faltered. The total number of immigrants living in the country was over 44.9 million in 2019 (Batalova et al., 2021).

The number of immigrants living in the U.S. is just 1.1 percent short of the record high in 1890. To understand contemporary immigration in the U.S., researchers, and legislators must gain a greater understanding of immigration demographics and the experiences of immigrants.

Impact of Immigration Numbers and Demographics

Home to more immigrants than any other nation, the United States of America hosts a diverse demographic of immigrants, with immigrants coming from virtually all regions of the world (Budiman, 2020). That diversity suggests that immigration and the experiences of immigrants within the U.S. are not homogenous, and the complexities of their identities are researched heavily in the literature. Although the U.S. has diverse immigrants, there is still a more significant concentration of immigrants coming from specific areas. The top six countries that immigrants residing in the U.S. were from in 2018 were Mexico, China, India, the Philippines, and El Salvador (Budiman, 2020). Immigrants in the U.S. tend to gravitate towards living near metropolitan areas. Seminal work from Borjas (2003) revealed that New York, Los Angeles, and Miami were the top metropolitan areas immigrants lived in in 1998. In 2018, over 64% of the country's immigrant population lived in twenty metropolitan areas, with New York, Los Angeles, and Miami as the top three areas (Budiman, 2020). As immigration in the U.S. rises, scholars continue to study its impact on the country and how immigration policy leads to and responds to the impact.

The immigrant population continues to grow, and researchers estimate that immigrants and their descendants will account for 88% of population growth within the

U.S. by 2065 (Budiman, 2020). As the number of immigrants continues to rise, the discussion on immigration has become more prominent in recent years and shifts in perception of immigrants are emerging (*Shifting Public Views on Legal Immigration Into the U.S.*, 2019). In 2017 an estimated 77% of immigrants in the U.S. were living there legally (Budiman, 2020). For some Americans, the illegality of immigrants is not a significant concern. Instead, the existence of immigrants and their potential rise to prominence is the basis of their fears of immigration. In research from Major et al. (2016), researchers found that the growing diverse number of immigrants was a core reason many White Americans supported President Trump during his presidential election. Their research contended that President Trump evoked fears of a declining status and influence for many White Americans. President Trump carried his campaign policies around immigration into his presidency, and some scholars argue he kept his promises to those in favor of restrictive and discriminatory policies. Villazor and Johnson (2019) contended that President Trump's actions are consistent with someone carrying out a war on diversity because his policies disproportionately impacted immigrants of color. President Trump's anti-immigration, anti-diversity, and immigration rhetoric garnered more support from Americans who feared the threat of losing their place in society to people they considered to be outsiders (Major et al., 2016). American opinions and perceptions about immigrants may be shifting, but to better understand the role of immigrants within the U.S., continue to assess the social and economic impacts of immigration (Borjas, 2003; Card & Raphael, 2013; Wallace & Wu, 2019).

Immigration for Good

The debate on immigration in the U.S. continues to intensify, and two schools of thought have emerged in the literature. The first school of thought is coined immigration for good in this study. Immigration for good is a school of thought that asserts that immigration to the U.S. is beneficial, and the nation is stronger because of the contributions of immigrants (Lin, 2019; Morales-Tilgren et al., 2019; Pekkala Kerr & Kerr, 2020; Steingress, 2018). Some scholars have argued that immigration to the U.S. positively impacts the nation's economy (Lin, 2019; Morales-Tilgren et al., 2019;). Lin (2019) discovered that high-skilled immigrants improve urban economies, and the flow of high-skilled immigrants has improved the STEM industry within the nation. Immigrants participate in the market at all levels, and they also contribute to innovation that leads to more jobs (Pekkala Kerr & Kerr, 2020). Pekkala Kerr and Kerr (2020) found that Silicon Valley and other tech clusters attract many immigrant innovators who become founders, which explains why immigrants create nearly 25% of new firms in the country. As more immigrants travel to the U.S. and participate in the job sector, the country's economy benefits because it diversifies the labor force, creates competition, and leads to innovation (Morales-Tilgren et al., 2019). The impact that immigrants have on the U.S. goes beyond the economy. Immigrants help shape U.S. trade as immigrants tend to look for good from their home countries, impacting many other areas of life, including fashion, cuisine, and art (Steingress, 2018). Beyond the economy, immigrants contribute to the nation in many other ways.

Immigrants in the U.S. impact and contribute to more than the nation's economy, and scholars recognize their role in civic engagement, education, and more (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011; Ziebarth, 2020). Immigrants also play a role in civic engagement within the nation. When social and cultural environments are favorable, immigrants contribute through civic engagement (Ziebarth, 2020). Immigrants help improve school environments and outcomes. In research from Crosnoe and Turley (2011), evidence pointed to academic progress and educational attainment advantages for Asian and African immigrant students in k-12 education. The U.S. also receives many immigrants who are already well educated and do contribute significantly to the nation (Segal, 2018). When the U.S. is in times of crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic, immigrants have played a significant role, like Filipino immigrants who were home care workers during the early stages of the pandemic (Nasol & Francisco-Menchavez, 2021). The literature exposes a preponderance of the evidence that supports the immigration for good school of thought, but not all scholars agree with this notion.

Hazardous Immigration

The second school of thought, coined hazardous immigration, calls attention to the dangers of immigration. Scholars who fall under the hazardous immigration school believe that immigrants are at risk. Scholars who consider immigrants at risk see immigrants as susceptible to social, emotional, economic dangers and human rights abuses (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Lincoln et al., 2020; Panjwani et al., 2021). Seminal work from Androff and Tavassoli (2012) contended that because migration to the U.S. is demanding and intricate, some immigrants are victims of human rights violations and are

in the most danger. Panjwani et al. (2021) expanded on earlier discussions of the potential abuses by discovering that immigration statuses significantly impact the quality of life of Asian Indians living in the U.S. Their research found non-visa-holding Asian Indian immigrants had lower quality of life compared to their American counterparts. These lower quality of life findings are not isolated to Asian Indians, as other scholars have found similar evidence in other communities. Immigrants can experience threats when settling within the U.S. because disparities make the country challenging. Immigrants tend to put themselves in less than favorable situations to make money to survive within the country. Bakhtsiyarava and Nawrotzki (2017) found that for Mexican immigrants, migrating to be closer to wealthier areas in the U.S. can lead them to live in environmentally unsafe areas. The threats that scholars have found immigrants are under are also social as narratives play a large role in their experiences.

Immigrants are also the victims of false narratives that lead to less favorable policy outcomes and discrimination (Lincoln et al., 2020; Rima et al., 2019). Some of the recent debates on immigration in the U.S. blame immigrants for crime and suggest that immigrants are more dangerous than their native counterparts (Rima et al., 2019). Despite research showing that the connection between immigration and crime is not linear and evidence suggests that immigrants are not crime leaders, the narrative has led to anti-immigrant discrimination towards immigrants. These narratives can lead to policies and legislation that play a significant role in immigrants' experiences. Lincoln et al. (2020) identified that immigration policies and growing anti-immigrant created hostile environments and significantly impacted Somali Immigrants in the country. Both

immigration for good and hazardous immigration point to the role policies and legislation have in shaping immigrants' experience before entering and while living in the country.

Immigration Policies

Immigration laws and policies have been a critical conversation in the U.S. for some time, and many presidents have found it difficult to implement solutions that solved what many considered the immigration crisis (Kerwin & Warren, 2017). Immigration laws and policies in the U.S. have gone through many changes since the first immigration law in 1790, and most policies have evolved due to criticisms and debates that have led to amendments (Wasem, 2018). Despite 232 years' worth of modifications to U.S. immigration policy, a trend in the literature suggests that U.S. immigration policies continue to lead to negative impacts that exasperate disparities, violate human rights, and create public health issues for immigrants and others living in the country. In research from S. P. Wallace and Young (2018), researchers noted that anti-immigration policies in the U.S. are cyclical. A great example of the historically cyclical immigration policies is the establishment of the Bracero Program, which enabled the U.S. government to address labor shortages after World War II, just years after mass deportations of Mexican immigrants. The U.S. government would then ramp up the deportation of undocumented immigrants in the early 1980s because President Regan claimed they were taking high-paying jobs from American citizens (S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018). President Regan's years of deportation of undocumented immigrants would also be subject to the cyclical nature of immigration policies as the president would go on to pass legislation to give millions of undocumented immigrants amnesty in 1986 (S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018).

U.S. immigration policy has changed course many times, and the cyclical nature has left undocumented immigrants at the mercy of pro-immigration policies.

The 1990s was the turn of the cyclical nature of immigration policy in the U.S. as anti-immigration policies became increasingly adopted on a state and federal level (S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018). Many Presidents have shaped U.S. immigration policies, and the literature notes that policies after 1990 have led to record numbers of deportations (Brabeck et al., 2014). The War on Terror has significantly shaped current immigration policies, revealing a trend in the connectedness of immigration policies across presidencies. The literature calls for new policies that adhere to international human rights and consider the long-term impact on immigrants (Brabeck et al., 2014; Ly et al., 2021; Song, 2021). Scholars noted that immigration policies, like the zero-tolerance policy of 2018, have created challenges for many immigrants, and their role should be further studied (Benavides et al., 2021; Pedraza et al., 2017; Song, 2021). Scholars agree that there is much more to learn about the impact of immigration policies and offer their studies as seminal work and evidence for the call for policy reform. The literature also sees value in understanding the impact of immigration policies on individual groups, even those in the proximity of immigration, like this study intends to do.

Seminal work from Androff and Tavassoli (2012) stressed that immigrants experience several human rights violations that jeopardize their lives, and other scholars have maintained that U.S. immigration policies create and exasperate those human rights violations (Benavides et al., 2021; Ly et al., 2021; Song, 2021). Ly et al. (2021) maintained that many U.S. immigration policies fail to adhere to international human

rights standards because of their punitive methodology. Consistent with immigration policy debates in the U.S., recent research has emphasized the role of immigration detention policies, such as the use of detention centers, as an example of those human rights abuses (Ly et al., 2021; Song, 2021). Scholars agree that the U.S. should protect its interests and migrants, but they present different arguments to reveal the impact of immigration policies. Scholars build the argument that U.S. immigration policies are violating or perpetuating human rights abuses by focusing on three main groups: minors, families, and adult individuals. Scholars take different approaches to discuss the harm of U.S. immigration policies on these different groups, but they reach similar conclusions about the need for policy reforms.

Minors

Most people acknowledge that children are innocent and deserve a particular level of protection, but immigration policy can inadvertently marginalize even the most vulnerable immigrants. Discussions of the human rights abuses that immigration policies expose immigrants to have led to numerous studies on the impact of immigration policy on minors. Song (2021) presented an exploration of the impact immigration has on unaccompanied children's mental health, finding that unaccompanied children migrating to the U.S. have a prevalence of post-traumatic stress levels, depression, anxiety. U.S. immigration policies play a role in the exasperation of mental health issues among immigrant minors, and other scholars have found evidence for this as well. A key takeaway from Song's study is that the zero-tolerance policy of 2018 was the catalyst to worse conditions for minor migrants because it led to a higher number of immigrant

minors in immigration detention centers. Immigration policies like detention and deportation that lead to family separation can leave children susceptible to high stressors that make it harder for them to live fruitful lives (Brabeck et al., 2014). Seminal work from Salas et al. (2013) found that immigration policies impacted U.S.-born minors who have immigrant parents, and there was a mental toll. Across the literature, health disparities and mental health themes are prevalent and not just unique to minors.

Families

The literature emphasizes the role U.S. immigration policies have on immigrant families, and their findings mirror the studies on minors. Immigrant families living in the U.S. find themselves becoming accustomed to a highly regulated life due to restrictive immigration policies (Vesely et al., 2017). The fear of deportation can strain all members of immigrant families regardless of legal status. As fear rises, immigrant families experience trauma as a direct result of restrictive immigration policies. The theme of mental health is prevalent in research about immigrant families, with evidence pointing to poorer mental health for Latinx who live in states with more restrictive immigration policies (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017). Pedraza et al. (2017) contended that President Trump's immigration policies, like the zero-tolerance policy, put immigrant families at risk because it forced mixed-status immigrant families to be wary of meeting with health care providers. Benavides et al. (2021) researched how immigration policies impact mixed-status families, and they found that immigrant families were collectively more fearful after additional restrictive policies during President Trump's administration. This research expanded the scholarship because it acknowledged that immigrant families can

be mixed status and may still all by immigration policies. Immigration policies have impacted immigrant families in other ways beyond fear. For some immigrant families, restrictive immigration policies turned safe spaces with social programs that helped them live healthier lives into potential places for the government to enforce restrictive policies (Benavides et al., 2021).

Adult Individuals

Adult individuals are a prominent focus in immigration policy literature. The literature tends to study adult individuals in smaller groups based on gender, noting the nuances in their experiences. Seminal work from Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013) contended that U.S. immigration policy had shifted to target men, which was distinguishable from previous eras where immigrant men were welcome for labor. Their research pointed to the reality that, even if policies do not outline individual groups, they can have an unbalanced impact on one group over others, which speaks to the purpose of this study. Scholars recognize the value of studying individual groups when assessing the impact of immigration policy, but they consider that there may be different barriers that worsen their challenges (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; LeBrón et al., 2018). LeBrón et al. (2018) found that Mexican-origin women were affected by restrictive immigration policies in multi-dimensional ways, making their lives significantly more difficult. Immigrant Latina women who become mothers within the U.S. have to negotiate motherhood with the restrictive lifestyles immigration policies create (Vesely et al., 2018). In research from Vesely et al. (2018), findings suggested that Latina women becoming moms feel forced to change their gender identity, family role, and more to cope

with the restrictive U.S. immigration policies. As with the focus on minors and families, individuals are at risk due to the same U.S. immigration policies, but the individual lens offers new perspectives on how U.S. immigration policy affects immigrants at a gender level.

The literature makes the case that U.S. immigration policies impact social determinants of health for immigrants, and there is often a shared experience across minors, families, and individual groups. Though scholars take different approaches to investigate immigration policy, it is clear that they all agree that there needs to be reform that considers the impact policies are currently having on immigrants. The theme of mental health is extensive in the literature, suggesting that immigration policies can have a traumatic impact on immigrants. The current literature strengthens the argument for more research on the impact of immigration policy. This study aimed to understand the impact of immigration policy on those in the proximity of immigration, expanding decades of research. Several scholars have acknowledged the proximity of non-immigrants who experience immigration policies with their immigrant counterparts, but there is not enough research aiming to understanding this phenomenon. This study helps strengthen the literature and may lead to policy changes that consider the full impact of immigration policy.

Immigration Prior to Trump Administration (2000–2017)

U.S immigration policies and reform have been interconnected across presidencies for many terms, and often, U.S. presidents inherit the challenge of immigration reform. In research from Massey (2019), he coins this era of immigration

policies and reform as the war on immigration. Scholars may differ on whom they believe are at the most risk when discussing immigration policies, but they agree that immigration has been a contentious topic for some time. Immigration policy research from 2000 to 2017 is divided into two periods within the literature. The first period is called the President Bush immigration era within this study. In this period, scholars underscore the role of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks as the catalyst to the change to restrictive immigration policies and anti-immigrant rhetoric within the country (Arthur & Woods, 2013; Massey, 2019). Other scholars argue that immigration seated center stage in public discourse because many U.S. citizens felt the effects of immigration on a personal level (McDonald, 2010). The second period is called the President Obama immigration era within this study. Scholars emphasize that President Obama inherited an already complicated immigration reform task, forcing him to attempt to address what his predecessor could not (Aguirre, 2008). Comparable to the President Bush immigration era, scholars underscore significant policy events in the President Obama immigration era. The enactments of the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) are examined considerably in the literature because of the significant implication it had on undocumented people living in the U.S. at the time (Campbell, 2018; Kerwin & Warren, 2016). These two periods share commonalities, but they have unique events, policies, and issues that the literature investigates separately.

President Bush Immigration Era (2001–2009)

When comparing the Trump presidency to the Bush presidency, scholars noted that both presidents dealt with crises that altered the nation and led to noteworthy policy changes (Mayer, 2020). President Bush's two terms in office evoke recollections of the September 11 attacks and the nation's response, but scholars maintain that it should correspondingly evoke memories of the start of contemporary exclusionary immigration policies and the restriction of civil liberties within the country (Arthur & Woods, 2013; Eland, 2003; Massey, 2019). The Bush administration's influence on immigration policies after the September 11 attacks shaped the framework for exclusionary policies for years to come. Arthur and Woods (2013) noted a negative shift in immigration rhetoric after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, and they discovered evidence to indicate that President Bush played a distinctive role in that. President Bush chose hostile rhetoric on immigration and illegality when it favored him and the Republican party, particularly closer to the midterm elections (Arthur & Woods, 2013). Scholars who are critical of President Bush's immigration policies tend to be critical of the erosion of civil liberties and privacy within the U.S. at the time as well (Eland, 2003). The literature assesses the impact that key policies played in shaping immigration policy for years to come.

President Bush's War on Terror paved the way for the passage of exclusionary policies, the initiation of extraconstitutional procedures, and a new department to coordinate counterterrorism (Mayer, 2020). The extraconstitutional procedures made it possible for the U.S. government to exercise its powers in new ways. Mayer (2020) noted

that those powers included the ability to establish an independent legal system, practice the use of torture on suspected terrorists, build detention centers outside the U.S., and more. Immediately after the September 11 attacks, approval ratings were high for the president, and his administration were the beneficiaries of overwhelming public support for these new actions in most quarters (Wong, 2006). Overwhelming support during a time of crisis made it easier for President Bush and his administration to take such unique action to support the War on Terror.

Of President Bush's actions, two measures are discussed extensively in the literature. The first measure discussed is the passage of the USA PATRIOT Act in 2001. The literature discusses the Patriot Act as the foundation of restrictive immigration policies in the nation and stresses that the act had long-lasting influences (Hing, 2006; Massey, 2019). Some researchers are more critical of the passage of the USA PATRIOT Act, asserting that it was not necessary to fight terror (Wong, 2006). Following the September 11 attacks, few could have foreshadowed that what initiated as a fight against religious extremists would lead to a record level of deportations of people from Mexico and Central America (Massey, 2019). Seminal work from Hing (2006) argued that President Bush's immigration policies set a precedent for a neo-nativist agenda that used immigration policies as scare tactics. In research from Wong (2006), similar conclusions are drawn about the immigration policies after the September 11 attacks, but he noted that the USA PATRIOT Act was the most notable of the policies and measures taken. Signed just 6 weeks after the September 11 attacks, the USA PATRIOT Act gave the U.S. government the power to search, monitor, and detain citizens and noncitizens (Hing,

2006). Some scholars draw assertions against the success of the USA PATRIOT Act, arguing that it never proved to have been what deterred terrorism. Hing notes that the USA Patriot Act was meant to apprehend terrorists, but the act did not do that. In seminal research from Eland (2003), the USA PATRIOT Act is argued as a catalyst for the infringement on U.S. citizens' liberties. Massey (2019) extended previous research when he noted that the War on Terror brought about tighter border restrictions, increased immigration detention centers, and set a precedent for the use of immigration detention centers in a punitive way. The USA Patriot Act helped exponentially increase border enforcement compared to policies like the 1986 Immigration Reform and the Control Act and Immigration Act of 1990 in previous years (Massey, 2019). Hing (2006) noted that the USA PATRIOT Act impacted both immigrants living in the U.S. and those trying to enter the country as immigrants or with nonimmigrant visas. According to the literature, these border enforcement measures did not address terrorism and targeted Latinx migrants (Massey, 2019).

The second measure taken by President Bush discussed heavily in the literature is the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. The Department of Homeland Security allowed President Bush to create one of the largest bureaucracies in the federal government at that time. The department combined all or parts of 22 federal agencies with a budget of over \$40 billion (Hing, 2006). It gave the agency extraordinary powers that scholars consider a gateway into the extensive bureaucracy at the time (Mayer, 2020). The creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was momentous for immigration because it wholly altered the way the U.S. approached immigration (Hing,

2006; Mayer, 2020). Hing (2006) noted that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) being subsumed into the DHS led to the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) units. Scholars contend that the USA Patriot Act strengthened the powers that the DHS would exercise and paved the way for both a counterterrorism and restrictionist focus on immigration policy (Hing, 2006; Holland, 2014; Mayer, 2020). Holland (2014) argues that the DHS had a significant role in what she describes as the restrictionist movement in the country. Of the programs that the DHS created, the Comprehensive Plan to Remove Criminal Aliens created a restrictionist approach to capturing and detaining undocumented immigrants. The restrictionist lens to immigration impacted other areas such as higher education, social services, and law enforcement (Holland, 2014). The DHS, especially CBP and ICE played a considerable role in the immigration issues during the President Obama immigration era, and the literature calls attention to the interconnectedness of these policies across presidencies.

President Obama Immigration Era (2009–2017)

Like President Bush and President Trump, President Obama's Presidency was rife with crises. When President Obama's Presidency began, many expected a heavy focus on liberal social programs that addressed the issues he inherited and were persistent around the time of his election (Aguirre, 2008). From the War on Terror to the banking and immigration crisis, many expected President Obama's Presidency to be more responsive to the needs of people and less confined to the limitation of bureaucracy (Aguirre, 2008). Scholars break down President Obama's response to those crises in three focal points; the

Affordable Care Act, the Paris climate change agreement, and Deferred Action on Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (Aguirre, 2008). A deeper look at the literature on immigration policy during this era shows that the President Obama immigration era was not limited to the impact and implementation of DACA. A trend in the literature shows that scholars explore President Obama's immigration legacy by assessing the impact of his punitive policies, procedures, and rhetoric on immigration. That exploration has led scholars to see President Obama's greatest immigration achievements to be incomplete and some even argue his efforts betray immigrant communities (Androff and Tavassoli, 2012; Campbell, 2018; Eshbaugh-Soha and Juenke, 2021; Moreno et al., 2021). Current immigration policy research on the U.S. draws from policy and practices of the Obama administration to assess how unique the Trump administration's actions on immigration were, which demonstrate that President Obama passed on the challenge of immigration to President Trump (Hutchison, 2020).

President Obama, like his predecessor, prioritized immigration reform during his presidency, but scholars debate his approach in the literature. Aguirre (2008) contended that President Obama's presidency faced many obstacles that may have made it challenging to focus on immigration to the degree it deserved. Eshbaugh-Soha and Juenke (2021) noted that President Obama maintained immigration reform was a priority, but his administration appeared to feel pressured to prioritize enforcement and securitization to ensure that his more liberal agenda would be accepted simultaneously. Seminal work from Androff and Tavassoli (2012) contended that President Obama's rhetoric on immigration was more negative early on in his presidency than expected, but

he did move away from the use of terrorism to frame immigration. Their research on his rhetoric points to another example of the dichotomy of immigration approaches found in the literature. Other scholars argue that President Obama's legacy on immigration will always be tainted because he deported more immigrants than his two predecessors and President Trump (Hutchison, 2020). Though punitive in detention and deportation, the Obama administration was also the first to move away from using the term "illegal immigrants" and replacing it with "undocumented immigration" (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012). The dichotomy of being a punitive president and one seeking liberal immigration reforms forces the scholarship to take different approaches to understand this era of immigration. The policy that scholars discuss the most in President Obama's immigration era literature is DACA.

Prior to Deferred Action on Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the DREAM Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) was introduced to the U.S. Senate during President Bush's administration but failed to pass through Congress many times (Hutchison, 2020). President Obama's administration introduced DACA in 2012, which intended to create an opportunity for undocumented migrants who entered the U.S. as minors to avoid deportation and receive a work permit. After the legislation failed to gain the necessary support in Congress, President Obama passed it through executive power (Hutchison, 2020). C. Becerra (2018) contended that most people recognized that DACA resulted from years of failed attempts by Congress at reforming federal immigration laws, and it renewed hope for many undocumented immigrants within the nation. Kerwin and Warren (2016) noted that DACA would have a lasting impact on U.S.

society because its recipients were already a part of the country, working and contributing to the nation. Although there was much optimism in scholarship around the time of DACA's passage, scholars now recognize that DACA was not complete and had limitations that still left immigrants vulnerable (Campbell, 2018; Gonzales et al., 2014; Moreno et al., 2021).

Campbell (2018) argued that President Obama's immigration policies were failures, and DACA ensured the president's reelection, but it still left many immigrants unsure of what was next. Campbell's criticisms of President Obama's immigration policies were that they betrayed the hopes and confidence of immigrants living in the U.S. She was not alone in her critique of DACA, as many scholars have discussed it as a short time fix for a deep-rooted problem. Gonzales et al. (2014) noted that DACA had many strengths when implemented, but it was not a permanent solution, and it was a second-class status. Moreno et al. (2021) suggested that DACA has left undocumented Latinx youth in a vulnerable position where their lives are uncertain, much like the legislation. The President Obama immigration era may be known for the passage of DACA, but scholars argue that people should recognize that Obama was not as aggressive with immigration reform early on in his first term, and he expanded efforts to deport immigrants considered undesirable to the U.S. (Holland, 2014). The literature again sheds light on the interconnectedness of these policies across presidencies as connections are built with immigration issues passed from President Obama to President Trump.

Immigration During the Trump Administration (2017–2021)

The interconnectedness of presidencies in the post 9/11 U.S. is particularly evident during the Trump administration. President Trump, like his predecessor, inherited a host of challenges that plagued the U.S., ranging from the deterioration of U.S. prominence and power abroad, an immigration crisis shaped by post 9/11 rhetoric, and declining confidence in the nation at home (Mayer, 2020). The most notable debates in the literature are about whether President Trump's immigration rhetoric and policies were substantially unique or contemporary use of an inherited immigration framework (Hamlin, 2021). President Trump constructed a legacy on immigration that some scholars say is unique and will have lasting implications for future presidencies (Waslin, 2020; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). A growing trend in the literature argues that President Trump's immigration legacy was rife with the powers and procedures he inherited from his predecessors. Scholars argue that the most significant differentiator of the Trump presidency was his actions, wholly exasperated by his rhetoric on restrictive and punitive immigration measures. The literature agrees that President Trump took unique actions that promoted nativism like his predecessors (J. G. Young, 2017; Kerwin, 2018).

Trump's Presidential Campaign and Immigration

To understand immigration policies under the Trump administration, scholars maintain that the analysis must begin with his campaign trail, especially his rhetoric. Immigration dominated the 2016 presidential elections, shaping the next 4 years as well (Hutchison, 2020). President Trump began his campaign by proposing that America had lost its greatness and that immigration was primarily to blame (J. G. Young, 2017).

President Trump's campaign rhetoric was not a passive acknowledgment of what he believed was immigration's role in deteriorating the nation's greatness. J. G. Young (2017) argued that the president's campaign never defined greatness but prioritized pointing out whom they deemed responsible for the nation's lack of greatness. In research from Marko (2019), President Trump's rhetoric on immigration and immigrants was referred to as inflammatory because it went beyond policy recommendations and critiques towards baseless insults that targeted specific groups, like Muslim and Mexican immigrants. President Trump labeled Mexican immigrants as criminals and asserted that Mexico sent its worst people to come to the U.S. and exasperate crime (J. G. Young, 2017). President Trump also linked Muslim immigrants to terrorism, reviving post 9/11 rhetoric and setting a precedent for what would become his immigration approach when elected president (J. G. Young, 2017). Hamlin (2021) posed that President Trump openly demonstrated through his rhetoric that he had a clear preference for White immigrants over Black and Latinx immigrants. During his campaign, President Trump's immigration rhetoric had lasting ramifications as they led to a rise in discriminatory rhetoric, especially anti-immigration, and anti-Muslim hate (Marko, 2019). President Trump's campaign rhetoric was only the precursor to restrictive immigration changes that worsened for immigrants throughout his presidency (Waldinger, 2018).

Precedent for Restrictive Immigration

This argument in the literature speaks to the interconnectedness of presidencies and builds the case that President Trump succeeded in his immigration reform efforts because he benefited from past frameworks and movements that set a precedent for his

changes (J. G. Young, 2017; Kerwin, 2018; Timmons, 2017; Waldinger, 2018). After his election, President Trump's immigration rhetoric ushered immigration policies and procedures in an exclusionary and punitive direction. President Trump's rhetoric and immigration policies intensified the revival of the nativist movements seen in far-right movements during his presidency. J. G. Young (2017) claimed that nativism movements existed in many eras of U.S. immigration policies dating as far back as 1920. President Trump played a new role that other eras had not experienced in this magnitude.

The President Bush immigration era and the President Obama immigration era set the stage for President Trump's immigration power. The Trump administration inherited an immigration problem, and some immigration policy tools to help them deal with those problems how they saw fit. President Bush's passage of the USA PATRIOT Act in 2001 and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security created a framework that Presidents like President Trump were able to use and build off of (Massey, 2019). President Obama's high deportation number and an incomplete effort with DACA also paved the way for many of Trump's actions. Hutchison (2020) argued that President Trump continued the same elements of U.S. immigration policy from the Obama presidency by using post-9/11 national security rhetoric, strengthening the deportation regime, and scrutinizing stalled efforts around the fortification of the fort Mexican border. The Obama administration established many precedents, like expanding deportation mechanisms, that President Trump used to fulfill his immigration agenda (Hutchison, 2020). President Trump's actions would prove to be an intensified version of what his predecessors did.

Beyond the two presidents that preceded President Trump, scholars noted that the framework for President Trump's immigration policy and actions can be found in other periods of history as well. The most glaring evidence of President Trump's benefit of past immigration efforts was his efforts to build a wall on the nation's southern border because he would merely be finishing a border that was never complete by many past presidents (Timmons, 2017). The border wall is a physical manifestation of what President Trump inherited, but scholars say other examples from past presidents exist. Timmons (2017) drew comparisons of President Trump's efforts to strengthen border security to efforts made by President Richard Nixon. President Nixon's Operation Intercept, which ended in 1968, Operation Intercept staffed the U.S. southern border with thousands of federal law enforcement agents in charge of customs inspections (Timmons, 2017). The operation gives a great example of past presidents using their power to strengthen the U.S. order. President Trump's efforts at the border drew such strong similarities to President Nixon's Operation Intercept. It is clear that similar rhetoric and policy considerations from President Nixon's era still play a part in today's foreign policy (Timmons, 2017). President Trump wanted an intensified version of President Nixon's idea of border security, but the policy considerations come from the same thinking.

Unique Immigration Actions

Massey (2019) refers to President Trump's time in office as the war on immigration, citing that the president took a humanitarian crisis at the border and made it a manufactured immigration crisis. The literature breaks President Trump's immigration legacy into four focal areas; border security, increased detention and removals,

exclusionary policies. When discussing President Trump's immigration legacy, the literature makes the case that he did use an existing framework, but his policies were unique, and he carried out actions that would have distinctive impacts. According to scholars, President Trump's immigration rhetoric, coupled with policy changes, made the U.S. a more challenging place for immigrants (Massey, 2019; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). President Trump may draw similarities with past presidents, but his unique policy moves prove to have lasting consequences in the literature. Travel bans were one of the ways the U.S. saw President Trump's immigration rhetoric take policy form. After terrorist attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, President Trump passed Executive Order 13769, also called the Muslim ban by the media (Marko, 2019). Executive Order 13769 ban banned tried to ban seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the U.S. on fears of terrorism and scholars argue that the ban had more significant effects than limiting travel. Although the ban went through additional iterations after the Supreme Court repealed it, the executive orders decreased Muslim immigration, exasperated anti-Muslim rhetoric, and increased violence against Muslims living in the country. President Trump carried out an additional ban during the COVID-19 pandemic to stop the flow of immigration from several nations, even turning away asylum seekers.

President Trump's immigration efforts would not have been as prominent without using and empowering the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (ICE) (Hutchison, 2020). President Trump's zero-tolerance policy on undocumented immigration helped broaden the scope and power that existing agencies already had (Massey, 2019). President Trump's zero-tolerance approach meant that ICE's broadened

priorities required an organization's expansion. Trump expanded the power of ICE and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which led to several acquisitions around misuse of power and operations outside jurisdictions (Hutchison, 2020). Despite the expansion to ICE and CBP, the attempt to finish building the U.S. Southern border, President Obama still deported more people than President Trump. The discrepancy in the number of people deported does not mean that President Trump was easier on immigration than his predecessors. The literature agrees that further research needs to be carried that assesses President Trump's legacy on immigration's impact on people living inside the country (see Hutchison, 2020).

Immigration Policy Impact on Latinx Immigrants

When assessing the former three administrations and their legacy on immigration, it becomes apparent that the impact of immigration policies and the rhetoric that guides them did not affect everyone living in the U.S. the same way. The literature underscores that distinct groups are the victims of the enforcement of exclusionary policies and anti-immigration rhetoric (Mayer, 2020). A trend has emerged in the literature that points to undocumented Latinx traveling to and living in the U.S. being the consistent targets of immigration policies. Mounting evidence in the literature describes undocumented Latinx as the highest number of people detained and deported by CBP and ICE yearly since shortly after the September 11, 2001, attacks (Massey, 2019). The theme of interconnected presidential immigration policies and rhetoric found in the Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations reveals that undocumented immigrants have been the subject of intensified immigration policies since the September 11, 2001, attacks. Beyond

detention and deportation, undocumented Latinx are subject to many issues, particularly anti-immigration discrimination, while living in the country. Some scholars regard the immigration policies of each of these presidents as unapologetically discriminatory towards undocumented migration from the southern border (Hutchison, 2020). These policies tend not to consider the types of Latinx immigrants trying to immigrate to the U.S. undocumented. Even though there had been a shift from workers seeking employment to children and families seeking refuge, the anti-immigration efforts have persisted through several presidencies, ignoring what some scholars consider a humanitarian crisis rather than a matter of national security (Massey, 2019). The rhetoric around immigration and the policies that result from them have led to anti-immigration discrimination, poor health outcomes, and higher anxiety levels for Latinx immigrants (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019; Nichols et al., 2018). These outcomes have had lasting consequences on the social-emotional development of undocumented Latinx people living in the country, impacting many areas of life, ranging from cultural identity, family dynamics, mental health, and more (Morey, 2018; Nichols et al., 2018; S. P. Wallace and Young, 2018; Vargas et al., 2017). As a consistent target in immigration policy, understanding the impact of anti-discrimination on Latinx immigrants, especially undocumented ones, is a priority in the literature.

Consistent Targets of U.S. Immigration Policy

The interconnectedness of presidencies shows that U.S. presidents have taken special but corresponding measures that have led to discrimination against Latinx immigrants. The literature emphasizes that presidents have a consequential impact on

public perceptions, and in the case of undocumented immigrants, presidents have shaped public perception with their rhetoric (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019). After the September 11 attacks, President Bush's launch of the War on Terror communicated his immigration policies and procedures as counterterrorism efforts. Negative frames found in President Bush's immigration rhetoric predominantly concentrated on terrorism and illegality (Arthur & Woods, 2013). President Bush's use of the illegality frame in his immigration rhetoric framed illegal immigration as a significant problem, which shaped how the government implemented immigration policies. Undocumented Latinx immigrants were most targeted and deported due to those new policies and the negative framing used by President Bush on the illegality of undocumented immigration (Arthur & Woods, 2013; Massey, 2019). The War on Terror ultimately led to the war on immigration, and Latinx immigrants suffered because of it. The passage of the USA PATRIOT Act and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security did more to combat undocumented immigration than it did to fight religious extremists carrying out acts of terrorism (Massey, 2019). The vigorous enforcement of exclusionary immigration policies at the southern border and the deliberate shifts in the rhetoric around illegality led to a shift in American focus from counterterrorism to fear of illegal immigration (Arthur & Woods, 2013; Massey, 2019). Ultimately, this led to a rise in hostility towards Latinx immigrants. Post-9/11 policies and immigration rhetoric under President Bush's administration constructed a framework that authorized future presidents to marginalize undocumented immigrants coming into the nation. The scholarship demonstrates that future presidents continued to shape rhetoric focused on Latinx immigrants.

During the Obama presidency, Latinx immigrants were the targets of immigration policies and procedures similar to the Bush presidency. Arthur and Woods (2013) noted that President Obama's negative framing in his rhetoric was different from President Bush's, moving away from the terrorism frame and focusing more on the illegality of undocumented immigration. President Obama's assertions in his immigration rhetoric still focused on Latinx immigrants, and the harm undocumented immigration had on the country (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012). While pushing for landmark immigration reforms in DACA and DAPA, President Obama still targeted undocumented Latinx immigrants to a higher degree than his predecessor, according to deportation data (Hutchison, 2020). President Obama may not have pushed the American people to discriminate against Latinx immigrants more than his predecessor did, but he did strengthen the institutions that apprehended and deported undocumented Latinx. President Obama took several steps that led to less favorable environments for undocumented immigrants. President Obama expanded the Secure Communities deportation program that deported undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. based on their criminal records (Hutchison, 2020). This move legitimized his framing of undocumented immigration as a destructive act in the U.S. because it asserted that detention and deportation were about removing criminals. President Obama's administration oversaw the capacity upgrades of ICE border detention facilities. These steps set a precedent for President Trump to target undocumented immigrants living in the country during his presidency.

The scholarship suggests that President Trump's rhetoric on immigration put immigrants at risk, but none more so than Latinx immigrants who entered the country

undocumented (Eshbaugh-Soha & Juenke, 2021). President Trump's commitment to securing the nation's borders was similar to his predecessors, but his rhetoric returned to similar frames used by President Bush to describe undocumented immigrants as illegal (Eshbaugh-Soha & Juenke, 2021). Even in the earliest days of his campaign, President Trump boldly named Mexico responsible for bringing criminals into the U.S. illegally and would continue to launch accusations against Latinx immigrants, especially undocumented ones (J. G. Young, 2017). President Trump's outward condemnation of undocumented immigrants polarized public perceptions of undocumented immigrants and depicted them as criminals rather than productive members of society (Eshbaugh-Soha & Juenke, 2021). His rhetoric went beyond police recommendations and fueled hate speech, which induced anxiety among undocumented immigrants (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019). President Trump's zero-tolerance policy coupled with his refusal to meet undocumented arrivals at the border with humanitarian aid and asylum made it increasingly dangerous to try and migrate to the U.S. undocumented (Massey, 2019). Along with his predecessors, President Trump made the U.S. a less safe place for Latinx immigrants, and the outcomes of that have had a significant impact on Latinx immigrants.

Anti-Immigration Discrimination on Undocumented Latinx Immigrants

Anti-immigration discrimination impacts the entire U.S., but it disproportionately impacts people of Latinx descent. Latinx people are usually assumed to be the cause of undocumented immigration in the U.S, and as a result, they face much discrimination (Shin et al., 2015). U.S. immigration policies do not just impact undocumented Latinx

because of the mixed documentation status of families and perception that all Latinx are responsible for undocumented immigration (S. P. Wallace and Young, 2018). While all Latinx people face some level of discrimination due to this phenomenon, undocumented Latinx immigrants who live in fear of exclusionary immigration policies in the U.S. experience a different type of fear and stressors. Undocumented Latinx living in the U.S. come from many countries and share different experiences, but the literature indicates that a trend among this diverse group is that anti-immigration discrimination significantly impacts their lives (Allen et al., 2013; Callister et al., 2019; D. Becerra et al., 2012). From parents to children, undocumented Latinx experience stressors on their overall health due to discrimination. While some scholars stress the role presidents have in shaping immigration rhetoric, other scholars have discovered that immigration policy and public sentiments are in a cycle where both inform each other (Brabeck et al., 2014; S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018). Support for immigration restriction has come from negativity towards Latinx people, and that negativity has shaped policy for many years (Shin et al., 2015).

In research from Callister et al. (2019), researchers proposed that most Americans make an association between Latinx people and illegal migration. That association helps fuel stereotypes and perpetuate discrimination against Latinx people, regardless of their immigration status. Because of past immigration rhetoric by presidents and other leaders, Americans perceive Latinx immigrants as the deserving focal point of all immigration policies. Negativity towards Latinx people is increasingly dangerous because research has found that people who are more hostile toward Latinx people are less likely to

support amnesty for undocumented Latinx immigrants (Abramyan & Alexander, 2020). The literature discusses the impact of anti-immigration policies and discrimination through the lens of the adult undocumented migrant and others in their proximity. The scholarship also emphasizes the experience of adolescents and how immigration policies and rhetoric impact them. Health is one of the main focuses in the literature, as scholars contended that U.S. immigration policies impact a range of health outcomes for Latinx people living in the country (Morey, 2018; Nichols et al., 2018; S. P. Wallace and Young, 2018; Vargas et al., 2017).

In research from S. P. Wallace and Young (2018), researchers contended that immigration policy and health policy intersect and are social determinants of health, but health practitioners still struggle to see the connections. Other scholars agree, noting an evident tension between the enforcement of U.S. immigration policies and health policy goals (Watson, 2014). Researchers have noted that habits are not the only factor in the declining health of Latinx immigrants in the U.S. because chronic stress caused by immigration policies plays a huge factor (S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018). Morey (2018) argue that anti-immigration policies lead to premature death among Black and Brown immigrants because they stigmatize immigrants. The stigmatization that anti-immigration policies create for Latinx immigrants makes them more susceptible to multilevel discrimination and stress that endangers their health. Because undocumented Latinx cannot access the vast majority of federal safety nets, the stigmas against them only perpetuate more barriers to getting medical help (Morey, 2018). Vargas et al. (2017) found that anti-immigration policies can create health disparities for all Latinx people

because of fear by association. The health disparities that undocumented Latinx face are not limited to access to health care. These disparities also include the willingness to self-admit, report incidents, and more. This phenomenon creates an environment of fear.

Another impact of immigration policies that impacts the experiences of Latinx people is deportation. Brabeck et al. (2014) discuss the impact of deportation on entire families, noting that many Latinx families in the U.S. are mixed immigration status. The abrupt deportation of a parent or guardian puts stressors on children that leave them even more susceptible to discrimination and fear while living in the country. Even when children are well cared for in the absence of a deported parent, they are still susceptible to long-term psychological impacts (Brabeck et al., 2014). In research from Allen et al. (2013), researchers found evidence suggesting children with deported parents have a much higher level of internalizing and externalizing problems than their counterparts without deported parents. Deportation also changes family structures entirely, leaving children in poverty susceptible households where housing insecurity is an imminent threat (Brabeck et al., 2014). Deportation does not just impact children and families. It impacts entire communities as it triggers fears of deportation for others and stimulates distrust. For many children, being forced to grow up in a community with a climate of fear and distrust impacts their perception of governance, policing, community, and so much more (Brabeck et al., 2014).

The emphasis on the experience of minors in the literature is significant because it uses a vulnerable population within an already vulnerable population to expose to the impacts of anti-immigration policy. Research from B. S. Jones, Victor, et al. (2019)

points to an important finding in the literature about the impact of discrimination on second-generation Latinx youth. Their findings suggested that second-generation Latinx, particularly bilingual ones, have more in common with their first-generation counterparts regarding their beliefs about discrimination. The researchers contend this similarity is because second-generation Latinx are in close proximity to their first-generation counterparts. The central questions within their study are valuable to this research study's question. Their proximity discussion supports additional research on the U.S.-born Latinx relationship with immigration policy and rhetoric. The researchers discussed the history of the notion of "alien citizen" and suggested the intention to disenfranchise Latinx who had become citizens. This study and the findings on the impact of discrimination on undocumented Latinx help strengthen the argument found in this study's problem statement. Their research is not the only one to consider the proximity argument. Vargas et al. (2017) noted a fear by association argument, which aligns with the proximity argument. Brabeck et al. (2014) also noted the wide-ranging impact of detention on communities, not just undocumented people. An unmistakable trend in the literature encourages further research on how immigration policies and immigration rhetoric impact other dimensions of the U.S., which was the intention of this study.

Summary

Immigration is not a new phenomenon. Tracing back 100,000 years, homo sapiens ancestors initiated the act of migration in search of better conditions, additional resources, and more (Fisher, 2013). Immigration has helped shape, fortify, and even destroy. Contemporary immigration has proven to lead to many conflicts worldwide as

cultures, identities, and the pursuit of resources are at constant odds with each other.

Global North Nations have welcomed more immigrants than the global South, and the U.S. has led the way, consistently welcoming in more immigrants than their counterparts (Artuc & Ozden, 2018). For many migrants worldwide, the U.S. is an ideal destination for them to seek refuge, find better opportunities, and start a new life. The U.S. is home to more immigrants than any other nation, hosting immigrants coming from virtually all regions of the world (Budiman, 2020). The U.S. has made itself home to many immigrants, benefiting from their participation and labor.

Despite migrants choosing the U.S. as their ideal destination, the nation still struggles with immigration. With over 232 years' worth of modifications to U.S. immigration policy, the nation's immigration policies still labor to solve what some perceive as an immigration crisis. Growing Anti-immigration rhetoric and sentiments have led to immigration policies that have negative impacts that exasperate disparities, violate human rights, and create public health issues for immigrants and others living in the country. The literature reveals the nation found itself in a cyclical motion, balancing between welcoming immigrants and addressing the crisis till the 1990s (S. P. Wallace & Young, 2018). Contemporary immigration has been grateful shaped by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. It was a turning point in U.S. immigration policy history.

The War on Terror led to many policy changes in the U.S., especially immigration policy. This turning point in U.S. history shaped immigration policies into less welcoming for undocumented immigrants (Mayer, 2020). The war and the policy focus of counterterrorism paved the way for the passage of exclusionary policies, the initiation

of extraconstitutional procedures, and departmental changes within the U.S. government. The USA PATRIOT Act and the Department of Homeland Security created more substantial border restrictions than had been seen in the past, increased immigration detention centers, and made immigration a counterterrorism effort (Massey, 2019). President Bush was not alone in his immigration rhetoric as he set a precedent for presidents after him. Both President Obama and President Trump used President Bush's framework to extend either detentions or deportations. Beyond the policy changes, U.S. presidents have used their rhetoric to inspire anti-immigration sentiments in the country. The literature argues that President Trump used more damaging immigration rhetoric than his two predecessors (Hamlin, 2021). President Trump began his campaign for office by appealing to nativist and anti-immigration movements that named Latinx immigrants as the most significant inhibitors to the nation's declining greatness (J. G. Young, 2017). Anti-immigration rhetoric has more considerable implications than detention and deportations. In the U.S., anti-immigration rhetoric and policies have led to anti-immigration discrimination, poor health outcomes, and higher anxiety levels for immigrants (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019; Nichols et al., 2018).

The literature argues for additional research into how immigration policy impacts the nation and specific groups. The literature shows that anti-immigration rhetoric and policies disproportionately impact Latinx people living in the U.S. (Shin et al., 2015). Americans view Latinx people as the cause of undocumented immigration in the U.S., and they face much discrimination because of it. Undocumented Latinx immigrants live in fear of exclusionary immigration policies and the impact of anti-immigration rhetoric

directed at them. Evidence in the literature sheds light on the psychological impacts of deportation on minors, families, and the communities they live in (Brabeck et al., 2014). Researchers have also found that anti-immigration policies have led to poor health outcomes among undocumented Latinx people (Vargas et al., 2017). The literature makes a case for a broadened perspective of how destructive immigration policies have been for all in proximity to undocumented Latinx people (Brabeck et al., 2014; B. S. Jones, Victor, et al., 2019; Vargas et al., 2017). This increasing demand for studies of the broadened impact of immigration policies exposes the gap in the literature.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) during the Trump administration. The literature demands additional knowledge on the more considerable impact of immigration policy on those in proximity to undocumented Latinx. Previous studies on adolescents born in the U.S. to undocumented parents point to a varying experience that needs further research (Brabeck et al., 2014). This study fills the gap in the literature and may lead to positive research outcomes for legislators and activists who hope to support the needs of mixed-documentation families. It was the intent of this study to find substantive findings surrounding the impact the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration had on U.S.-born Latinx young adults and shed light on how the persistence of similar policies may be exasperating the same findings.

The subsequent chapter details the research plan and approach. It covers the research design and rationale, the role of the researcher, the approach, data collection procedures and instruments, data analysis, ethical consideration. The conclusion of the chapter includes discussions on this study's trustworthiness, credibility, and researcher bias.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The findings of this study may provide researchers, policymakers, and Latinx people living in the United States with a more detailed understanding of how restrictive immigration policies can lead to discriminatory outcomes for U.S.-born Latinx. The research may also inform how immigration advocacy groups can better engage U.S.-born Latinx to mobilize with or for their undocumented counterparts. This study addressed the gap in the literature by exploring how immigration policy impacts U.S. citizens of Latinx descent rather than undocumented immigrants living in the United States. The research extended the ongoing discussion in the literature about mixed-documentation households and the impact of immigration policy on their families and their communities.

This chapter provides a detailed review of the study's generic qualitative method and includes sections that explain the plan of this study. I briefly reiterate the problem statement, purpose of the study, and research question. This chapter includes details about the research design and rationale. I also discuss known researcher biases and I ensured biases were mitigated. The methodology of this study is discussed in detail. The chapter also addresses the ethical procedures that ensured this study was reliable. This chapter provides insight into the plan for the study and steps that were taken to ensure the study was ethical, credible, trustworthy, and transferable.

Research Design and Rationale

The generic qualitative approach allowed me to explore the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults by eliciting their recollections, stories, and feelings regarding how they experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The research question of this study was the following: How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 experience discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration?

Central Phenomenon

The central phenomenon of this study was U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 experiencing discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The goal was to ask interview questions that explored the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults in an effort to inform the public debate and practice of immigration policy.

Qualitative Methodology

The chosen research methodology was qualitative with a generic design. Researchers seeking to explore a phenomenon with limited knowledge use qualitative methodology to offer a more profound analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2017). I aimed to gain knowledge through the real-world experience of U.S.-born Latinx young adults, and qualitative methodology was best suited for this type of research (see Ravitch & Carl, 2015). The qualitative methodology enabled me to organize the findings into themes that described the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults for this research (see Patton,

2015). The qualitative method led to a thorough examination of the phenomenon, and it provided the best approach to answer my research question.

Qualitative Rationale

I used a generic qualitative approach to explore the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults and the NPF to frame the analysis because it was the best fit for this study. According to Ravitch and Carl (2016), a qualitative approach allows for real-world study on groups such as U.S.-born Latinx young adults. This approach allowed me to gain firsthand knowledge and information on how discrimination impacted the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults (see Patton, 2015). The generic qualitative approach ensured that I used broad and open-ended interview questions. Using the NPF to frame the analysis allowed me to identify themes in the study while analyzing the data (see M. D. Jones & McBeth, 2010).

I used qualitative methodology because it fit the type of investigation needed to explore real-world lived experience of volunteers. The current literature on the impact of immigration policies on U.S.-born Latinx young adults was sparse, and the current study filled the gap via a thorough investigation of the phenomenon. Quantitative methodology would have limited my ability to elicit the nuances of the diverse experiences of volunteers. Because qualitative researchers extrapolate themes from data collected during the research, it leads to in-depth analysis that prioritizes the richness of volunteer experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Qualitative studies also allow volunteers to guide the researcher to conclusions and findings that the research question did not anticipate (Creswell & Poth, 2017). When considering the nature of this study and the limitations of

quantitative research in gaining an intimate understanding of a phenomenon that there is limited knowledge on, I determined that qualitative methodology was the most appropriate method.

Role of the Researcher

Researcher's Role

My responsibility as the researcher was to conduct this study objectively. My primary goal as the researcher was to gather the data needed to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. I created the interview questions, conducted the interviews, transcribed the interviews, and analyzed the data to identify themes. I ensured that I respected volunteers' lived experiences and maintained their privacy.

Researcher's Biases

Although measures were taken to limit biases and ensure objectivity, the potential biases I limited are noted in this section. I am an immigrant who immigrated to the United States in 1998 from the Republic of Ghana. This study addressed immigration policies and their impact on U.S.-born Latinx young adults, an ethnicity that did not align with my identity. My lived experiences as an immigrant strengthened my capacity to develop thorough interview questions that led to volunteers sharing nuances that other researchers may have overlooked. Creating a thorough research plan helped me address researcher bias. Purposeful sampling helped me ensure that volunteers were people with whom I did not have a professional relationship to avoid potential biases in how volunteers answered interview questions. Developing interview questions that were open-

ended would allow the volunteers to share their experiences without being influenced by researcher biases. The interview guide developed for this study also ensured that the interview stayed on track with the study's purpose, which further mitigated researcher bias.

Another method used to mitigate researcher bias in this study was bracketing. Bracketing promotes ethical standards in qualitative research because it forces researchers to use in-depth reflection to identify potential biases (Tufford & Newman, 2010). The bracketing method requires researchers to identify occurrences, issues, ideas, and ideals that must be set aside to ensure the research is ethical and free of bias. It was important that I ensured that personal bias on immigration did not interfere with the findings, and bracketing helped ensure that. Bracketing helped me ensure that the personal experiences of the U.S.-born Latinx young adults interviewed in this study were the focus of the data collection, data analysis, and study's findings (see Tufford & Newman, 2010). These methods ensured that the research process limited my bias and led to factual findings based on volunteers' experiences alone.

Methodology

Population of the Study

The scope of the study was limited to the impact that the enforcement of CBP and ICE had on U.S.-born Latinx young adults during the Trump administration. The population consisted of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. Volunteers were required to be U.S.-born, not naturalized citizens. To participate in this study, volunteers had to have been between 18 and 34 years of age during the Trump administration. The first six

volunteers were identified through purposeful sampling. The following volunteers were to be found through snowball sampling, but this proved to be ineffective during the study (Saldaña, 2016). Research suggested that Latinx residents living in Arizona, California, Texas, and Florida are more likely to be deported by ICE (Ten-Fold Difference in Odds of ICE Enforcement Depending Upon Where You Live, n.d.). Because of limitations with recruitment during COVID-19, I did not prioritize this while recruiting.

Sampling Method

I used two sampling methods to recruit volunteers who met the selection criteria. The first sampling method was purposeful sampling. The purposeful sampling method is a nonprobability sampling technique that allowed me to select the best volunteers to understand this underresearched population (Etikan et al., 2016). I recruited six volunteers who fit the population of this study and then planned to identify additional volunteers through snowball sampling. The snowball method is a convenience sampling technique that allows qualitative researchers to use initial volunteers to find additional volunteers (Saldaña, 2016). I aimed to recruit six volunteers via purposeful sampling to ensure that these volunteers fit the selection criteria of this study. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, access to volunteers may have been limited. Snowballing is a great way to recruit volunteers, but it can result in a relatively homogenous sample in terms of national origin (see Saldaña, 2016). Using the two methods can help ensure that the volunteers are diverse. During the study, only the purposeful sampling method was used because participants were not able to offer additional volunteers that met the criteria of the study. The snowball method proved to be ineffective in this study.

Along with age and national origin criteria, the volunteers selected to participate in the study had to have lived in the United States during the Trump administration. The purposeful sampling method allowed me to respect these guidelines. The purposeful sampling method allowed ensured I recruited participants who fit the selection criteria. This led to substantive interviews and rich data.

Sample Size

I aimed to recruit a sample size of six female and six male U.S.-born Latinx but planned to stop at the point of saturation. Qualitative researchers who use in-depth interviews to understand a phenomenon gain a deeper understanding through volunteers' experience, so having a good number of volunteers leads to richer data (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Once the volunteers begin to repeat their experiences and do not offer any new experiences, the sample size has reached a point of saturation in which there is no need to keep interviewing people (Malterud et al., 2016). I aimed to include 10–12 volunteers who were between the ages of 18 and 34 during the Trump administration. The interviews were intended to stop when data saturation was reached. By aiming for up to 12 volunteers, I was aiming for a high number of volunteers, which would lead to diverse experiences shared in the interviews. The hope was that this would lead to rich themes in the data analysis (see Malterud et al., 2016). Had the 12 volunteers not yielded the point of saturation during the interviews, then additional volunteers would have been interviewed.

Recruitment Strategy

I ensured that the IRB criteria for volunteer selection were followed before reaching out to volunteers. Following the purposeful method, I identified six potential U.S.-born Latinx young adults who met the selection criteria, especially having diverse ancestral origins. Invitations to prospective volunteers were sent via Walden student email address, with the dissertation chair copied on the email for additional transparency and oversight. The email outlined this study's research topic, focus, question, purpose, and promise of privacy, and I asked for prospective volunteers' consent in participating in the study. Volunteers had to reply with the words "I consent" if they wished to move forward. The email asked them to refer additional volunteers who met the study's volunteer criteria (see Appendix A). Prospective volunteers were given 1 week to respond to the invitation with consent. They did not have to respond if they denied an interest in participating.

Volunteers received the informed consent form after agreeing to participate in the study. The consent form included the purpose of the study, the nature of the study, the risk and harm of participating in the interview, issues of privacy, and the social impact. The consent form also included a few sample questions that provided the volunteer with an idea of the range of the questions (see Appendix B). Volunteers were allowed to select specific times for the qualitative interviews. Each interview took place via Zoom. The order of interviews was random, and no financial compensation was provided to volunteers.

Instrumentation

The primary instrumentation used in this qualitative study was an interview guide (see Appendix C). Interview guides help researchers ensure that they are prepared for their interview process and are equipped with tools that help them ensure that the interview process goes in the intended direction (Smith et al., 2009). The interview guide was essential to the qualitative interview process. The interview guide helped me structure the scope of the interview process, beginning with the invitation. The interview guide also helped me identify recurring patterns, conflicting ideas, and unique findings in the literature that needed to be considered when formulating questions. The interview guide helped me create options for follow-up questions had a volunteer answered a question differently than the normal pattern of questions. Because the interview guides researchers to a quick synopsis of what the literature says leading up to their study, it informs the types of questions asked, which helps create credibility (see Smith et al., 2009). Walden faculty members reviewed this instrument and ensured the validity of the questions.

Data Collection

I served as the primary instrument for data collection, transcription, and analysis for this research study. Qualitative data for this study was obtained through in-depth interviews conducted with U.S.-born Latinx young adults that met the criteria of this study. Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted via Zoom to ensure my and the volunteers' safety. Interviews were approximately 60 minutes to ensure volunteers were engaged and did not experience burnout from the interview

length. The interviews were be recorded, and the audio of the Zoom call were be saved to help transcribe the interview to document volunteers' responses. Transcribing the interviews was necessary for this study because it helped synthesize the volunteers' responses to interview questions (Saldana & Leavy, 2011).

Volunteers were made aware of the recording and gave verbal consent before the recording began. An ethical procedure to protect the volunteers during the recruiting, data collection, and debriefing process was to scrub their names from all data to maintain their privacy. Volunteers were given an opportunity to ask questions and clarify what they said during the interview. Volunteers also received my contact information so that they could contact me if they had any additional questions or remarks they would like to share. The audio recordings were transcribed, and volunteers received the transcript along with my takeaways from the transcribed interviews via email so that they could review their responses and correct any inaccuracies. All the data obtained by this study is being securely stored for 5 years. Electronic files are stored on my password protected computer and backed up on a password protected external hard drive.

Data Analysis

The data collection and analysis process are closely related and work collaboratively in qualitative research studies (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The purpose of this qualitative study was to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. This planned research design was expected to require 12 interviews with six men and six women who are U.S.-born Latinx young adults who met the population

criteria. After the data collection process was complete, the interviews were transcribed and coded for themes throughout interviews. This study used Qualitative data analysis (QDA) software. This research study's chosen approach and framework required an intimate approach to the data analysis process, so an appropriate data analysis plan was to use a cognitive process with QDA coding to create codes that led to themes, helped the study theorize on the findings, and share the interpretations of the data.

The coding portion of this study was valuable to the entire study because it systematically organized the data from the interviews, making it possible to find themes to analyze in-depth (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Because this study used the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), a coding method that allowed the research to gain intimate insight from the data was the preferred method analysis because it allowed for easier visualization of the data. Some researchers argue against using QDA because of the limitations of software to capture nuances in the analysis and they argue that hand coding allows for higher levels of analysis, but this study used the Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software to gain that higher level of analysis (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). QDA software have advanced and partnering them with cognitive processes creates a higher level of intimate data. The need for a higher level of analysis was considered when selecting NVivo as the qualitative analysis software for this study. QDA software help researchers accurately cluster the data to help extract meaning from sentences and words (Saldaña, 2016). Nvivo enabled this study to reveal values and relationships within the data that led to themes and findings. Choosing NVivo as the QDA software for this study ensured a higher level of analysis than other methods. After organizing the data, the first

step in the coding process was to sort through the interviews using the horizontalization method. This step requires researchers to read through the interviews to identify the concepts. This step was about understanding what the data contained. During this step, journaling was used to take down notes on the thoughts or questions that came up while reviewing the interview transcripts.

The second step was to organize the concepts into distinct categories distinguishable from each other. This step is where I created initial codes. NVivo's highlighter and comments features helped make connections that lead to first-level codes. The third step was to organize the data into concepts where first-level codes became second-level codes. The fourth step was to analyze those second-level codes and identify themes. The fifth step was to finalize the themes found and interpret them for meaning. The data analysis also incorporated the information acquired in this study, including the existing knowledge from chapter two's literature reviews. I also used a codebook to ensure that the analysis was done thoroughly. Creating and utilizing a codebook helped me accurately describe the contents, definition, and understanding of the data collected from interviews with volunteers (M. D. Jones et al., 2014).

Issues of Trustworthiness

This research study took several measures to ensure that this study has high credibility. One measure taken was that the volunteers were given strong qualitative interview questions to answer. By ensuring that volunteers had open-ended interview questions, they got a chance to share their lived experiences from their point of view rather than feeling forced to answer a certain way without details. The research also

ensured there was an opportunity for volunteers to review the transcribed audio of their interview to correct any misunderstandings or explain what they were sharing in more depth. These measures help ensure that the volunteers agree with the data collected with from participation. The measures taken to ensure that researcher biases did not interfere with the study also helped establish credibility.

This study's transferability was ensured throughout the study. Firstly, the study provided in-depth descriptions of the phenomenon of U.S.-born Latinx young adults (between the ages of 18 and 34) experiencing discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Readers and future researchers will clearly understand the phenomenon through this research. This study has strong data reliability because it thoroughly outlined how the data was collected, synthesized, and the process that led to the interpretation of the data. This study had strong generalizability so that other researchers can transfer the study to other contexts. Researchers will be able to transfer this study to examine how other U.S.-born groups feel about the phenomena.

The dependability of this study was substantial. Researchers will consider this study dependable because they will recognize that it possesses organization, data stability, and precise alignment with the research plan, which are all critical factors of excellent qualitative research (Ravitch, 2015). This study was consistent throughout the entire process. The research process and the steps that were taken to ensure that my biases and assumptions did not interfere with the research study led to high conformability, which led to an objective study. Researchers who conduct the same study

with the same population criteria will find similar outcomes due to the confirmability of this study.

Ethical Considerations

This research study anticipated for ethical issues that may arise, especially during the data collection and management process. The literature notes that immigration policies have had a traumatic impact on Latinx people living in the U.S., leading to poor health outcomes and high anxiety levels (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019; Nichols et al., 2018). It was vital to ensure that ethical procedures were maintained throughout the entire study and that the interview questions gave volunteers the space to answer questions according to their comfort level. That meant that ethical considerations were made during the recruitment process as well. This study ensured that volunteers understood that they did not have to continue with the interview if they no longer felt comfortable. Ethical considerations were made in the data collection process. This study provided volunteers with the transcribed data so that they could ensure the validity and correct what was misinterpreted. Ethical considerations were essential for this qualitative research.

This study ensured that the study was done ethically and did not put volunteers at risk. Because of the nature of this study, it was crucial to protect the identity of the volunteers. The study's population was classified as U.S. citizens, but they may have been in proximity of undocumented immigrants or felt unsafe if their identities were revealed. The literature talks extensively of the mixed-documentation households and how documented people can still be afraid because of their association with

undocumented people (Vargas et al., 2017). An ethical measure that was taken during this study was to omit the names and other major identifiers like a detailed location from any data or notes on the recruiting, data collection, and debriefing process. Each volunteer was assigned a acronym in the data to ensure confidentiality. Sharing this with the volunteers early on in the recruitment process ensured they understood that their privacy was a priority and was maintained. The commitment to confidentiality also enabled volunteers to share their experiences without fear of repercussion. The data obtained from this study is currently stored on a password-locked hard drive that only I have access to. It will be stored for five years, upon which it will be deleted. Respecting the rights of volunteers means ensuring that the research study followed clear ethical guidelines (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). I conducted the study after receiving approval from and authorization from the Walden University Institutional Review Board.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the reasoning and justification for the research process, methodology, and measures to address ethical concerns. The purpose of this study was to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. This study used a generic qualitative research design to address the purpose of the study. The target population is U.S.-born Latinx young adults who were between 18 and 34 during the Trump administration. The study intended to use the purposeful sampling method and the snowball sampling method to recruit this population for up to 12 individual interviews or the point of saturation via Zoom. Chapter 4 of this study presents the results of the study.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the results from the interview questions asked of participants. The purpose of this generic qualitative study was to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The key data source for understanding the phenomena was the participants' perspectives. The objective was to follow the central research question to gain insights into U.S.-born Latinx young adults' experience with the phenomenon. The research question that supported the objectives of this study was the following: How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 experience discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration?

I explored the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. I examined participants' experiences through a generic qualitative method. According to Ravitch and Carl (2016), this method is appropriate for obtaining information that helps researchers gain detailed insight into lived experiences of participants. The characteristics of the participants that were relevant to my study are displayed in the demographic sections. The generic qualitative approach made it possible for me to provide a detailed overview of the phenomenon from the perspectives of U.S.-born Latinx young adults who met the selection criteria of this study. This chapter includes a description of the setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, trustworthiness, and results. This chapter concludes with a summary of the research findings.

Setting

I conducted the study in Clarksburg, Maryland, between March 1, 2020, and March 14, 2020. The participants were recruited within the United States. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, virtual interviews were conducted. This method ensured the safety and well-being of the participants and me. On Monday, February 28, 2022, the IRB approved the virtual interview method with the IRB approval confirmation number of 02-28-22-1025594. No participants desired to talk to a counselor during or after the interview.

Demographics

All participants were between the ages of 24 and 33. Although 12 participants were expected to be included, the study reached data saturation at seven participants. Four of the seven participants interviewed in this study identified as male. Three of the seven participants interviewed in this study identified as female. At the time of the interviews, the participants lived in Texas, Chicago, and Maryland. The participants were all U.S.-born with ancestry from Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and El Salvador. Participants were interviewed over 2 weeks, and the interviews lasted a maximum of 60 minutes. Participants were asked open-ended interview questions. Participants were interviewed from the privacy of their residences. Interviews were recorded via Zoom and transcribed by Trint, an audio transcription software, and by hand for accuracy. Table 1 provides data on participants' demographics.

Table 1*Participant Demographics*

Demographic	Category	Number
Age	20–25	1
	25–30	5
	30–35	1
Latinx ancestral origin	Mexico	3
	El Salvador	2
	Guatemala & Honduras (mixed)	2
Gender	Female	3
	Male	4
Education	Bachelor's	4
	Master's	3
	Post grad	0
	Some college	0
State of residence during Trump administration	Illinois	1
	Maryland	4
	Pennsylvania	1
	Washington DC	1
Preference Latinx/Latinos/Latine	Latinx	1
	Latinos	5
	Latine	1

Data Collection

I collected the data over a 2 week period. The participants were selected based on the following criteria: (a) U.S. born (not naturalized citizen), (b) between 18 and 34 years old during the Trump administration, (c) ancestry from some part of Latin America, and (d) lived in the United States for the majority of the time during the Trump administration. Participants were located through purposeful sampling via my network. Because research on U.S.-born Latinx young adults was sparse, it was essential to use a nonprobability sampling technique to find participants who met this study's selection criteria. The nonprobability sampling technique ensured that the best participants were

selected to understand the underresearched population of U.S.-born Latinx young adults (Etikan et al., 2016). During the consent procedure, participants were informed that there would be no incentive for participating and that their names and other significant identifiers would be omitted from the research to ensure their privacy. Participants were identified by the alphabetic initials CG, LG, AH, JG, AR, JA, and JE.

The only variation in the data collection from the plan presented in Chapter 3 was the participants not having enough people within their network for the snowball method. The purposeful sampling method was used to recruit all participants. Open-ended interview data were collected from seven participants using the Zoom platform. Each interview lasted at most 60 minutes and no less than 25 minutes. Seven participants were enough to achieve data saturation. Data saturation was met at five participants, but two additional interviews were conducted to ensure that the point of saturation was met. Interviews were recorded and uploaded to Trint, an audio transcription software. After the Trint software transcribed the audio, I reviewed each transcript while listening to the audio of the interview. I reviewed each transcript for accuracy and formatting. All participants were allowed to check their transcripts for any inaccuracies or misinterpretations. Notes on impressions of each interview were taken to document thoughts on each participant's interview. Following verification of the transcript, the transcription documents were uploaded into NVivo for organization, coding, and further analysis.

One unusual occurrence during data collection was the COVID-19 pandemic. To respect health guidelines, I did not conduct in-person interviews. The pandemic provided

a unique opportunity to use technology to conduct the qualitative interviews, customarily administered in person. Participants were willing and welcoming of the idea of conducting the interviews via Zoom because it allowed them to participate from the safety and privacy of their homes. The Zoom platform works with internet connectivity, which can sometimes be unreliable. Participants were asked to review their transcript to verify what was transcribed. There were no other unusual circumstances encountered in this study.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process was completed with a cognitive process and QSR International's computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo. The two approaches allowed for an intimate exploration of the data. NVivo was used to help me analyze the data by identifying codes, themes, patterns, and meanings. The first-cycle coding method, emotion coding, was used to identify initial codes while reviewing the transcripts in NVivo. Descriptive coding was also used to create codes for the analysis. These two coding methods allowed me to become immersed in all seven transcripts, making it easier to sort the data. After completing each interview, I wrote down notes in a journal. The notes provided insight into the nuances of each interview, including long pauses before answers, the emotion with which answers were given, and what was similar and different from previous interviews. These notes proved helpful in creating codes.

A review of this study's central research question helped the analysis move from the broad codes to categories and themes. Emotion coding helped me ensure that the

analysis considered what emotion was being expressed, not merely what was said. Descriptive coding ensured that the analysis summarized the primary topic of the response. NVivo made investigating the co-occurrences of codes with the same piece of data seamless. The co-occurrences helped me determine emergent relationships among the codes, which eventually helped me determine themes. After identifying co-occurrences in codes, I took data reduction measures by collapsing the data into categories using NVivo's top-level and second-level coding. NVivo was used to develop a word cloud to identify the 100 most frequent words with a minimum of five letters. Figure 1 presents the word cloud. The word cloud helped me assess whether the codes I identified were confirmed by what words were frequently used by participants. Each step taken in the analysis process made analyzing the data more efficient and led to the identification of emergent themes that brought meaning to the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 who lived in the United States during the Trump administration.

administration. The three themes were then subgrouped. Eleven subthemes made up those subgroups. Table 3 presents the themes and subthemes for how U.S.-born Latinx young adults between the ages of 18 and 34 experienced discrimination during the enforcement CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Table 2

Themes, Subthemes, and References

Theme	Subtheme	Number of references
Conflicting identities		42
	Privileges	14
	Relationships	18
	Responsibilities	10
Cyclical self-stigma		31
	Catalysts for division	26
	Internal community discrimination	5
Socio-emotional declivity		73
	Alienated	12
	Anger	7
	Disgust	5
	Fear	17
	Sadness	15
	Targeted	17

Three major themes emerged from the data:

1. Conflicting identities entailed the conflict of being a U.S.-born Latinx young adult during the Trump administration. The participants' acknowledgment of their identities during the Trump administration included many conflicts between their privileges, relationships, and responsibilities.
2. Cyclical self-stigma entailed experiences of division and internal community discrimination expressed by participants.

3. Socio-emotional declivity entailed experiences of a decline in the social and emotional well-being of participants and the emotions they felt most during the Trump administration.

Eleven subthemes emerged from the data:

1. privileges (self-identified benefits to being U.S.-born Latinx)
2. relationships (the impact of Trump's administration on relationships)
3. responsibilities (recognized responsibilities as a U.S.-born Latinx)
4. catalysts for division (contributions to growing division in America)
5. internal community discrimination (family and communal discrimination)
6. alienated (feeling unwelcome and lonely during the Trump administration)
7. anger (angering incidents and experiences)
8. disgust (feeling distasteful)
9. fear (fears held by U.S.-born Latinx)
10. sadness (saddening observations)
11. targeted (feelings of being targeted for ethnicity)

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was prioritized at the onset of this study and was maintained throughout. An exhaustive IRB process ensured that necessary steps would be taken to develop and ensure trustworthiness throughout the study. Credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were maintained in this study to ensure trustworthiness. Qualitative research is enhanced when evidence of trustworthiness is identifiable within the study (see Saldana & Leavy, 2011). Because of the importance of collecting real-

world data from the lived experience of participants, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability helped me ensure that this study fulfilled the high standards of qualitative research.

Credibility was established through reflexivity and transcript review. Journaling thoughts following the interviews was a method of reflexivity. Journaling generated the first-round filter of any potential biases and ensured that I prioritized the participant's views on the phenomenon of interest rather than my views. The research findings of this study were solely based on how participants experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Transcript review was critical to ensuring trustworthiness. Transcript review ensured that each participant was allowed to review the transcript and note whether they thought anything was misheard, wrongly written, or requiring clarification. When the study reached the point of saturation at five interviews, two more interviews were conducted to ensure that the saturation point was credible.

Transferability was established by describing the research purpose, methodology, framework, data collection, and data analysis. Future researchers will be able to use this study as a guide for conducting similar to identical studies. Other researchers will be able to transfer the study to another context because it has strong generalizability. They will be able to transfer this study to examine how other U.S.-born groups feel about the phenomena. Readers will be able to follow along and understand how this study reached its results and recommendations because it thoroughly outlined how the data was collected, synthesized, and interpreted.

This study was dependable because it was organized, the data are stable and precisely aligns with the research plan. This study had all the required factors of qualitative research. This study was consistent throughout the entire process. The research process ensured that my biases and assumptions did not interfere with the research study. The control of biases and assumptions led to high conformability. This study had transparent descriptions of the study, which ensured further confirmability. The confirmability of this study ensured that if researchers conduct the same study with the same population, they will find similar outcomes.

Results

Twelve interview questions were posed to participants to address the phenomenon of discrimination experienced by the U.S.-born Latinx young adults. The interview questions were designed to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) during the Trump administration. The 12 interview questions were designed based on the following central research question: How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults (between the ages of 18 and 34) experience discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) during the Trump administration?

Three themes emerged from the seven participants' responses to the 12 interview questions about their experience with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The themes that emerged from the zoom interview

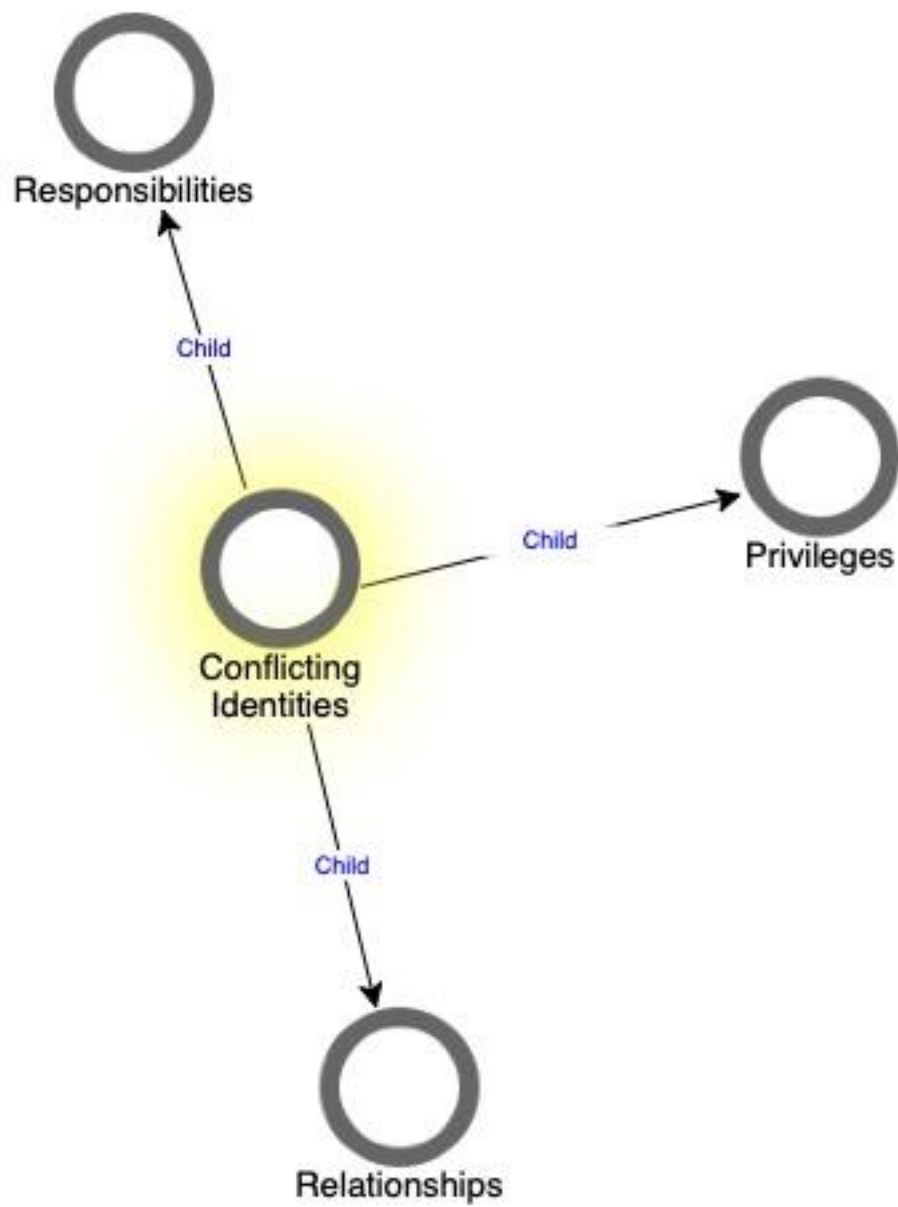
responses included conflicting identities, cyclical self-stigma, and socio-emotional declivity.

Theme 1: Conflicting Identities

In this qualitative study, participants were asked about their lived experience as U.S.-born Latinx during the Trump administration. Open ended interview questions allowed participants to share rich data on their experiences. Conflicting Identities is the umbrella term used in this dissertation to describe the conflicting nature of their experiences as U.S.-born Latinx young adults. Although U.S.-born Latinx see themselves as a part of the Latinx diaspora, they identified contrasting experiences between themselves and Latinx immigrants, shared responsibilities, and privileges. There were three open codes assigned to the umbrella term of conflicting identities (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Collecting Identities



Privileges

Privileges refer to the self-identified benefits of being U.S.-born rather than immigrating here like some of their counterparts. Additionally, privileges interfere with U.S.-born Latinx experience with discrimination. Six out of the seven participants discussed their privilege with 14 references. The word “it” expressed by participants was used in relative to “discrimination.”

- I can honestly say that I don't think it impacted me that much just because of the fact that I am a citizen, and I knew that if they were to come up to me I'd be like “eat my passport,” you know? I definitely have privilege to say that, but I know that's how I felt, but yeah, that's all I can say about that, just because I knew that they couldn't do much. (Participant CG)
- So, I was worried about my safety then, especially on campus, where there was a lot of people that, you know, voted for Trump and actively participated in his election. Since then, I haven't. I think because I was born in the U.S. and I had a bunch of privilege, I wasn't messed with as much as I thought I would be. (Participant CG)
- We had several DACA recipients amongst our clients as well. So, yea, I was mainly concerned about their well-being and their livelihood more than myself because I was very much privileged being that I was a U.S. citizen, that I had the papers, that I...stuff like that, and I'm very light-skinned. I'm not more brown and if I was more brown, I'm pretty positive that I would have experienced more than I did. (Participant LG)

- Yeah, it's a very touchy subject and I don't want to discredit or dissenter that just based on my experience where I know I have a lot of privilege in that respect, just having a piece of paper that I was born here and the fact that I have light skin privilege as well. (Participant LG)
- Aside from what I saw on social media in different states or around the country, you know, it wasn't something that I could say, you know, was truly impacting myself or my family. We all just went about our days, doing the usual, just trying to, you know, put blinders to what we were seeing. (Participant JG)
- But, you know, the way I look, I feel like probably saved me a little bit from experiencing any sort of like hatred or discrimination. That's why I think maybe I wasn't necessarily a target of any of that. But, you know, the people that I know, did look a lot more native to the country that they were from and so they did experience some of that stuff. They were looked at incorrectly. They worked in retail, so they have a lot more exposure to different kinds of people. So I feel like, again, it is very limited experience with that in totality, but I feel like there's a huge difference in the way I experience it and they did just based off how we look. You know, some people don't realize that I'm Latino. I'll be honest, sometimes people don't expect that. (Participant JG)
- So I think I could use myself and my husband as an example, because I was born here, and he is an immigrant who was not born here. In my case, I know how to navigate the systems. I know how I can code-switch between the

different worlds, between the Latino community versus the community at my work environment, where it's mostly Americans. It's not a lot of immigrants. So, I know the code-switching. I feel like I seamlessly can navigate through those environments, whereas like my husband, although he's been here for many years, he's not really in tune with those nuances with like how should I speak with people or how should I speak to people in the workplace.

(Participant AR)

- So, I feel as a U.S.-born citizen, I feel like I do have an advantage and I feel grateful to have. I know my mom also, my dad helped her with her immigration, with her procedure. It's like being born in the U.S., you have certain advantages over someone who may not have been born here or may not have had any schooling here. (Participant AR)
- U.S.-born Hispanic people don't really, they don't get targeted by other Hispanic people, but other Hispanics will target undocumented immigrants. (Participant JA)
- It didn't seem too different for me personally. I think being in Maryland, you know, you are kind of in a diverse state, especially where I was at. It was very diverse already, so It wasn't like a culture shock, like being exposed to other cultures or like demographics. It didn't really change much. I mean, obviously, I think there were things happening throughout the country or coming out to the media. You were more exposed to things, but it honestly seemed pretty normal. (Participant JE)

- You know, I think luckily, I didn't experience much, you know. Again, I grew up in a very diverse area and if I ever did go out, I had only really gone to other diverse cities. You know where my family lived, those are diverse areas as well. Where I went to school, where I was working was very diverse. I didn't really experience any form of discrimination or at least if I did, I think I was just too naive to pinpoint it as I'm getting discriminated against. I was like ah that was a closed door. I don't know maybe that I think that's also part of my upbringing as well. I think my parents always try to teach me like, hey this is a life. Is it a rough thing to see? I think now, yea because even now I'm like is that something, it is fair? I don't know. But I think nothing blatant, nothing where I could say that narrowed it down to discrimination. I think I always like, I'm just one of everyone else because I'm in a diverse area, you know? (Participant JE)

Relationships

Relationships refer to the self-identified impact of Trump's administration on relationships. All the participants discussed how their relationships under the Trump administration changed. This sub-theme has 18 references.

- It was interesting because I just grew up Christian, so I am in the church and, you know, I believe in the Christian faith and a lot of the older people were not that upset with it. Like socially liberal, fiscally conservative, not even socially liberal, because it's like abortion is a no-go. Gay marriage is like a no-go. It kind of made me upset. How are you not more pissed off than we are

right now of what's going on? It was kind of disheartening to see how the people who, you know, came here planted roots and such were so passive to see this kind of stuff happen and I'm not saying overall. I would say it's like it was pretty split up. Some people were like, "Oh yeah, this is maybe what we need to like, shake up the economy." Because I feel like as, I don't want to speak broadly for all immigrants, but it's been my experience, as a Latinx child of immigrants, the first thing you're thinking about is, well, not the first thing, but you want to make money and you came to this country to prosper and to establish yourself generational wealth, all that stuff. So I think that the older people are so tunnel vision on "I came here for one goal only" that they thought, "Oh, here's this rich White man who's promising wealth across the country and he doesn't support abortion. Yes. Let's try that out. Kind of like opportunity costs. Am I willing to put up with some racism if it means that I could make more money? But that was, I think that was very much older. I don't know what the generational split name is, but maybe like 50s upward, 60s upward and that wasn't shared with the youth I don't think by any means. So I think it was, yeah, kind of disheartening. Especially because they raised us to be proud of who we are and like La Raza and all that stuff and that kind of just slipped away when it was like, "Oh, money." (Participant CG)

- That's really got me about the Trump presidency, especially among people at the time when the election was going and when the election happened in 2016. A bunch of my friends who I thought were friends who had known me for

years at that point, known me my whole entire undergrad career voted for a man that was actively against people like me and visibly and rhetorically said so. And yet it only took one issue, such as abortion or some other conservative hot topic, that got them to vote in that particular realm and overlook every other aspect, and I'm just like, that's not critical thinking at that point. Like at that point, that's just blatantly showing some type of bias. I don't want to say what type because I can't speak for other people, but it's just blatantly showing that only certain things matter in your world view and your realm and everything that you said to me or to other people that look like me is invalid and our experiences and our lives are invalid and that's what got me of just the whole Trump presidency, of just how willing people were to engage with blatant misinformation, blatant untruths, blatant discrimination, blatant racism and still defend it. (Participant LG)

- When I started working in Chicago, I was mainly working with a lot of incarcerated people and formerly incarcerated people, and even members of my own family would question why I did that and a lot of members of my family on my dad's side are Trump supporters. It's wild how there can be inner familial discrimination in that realm. Just based on who I am and what I do with my life, even though we share the same DNA, we definitely don't have the same views on our own DNA and our history, and our ancestors. We don't have the same perspectives. Yeah, it's tough. (Participant LG)

- All of that influenced my individual thinking when being in scenarios around people. So, I could be somewhere around like a group of White folks, and I think a lot of the people that I interact with are White people because of work and kind of social situations I found myself in friend groups and things like that, and during this time where I sort of pulled myself out of it was like, “I am suddenly feeling like a bit of an outsider in the situation. (Participant AH)
- I feel like seeing older people like my parents during that time and seeing their pain with a lot of the stuff that was happening in immigration and things with the wall and that whole narrative and how much that came into the division between us and Latin people, US Americans and Latinx people in the South and all that, right? The moment that you do that, the moment that you talk about creating, that extreme physical division between you and Latinos, you’re also doing that within the walls. You’re doing that within the country and creating that divide here. A feeling like oh, well, no, you guys should be over there. We’re trying to close up the walls so that you stay on that side, you know? Seeing that happened, that experience for them really influences, I think, my generation, or people in my age group, that 18 to whatever, because we see that. We’ve seen the extreme hurdles that our older generation exceeded or surpassed to be here and to provide and the things they have escaped. (Participant AH)
- But, you know, once they truly told me about what they went through, and I could see the pain in their face. They had experienced it years ago when they

first come to the country, but then to still experience it to this day, especially now with President Trump in power, you could tell on their face that they just felt like, how is this still happening 2019 I think it was when they first experienced it? How is something like this still going? Things really haven't changed and to see that and experience that, it made think to myself, to put it straightforward, no one is safe. Regardless, again it goes back to people don't care whether or not you're a citizen or not. My parents are citizens of this country. For as hard as they worked, they were able to accomplish that and for me to see, you know, that they're still going through it, family members are still going through it, friends and so forth. It made it tough. It was just disheartening to hear all these things and to think to myself like, things have to change. Something has to change somewhere where finally we make a difference somehow. (Participant JG)

- During the Trump administration, it kind of made me see certain people's true colors like, oh, I really never thought this person was like that, but now hearing the things some people were saying, it really made me feel like I saw some people's true colors. People who I was not even suspicious of. People who I interacted with every day and now to hear them saying certain things or hear them have certain perceptions about others, like, it made me feel like, wow, so this is this person's true self that I didn't really think that's how they were. (Participant AR)

- I think everyone already had like a level of racism, right? But I think some of it was going away in a way. I think it was, and I think this guy, not just Trump himself, but just like the whole right-wing media environment got a lot worse where they started pushing people to start thinking these things. I've had friends in the past that were not as racist as they became during the Trump presidency. Their whole perception of how this country works, like completely changed. They started just becoming extremely anti-leftist in a way that felt like I was just the enemy, and it made no sense to me. So yeah, that started changing in 2016 for a lot of people and I think I blame it all on the right-wing alternative media and Fox News sprinkled in there. (Participant JA)
- As for the younger Hispanics, I'm a bit disappointed with them. I think. I feel like a lot of them-It depends. There are some that have kind of gone further away from their culture as they're younger, but a lot of them have also embraced it more since the Trump administration and we have to think about the youth in this country. They are the future. But sometimes I think they don't really give a sh*t. The young one. Sometimes I feel like they are like "oh, whatever, it's all messed up anyways, and we're going to be attacked anyway" and I think they have the wrong mindset sometimes on how to approach some of these issues. I think they're already kind of defeated in a way and I don't think it should be that way. (Participant JA)

- So, growing up, like we got here, I was like in a Hispanic church. So like I saw like the older Hispanic people, all the kids were like the first generation, and my parents' friends. I think those relationships that my parents kept, I think for them, it was always like, it's not easy here, but it's never going to be as hard as it was back there." I would hear stories of like the discrimination they went through, the financial situations, and the things like that and I guess the horrors if you want to label it like that. I think for them, it was like, it's never going to get as bad as there. These are people fighting countries that at one point were socialist and communist and things like that and people didn't have enough food to eat and for them here, they're like, ok, we're dealing with some form of discrimination, but you know, we have a house now. I have a job that gives me a steady income, and I don't have to worry about my next paycheck. So that was the voice from the older generation, like the people that came here. Their perspective was always like, it is not easy, but it's never going to be as hard, so just be aware of that. It's ok to be bothered and upset, but it's never going to be as hard. There's the rules and balances here that keep it from going there. Then with the people like in my level and my friends, I think they were just like the first fiery like anytime anyone said anything, any time, any of the cabinet or like the administration said anything it was that's wrong cancel them! It got to a point where I was like maybe you're right or you're wrong I just don't want to hear it. I had to delete social media for a bit and it's like annoying, you know? I get it. It is upsetting and

you're right. It's not fair and no one should say things like that and I get that, but I think for me, I didn't want to get paralyzed by it, especially if I knew the people getting so upset weren't doing anything. You know, their thing was just getting on Twitter and like posting things. That's why I was like, If you're going to get upset, do something. I feel like the older generation acknowledged the frustrations and the upset feelings and the negative emotion, but they were just always like, hey, we knew where we came from. We knew why we did what we did to get here and the battle and the fight.

(Participant JE)

Responsibilities

Responsibilities were also identified as being impacted by discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Four of the seven participants discussed responsibilities they believed they have as individuals, but also shared societal responsibilities during the Trump administration and beyond. This sub-theme has 10 references.

- She was 12 years old when he stepped into the presidency and prior to that, I think that going into college, I became very aware of all the issues that were going on prior to his presidency. When that happened, I became very vocal, like constantly in the group message saying, you know, can you believe what he's saying? Like grab women by the what? And prior to, my sister, like I said, she was 12. She didn't care about. Like she wasn't as vocal about speaking about injustices as she was during. She got radicalized during the

presidency to the point where she went from, like, ok, why do you care so much about politics? Like, it's like it's not that big of a deal to being very vocal on social media platforms. She wanted to go to so many of the protests that were going on with the BLM movement. So I think it kind of it kind of woke them up like, ok, we clearly are not welcomed here, and it's like, we have to be aware of how we're like. She became aware of how she was perceived in this country, which kind of sucks because I think that it was a really brutal awakening. If you're going to be seen as other, I think that was the worst time to come into that label or discover that you have that label imposed on you. (Participant CG)

- It made me want to fight more a little bit. Not that I wasn't already a fighter at that point, but yeah, it definitely made me want to do more surrounding so many of these issues because it's so complex. I mean, it's wild just how complex these issues are, and so many people don't engage in that complexity or don't engage in that critical thinking of it, and it makes me want to do more along that and especially when it comes to the treatment of people in the treatment of humanity. Yeah, and I definitely am doing that now with my job and my work within my grad program that I'm in right now. Yeah, it's definitely shaped my outcome and my outlook on life and what I want to do with my life and my job and my career and overall, it just makes me want to be a better human. Just seeing the inhumanity of what you mentioned before in a very formative time in my life. Yeah, it's just made me a hell of a lot

more conscious of my experience, my history, and my privilege and what I can do with that going forward. (Participant LG)

- I feel like, for Latinos, and I learned this from older folks who immigrated here or who were born here, that pain and discrimination also being weirdly cultural. Like it's just part of your life here. It's just weird like that. With that comes the sense of like protecting and things like that. You need to protect your culture, or you need to protect people like that. There are times, you know, you'll see people on the street who are street vendors who are out selling flowers. Most of my life, I think that's been Latin men and women out there doing that and so there's this sense of like community and, oh, we're kind of suffering together. You know, let me buy these flowers from you here and let me overpay for them and things like that. Like that feeling comes out through it and when you see, like someone in the store who doesn't speak English very well and they're really struggling to just achieve the simplest task to buy something or whatever and you're an American born Latino who speaks both English and Spanish, so you insert yourself to help them do what they need and things like that. (Participant AH)
- So, during that time, seeing the way you could see the pain in a lot of older generations. I feel like I saw that in my parents, a lot of that pain and heartache of feeling like my people who love this country are being pushed out and sent back to everything, undoing all that they've done in their life to get them here and to provide for themselves and have a good life. Everything

they've done to do that and pull themselves out of it is being undone with no regard. I think that influences me and that group because you become really protective of your people, and you sort of unite in a way. But at the same time, I think for some people, they might unite and feel that way, other people probably get really angry. Other people probably become just as angry or frustrated as the people who are creating the conflict against them. I'm sure there are people that are just as angry as the people that threw acid in that guy's face, you what I mean? Latinos, who are probably just as angry and become provoked this way. And so like. Yeah, I feel like it angers you and frustrates you, it impacts you in that way and at the same time, it makes you feel for your people and feel like you need to protect them. (Participant AH)

- We as people, just, we got to help each other out you know. Be supportive of each other, give everything we can to those around us that need it or feel like they need it. Hopefully, we can make a meaningful change sometime soon. (Participant JG)

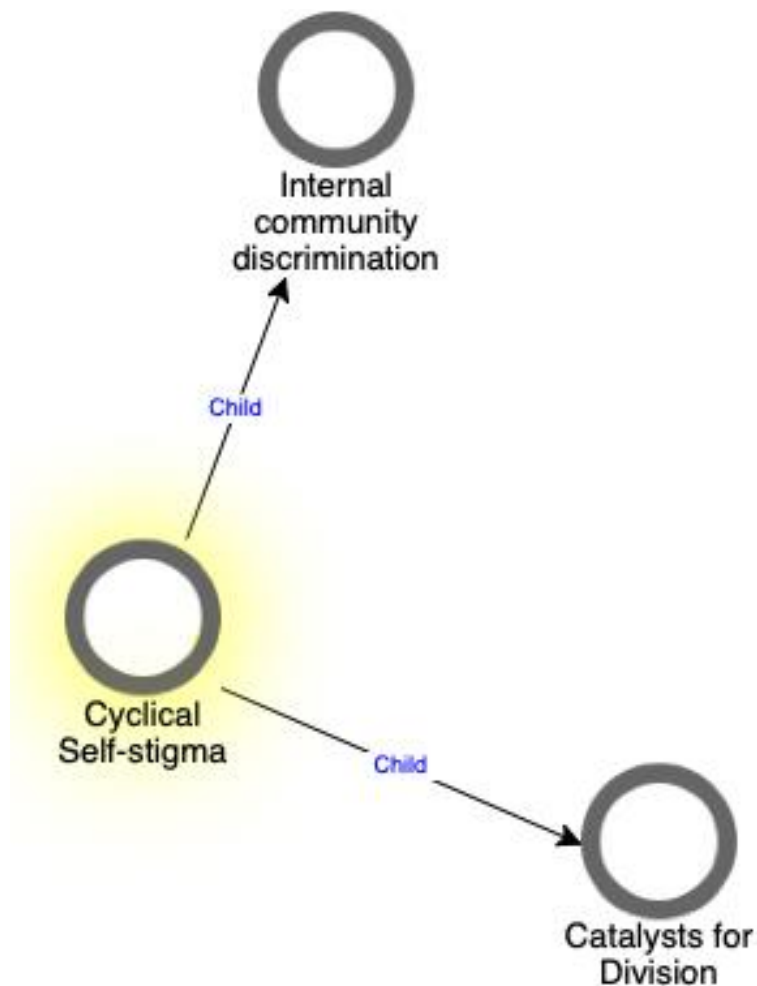
Theme 2: Cyclical Self-Stigma

Participants were asked to talk about their experience with discrimination as Latinx during the Trump administration. Cyclical Self-stigma is the umbrella term used in this dissertation to describe the internal community discrimination discussed by participants when asked about their experience with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Although U.S.-born

Latinx recognize internal community discrimination, they also discuss what exasperates those divisions. Two open codes were assigned to the Cyclical Self-stigma (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Cyclical Self-Stigma



Catalyst for Division

Catalysts for Division refers to the identified contributions to growing division within the U.S. during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Additionally, Catalysts for division are noted to exasperate internal community conflicts

for U.S.-born Latinx. Six out of the seven participants discussed the catalysts for further division with 26 references.

- There is no decorum. There was no, I feel before presidents would have to really watch what they'd be saying because obviously the representative of the country and kind of making sure that they're not stepping on any toes, making sure that what they're saying applies to everyone and not just a subset of the population and that was not the case at all. It was kind of gaslighting because you could tell the tone and the intentions he was coming in with and people would say, no, he didn't directly say he was racist. But you know, the snide remarks, the mocking of journalists. I think he mocked a Latinx journalist this one time. Jorge Ramos I think was his name and he basically was like, where are you from? Discredited him as a journalist just because of the fact that he's Latino. So, yeah, I felt like that's when the US just became a circus, like a clown show. No one took it with respect because he didn't take the presidency with respect. (Participant CG)
- I think there was a lot of just kind of like dehumanization, the fact that he called a bunch of us like rapists and murderers and it just paints a really nasty picture. It was really just stereotyping to the max. (Participant CG)
- I felt like we were treated like a monolith when we're not. Race and ethnicity within Latinx people is very complicated. (Participant LG)
- It's really hard to be placed as if we're like a monolith and as our own race, when we're not. We come from so many different ethnicities, so many

different races, so many different cultures and to be reduced to just one thing like that is not how it is, and it shouldn't be that way. I feel like just as a whole, we were represented not accurately in that realm. I think that ties into what I was talking about earlier about like binary thinking of just like black and white cut and dry type of you're in it or you're not. But what if you're in it, but also in several different things? It doesn't make room for the way so many different things can intersect, and I felt like the Trump administration did a very good job was very on point about organizing around that because nobody questions Ted Cruz or Marco Rubio, even though they could, but they don't. I don't know how else to elaborate on that, but that, this is sort of what I think. That there just wasn't room for so many intersecting experiences of life as a Latinx person. That didn't make room for different races, different cultures, different ethnicities, h*ll, even different languages because there's a lot of Latin people who don't speak Spanish. (Participant LG)

- But I think that feeling was a bit heightened during that time where, you know, I think it became very popular and very prominent on social media to see videos of people being absolute bigots and creating conflict in very normal situations, the grocery store, the gas station, whatever, and people that just felt they needed to vocalize how they felt, you know, non-White Americans. I think, you know, the things you hear, "oh, speak English or this country," like all of those conflicting and very emotionally charged things to say.

(Participant AH)

- I think the during the Trump administration, in the way that you would hear it from Trump and news outlets, the way they would communicate or the narrative around immigrants or the narrative around Latinos, I feel like that would spill a lot over into people and, whether they felt empowered or enraged or whatever, those that are willing to discriminate against people. I felt like, the narratives anyways through Trump and through the media only empowered discrimination to sort of be front and center and in your face. Again, going back to those moments where it was like every day on social media you'd see like a new instance of people creating conflict with Latinos in the grocery store, the gas station, whatever. There is, this one instance. It's a very sad story. Can't remember what the man was doing, but there was this man. He might have been pumping gas actually, but these group of people randomly came up and threw acid in his face and for like no, completely unmotivated or provoked whatsoever. They just come up and throw acid in his face. It's racially charged or It's targeting Latinos and those groups that are just not White Americans. I think that the makeup of an American, at least during this time especially, was being reconfigured to be White America. That is the American as White American and everything else is gray area or not American, depending on how strongly you discriminated and yea at that time I feel like it was constant conflict like that and those stories. I would see that so repeatedly of a new story of a new Latinx person being harassed or bothered or being discriminated against, and I think a lot of that came from the way that

you hear it from leaders. People latch on to that. People latch on to their presidents and people glorify them and hold them in such high regard and standard. I don't. That goes beyond Trump or anything like that. Just like, a human is a human and there is a limit to how much you should praise them or hold them in high regards anyways. But, yea, people latch on to that very strongly and I feel like people will very clearly follow the narratives that their leaders provide them and so when you're hearing Latino immigrants are bad because they are criminals, they are this they're that, and that spills over into everything else. It's a very flammable way to speak. For example, even calling coronavirus the Chinese virus. That is f*cking toxic, right and that is super dangerous in this country especially because discrimination and racism is so embedded into our culture and people are very quick to latch on to something and, you know, it's so easy for people in this country to be prejudiced or discriminate and things like that. (Participant AH)

- It just felt like there was targets on the backs of everyone, all Latinos because, you know, people that don't understand different cultures, that don't understand different countries that are surrounding them, you know, they don't take the time to think to themselves, you know, is this person a citizen or a non-citizen? They just assume that everybody is here illegally or undocumented. They don't take that time to learn about somebody for the first time. Instead, It is more of I want to be discriminatory to this person. (Participant JG)

- During the Trump administration, from what I saw like in the media, and in the news, and things that you saw people captured on camera, just people being like, “you’re in America, speak the language” and people are like, “well, I have every right to be here and I can speak any language that I want to speak because we have that freedom and we have that liberty here.” Other people feeling just entitled to tell others what they should be speaking, how they should be going about their business, just things like that and I felt, did you ask how I felt towards that? Yes, I felt enraged and really me as a person, I can’t do anything for that person that I saw, but it made me feel sad for the group that I’m a part of, which is the Latino group. So, It made me feel sad for those people that were being mistreated, but it also made me feel sorry for other people, like the people who were doing it. Like what do you have against other people? They were doing nothing to you. Just because of your prejudices that you have towards these people, and probably because of what Donald Trump was like kind of igniting, in my opinion. (Participant AR)
- Oh, man. They were already before the Trump administration, they were treated with such a lack of respect for what they do in this country, but that just, it went up to a whole other level of disrespect. I mean, just the nerve that people have to really treat Hispanic people the way that they did. It is disgusting. I mean, I’m sorry, but they are a big part of the backbone of the American machine, okay? I would think about, how do you think you get your food? Who do you think is working at the back of this delicious restaurant?

Who do you think is cleaning office buildings? A lot of them in the construction industry. For me, it was just like the lack of respect for their hard work, the lack of respect for the sacrifices they've had to make, and the lack of respect for the fear that they have to live through every single day. I mean, that was just on a whole other level, and it made me like pretty angry.

(Participant JA)

Internal Community Discrimination

Internal community discrimination refers to the recalled family and communal discrimination that U.S.-born Latinx young adults shared during the interviews.

Additionally, Internal community discrimination is noted to be exasperated by Catalysts for division for U.S.-born Latinx. Four out of the seven participants discussed internal community discrimination with five references.

- I remember having a conversation with my dad because he got into a fight with my uncle, my dad's brother, who is a Trump supporter. I asked my dad, I was like, what happened in our family that even our own family members can discriminate against us, our own DNA, and just have these different views and My dad just went off on these whole stories of things in their life and a lot of it is a lot of internalized Whiteness. A lot of it is internalized discrimination against ourselves because it was almost out of survival, like trying to become part of the system in order to get out of where they were. So, we come from generational poverty, we come from migrant workers ourselves and yeah, a lot of my family members discriminate against each other because of that and It

sucks seeing some of my own friends and family members who share the same DNA and genes and stuff like that just hate themselves for being Mexican and being Tejanos. Tejanos is Mexicans who lives in Texas when Texas was part of Mexico, so the border crossed us and that's the ancestry of my dad's side and so there were several discussions with my dad about that. Just how within families discrimination can happen, even within Mexican families like mine who have internalized so much of Whiteness and racial capitalism in order to maintain a system that actively oppresses the same people that they are. And yea, It was really tough, especially talking about issues of Black and Brown people dying at the hands of police, immigration policies, the people that my immediate family and myself work with just, yeah, a lot of discrimination in that room from family members, mostly and not so much from people outside of that. (Participant LG)

- I remember having a conversation with my dad because he got into a fight with my uncle, my dad's brother, who is a Trump supporter. I asked my dad, I was like, what happened in our family that even our own family members can discriminate against us, our own DNA, and just have these different views and My dad just went off on these whole stories of things in their life and a lot of it is a lot of internalized Whiteness. A lot of it is internalized discrimination against ourselves because it was almost out of survival, like trying to become part of the system in order to get out of where they were. So, we come from generational poverty, we come from migrant workers ourselves and yeah, a lot

of my family members discriminate against each other because of that and It sucks seeing some of my own friends and family members who share the same DNA and genes and stuff like that just hate themselves for being Mexican and being Tejanos. Tejanos is Mexicans who lives in Texas when Texas was part of Mexico, so the border crossed us and that's the ancestry of my dad's side and so there were several discussions with my dad about that. Just how within families discrimination can happen, even within Mexican families like mine who have internalized so much of Whiteness and racial capitalism in order to maintain a system that actively oppresses the same people that they are. And yea, It was really tough, especially talking about issues of Black and Brown people dying at the hands of police, immigration policies, the people that my immediate family and myself work with just, yeah, a lot of discrimination in that room from family members, mostly and not so much from people outside of that. (Participant AH)

- But undocumented immigrants, they a lot of the time, they tell me that their bosses, actually their White bosses are the ones that treat them better than their Hispanic bosses that are U.S. born. U.S.-born Hispanic bosses treat undocumented immigrants a lot worse than White bosses and I've been hearing that for the past 4 years from undocumented workers, and it's quite remarkable to hear and in a way It kind of does make sense because a lot of the discrimination that goes against, I know I keep saying White people White people, but a lot of the discrimination against undocumented immigrants are

from U.S.-born Hispanics and it's crazy. I mean, Hispanics in Miami are some of the most racist people I know against other Hispanics, let alone Black people. Like sh*t they say about Jews and sh*t they say about Black people is horrific, and the way they talk about their own people, it's just disgusting.

(Participant JA)

- I've had an interesting experience with discrimination or any form of like racist comments. Growing up in like minority groups, for the minorities, and the majorities aren't there, then everyone's just everyone. So, now its just any form of like racist comments or unhealthy communication from authority, for me, we're just going to be honest, it was not by like a White person. For me, it was like another Hispanic teacher or an African American principal or an administrator. I was like these are just people, so comments like that, for me, like anyone could say it. So then as you go through different presidents and like and saying things like that, for me I was like I don't know man, I feel like I had already heard unhealthy comments and like things under people's breath since I can remember, and was just something I had to just be like alright. It couldn't really bother me. But I think I think during Trump's, I just I feel like I heard more. I think media obviously played a factor into that, like I just heard stuff and I'd be like I remember hearing that when I was a kid.

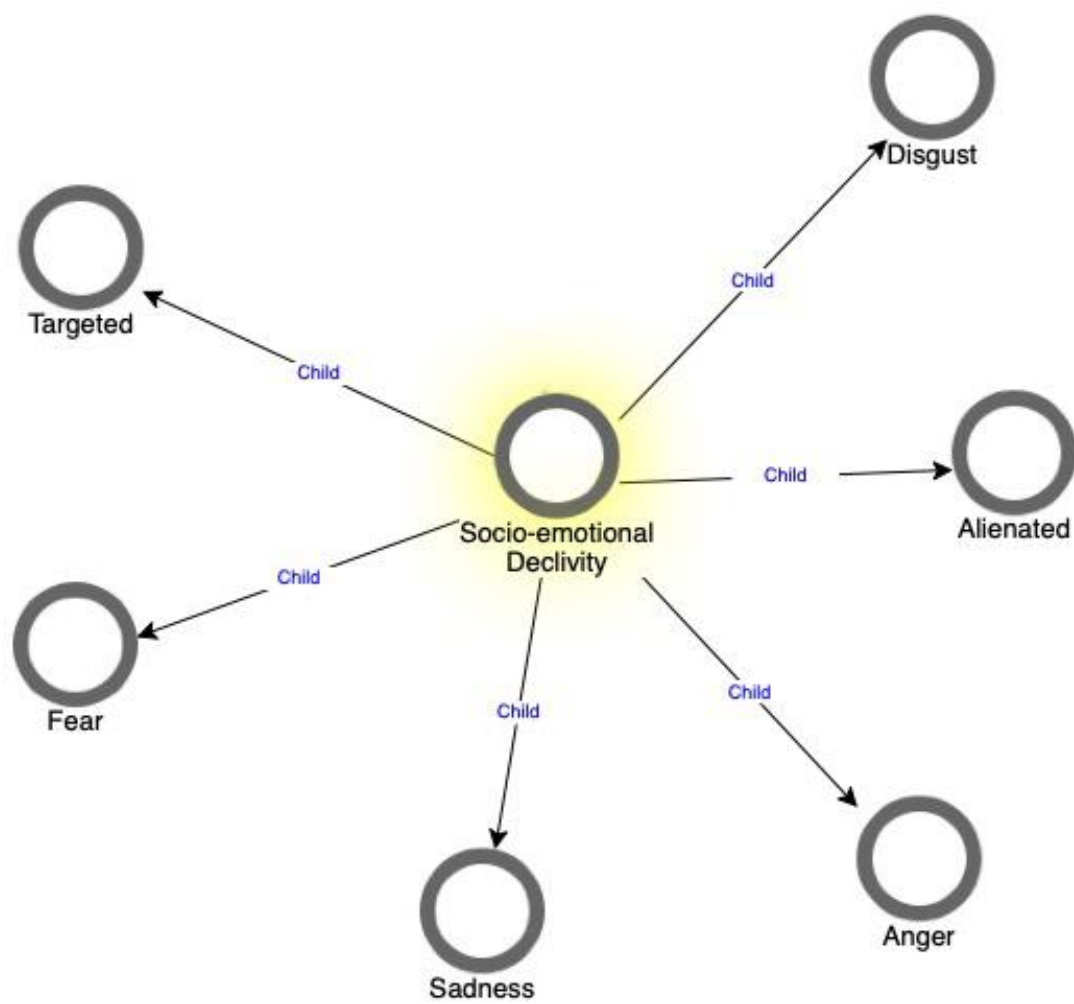
(Participant JE)

Theme 3: Socio-Emotional Declivity

Socio-emotional Declivity is the umbrella term used in this dissertation to describe the emotional fatigue and the decline of the socio-emotional well-being of U.S.-born Latinx. Socio-emotional Declivity was a theme described by the participants through words such as alienated, anger, disgust, fear, sadness, targeted. Insight around Socio-emotional Declivity through the categorization of those words into six open codes (see Figure 4) and aggregating participants' responses accordingly. Socio-emotional Declivity contained the most referenced codes within the study, containing 77 references within the data.

Figure 4

Socio-Emotional Declivity



Alienated

Alienated refers to the experiences of feeling unwelcome, lonely, and alienated during the Trump administration shared by participants. Three out of the seven participants discussed feeling alienated with 12 references.

- So, I think it kind of woke them up, like ok, we clearly are not welcomed here, and it's like, we have to be aware of how we're like. (Participant CG)
- Like, I don't, thinking back, I don't know how you let a child sleep on the floor with an aluminum blanket or whatever they are. It clearly showed his disdain for us and the fact that he does not care to help us prosper at all because it's like if you genuinely care for someone's well-being how would you subject them to those conditions? (Participant CG)
- I think the only thing I would say was, I think my experience of trump coming into presidency would have been different had I been in Maryland. I have this very, really vivid memory of sitting on the couch with my roommates, watching the election, like watching the votes come in and I remember it was late at night, right? It was like 11 or 11:30, something like that, and the polls came in and it declared, it said Trump, it looked like he's going to be president and our screen door was opened to our balcony and all you heard was people cheering like you would hear it like if it was like a football game. I remember I looked down at my mom was calling me and I pick up the phone and she's crying. So, it was very jaw-dropping just to see how different people viewed his election. When I think back to it, it's fear, it's White supremacy

and such. The memory serves to be like, yeah, you're definitely not White. That's just what the memory served as like. You're definitely still other, no matter how much progress you think was done under the previous administration. (Participant CG)

- The way that people would stereotype or form opinions about Latinx people in general, and that obviously is impacting you feel discriminated against, and you don't feel welcomed. (Participant AH)
- I feel like a lot of that really stripped away during that time and feeling very helpless I suppose. It was one of those things. Alienated and feeling hopeless. You know, crackdowns like ICE and things like that. (Participant AH)
- I think feeling like you're unwelcome. Feeling like you're a disturbance to whatever this administration perceives as American. Yeah, so unwelcome, alienated, targeted, I think of those things for Latin people during that time. (Participant AH)
- They're getting accustomed to a new country, new culture and language, new way of life, and to have people come to you and be like, you're not welcome here, or you're not supposed to be in this space, they're being discriminated against and they were being discriminated against a lot more during the Trump era and I think Trump kind of ignited that and he gave more fuel to that fire. (Participant AR)

Anger

Anger refers to the feelings of anger shared by participants. Four out of the seven participants discussed feeling angry with seven references.

- The biggest thing that just infuriated me was the way that they were maintaining people at these detention centers. I think that within itself, if someone were to see just that policy alone, like seeing how people were kept in those conditions, I think that's all you need. I think it speaks for itself. Like, I don't, thinking back, I don't know how you let a child sleep on the floor with an aluminum blanket or whatever they are. (Participant CG)
- It's not something that they want to do, it's something they have to do, so seeing that happen and then that's their first exposure of America, this place that they thought was a promised land, be these, basically these detention centers, it was like an infuriating to say the least, like that doesn't even cover it. (Participant CG)
- But at the same time, I think for some people, they might unite and feel that way, other people probably get really angry. Other people probably become just as angry or frustrated as the people who are creating the conflict against them. I'm sure there are people that are just as angry as the people that threw acid in that guy's face. Latinos, who are probably just as angry and become provoked this way. And so like. Yeah, I feel like it angers you and frustrates you, it impacts you in that way and at the same time, it makes you feel for your people and feel like you need to protect them. (Participant CG)

- My thoughts are that they were really careless. I feel like they were kind of like just doing things their own way, just from how you see people being detained, how people were being treated, how people were going through the system after being detained without not really knowing what was going to happen. I think I heard of policies where, if you're detained, some people were just being sent back and not even like given the time of day to hear them out and so my thoughts towards that is that like, I don't know. There are some incompetent people and people without a heart in office and those are the type of people that are like being the leadership towards others overseeing all of these other people. So, it infuriated me. It really did. (Participant AR)
- Man, it fired me up to see what ICE was doing. Definitely seemed like Gestapo, going around checking around to see who's who and all that. I think I think a lot of what ICE was doing was extremely unconstitutional. I think it was disgusting. I think it was like, basically like a secret police force and that sh*t really fired me up to the point where I would be thinking, all right, I would turn on Twitter, look at feeds to see, I remember following different people to see which neighborhoods were being targeted by ICE and I would drive over there, you know, load people up in my car and drive off. Like I would have these ideas be like, what can I do to fight back instead of just being like, "oh, this sucks." I was like, all right, like, what can I do to fight back? (Participant JA)

Disgust

Disgust refers to the experiences of feeling disgusted shared by participants within this study. Three out of the seven participants discussed feeling disgusted with five references.

- I was shocked, disappointed, but not surprised. I think that's the best way. It's like as soon as he became president and that election poll came in, I knew what was to come. But it was disheartening, disgusting, infuriating to see it actually happen. (Participant CG)
- The wall was disgusting. (Participant CG)
- I was really appalled, and I was sad to see how can another human being who is also a son of immigrants. I don't know like Trump, I think his grandparents were immigrants. I don't know. How can someone who has a similar experience within his own family be treating the people he is supposed to be governing? How can you, he be treating people and like others, without a heart? He has no compassion, and he feels like so much so superior than others. It made me question what humanity has come to. (Participant AR)
- They were already before the Trump administration, they were treated with such a lack of respect for what they do in this country, but that just, it went up to a whole other level of disrespect. I mean, just the nerve that people have to really treat Hispanic people the way that they did. It is disgusting. (Participant JA)

Fear

Fear refers to the experiences of feeling afraid shared by participants. Five out of the seven participants discussed feeling afraid with 17 references.

- It was kind of like doomsday a little. What would happen if the worst-case scenario were to take place, which was not something that we had ever felt before. I had never talked about. We knew that deportations were a thing, but we always presumed like, oh, you're law-abiding, you're not causing harm to people, you should be fine, you know? But this is the first time that it was like, ok, no, you could be walking out of a grocery store and something could happen. So it was very like walking on eggshells just, you know, like double-checking everything and making sure that you weren't doing anything to expose yourself or make yourself stand out. (Participant CG)
- The first word that comes to mind is like fear. You hear the horror stories, people coming home and their parents not being there or like, that plan that I was telling you about that. It's like, ok, we don't come home, here's who should take custody of the kid. That was a common theme like people had plans. I have family in California and family in Chicago. They are all citizens, but they know people who are undocumented and everyone had a plan. Everyone who is in that situation was thinking ahead of how they would better themselves, how would they get back, would they want to get back, how they would allocate their assets, and such. So, I think it was just fear and just

uncertainty because your life could literally switch. Your life could be completely different in the span of 24 hours. (Participant CG)

- I, at the time, was still an undergrad and was living at school, which was in a pretty rural area of Maryland that is known for racism and discrimination. So, I was worried about my safety then, especially on campus, where there was a lot of people that, you know, voted for Trump and actively participated in his election. (Participant LG)
- Even when I moved to Missouri, we did worry about people at certain farms that we worked at of being raided by ICE and there were arrests in the Kansas City area of ICE. So, we were, as an organization that I worked at, actively were concerned about that, especially for a lot of the families that we worked with. (Participant LG)
- So I think I was a little fearful of that. Of a rise of outwardly vocal White nationalists and things like that. I mean, I think just being nervous about that pretty early on was how I felt. (Participant AH)
- ICE felt like they could do whatever they wanted to Latinos and so knowing that in certain places in the country you can just be driving around, be pulled over for whatever reason with no real probable cause and then being held up in these detention centers, prisons or whatever they could use to detain people. It is a scary sight, truly. I mean, that's really how I can put it. (Participant JG)

- Just my husband being in his own proceedings to get his documents legally, we were just kinda fearful for him, just knowing he had to watch his back a little more. (Participant AR)

Sadness

Sadness refers to the experiences of feeling sad or heartbroken shared by participants. Five out of the seven participants discussed feeling sad with 15 references.

- So I think it was, yeah, kind of disheartening. Especially because they raised us to be proud of who we are and like La Raza and all that stuff and that kind of just slipped away when it was like, oh, money. (Participant CG)
- It's so interesting, but also just kind of disheartening to see the dissonance of where they came from and where they are now and what they believe. There's a lot of dissonance there too on the older generation side. (Participant LG)
- Seeing kids and the trauma that they went through the way that they were being separated and I'd watch like videos occasionally of like where families were reunited and the child was just extremely traumatized and couldn't latch back on to their family and I think that, for me anyways, really impacted me because of my identity, because I feel into that category. I feel like I could kind of identify with those kids or with those families because my family was, you know, immigrant parents. You know, it's heartbreaking seeing that. (Participant AH)
- Going back to the point of these ICE members, representatives, whatever you want to call them, they were removing children from parents at the time. That

was really heartbreaking to really see just so many people in cages, with kids also getting lost. I was reading certain things that were saying they were just losing the kids, and it just didn't make any sense to how that was happening.

(Participant JG)

- Just seeing all of these kids being detained at the border, and the things you'd read about and things I would read about the conditions that the kids were in and like having no kind of compassion, no real human heart or sympathy, it was hurtful for to me. (Participant AR)

Targeted

Targeted refers to the experiences of feeling targeted shared by participants. Five out of the seven participants discussed feeling sad with 17 references.

- They are protected against just knocking on your door and not coming to get you, but I would see news reports of places that weren't and people would just be at the grocery store and they would target grocery stores that cater to the Latinx population, so It just felt very targeted. (Participant CG)
- I think that during the Trump administration, you felt like all of that was undone and you're absolutely at high risk and you're a target constantly. I can't imagine and I have family who lived this, but I can't imagine what it must have felt like during that time to be so isolated and such a target and feel like you're being chased all the time and constantly under the magnifying glass. (Participant AH)

- My mind quickly then changed to, ok, this is going to be, for lack of better terms, a wild ride. It's going to be quite the experience that all of the people who not just to look like me, but as minorities in general. We become targets to the people who support him, to the politicians that are next to him, and to him, of course. (Participant JG)
- Sure, ICE is federal forces force that can come in, but I mean, they were targeting farms all over the southeast and they regret that decision because a lot of those people making money down there from these workers, they're the ones that are complaining the most. (Participant JA)
- So now again, going back to like Trump and his language when he came in, it's like the people trying to keep their head down and just work and just have a life and build it, now all of sudden and kind of feel like they have a target on their back. (Participant JE)

Additional Participant Observations

When reflecting on discrimination during the Trump administration, participants LG, AH, JA, and JE all spoke extensively on discrimination carried out by Latinx or other minorities. In contrast, participants CG, JG, and AR did not make that distinction.

All seven participants talked about children during the interview. Participants CG, LG, AG, JG, AR, and JA shared their frustrations about the visuals of seeing children in detention centers or separated from their parents. Participant JE spoke more about the nuances of how children can become separated and the complexity of unaccompanied minors.

All participants discussed some advantages to being U.S.-born, but participants CG, LG, AR used the terminology privileged. Participant LG introduced light-skinned privilege and talked about its role in lessening their experience with discrimination. Participant JG did mention physical appearance factoring into their limited experiences with discrimination but did not name which features.

The majority of participants showed deep contemplation about some questions. Some participants shared that they were taking a second to think through their responses. Participant JA shared that this was a rare opportunity to speak about their experiences.

Participant JE was the only participant to share an immediate family member's immigration experience during the Trump administration, which shed light on the nuances of public opinion versus lived experience. Participant JE shared positive experiences with immigration during the Trump administration sharing, "I remember the day we went with my dad to the courts in Maryland, Baltimore. There was a ridiculous line of people and I remember we came out and like, we're all happy and like family after family was like, these family members just getting accepted for all the residences."

Most of the participants proposed that Trump's rhetoric on immigration had a ripple effect on discrimination levels within the country during his administration. Participant JE noted that "So now again, going back to like Trump and his language when he came in, it's like the people trying to keep their head down and just work and just have a life and build it, now all of sudden and kind of feel like they have a target on their back."

Most of the participants alluded to a more challenging life outside of the U.S. contributes to why Latinx immigrants come to this country. Participant AH expanded on the challenges by saying “There’s a lot of horror stories and immigration and the things that people go through to get here. I’ve heard of a few. One, for example, being like when you’re stranded or left are abandoned on your passage, and you’re out and rural Mexico rural U.S. and you’re surviving the wildlife out there.”

Participant JG shared insight on how a lack on impact on their personal life made it easier for them to ignore some of President Trump’s rhetoric and actions by sharing, “aside from what I saw on social media in different states or around the country, you know, it wasn’t something that I could say, you know, was truly impacting myself or my family. We all just went about our days, doing the usual, just trying to, you know, put blinders to what we were seeing.”

Participant AR and JE talked about how expensive and lengthy immigration processes can be. Participant AR shared that her spouse was currently going through an immigration process, and it opened her eyes to how expensive and lengthy it can take.

Participant CG and LG both mentioned their locations’ impact on their experiences during the Trump administration. Both participants discussed the aftermath of President Trump’s election while living on campus. Most of the other participants credited their diverse communities for lessening their experiences with discrimination.

Summary

This study’s purpose was to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump

administration. This chapter provided an examination of data collection methods, management of data, and analysis of the collected data. Seven participants were interviewed for this generic qualitative study. Interview questions were structured to be open-ended and allow participants to share their lived experiences during the Trump administration. The purposeful sampling method was used to recruit all participants. All participants were U.S.-born Latinx Young adults who were between the ages of 18 and 34 during the Trump administration (January 17, 2017 - January 20, 2021) and lived in the U.S. during the Trump administration. During the interview, all participants made it clear that they knew Latinx people with varying immigration statuses. The themes discovered during the data analysis were Conflicting Identities, Cyclical Self-stigma, and Socio-emotional Declivity. Eleven subthemes were discovered during the data analysis.

Chapter 5 concludes this study and ties all the previous chapter together. The chapter includes an interpretation of what the research findings confirm, recommendations for other researchers and immigration action groups, and the implications for social change. Chapter 5 discusses how this study extends immigration policy literature and provides a concluding message that captures the key essence of the study.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusion, and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Since the nation's founding, immigration has been an essential part of the United States. Some researchers maintained that immigration policy in the United States has always been contentious for numerous ethnic groups while also maintaining that some of the immigration policies under President Donald Trump's administration were irregular and created new obstacles for immigrants (Lastres, 2020; Roth et al., 2018). The current literature on President Trump's immigration policies addressed how the enforcement of CBP and ICE impacted Latinx immigrants. However, researchers did not explore how immigration policy impacted U.S.-born Latinx. The lived experience of U.S.-born Latinx has not been well documented, and the current generic qualitative study addressed the gap regarding the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Open-ended interview questions elicited participants' responses in their own words regarding how they experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Through a thorough analysis of the data, the three prominent themes emerged: (a) conflicting identities, (b) cyclical self-stigma, and (c) socio-emotional declivity. Analysis of the lived experience of U.S.-born Latinx participants resulted in eleven subthemes, leading to the prominent themes. The results of this study may inform the public debate on immigration by sharing new knowledge on the lived experience of U.S. citizens

closest in proximity to immigration enforcement. The results may also impact immigration policy by encouraging legislators to expand their understanding of who can be impacted by immigration policies. The results may lead to positive social change outcomes for immigration advocacy efforts trying to gain perspective of the U.S.-born Latinx experience to encourage them to join advocacy efforts. This chapter includes the interpretation of findings, the study's limitations, recommendations, implications of the results, and a conclusion.

Interpretation of Findings

This study's sample population consisted of seven U.S.-born Latinx young adults. During the Trump administration, the participants lived in Illinois, Maryland, Washington DC, and Pennsylvania. The sample was predominantly male, with four (57.1%) males and three (42.9%) females. Seminal work from Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013), contending that U.S. immigration policy had shifted to target men, was taken into consideration when using the purposeful sampling method to interview four men. Participants shared their ancestral family origin, with four (57.1%) descendants of Central America and three (42.9%) descendants of North America. Two (28.6%) participants reported having mixed ancestry from Guatemala and Honduras. Two (28.6%) participants reported having ancestry from El Salvador. Three (42.9%) participants reported having ancestry from Mexico. Massey (2019) noted that, following the September 11 attacks, the United States showed a record level of deportations of people from Mexico and Central America. This was taken into consideration when using the purposeful sampling method to select participants from Mexico and Central America.

Table 4 shows that Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador were the top three countries ICE reported deporting people to from 3 consecutive years during the Trump administration (ICE, 2017, 2018, 2019). All participants were between 18 and 34 years old during the Trump administration. Only one (14.3%) participant reported their age as between 20 and 25 years. Five participants (71.4%) reported their age as between 25 and 30 years, and one (14.3%) participant reported their age as between 30 and 35 years. Most of the participants held a bachelor's degree (57.1%) or a master's degree (42.9%).

Table 3

ICE Deportations by Country (FY2017–FY2019)

Country of citizenship	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Mexico	128,765	141,045	127,492
Guatemala	33,570	50,390	54,919
Honduras	22,381	28,894	41,800
El Salvador	18,838	15,445	18,981
Haiti	5,578	934	690
Dominican Republic	1,986	1,769	2,186
Brazil	1,413	1,691	1,770
Ecuador	1,152	1,264	2,253
Colombia	1,082	1,162	1,158
Nicaragua	832	879	2,240
Jamaica	782	792	751
Total	216,379	244,265	254,240

The current literature showed that anti-immigration rhetoric and policies disproportionately impacted Latinx people living in the United States (Shin et al., 2015). Researchers made a case for a broadened perspective of the impact of immigration policies on people in proximity to undocumented Latinx people (Brabeck et al., 2014; B.

S. Jones, Victor, & Vannette, 2019; Vargas et al., 2017). This call for broadened perspectives into the impact of immigration policy presented a gap. The lived experience of U.S.-born Latinx and the impact of immigration policies on their lives were central parts of the literature gap because neither was well documented. In the current study, I sought to answer one research question on how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Coupled with past knowledge discussed in the literature review, the findings of this study extended the field of study. The three prominent themes extracted from this study revealed the need for more explorations into the contradicting identities of U.S.-born Latinx, who experiences the most direct discrimination faced by Latinx people, and how discrimination impacts the socio-emotional wellness of U.S.-born Latinx. The current participants shared thick, detailed, and descriptive information about their experiences with discrimination, but mainly reported indirect discrimination. Although most of them expressed that they did not experience much discrimination directly, they spoke about the societal discrimination and racism during the Trump administration. When asked about their experiences with discrimination, most of the participants recalled memories of other people in their lives who may or may not have been undocumented whom they feared for more. Participants shared memories of images that they found triggering, reinforcing that their experiences with discrimination were directly tied to the pain of other Latinx people. Participant AH said

but I think that feeling was a bit heightened during that time where I think it became very popular and very prominent on social media to see videos of people being absolute bigots and creating conflict in very normal situations, the grocery store, the gas station, whatever, and people that just felt they needed to vocalize how they felt to non-White Americans .

Participant AR indicated

just seeing all of these kids being detained at the border, and the things you'd read about and things I would read about the conditions that the kids were in and like having no kind of compassion, no real human heart or sympathy, it was hurtful for to me.

Despite ample research summarizing the causes of discrimination towards Latinx, there is not enough literature on the cyclical nature of internalized discrimination within the Latinx community. Given the growth of the Latinx population in the United States and the differing experiences among the Latinx population, it was essential to assess the nuances of U.S.-born Latinx's experiences with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Findings for Conflicting Identities

The current study's findings suggest that U.S.-born Latinx experienced conflicts within their identities during the Trump administration. They juggled the privileges of being U.S. born, their relationships with others, and their responsibilities. Because the current literature did not address U.S.-born Latinx adults, there was little to no discussion about the self-identified privileges and conflicts of being a U.S.-born Latinx. When

reflecting on experiences with discrimination during the Trump administration, most of the participants confirmed that if they did experience any discrimination, being U.S. born shielded them from higher levels of direct discrimination. During the interviews, several participants went back and forth on whether they had experienced discrimination. Most admitted that they had not experienced direct discrimination. However, they had experienced indirect discrimination through what was said about Latinx people during the Trump administration.

The current literature on immigration policies emphasized that presidents have a consequential impact on public perceptions (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019).

Participant JE gave reference to this when saying

so now again, going back to like Trump and his language when he came in, it's like the people trying to keep their head down and just work and just have a life and build it, now all of sudden and kind of feel like they have a target on their back.

The noted privileges of being U.S. born did not stop participants from feeling alienated or targeted by what President Trump and the media said about Latinx people. Being U.S. born did not shield them entirely from feeling targeted by narratives in the media. That was the first conflict for U.S.-born Latinx.

Although U.S.-born Latinx participants acknowledged the benefits of being born in the United States, some experienced conflict with those privileges and how indirect discrimination and anti-Latinx rhetoric made them feel. Participant AG stated it best when saying

so immediately I was like, oh, that's such a strange feeling because, you know, I think anyone who wants to be proud of where they're from will see their flag that represents where they're from and can feel proud, but to see the flag and feel conflict, internal conflict sucks. For me, that was a moment where I was like, wow, like, there are different Americas that exist in this country, right? It can influence even your internal feelings when you're by yourself in a very innocent moment.

Although U.S.-born Latinx young adults had the freedoms and privileges of being American citizens, they were still more likely to have their immigration status questioned. Participants clarified that, unless a U.S.-born Latinx is White-passing, distinguishing a U.S.-born Latinx from an undocumented Latinx is not easy, so the privileges of being U.S. born did not always shield them from discrimination. U.S.-born Latinx participants felt indirect racism through how other Latinx were treated, which shed light on the importance of relationships.

The relationships that U.S.-born Latinx had during the Trump administration also played a role in their identity conflicts. Relationships were essential to U.S.-born Latinx young adults, and the literature mentioned the impact of immigration policies on entire families (Brabeck et al., 2014). The current study's findings confirmed the assertions made by Brabeck et al. (2014) on the impact of deportation on entire families. U.S.-born Latinx young adults are not eligible to be deported, so they had fewer fears of deportations for themselves, but because they are often members of mixed-immigration-status families, their fear and anxiety levels were still high, causing conflicts in their

comfort. Current participants shared similar thoughts to Brabeck et al. when discussing how CBP and ICE detentions and deportations changed family structures and created poverty-susceptible households. Several participants talked about knowing they could prove their citizenship if ICE questioned their immigration status, but recognized they needed to avoid drawing attention to others in their family who may not have had the same privileges.

Some participants used their relationships to help disqualify the discrimination they had experienced by discussing how much worse others in their proximity had it. Participant JG shared the emotions of learning about how his parents were discriminated against when saying,

so, me, I didn't experience it, but knowing that my parents did experience it hurt a lot. Having been in this country for as long as they've been, they've worked so hard. 30 to 40 plus years of working nonstop, working as hard as it can provide for my brother and I, knowing that they went through that made it tough.

Based on responses, most of the participants appeared to be experiencing a conflicting imbalance in fear levels between feeling shielded by their citizenship and feeling worried and hurt for Latinx immigrant counterparts who were fearful for their lives.

U.S.-born Latinx did not experience conflicts only in their identity because of conflicts in experiences with other Latinx. They also experienced this conflict when assessing how relationships with non-Latinx people changed during the Trump administration. Participants noted that President Trump's election changed people or brought their true character to light. When reflecting on how friendships changed,

participant JA shared “I’ve had friends in the past that were not as racist as they became during the Trump presidency. Their whole perception of how this country works, like completely changed.” Callister et al. (2019) proposed that most Americans associate Latinx people and illegal migration, which helps fuel stereotypes and perpetuate discrimination against Latinx people regardless of their immigration status. The findings of this study confirmed the assertions made by Callister et al. and extended the knowledge by discussing how the Trump presidency impacted relationships with people of non-Latinx decent.

Some U.S.-born Latinx felt forced to recognize how everyone did not truly respect their humanity and value them the same. Participant AG illustrated that when saying

during the Trump administration, it kind of made me see certain people’s true colors like, oh, I really never thought this person was like that, but now hearing the things some people were saying, it really made me feel like I saw some people’s true colors.

Many U.S.-born Latinx lost relationships with non-Latinx people who showed bigotry, racism, or discriminatory rhetoric. This conflict in relationships forced a conflict in identity for some U.S.-born Latinx because they had to decide whether they would remain friends with people who perpetuated racist notions against Latinx people or abandon those relationships and everything that came with it. Participant LG shared

a bunch of my friends who I thought were friends who had known me for years at that point, known me my whole entire undergrad career voted for a man that was actively against people like me and visibly and rhetorically said so.

The decision to end relationships was not only a matter of ending a friendship but also recognizing that there were people in their lives who may have opposed people like them all along. This was a conflict of responsibilities.

The intersection of privileges and relationships leads to a conflict in responsibilities. Based on responses, the majority of participants outlined responsibilities that they believed society needed to uphold as well as they as Latinx people. Participants argued that Latinx people needed to stick together and support each other during the Trump administration. They recognized that it was easier to deal with discrimination when they worked together. Participant AH talked about the ways Latinx people fulfilled that responsibility when saying

we're kind of suffering together. You know, let me buy these flowers from you here and let me overpay for them and things like that. When you see, like someone in the store who doesn't speak English very well and they're really struggling to just achieve the simplest task to buy something and you're an American born Latino who speaks both English and Spanish, so you insert yourself to help them do what they need and things like that.

Other participants also called for cohesion and unity among Latinx people. Participant JG shared

we as people, just, we got to help each other out you know. Be supportive of each other, give everything we can to those around us that need it or feel like they need it. Hopefully, we can make a meaningful change sometime soon.

Some U.S.-born Latinx took these responsibilities seriously enough to adopt them into their own lives during the Trump administration and thereafter. Participant LG shared

yeah, and I definitely am doing that now with my job and my work within my grad program that I'm in right now. Yeah, it's definitely shaped my outcome and my outlook on life and what I want to do with my life and my job and my career and overall, it just makes me want to be a better human.

The responsibility to support the Latinx community appeared to be welcome by all participants, but there were conflicts in how that should be done.

Participants acknowledged that not everyone went about the responsibilities the same way. Some U.S.-born Latinx felt that supporting other Latinx people meant fighting discrimination whenever they could. Participant JA shared

I think it was like, basically like a secret police force and that sh*t really fired me up to the point where I would be thinking, all right, I would turn on Twitter, look at feeds to see, I remember following different people to see which neighborhoods were being targeted by ICE and I would drive over there, you know, load people up in my car and drive off.

Not all U.S.-born Latinx were prepared to take on that kind of responsibility. Some felt conflicted about how much power they had, whereas others felt conflicted with how

consumed their counterparts were becoming with fighting discrimination or the threat of discrimination. Participant JE shared

then with the people like in my level and my friends, I think they were just like the first fiery like anytime anyone said anything, any time, any of the cabinet or like the administration said anything it was that's wrong cancel them! It got to a point where I was like maybe you're right or you're wrong I just don't want to hear it. I had to delete social media for a bit and it's like annoying, you know?

Not all U.S.-born Latinx wanted to fight discrimination head on.

There were also some who felt the pressure to fight discrimination by succeeding at the expectation of older generations. Participant CG shared

because I feel like as, I don't want to speak broadly for all immigrants, but it's been my experience, as a Latinx child of immigrants, the first thing you're thinking about is, well, not the first thing, but you want to make money and you came to this country to prosper and to establish yourself generational wealth, all that stuff.

The responsibility to fight was conflicting for U.S.-born Latinx young adults because choosing to fight every incident of discrimination was taxing, and some felt distracted from the responsibilities their parents had passed down to them. This led to generational clashes in perceptions on responsibilities wherein U.S.-born Latinx felt torn between focusing on their dreams and becoming active participants in the resistance against discrimination.

Findings for Cyclical Self-Stigma

A surprising theme that emerged during this study was the Cyclical Self-stigma. This study's findings aligned with assertions made by Shin et al. (2015) that Latinx people were usually assumed to be the cause of undocumented immigration in the U.S, making them targets of discrimination. However, this study extends knowledge on discrimination faced by Latinx people living in the U.S. because it found insight into the internal community discrimination resulting from external discrimination. Participants noted that discrimination was rampant during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. While noting the ways discrimination manifested, some participants noted that external discrimination carried out by non-Latinx people also influenced self-stigmas and discrimination within the Latinx community.

The current literature notes that Latinx immigrants have been the victims of false narratives that lead to less favorable policy outcomes and discrimination within the US, but this study extends that to include U.S.-born Latinx (Lincoln et al., 2020; Rima et al., 2019). U.S.-born Latinx recognized how President Trump's narratives around immigration and Latinx people had a trickledown impact on society, further targeting them. Participant AG shared. "I felt like the narratives anyways through Trump and through the media only empowered discrimination to sort of be front and center and in your face." Scholars assert that President Trump's anti-immigration, anti-diversity, and immigration rhetoric garnered more support from Americans who feared losing their place in the American society, and U.S.-born Latinx felt that firsthand (Major et al.,

2016). Some participants discussed how jarring it was to see so many people disengage with Latinx people because of President Trump's rhetoric. Participant LG shared

the biggest thing for me was just the willingness to not engage in critical thinking and it's wild to me how rhetoric, especially rhetoric around race and Whiteness and lies surrounding those things, can just completely disengage somebody from engaging in relationships with people and also engaging in misinformation that in authoritarian rhetoric.

These incidents of discrimination were not just accepted by White Americans but also by Latinx people. The discrimination became a catalyst for division among Latinx people. Participants discussed how internalized hatred led Latinx people to self-stigmatize and discriminated against people like them. Several participants noted that U.S.-born Latinx people were guilty of discriminating against other Latinx people, especially undocumented ones. Participant JA shared

but undocumented immigrants, they a lot of the time, they tell me that their bosses, actually their white bosses are the ones that treat them better than their Hispanic bosses that are U.S. born. U.S.-born Hispanic bosses treat undocumented immigrants a lot worse than white bosses and I've been hearing that for the past 4 years from undocumented workers...

When reflecting on the visuals of discrimination they saw online and, in the media, participants also called out discrimination carried about by U.S.-born Latinx people.

Participant AH shared

I've met those people who are those fourth-gen Americans who don't look at immigration the same, like they maybe are more loose on that. In fact, during this time, you saw some really young Latinos, American Latinos who would discriminate against immigrant Latinos.

U.S.-born Latinx saw the self-stigma in personal ways, even sometimes seeing it influence members of their families. Participant LG shared

I asked my dad, I was like, what happened in our family that even our own family members can discriminate against us, our own DNA, and just have these different views and My dad just went off on these whole stories of things in their life and a lot of it is a lot of internalized Whiteness. A lot of it is internalized discrimination against ourselves because it was almost out of survival, like trying to become part of the system in order to get out of where they were.

As external discrimination was perpetuated, internal discrimination was on the rising. This created the cyclical self-stigma that increased the discrimination that U.S.-born Latinx people felt during the Trump administration.

This study's finding confirmed J. G. Young's (2017) contention that President Trump's rhetoric, labeling of Mexican immigrants as criminals, and generalizing the Latinx people intensified division. The study extended that assertion because it demonstrated that intensified divisions were virulent and impacted self-stigmas within the Latinx community. Some participants contended that these narratives were responsible for the cyclical self-stigma taking place. Participant AH shared

if there was no narrative around that. If there was no narrative around the wall, if we had had this really open narrative about aligning with Mexico and together we'll do this and that, I think you would have eliminated a lot of the discrimination happening at the time with Latinos and influencing the way that even American Latinos interact with other Latinos.

The discrimination that took place during the Trump administration and the use of CBP and ICE exasperated internalized discrimination and created cyclical self-stigmas within the Latinx community.

Findings for Socio-Emotional Declivity

Most of the literature on the impact of immigration policies discusses how anti-immigration discrimination significantly impacts undocumented Latinx people, but this study extends that to include all Latinx people (Allen et al., 2013; Callister et al., 2019; D. Becerra et al., 2012). Participants shared what can be regarded as socio-emotional declivity. Their experiences suggested a vulnerability in their mental health as they had to witness discrimination through their own eyes and their immigrant counterparts. Even when participants felt like they had not experienced direct discrimination themselves, they still felt the emotional weight of other people in their lives experiencing it.

Participant JG shared

so, me, I didn't experience it, but knowing that my parents did experience it hurt a lot. Having been in this country for as long as they've been, they've worked so hard. 30 to 40 plus years of working nonstop, working as hard as it can provide for my brother and I, knowing that they went through that made it tough.

Participants shared experiences of a decline in their social and emotional well-being during the Trump administration. In the findings, it was evident that U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced many emotions during the Trump administration and all of them had a significant impact on them.

Anger was discussed a lot by participants. Most of the participants noted that the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration angered them. The treatment of children immigrants angered some participants during the Trump administration. Participant CG shared

the biggest thing that just infuriated me was the way that they were maintaining people at these detention centers. I think that within itself, if someone were to see just that policy alone, like seeing how people were kept in those conditions, I think that's all you need. I think it speaks for itself. Like, I don't, thinking back, I don't know how you let a child sleep on the floor with an aluminum blanket or whatever they are.

Several participants noted that they could see themselves in those children because had their parents decided to immigrate later than they did, they may have been in similar situations as those children.

Emotions for U.S.-born Latinx young adults were intersecting. All instances where emotions were discussed consisted of several emotions. Participant CG stated, "but it was disheartening, disgusting, infuriating to see it actually happen." Feelings of alienation were coupled with feelings of sadness, fear, and even disgust. Several scholars have noted that the social-emotional development of undocumented Latinx is

significantly impacted by anti-immigration discrimination (Morey, 2018; Nichols et al., 2018; S. P. Wallace and Young, 2018; Vargas et al., 2017). This study extends knowledge in the discipline because it provided evidence of the same impact on U.S.-born Latinx young adults as other scholars have found with immigrant Latinx in the United States. Although U.S.-born Latinx adults have certain privileges that their immigrant counterparts do not, they may still experience lasting consequences to their anxiety levels, health outcomes, and overall well-being like their undocumented counterparts (B. S. Jones, Sherman, et al., 2019; Nichols et al., 2018).

The emotions that U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced during the Trump administration have had negative impacts to their socio-emotional well-being, but it has also prompted many of them to seek change. Participant JG shared, “It was just disheartening to hear all these things and to think to myself like, things have to change.” Brabeck et al. (2014) discussed how deportation often impacts entire communities and leads to a climate of fear and distrust, impacting people’s perception of governance, policing, and community. This study confirmed that assertion because it discovered evidence to support the claim that socio-emotional declivity hurts entire communities and leads to risky outcomes that jeopardize the social fabric for Latinx people.

Summary of Findings

The findings, as mentioned above, share the insight gained from the exploration of how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The themes of Conflicting Identities, Cyclical Self-stigma, and Socio-emotional Declivity work against U.S.-born Latinx

young adults in a cyclical fashion. Conflicting identities perpetuates wear and tear on the socio-emotional wellness of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. That wear and tear lead to socio-emotional declivity, which leads to stressors that cause a plethora of cyclical self-stigma within the Latinx community. U.S.-born Latinx have certain privileges as citizens. However, their proximity to Latinx with different immigration statuses puts them in a pressured position, often weighed down by the weight of the emotions that others feel, or they experience. Following this section is an analysis and interpretation of the findings in the context of the NPF theoretical framework.

As discussed in Chapter 2, minimal research has been done to explore the experience of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. A generic qualitative approach to the NPF provided additional insight into how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Narrative Policy Framework

The NPF has five main assumptions (M. D. Jones & McBeth, 2020). This section uses those assumptions to provide additional insight into how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Public Policy Social Constructs

The first assumption is that public policy is socially constructed because various groups and people assign different meanings to the objects and processes that make up policy (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This study showed that U.S.-born Latinx young adults assigned meaning to the objects and processes that make up policy. Participants criticized

the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration as being brutal and unjust. Participant JA said, “I think a lot of what ICE was doing was extremely unconstitutional. I think it was disgusting.” Participants noted that there was a social construct that a border would keep the country safe, but President Trump was turning that social construct of safety and weaponizing it to target Latinx people. Some argued that President Trump’s immigration policies emboldened ICE to feel like winners. Participant JG said, “ICE, especially, was the biggest people that he felt he could empower, and he did. I read stories that they felt like they had won the Super Bowl when President Trump was elected.” Some participants argued that the social constructs of safety and protecting the nation were lies that people willingly accepted. Participant LG said

the biggest thing for me was just the willingness to not engage in critical thinking and it’s wild to me how rhetoric, especially rhetoric around race and Whiteness and lies surrounding those things, can just completely disengage somebody from engaging in relationships with people and also engaging in misinformation that in authoritarian rhetoric.

Bounded Relativity

The second assumption is bounded relativity. It asserts that, while the socially constructed nature of public policy creates different policy realities for groups and people, these realities are bounded rationally, not randomly (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This study’s findings demonstrate that U.S.-born Latinx adults recognize that President Trump’s immigration policies did not seek to be perfect for everyone in the society but suitable for some. Several participants hinted that the social constructs of social class,

race, culture, and roles were neither new nor did they stop with the Trump administration.

Participant AH said

I mean, that's not something that started during that time. I think that's something that when you're born in the U.S. and your culture is from outside the U.S. or your parents are immigrants, that sort of plugged into you from the very beginning. That sense of being between worlds a little bit and balancing both of those worlds. But I think that feeling was a bit heightened during that time where, you know, I think it became very popular and very prominent on social media to see videos of people being absolute bigots and creating conflict in very normal situations, the grocery store, the gas station, whatever, and people that just felt they needed to vocalize how they felt, you know, non-White Americans.

Other participants acknowledged the history of discrimination that had existed prior, showing that there was nothing random about Trump's immigration policies and procedures. Some did note that there was a rationale behind Trump's policies, but not everyone agreed with it. Participant JE said

there was like a country where people couldn't fly in from and he had a bunch of people stuck in an airport in New York, I remember. So, I'm like, I think he's really like just trying to get a hold on like people coming in. It sounded a little more targeted than it was. But again, this is my perception. It sounded a lot more like focused with these people groups, but I think in his own way, he was really trying to limit who is coming in.

NPF's Generalizable Structural Elements

The third assumption refers to the generalizable structural elements of NPF (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). It asserts that narratives have specific generalizable structures identifiable in different narrative contexts, such as the setting, characters, plots, and the moral of the story (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This study's findings confirmed that Trump's narratives on immigration did have specific generalizable structures. The setting was the United States and participants recognized that Trump believed the main characters were U.S. citizens, undocumented immigrants, and CBP and ICE. U.S. citizens were the victims. Undocumented immigrants were the villains. CBP and ICE were the heroes. Participants noted that President Trump's moral of the story was that the villains were terrorizing American citizens, rules, and principles, which were punishable offenses. The participants believed that these beliefs guided Trump's immigration policies.

Three Levels

The fourth assumption is that policy narratives simultaneously interact at three levels (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). The first level is the individual level, which M. D. Jones et al. (2014) refer to as the micro. The second level is group level, which M. D. Jones et al. refer to as the meso. The third level is the cultural or institutional level, which M. D. Jones et al. refer to as the macro. On the micro-level, most U.S.-born Latinx young adult participants shared that the enforcement of CBP and ICE caused mixed emotions, especially alienated, saddened, and targeted. On a meso-level, U.S.-born Latinx young adults felt that Trump's enforcement of CBP and ICE caused division within the U.S. as

well as the Latinx community. Some participants credited the enforcement of CBP and ICE and the narratives around it with perpetuating self-stigma within the Latinx community. Participants noted that President Trump's immigration policies had consequential impacts on how American culture changed around discrimination on the macro-level. Both cultures and institutions were changed because of the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Homo Narrans Model of the Individual

The final assumption of NPF is called the homo narrans model of the individual (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). This assumption ties NPF together as it asserts that narrative helps humans process information from experiences, communicate with others, and reason, making narratives critical to the human experience (M. D. Jones et al., 2014). All the participants in the study mentioned how impactful narratives can be. Some participants asserted that a narrative shift would help lessen the discrimination that Latinx people experienced during the Trump administration. Although participants were critical of Trump's narratives, they also discussed some perceived positives that came out of his rhetoric. Participants posed that the division in the country did force people to have more conversations about discrimination. Although he disagreed with Trump ideologically, one participant noted that Trump's narratives were easier to understand than the previous presidents. Most of the participants noted that it was not hard to decipher or process Trump's narratives, rather it was hard to agree with those narratives during the enforcement of CBP and ICE.

Limitations of the Study

Chapter 1 highlighted limitations in the study due to the study's nature. All of the noted limitations were addressed and resolved for this study. With qualitative studies, the generalizability of interview findings is nearly impossible because the goal is to capture rich lived experiences from participants. Several unreported factors may impact those experiences in their lives. The generic research design helped ensure that research biases were limited and did not override the study's purpose. A self-developed list of interview questions, with content validity obtained through a review by three Walden faculty experts, was used when interviewing participants. This study received rich data on their lived experiences. To further reduce bias, I ensured that their words were transcribed to match what they said and verified the validity of the transcriptions with them.

One unforeseen limitation that arose during the data collection process was a limitation to the demographics of the sample. While I was able to get several participants through the purposeful sampling method, the participants admitted that they struggled to suggest others that met the criteria of this study because most of their counterparts were not U.S. born. Only one participant in the initial purposeful sampling method provided names of interested people, but those individuals did not respond. This made the snowball method impossible to use, forcing me to use the purposeful sampling method to find others in my network that met the criteria. There were seven participants included in this study. The point of saturation was reached at five participants. However, due to the limitation in acquiring participants, I opted to interview two additional people to ensure that the point of saturation was met with a diverse group of participants.

The anonymity of participants, use of Zoom for interviewing, transcript review, and a clearly outlined consent form helped ensure participants felt safe to discuss the topic of discrimination for this study. The COVID-19 pandemic forced interviews to be virtual, but this proved to be helpful in ensuring that participants participated in the interviews while in a place they were comfortable and felt free to discuss the topic. Each participant opted to conduct the interview from their home, which decreased threats of others hearing their responses. Transcript review ensured that participants got an opportunity to review the transcripts and verify or clarify points made. This study provided highly detailed descriptions of how alignment was maintained throughout the study to maintain this study's credibility. These measures helped address any additional limitations.

Recommendations

This generic qualitative study aimed to gain new insight into the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. The study aimed to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. Literature and prior research related to immigration policy and its impact urged for further research that explored the mixed immigration status nature of Latinx families. Prior studies focused on the experiences of undocumented Latinx immigrants and their minors. Three distinct themes emerged: conflicting identities, cyclical self-stigma, and socio-emotional declivity.

The findings of this study contributed to generating new areas for further research, such as:

- Exploring the correlation between discrimination and socio-emotional well-being of U.S.-born Latinx young adults.
- Reviewing opportunities for engagement in immigration advocacy from U.S.-born Latinx young adults.
- Analyzing approach difference in immigration advocacy between U.S.-born Latinx young adults and undocumented Latinx young adults.
- Examining the impact of self-stigma on social cohesion between U.S.-born Latinx and immigrant Latinx people living in the United States.
- Exploring the self-identified privileges that U.S.-born Latinx young adults had during the Trump administration.
- Developing research around the diversity of political opinion and views of U.S.-born Latinx young adults.
- Researching how fear of the deportation of undocumented partners influences U.S.-born Latinx young adults decision making;
- Determining the lived experience of U.S.-born Latinx young adults in mixed-status relationships.
- Researching how shared past traumas by immigrating parents influences self-imposed responsibilities for U.S.-born Latinx Young adults.
- Gauging the level of interpersonal racism on college campuses during the Trump administration and researching the impact on transfer rates among U.S.-born Latinx adults.

- A comparative analysis of institutional and structural racism between the Obama administration and the Trump administration.
- Exploring the lived experience of U.S.-born Latinx whose parents were deported during the Trump administration.
- Analyzing the difference in experiences between U.S.-born Latinx minors and young adults whose parents have been deported during the Trump administration.
- Analyzing the results of hiring and recruiting as it relates to the diverse makeup of the organizations' boards.
- Exploring coping methods of U.S.-born Latinx young adults experiencing socio-emotional declivity during the Trump administration.

It is critical that researchers begin to include US-Latinx young adults in studies around the impact of immigration policies. As the Latinx population continues to grow within the U.S. the population of U.S.-born Latinx will also rise. The findings of this study demonstrated that U.S.-born Latinx adults were the beneficiaries of some rights and responsibilities as U.S. citizens, but those privileges did not give them full protection from internalized, interpersonal, institutional, and structural racism. U.S.-born Latinx young adults were the intermediaries between an immigrant population that has been the target by immigration policies through several presidencies and an America public that was impacted by immigration rhetoric shared by presidents and the media. It is vital to understand their lived experiences so that legislators can consider diverse impacts when creating immigration policy. Results from studies like this can lead to tangible action that

helps U.S.-born Latinx young adults mitigate the conflicting identities, cyclical self-stigma, and socio-emotional declivity they experienced during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration.

Implications for Social Change

Immigration advocacy has been a fundamental part of social change for many years. However, the literature gap discovered by this study has delayed the awareness of the far-reaching implication of immigration policies. This study's findings may inform the public debate and practice of immigration policy, and lead to positive social change outcomes for immigration advocacy efforts. Latinx and immigrant advocacy organizations like CASA, United We Dream, and the League of United Latin American Citizens may benefit from research that provides richer perspectives of the U.S.-born Latinx experience. On an individual level, this study's findings may help U.S.-born Latinx young adults investigate their own experiences and determine the best ways to build coalitions that support their socio-emotional well-being or encourage them to join advocacy efforts. This chapter includes the interpretation of findings, the study's limitations, recommendations, implications of the results, and a conclusion.

Participant interviews confirmed that U.S.-born Latinx did experience discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration, but mainly in indirect ways. These indirect ways still have an impact on their socio-emotional well-being. Based on the findings from this study, the potential impact for positive social change is the expansion of education and communication on how to address self-stigmas, internalized racism, and how to address the trickle-down nature of

immigration rhetoric from presidents. U.S.-born Latinx young adults should be considered in advocacy plans. As the literature investigates how deportations impact minors, researchers should acknowledge that U.S.-born Latinx minors will grow into adults, so earlier social change interventions are critical.

There are positive social implications for society to understand the detriment of anti-immigration policies to U.S. citizens with Latinx ancestry at the societal or policy level. The knowledge acquired from this study may influence policymakers at federal, state, and local levels to recognize that U.S.-born Latinx are impacted by their decisions and encourage them to implement funding and practices aimed at building stronger social cohesion to ensure Latinx people are safer in the United States. This study's findings may work in tandem with other studies on the impacts of immigration policy to help individuals, advocates, institutions, and organizations ensure that immigration policies are just and that the full scope of their impact is considered when creating or amending policies.

Conclusion

As the COVID-19 pandemic ushered away much of the world's norms and practices, it forced many people across the United States of America to stay home and spend more time independently. That isolation time led to many people looking internally, ruminating about the inequities that exasperated the pandemic and what would make their lives significantly better. Those internal reflections, coupled with visuals of racial conflicts and disparaging reports, helped usher in a racial pandemic that spilled out of pent-up emotions over internalized, interpersonal, institutional, and structural racism

across the country. While the pandemic ravaged many people's lives worldwide, protests, demonstrations, rioting, and looting were at the forefront of people's minds. This public clash of ideals and morals resulted from a flammable, slow, and agonizing socio-emotional declivity that so many BIPOC communities had felt for centuries in the United States. Though anti-racist social change work was ongoing for many years, not all felt reflected when people would discuss their community's conflicts and challenges. U.S.-born Latinx young adults are an example of members of a community that often go overlooked or grouped into sweeping generalizations.

This generic qualitative study aimed to gain new insight into the experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults, particularly their experiences with discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. This study discovered that U.S.-born Latinx young adults were the beneficiaries of two Americas during the Trump administration. One America advertised opportunities, safety, and pathways toward success for the hardworking. Many U.S.-born Latinx adults are descendants of people who believed that and did whatever it took to get here to experience it. The other America racialized immigration, which forced the general public to create seemingly inescapable links between undocumented immigrants and Latinx people. These conflicting ideas and experiences in the U.S. often perpetuate wear and tear on the socio-emotional well-being of U.S.-born Latinx young adults. When that wear and tear leads to socio-emotional declivity, it leads to stressors that cause cyclical self-stigma making it hard for U.S.-born Latinx to exist in a climate of fear. It also increases their distrust for governance, policing, community, and more.

Many U.S.-born Latinx adults and their families are victims of stereotypes. Often, U.S.-born Latinx adults adopt the beliefs and fears of their undocumented counterparts to ensure that they do not draw attention to them. In this study, most of the participants expressed that while trying to enjoy the privileges that they and their family members worked tirelessly to obtain, they also felt a call to support other Latinx people. This responsibility creates an unsteady balance between the two Americas, which has had conflicting consequences on U.S.-born Latinx young adults. Despite evidence of the socio-emotional declivity of those impacted by anti-immigration policies, not enough studies have prioritized investigating U.S.-born Latinx young adults' experiences. This study hopes to serve as a catalyst for further studies into the diverse experience of Latinx people and the expansion of impact assessments of immigration policies.

Based on this study's findings, the recommendation is that further research on U.S.-born Latinx experiences should be conducted. There is an opportunity to review the far-reaching impact of immigration policy. This study made it clear to me that the immigrant experience is not a monolith. As the average age of immigrants in this country climbs, assessments of immigrant experiences should also include those closest to immigration. Assessments must acknowledge that those closest to immigration often carry a similar burden due to the fear of how their loved ones may be treated. U.S.-born Latinx young adults may have the fundamental rights granted to every U.S. citizen, but their susceptibility to the emotional wear and tear of discrimination can limit those rights. Further research on U.S.-born Latinx experiences is beneficial to creating better immigration policies.

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Appendix A: Email Invitation Letter

Subject: Exploration of U.S.-born Latinx Discrimination During Trump Presidency

Hello, (Prospective Volunteer's Name)

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Isaac Cudjoe. I am a doctoral candidate in the Public Policy and Administration program at Walden University. My dissertation study explored to how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. I am looking for U.S.-born Latinx people who lived in the U.S. between 2017-2021 and were between 18 and 34 during that time. Your participation will help this study gain an understanding of how immigration policies may impact the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx people. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a 60-minute Zoom interview in your free time and at your discretion. All the volunteers will be allowed to check their transcripts for any inaccuracies or misinterpretations. Your name and other significant identifiers will be omitted from the research to ensure your privacy.

I anticipate the findings will benefit society by exploring the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults to fill the literature gap, inform the public debate and practice of immigration policy, and lead to positive social change outcomes for immigration advocacy efforts.

Please review the consent form attached to this email. If you feel you understand the study and wish to volunteer, please indicate your consent by replying to this email within 1 week or sooner with the words, "I consent." If you do not want to participate,

please disregard the invitation. Regardless of your decision, I would appreciate it if you could recommend other U.S.-born Latinx interested in participating in this study by providing me with their information or providing them with my information located below. Your participation would be greatly appreciated and help me complete my dissertation process. You can contact me by phone at XXXXXXXXXXXX, email XXXXXXXXXXXX if you have any questions.

Yours in service,

Isaac Cudjoe

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Central Research Question: How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults (between the ages of 18 and 34) experience discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) during the Trump administration?

Interview Questions:

Demographic Questions:

- a. *Do you prefer to be addressed as part of the Latinx or Latina/Latino community?*
- b. *How old are you?*
- c. *What is your preferred Gender?*
- d. *What country does your family come from?*
- e. *What state did you live in for the majority of the time during the Trump Presidency?*

Interview Questions for RQ:

1. What did you expect when President Trump was elected president in 2016?
2. What was the U.S. like for you during the Trump administration?
 - a. What did it feel like to be a Latinx during the Trump administration?
3. What stood out to you as unique about President Trump's presidency?
 - a. What do you find most challenging about President Trump's immigration policies?
4. What were your experiences with discrimination as a U.S.-born Latinx young adult (18 and 34) during the Trump administration?
 - a. Can you share more on how you felt Latinx people were treated during the Trump administration?

5. What are your perceptions on how discrimination, with respect to the Latinx young adult population, may or may not have changed during the Trump Presidency compared to other presidencies that you have experienced?
6. How did your relationships with other Latinx people, outside the 18–34-year-old age range, shape your experiences and perceptions of discrimination during the Trump administration?
7. What were your experiences and perceptions of the potential differences in discrimination between you, as a young U.S.-born Latinx, and undocumented Latinx in general?
8. What were your reactions, feelings, thoughts or perceptions of President Trump's immigration policies?
9. What are your thoughts on how CBP and ICE were enforced during the Trump administration?
10. Overall, how did the actions taken by CBP and ICE during the Trump administration shape your experiences of discrimination as a young Latinx in the United States?
11. What are your experiences and perceptions on how the enforcement of CBP or ICE during the Trump administration impacted Latinx families in the U.S.?
12. Thank you so much for all that valuable information. Is there anything else you'd like to add before we end?

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Restatement of the Research Question:

How did U.S.-born Latinx young adults (between the ages of 18 and 34) experience discrimination during the enforcement of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) during the Trump administration?

The central phenomenon: U.S.-born Latinx young adults experiencing discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. The goal is to ask questions that explored the lived experiences of U.S.-born Latinx young adults.

Review literature on the phenomena of interest:

- Identify recurring patterns, conflicting ideas, or unique findings:
 - Literature review finds that language preference and proximity to an undocumented immigrant influence the Latino political opinion of immigration (Callister, et al., 2019 p. 181).
 - Literature review finds that while proximity may play a role, second-generation Latinos have more in common with their first-generation counterparts regarding their beliefs about discrimination (Jones et al., 2019, p. 751).
 - Literature review finds undocumented Latinos perceive discrimination in many areas of their lives (Cobb, Meca, Branscombe, Schwartz, Xie, Zea, Fernandez, Sanders, 2019).
- *keywords and phrases:* Proximity, identity, First and second generation, political opinion, discrimination, I felt discriminated against

Review your theoretical/conceptual framework:

For my study, I plan to draw on the phenomenological approach and use the theories and concepts that ground this study include the NPF.

1. Social construction: My questions have to show that significant parts of public policy reality are socially constructed.
2. Bounded relativity. I have to be able to show that the social constructions are bounded by belief systems and ideologies.
3. Generalizable structural elements. I have to be able to demonstrate that the narratives have specific and identifiable structures through the questions.
4. Three interacting levels of analysis. I have to show that the narratives exist on three different levels micro (individual), meso (group), and macro (cultural and institutional).
5. Homo narrans model of the individual. I have to be able to demonstrate that narrative is understood to play a central role in how people think and communicate.

Review methodological sources of your approach:

Remain impartial, listen closely, look for themes, keep the conversation on course.

Arrange the literature topics, framework concepts and methodological points into beginning, middle and end of interview:

- Identity and difference between undocumented counterparts
- Proximity to problem
- Perception of immigration policy, such as ICE

- Perception of the meso (group)

Modifying each concept so that it becomes open-ended question(s):

Interview Questions:

1. What did you expect when President Trump was elected president in 2016?
2. What was the U.S. like for you during the Trump administration?
 - a. What did it feel like to be a Latinx during the Trump administration?
3. What stood out to you as unique about President Trump's Presidency?
 - a. What do you find most challenging about President Trump's immigration policies?
4. What were your experiences with discrimination as U.S.-born Latinx young adults (18 and 34) during the Trump administration?
 - a. Can you share more on how you felt Latinx people were treated during the Trump administration?
5. What are your perceptions on how discrimination, with respect to the Latinx young adult population, may or may not have changed during the Trump Presidency compared to other presidencies that you have experienced?
6. How did your relationships with other Latinx people, outside the 18–34-year-old age range, shape your experiences and perceptions of discrimination during the Trump administration?
7. What were your experiences and perceptions of the potential differences in discrimination between you, as a young U.S.-born Latinx, and undocumented Latinx in general?

8. What were your reactions, feelings, thoughts or perceptions of President Trump's immigration policies?
9. What are your thoughts on how CBP and ICE were enforced during the Trump administration?
10. Overall, how did the actions taken by CBP and ICE during the Trump administration shape your experiences of discrimination as a young Latinx in the United States?
11. What are your experiences and perceptions on how the enforcement of CBP or ICE during the Trump administration impacted Latinx families in the U.S.?
12. Thank you so much for all that valuable information. Is there anything else you'd like to add before we end?

Formulate an introduction to the interview:

Hey, my name is Isaac Cudjoe. Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this dissertation research. The purpose of this study was to understand how U.S.-born Latinx young adults experienced discrimination during the enforcement of CBP and ICE during the Trump administration. I hope to explore your experience as a U.S.-born Latinx young adult during the Trump administration during our interview.

- Possible warm-up question: What did you expect when President Trump was elected president in 2016?

Interview Close:

Thanks so much for your participation ____ (Insert name). Your questions have been helpful to this dissertation process. I want to remind you that your identity will be omitted

from these answers to ensure your privacy. Could you confirm or update the best email for me to reach you for you to verify the accuracy of this interview? Do you have any questions for me?