WALDEN UNIVERSITY
A higher degree. A higher purpose.

Walden University
ScholarWorks

Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies

Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection

2016

# Impact of Poverty on Undocumented Immigrants in South Florida

Julio Warner Loiseau
*Walden University*

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations

Part of the Business Administration, Management, and Operations Commons, Management Sciences and Quantitative Methods Commons, Public Administration Commons, and the Public Policy Commons

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection at ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact ScholarWorks@waldenu.edu.

# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Julio Warner Loiseau

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee
Dr. Christina Spoons, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Patricia Ripoll, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Tanya Settles, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
2016

Abstract

Impact of Poverty on Undocumented Immigrants in South Florida

by

Julio Warner Loiseau

MA, Walden University, 2009

BS, Universidad Acción Pro-Educación y Cultura (UNAPEC), 2004

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

November 2016

Abstract

Poverty in the United States has been widely explored, but very seldom does research consider the impacts of poverty among undocumented immigrants. As a result, policymakers are unable to account for or accommodate the unique needs of undocumented immigrants. Using Dalton's theory of the psychology of poverty, this case study explored the experiences of undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida to better understand how the current policy landscape impacts their existence and livelihoods. The data were collected through 18 interviews with undocumented immigrants and a review of government data related to poverty among this population from the United States Census Bureau, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Bureau of Labor. All data were inductively coded and subjected to thematic analysis. Findings indicate that these undocumented immigrants in South Florida experienced a range of social and economic depravities, including stress, fear, and anxiety as well as inadequate housing and poor health and nutrition, particularly among children, all of which are consistent with Dalton's theory of the psychology of poverty. Another key finding reinforces previous research that undocumented workers were subject to inadequate working conditions and were at risk of exploitation by employers, particularly in the agricultural industry. The positive social change implications stemming from this study include recommendations to policymakers in South Florida to develop policies to alleviate uncertainty for undocumented immigrants, including creating policy to specifically address inadequate working conditions in order to reduce the potential exploitation of socio-economically marginalized workers.

# Impact of Poverty on Undocumented Immigrants in South Florida

by

Julio Warner Loiseau

MA, Walden University, 2009

BS, Universidad Acción Pro-Educación y Cultura (UNAPEC), 2004

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

November 2016

# Dedication

I dedicate this study to Mr. Antoine Rony Sanon who, at an early age, made a difference in my life by the way he selflessly treated others. He was always there for those in need regardless of the price he had to pay. My late stepmother, Marie Antonine Tranquille, who encouraged me to further my education, and to my spiritually supportive parents, Dianne Girlchrist Johnson and Ernest Lee Johnson, who helped me follow my aspirations to educate myself to become an agent of change for my homeland. Dianne and Lee taught me by example to love others regardless of their race, social status, and imperfections, and to work passionately to accomplish goals. They encourage me to train myself well toward becoming a beacon of social change. They also taught me the meaning of love and devotion and to count my blessings and accept every setback as an opportunity to grow wiser. During this doctoral journey, I was grateful to come across special people like Cléone Agnes Jean of Montreal, Canada, who sacrificed some of her most significant resources to assist me. I extend my gratitude to Isabelle Grard from Charleroi, Belgium, who became an unfaltering friend in encouraging me throughout this journey. To those who have supported me financially during this long and ambitious endeavor. And finally, to Kathy Marlea Larsen from Hazard, Nebraska, who held my hand to cross the finish line.

# Acknowledgments

The dissertation process has been a challenging journey. My experience during this ambitious venture confirms that a dream of this magnitude would be unattainable without the contribution, insight, direction, and support from countless people to whom I owe so much respect and gratitude.

I was grateful for the support from Dr. Christina Spoons as my dissertation committee chairperson and methodology expert, Dr. Patricia Ripoll as my committee member and content expert, and Dr. Tanya Settles, URR.

I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who helped me narrow and add clarity to this dissertation, particularly Diana Wilkerson from Damascus, Syria. The love, support, and sacrifice of people like Dianne and Lee Johnson, Isabelle Grard, and Kathy Larsen were instrumental in the attainment of this goal.

Table of Contents

List of Tables ..... iv

List of Figures ..... v

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study ..... 1

Background of the Study ..... 5

Problem Statement ..... 7

Purpose of the Study ..... 8

Research Questions ..... 9

Theoretical Framework ..... 10

Conceptual Framework ..... 11

Nature of the Study ..... 14

Definitions ..... 16

Assumptions ..... 18

Scope and Delimitations ..... 19

Limitations ..... 20

Significance of the Study ..... 21

Summary and Transition ..... 29

Chapter 2: Literature Review ..... 31

Literature Search Strategy ..... 32

Theoretical Framework ..... 33

Conceptual Framework ..... 37

Literature Review ..... 38

Undocumented Immigrants....74
Poverty and Undocumented Immigration....80
Illegal Immigrant Dilemma....101
Summary and Conclusions....107
Chapter 3: Research Method....109
Introduction....109
Research Design and Rationale....109
Role of the Researcher....114
Methodology....115
Data Collection....123
Validity, Reliability, and Interpretation of Research....125
Issues of Trustworthiness....136
Summary and Conclusion....141
Chapter 4: Results....143
Introduction....143
Research Setting....144
Demographics....146
Data Collection....147
Data Analysis....153
Evidence of Trustworthiness....163
Study Results....167
Summary....242

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations ..... 245

Interpretation of Findings ..... 246

Limitations of the Study ..... 254

Recommendations ..... 256

Implications for Social Change ..... 267

Conclusions ..... 270

References ..... 273

Appendix A: Interview Guide ..... 371

Appendix B: IRB Guidance Communication ..... 375

Appendix C: Nvivo Word Tree ..... 377

List of Tables

Table 1. United States Census Bureau Poverty Thresholds in 2012..... 3

Table 2. Entry of Undocumented Immigrant from 1980 to 2011(DHS, March 2013)..... 88

Table 3. Estimates of the Undocumented Population in the U.S. from 2005 to 2012..... 90

Table 4. Bryman's 4 Stages of Coding..... 136

Table 5. Interview Participant Profiles..... 147

Table 6. List of the Initial 12 Pre-Existing Codes..... 154

Table 7. List of Some of the Insignificant and Discarded Codes..... 155

Table 8. Estimated Median Income for Undocumented Workers in Immokalee, FL..... 248

List of Figures

Figure 1. Estimates of undocumented resident population from 2000 to 2012 .....87

Figure 2. Undocumented immigrant population in the U.S. from 1990 to 2014.....88

Figure 3. Poverty rate according to the United States Census Bureau .....92

Figure 4. Schematic of step by step Nvivo simulation for qualitative research .....134

# Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Poverty has been a social phenomenon throughout the millennia, whether in rich industrialized countries or poorer nations. Although poverty is different from one community to another, poverty remains a social issue that requires practical actions. Its causes are complex and multifarious, including a range of socioeconomic factors relating to personal responsibility, education, government policy, social mobility, corruption, exploitation, business practices, and political and economic power (Blum, Astone, Decker, & Mouli, 2014; Chaddha & Wilson, 2011). One of the major causes of poverty is systemic inequality (Feagin & Bennefield, 2014; Therborn, 2014). Systemic inequality widens the space between the rich and the poor, especially concerning immigrants and undocumented residents (Corak, 2013; Treeck, 2014; Omi & Winant, 2014). This qualitative study addressed the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants in rural South Florida, with the goal of understanding more broadly the impact of poverty on them as a systematically excluded group.

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon (Alkire, Conconi, & Roche, 2012; Alkire & Foster, 2011; Davidoff-Gore, Luke, & Wawire, 2011; Ravallion, 2011). The fundamental dimensions include the means and resources to access essential goods and services (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010; Short, 2011). Other essential dimensions of poverty are health, nutrition, physical security, education, capacity, voice, justice, and opportunity to improve one's life (Ferreira & Lugo, 2013; Pachauri & Spreng, 2011; World Bank Group, 2012). Many researchers have seen a correlation between education and poverty. They found that even though education does not

guarantee an income, a person's income or lack thereof represents one of the most relevant dimensions of poverty (Bullock, 2013; Marx & Van Rie, 2014).

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and Census Bureau (2012) and the Pew Research Center (2011) found that individuals who have a college education are less vulnerable to poverty, compared to those who completed only a secondary education. Further, the Pew Hispanic Center found that 30% of heads of household without a high school education are poor, compared to only 4% of college graduates (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014). Those statistics support the assertion that higher education can help keep people out of poverty, which is contrary to the position of the 1998 winner of the Nobel Prize in economics (Fields, 2010; Green, 2012; Hacker, Anies, Folb, & Zallman, 2015; Shapiro & Varian, 2013). In his groundbreaking work on poverty, Sen (1981) recommended that any in-depth assessment of poverty should address the deprivation of fundamental capabilities rather than simply individuals' low incomes (Bowles, 2012; Bowles & Polania-Reyes, 2012).

Poverty is one of the crucial social indicators that can be used to measure the socioeconomic well-being of a country (Alkire & Foster, 2011; Barrientos, 2011). In the United States, poverty status is determined by dividing family income by a poverty line. To be protected against poverty, an average household income must be 100% of the family poverty threshold (Colby & Ortman, 2015; Iceland, 2013; United States Census Bureau, 2013). As shown in Table 1, the most recent adjustment of the poverty standards for a family of four was $23, 492 in 2012 (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2014; United States Census Bureau, 2013).

Table 1

*United States Census Bureau Poverty Thresholds in 2012 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)*

| Size of Family Unit | Poverty Threshold |
|---|---|
| One person (unrelated individual) | $11,720 |
| Under age 65 | $11,945 |
| Age 65 or older | $11,011 |
| Two people | $14,937 |
| Householder under age 65 | $15,450 |
| Householder age 65 or older | $13,892 |
| Three people | $18,284 |
| Four people | $23,492 |
| Five people | $27,827 |
| Six people | $31,471 |
| Seven people | $35,743 |
| Eight people | $39,688 |
| Nine people or more | $47,297 |

The poverty threshold, which is only a statistical yardstick, was adjusted in 2012 by the U.S. Census Bureau. The poverty rate was determined to be 15.0%, which meant then there were about 46.5 million individuals living in poverty (United States Census Bureau, 2012). However, one category of people who represent 3.5% of the U.S. population, undocumented immigrants, are not included in the poverty measure (Pew Research Center, 2014). In 2011, many government and population monitoring organizations reported that the undocumented U.S. immigrant population totaled 11.5 million (Department of Homeland Security, 2012; Pew Hispanic Center, 2012). The

exclusion of this population confirms the inaccuracy of the poverty estimates and the obsolescence of the current poverty measurements.

Only a few minor changes occurred since the United States adoption of the official poverty measure in the early 1960s (Current Population Reports, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 1965). To establish the current standard, the U.S. Census Bureau approved a set of thresholds for families of different sizes and compositions. Officials compare and adjust these thresholds before tax deduction income to determine a family's poverty status. As a basis to design applicable policy, the poverty thresholds have served different purposes, including comparing poverty across demographic groups, tracking poverty over time, and determining the starting point for eligibility for federal assistance programs (Meyer & Sullivan, 2012). However, there has been no apparent indication that demonstrates a correlation between those thresholds and immigration status within a geographical boundary (Kanbur & Sumner, 2012; Skeldon, 2014; Wight, Chau, & Aratani, 2010). The Institute for Research on Poverty (2012) affirmed that when the poverty threshold was developed, the threshold included the cost of a minimum diet multiplied by three. Also, the cost of living and the price of other goods and services needed to be taken into considerations (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Many analysts argue that, because of the many dimensions of poverty in the United States, this social phenomenon cannot be characterized along one threshold (Hall & Lamont, 2013; Iceland, 2013). Other researchers reported a characteristic variation of poverty rates based on age, race, origin, family composition, work experience, and geography (Ivanic, Martin, & Zaman, 2012; Short, 2011).

## Background of the Study

Understanding poverty requires looking at its complexity beyond the living conditions the government considers to be relevant (Kearney & Harris, 2014). To identify the poverty level, the American Public Policy established a threshold and a set of approaches to address poverty as a multifaceted social phenomenon (Rosenfeld, 2010; Vu & Baulch, 2011). These approaches focused on income redistribution and social transfers (Barrientos, 2012; McCall & Percheski, 2010). Many of these programs are derivatives of the Federal Assistance Programs of 1935, administered by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, which provided financial assistance to children of low- or no-income families (Social Security Act, Pub. L. 74–271). Such programs include Temporary Assistance for Families and Children (TANF), Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), and infant support and welfare programs (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1935). Many researchers found that these programs do not always provide long-term solutions (Barrientos, 2011; Meadowcroft, 2011). Others argued they had increased dependencies for both participants and the state alike (Borjas, 2011; Yerkes & Van der Veen, 2011). In the case of a complete exclusion of the estimated 11.2 million undocumented immigrants (Tienda & Haskins, 2011), some researchers argued that this exclusion would not do justice to the socioeconomic condition of the nation as a whole. Others sustained that the denial of benefits to undocumented immigrants would undoubtedly impact the lives of their children and the economic structure of U.S. society (Donato & Armenta, 2011; Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2012; Ngai, 2014).

Despite the countless opportunities available in the United States, poverty has persisted as a widespread problem. For example, in the late 1950s, when the U.S. population was 152, 271, 417, the overall poverty rate was 22.4 % or 39.5 million individuals (U.S. Census Bureau, 1973). These numbers declined steadily throughout the 1960s, reaching a low of 11.1 % or 22.9 million in 1973 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1979). However, Stricker (2011) found that in 1966, during the war on poverty declared by President Lyndon B. Johnson, 19% of rural Americans were living in poverty compare with 14% of urban Americans. Simultaneously, the percentage of non-White Americans in poverty was 41% in contrast to 12% of White Americans that same year.

In the late 70s, poverty fluctuated between 11.1% and 12.6 %. In 1983, the U.S. Census Bureau found that the number of poor individuals had risen to 35.3 million or 15.2%. During the subsequent 10-year period, the poverty rate remained at 12.8%, increasing to 15.1% or 39.3 million by 1993. From 1993 to 2000, the incidence of poverty declined, only to rise to 12.7% in 2004 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2010). More recently, the Census Bureau reported an increase of 13% in the poverty rate from a 14.3% in 2009 to 15.1 % in 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This expansion represents an additional 2.6 million people living in poverty and bringing the total number of individuals in poverty in the United States to 46.2 million, the highest rate since 1993 (Iceland, 2013). Such facts confirm that the United States is only partially winning the war against poverty (Gans, 1995). In addition to the 46.2 million Americans living in poverty in 2010, there were 11.2 million undocumented immigrants (3.5% of the U.S. population) left out of the data collection process (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Therefore, a study to explore the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrant population is necessary to clarify how their exclusion in poverty research may affect the socioeconomic health of the communities they live in, and eventually the U.S. society as a whole (Lynch & Oakford, 2013; Pourat, Wallace, Hadler, & Ponce, 2014).

## Problem Statement

The United Census Bureau (2011) identified 46.2 million individuals currently living in poverty in the United States. Living in poverty entails suffering not only from material deprivation but also from hardships and diminished life prospects that come with being poor (Kearney & Harris, 2014). There are sufficient data on poverty reflecting the impact on those who live in poverty regardless of their gender, race, or religion (Chavez, 2012; Gleeson, 2010; Healey & O'Brien, 2014). Researchers the Standards for Quality Scientific Research and the Standards for Reporting on Humanities-Oriented Research recommended all segments of a population must be included to discover the full spectrum of poverty as a social phenomenon (American Education Research Association, 2014; Iceland, 2013; Wilson, 2012). Because of the exclusion of undocumented immigrants, finding data on the impact of poverty on the estimated 11.2 million undocumented immigrants in the United States has been a challenge (Creswell, 2012; Thomas & Peterson, 2014). The omission of data from undocumented immigrants not only limits the findings of the causes and consequences of poverty, but it also hinders the development of public policy. For example, of the estimated 5.5 million children with allegedly undocumented parents currently living in the United States, only 4.5 million of them were born in the country, which would automatically make them U.S. citizens

(Passel & Cohn, 2011). According to the Pew Research Center, in 2011, undocumented children account for 6% of children in the United States and 11.8 % of all poor children (Pew Research Center, 2011). Because of the undocumented status of their parents, those children are prone to restrictions on government benefits. With undocumented parents' ineligible for benefits, their children are more vulnerable to poverty than those with lawfully residing parents. Additionally, these children are also more likely to live in impoverished communities where there are drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness, obesity, teenage pregnancy, lower life expectancy, higher homicide rates, and poorer educational performance and literacy scores (Glassner, 2010; Roberts, 2012). The exclusion of undocumented immigrants in the literature on poverty represents a significant gap that needs to be filled.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this exploratory case study was fourfold. The first purpose was to determine the impact of poverty on the estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants in rural South Florida, i.e., 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrants' population (Center for Migration Studies, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2014). The second purpose was to explore and describe the experience of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States. The third purpose was to describe the collateral impact of government policies designed to keep undocumented immigrants from receiving government benefits, such as higher education and socioeconomic protection that would include living wage employment (Immigrant Responsibility Act, 1996). The fourth purpose was to identify challenges of collecting accurate data on poverty because undocumented children remain

excluded in the data collection of poverty. Poverty is a social phenomenon; therefore, it is not a voluntary choice or an intentional state of mind (Berliner, 2012; Bossert, Chakravarty, & D'Ambrosio, 2013). Researchers reported that the phenomenon of poverty is one of the reasons why people leave their country to come to the United States to improve their life (Andrews & Withey, 2012; Wilson, 2012). The scarceness of research on poverty within the undocumented immigrant population represents a significant gap in poverty studies, with only few researchers exploring that side of the phenomenon (Chavez, 2012; Hochschild, Weaver, & Burch, 2012).

## Research Questions

In the study, I followed a fundamental approach to delve into the richness of participants' ways of life (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). I explored the thoughts and opinions of participants to discover underlying themes to produce a complex and nuanced narrative (Baker, Edwards, & Doidge, 2012; Ravitch & Riggan, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2011). The central research question for this study was the following: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida?

Four sub questions were used to divide this question into more specific poverty-related queries to direct the participant interviews that took place during the research process. The sub questions were the following:

- Sub question 1: What is the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 2: What are the consequences of being undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?

- Sub question 3: Why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida?
- Sub question 4: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida?

I used these sub questions to explore the unknown, analyze the assumptions, and evaluate the validity of the participants' responses to enhance the reliability of this study.

## Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was the Dalton, Ghosal, and Mani's (2014) theory of poverty as aspirations failure. Their approach defies Appadurai's (2004) argument that aspirations are central to the path out of poverty. Dalton et al. developed a novel and simple framework to study the psychology of poverty and aspirations failure. They defined aspirations failure as the inability to aspire to one's potential. Their study was the first to model aspirations as internal constraints and their interaction with external constraints. Dalton et al. hypothesized that the failure of aspirations among the poor may be a consequence of poverty, rather than a cause. Dalton et al.'s theory asserts that the rich and the poor share the same preferences and same behavioral bias in setting aspirations. Dalton et al. showed that poverty can exacerbate the effects of this behavioral bias leading to aspirations failure and hence, a behavioral poverty ambush. Dalton et al. specified the conditions under which raising aspirations alone is sufficient to help escape from a poverty entrapment, even without relaxing material constraints (Dolgoff et al., 2012; Mishra, 2014).

Most undocumented immigrants risk their lives to come to the United States seeking a better opportunity (Chavez, 2012). Their adventure is intended to establish a

sustainable living that they believe only the United States is equipped to provide. They embark on a journey with the primary focus to attain a level of self-sufficiency, which means a state of not requiring any financial support or guidance for survival (Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2012; Savulescu & Persson, 2012). Once in the country, undocumented immigrants find themselves deprived of the most fundamental forms of attainment (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014). This obstacle emerges from a statutory exclusion inflicted by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. The lack of status of undocumented immigrants triggers their vulnerability to a type of poverty in which all assets or resources are seen as contentiously vague when it comes to determining the impact of poverty on this population (Katz, 2013). Although income alone does not define poverty, it still plays a significant role in the socioeconomic development of an individual. The lack of income impacts the overall quality of life of a household's well-being and their ability to survive as they fail to incorporate a whole range of assets that individuals and families rely on to survive.

## Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework consists of theories, beliefs, and assumptions that support a research study as Maxwell (2012) suggested. The framework that supported this study was the multidimensional nature of poverty theory by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2015). The OECD defined poverty and vulnerability as a dynamic concept in which the vulnerable face the risk of falling into extreme poverty. The choice of this framework was justified because of the OECD's assessments of the risks that push people into poverty. Other factors included the

implications of policy, the dynamics of poverty, and its channel of transmission. The OECD also attempted to identify how an individual's status affects his or her decision-making ability. This framework showed how documented phenomenon such as pessimistic beliefs, helplessness, internal constraints, and external center of control among the poor might be a consequence of poverty. I used this theory to provide an understanding of the mindset and the survival instinct that bring undocumented individuals to the United States in the first place (Nicholls, 2013).

Other theories that contributed to the conceptual framework were those from Alkire and Sumner (2013), Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Silverman (2011). Through their theories, these exhorted researchers to focus on understanding social phenomena in their natural settings. In turn, to study a social phenomenon such as poverty, there was a need for a methodology that emphasizes the importance of looking at the factors in a natural setting. The qualitative methodology was the most appropriate to research considerable characteristics and determine the impact of a social phenomenon.

Defining the concept of poverty is critical to policy, political, and academic debates. Fundamentally, the definition of poverty needs to be understood primarily as a political matter and secondarily as a social condition that requires scientific attention (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010; Lund, Breen, Flisher, Kakuma, Corrigall, Joska, & Patel, 2010; Townsend, 2010).

According to Maxwell (2012), beliefs and assumptions help to shape a research study. The unique idea for my study was that poverty is a social phenomenon that imposes certain conditions on society as a result of income inequality and inadequate

education (Anyon, 2014; Hagenaars, 2014; Gilbert, 2014; Townsend, 2014). A detailed analysis of this social phenomenon will follow in Chapter 2 including other studies that addressed poverty as a source of controversy (Moore, 2012; Moore, 2012). On their quests to find a definition for poverty, Lund et al. (2010) and Jentoft and Midré (2011) concluded that there is no precise definition of the social phenomenon. These researchers' findings have implications for studies that attempt to compare poverty in very different cultures or societies. Many researchers agree that poverty has to be understood in its social, cultural, and historical aspects (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010). For many, poverty is defined as the incapacity of an individual or a group of people to have reasonable living standards compared to others. This category includes people who cannot afford the essentials such as food, water, clothing, shelter, and health care and who experience tremendous hardship in their lives (Chambers, 2014; Iceland, 2013; Jentoft & Midré, 2011; Misturelli, & Heffernan, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). This definition relates to this study by demonstrating the adverse factors that steer undocumented immigrants into poverty.

Creswell (2012) argued that an exploratory qualitative case study is an in-depth study of a problem. This approach offers the capacity to enter the field of research without false preconceptions (Johannesson & Perjons, 2014; LeCompte & Schensul, 2012). It also provides a larger set of techniques to answer the research questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Merriam, 2012; Silverman, 2011). Moreover, qualitative methodologies are particularly well suited for studies of poverty among undocumented immigrants. Such methods involve rich, immediate, and comprehensive descriptions that

emphasize the social settings in which the phenomenon of poverty exists, and are oriented toward revealing complexity (Gray, 2013; Green & Thorogood, 2013; Lichtman, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Researching the impact of poverty in a group that systematically lives under the shadows is complex. Such research cannot be produced through statistical procedures or quantitative assessment that sometimes fails to recognize the nuances of the phenomenon (Arbona, Olvera, Rodriguez, Hagan, Linares, & Wiesner, 2010; Gonzales, 2011; Martinez & Slack, 2013). Therefore, using a qualitative exploratory case study design, I explored participants' perceptions to answer the research question: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida? Through semi structured interviews and document review, I aimed to discover the specific impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida, and to help fill the gap in the literature while increasing academic knowledge on the impact of poverty.

## Nature of the Study

In this exploratory case study I described the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants in rural South Florida. As Holmes (2011) and Cairney (2011) suggested, policymakers must have critical knowledge of the circumstances surrounding social problems before acting. Other researchers have affirmed that potential policy outcomes should be considered as part of an ideal democratic environment (Cairney, 2012; Hollyer, Rosendorff, & Vreeland, 2011). Because social problems are complex and challenging (Mooney, Knox, & Schacht, 2014; Payne, 2014), antipoverty programs such as quality education; basic access to health care, water, and sanitation services; and children

empowerment are becoming crucial choices to help break the cycle of poverty (Bruton, 2013; Zacharias, Masterson, & Kim, 2014). In my study, I aimed to provide new insights for policymakers on undocumented immigrants' experiences and to describe potential long-term impacts of poverty on U.S. society if the situation is not addressed. My study may trigger new policies that would encourage community participation reduce poverty (Asen, 2012; Austin & Feit, 2013).

I collected data through semi structured interviews and official document review to determine whether undocumented immigrants were living in poverty and to describe the impact of poverty on them. I targeted undocumented immigrants for this study because of their exclusion in research of poverty. This exclusion occurred due to their inaccessibility, their reluctance to speak out, or their fear of being identified by immigration agencies. I selected interview participants from a pool of undocumented immigrants who verbally promised to volunteer their contribution. I asked questions about their personal experiences as undocumented immigrants. The semi structured interviews generated data about participants' way of living and their economic condition.

The state of Florida was an appropriate venue for my study for various reasons. First, it ranked second after California in having the most undocumented immigrants, with an estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants (e.g., 4.8% of the total population) as of 2012 (Passel et al., 2014; Pew Research Center, 2014; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2012). Second, as a southern state, Florida has many agricultural farms that are more accessible and more discreet for undocumented immigrant workers. Also, it has a diverse population of individuals from several Latin American countries.

Finally, Florida offered more accessibility for me to discover, assess, and describe the factors embedded in undocumented immigrants' experiences with poverty. In June 2014, the overall unemployment rate in Florida was 6.2%. In South Florida, the unemployment rate was 6.8% with variance from one county to another (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 2014; Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2014; U.S. Department of Labor, 2014).

## Definitions

*Adults*: Persons age 21 years or older (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

*Bureaucratic corruption*: Corruption instituted, committed, or condoned by government officials (Gupta, 2012; Peyton & Belasen, 2012).

*Children of undocumented immigrants*: Foreign-born and documented U.S.-born children who live with at least one undocumented parent (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011).

*Environment of poverty*: The aggregate of conditions that nurtures poverty and elevates risk of socio-emotional difficulties (Jurecska, Chang, Peterson, Lee-Zorn, Merrick, & Sequeira, 2012; Kelly, 2010).

*Foreign born*: A person who is not a U.S. citizen at birth; that is, who was born outside the U.S., Puerto Rico, or other U.S. territories, and whose parents are not U.S. citizens (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

*Good governance*: The efficient allocation and management of resources intended to provide quality services for the public good (Andrews, 2010).

*Institutionalized inequality*: A condition that occurs when citizens are treated differently from others without violating any law (Ahmed, 2012).

*Legal immigrant population*: People, who were granted lawful permanent residence, granted asylum, admitted as refugees, or admitted under an authorized temporary status for long-term residence and work (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). This group includes naturalized citizens, legal immigrants who have become U.S. citizens through naturalization, legal permanent resident aliens who have been granted permission to stay indefinitely in the United States as permanent residents, asylees or refugees, and legal temporary migrants who are allowed to live and in some cases work in the United States for specific periods of time (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

*Low income*: Working families that earn less than twice the federal poverty line. The low-income threshold for a family of one was $11,720 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

*Public sector*: The part of a state economy that consists of government institutions including industries that generate revenue and provide services (Institute of Internal Auditors, 2011).

*Socioeconomic development*: The process of social and economic development in society. It is measured by indicators such as GDP, life expectancy, literacy, and levels of employment (Bornstein & Bradley, 2014).

*Socioeconomic status*: The economic and sociological measure of a person's work experience or a family's economic and social position based on income, education, and occupation (United Nations Development Program, 2010).

*Undocumented immigrant*: A foreign-born person who does not possess lawfully issued immigration documents or has no entry record in the United States (U. S. Department of Homeland Security, 2012).

*Undocumented population*: People who entered the United States clandestinely without a visa or border checking, have no work permit, and have never been discovered or arrested by any immigration agency.

*Unauthorized residents*: Foreign-born persons who entered the United States without inspection or were admitted temporarily and stayed past the date they were required to leave (Center for Immigration Studies, 2012; Pew Hispanic Center, 2011).

*U.S. born*: An individual who is a U.S. citizen at birth, including people born in the United States, Puerto Rico, or other U.S. territories, as well as those born elsewhere to parents who are U.S. citizens (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

*Working poor*: Individuals or families who maintain regular employment but fall below an officially set poverty line (Fields, 2010).

## Assumptions

I conducted this study using a group of undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida. Given the nature of this study and the complexity involved in recruiting participants, several assumptions needed to be made:

- Participants voluntarily told their stories and experiences openly and honestly despite their fear of being identified.
- Participants who found material comfort did not ignore the impact their situation had on their children.
- Data gathered from official government databases and websites were reliable.
- Responses from the participants were reliable and honest despite their emotions or references to their hardship.

## Scope and Delimitations

My aim was to interview participants whose awareness, knowledge, and experiences would contribute to the study. I recruited a sample of 18 undocumented immigrants using snowball sampling, a no probability sampling technique used by researchers to identify potential participants in a study who are hard to locate known as marginalized groups. I used snowball sampling which is a referral process that allows the researcher to contact people who are difficult to find using other sampling methods. With a preference toward parents or nonparents who made decisions in the households, I only interviewed adults 21years old or older. The most significant barrier was identifying participants because of their fear of being identified by authorities. To gain their trust, I succeeded in creating a social relationship with my study participants. There have been countless studies on poverty, but none addressed the impact of poverty on undocumented residents. My study, however, did not include the entire undocumented population in Florida. I did not aim to identify undocumented immigrants or provide estimates of the number of undocumented living in the state and city where I conducted this study.

I focused specifically on Immokalee: An agricultural city in South Florida. I did not aim to prove that all undocumented immigrants in this geographical area live in poverty or suffer from exclusion. A limitation of my study was the decision to use snowball sampling. I achieved saturation when new data brought no additional insights to the research questions. The study took place in 2016 and included only undocumented immigrants who agreed to participate voluntarily. I provided more details of the methodology in Chapter 3.

## Limitations

Although the goal was to conduct a scholarly investigation with a high standard of professionalism, this study had many limitations. To eliminate participants' personal bias, I allowed sufficient time for participants to explain their situation in detail. Many characteristics of poverty such as proof of income, emotional and social challenges, and health and safety issues within the undocumented immigrant communities can lead to potential bias. For example, as they work informally and habitually paid in cash, researchers can rely only on estimates of what they choose to report. Additionally, because of lack of status, their emotional and social challenges are not being monitored or assessed. Their health and safety challenges remain practically unknown. Each of those limitations can influence the interpretation of the findings of my study. Not having the means to verify my participant incomes affected my ability to determine an exact and reliable median income for this population.

To eliminate bias and determine the accuracy of the themes that I identified after data collection, I read the interview transcripts to the participants. Moreover, randomization is not necessary for a qualitative study. However, due to the relativity of the phenomenon of poverty, I selected the initial candidate pool based on general criteria regardless of any knowledge about participants' poverty. Because of this study's sampling technique and sample characteristics, the findings of this study are not generalizable to other illegal immigrant communities. Additionally, the results are not transferable to the overall population from which the sample emerged. Because undocumented groups vary from one city to another, the findings are not transferable to

other states. Other limitation of this study included the lack of poverty measurement because, in the case of undocumented immigrants, determining the number of members in one household was unachievable. Furthermore, I did not distinguish between short- and long-term poverty effects to examine any potential instability and hardships associated with poverty.

Moreover, I did not disclose any benefits received by children of undocumented residents in the United States, or report any earned income sources. Another limitation was that findings might not apply to lawful residents in other settings without modification because the perspectives of the participants selected may not reflect the opinions of others not selected or living in other geographical areas. This study involved informative interviews, which could create a delimitation arising from the researcher's interpretations and experiences of the interviewee's words (Creswell, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

## Significance of the Study

In this study, I addressed the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants in rural South Florida to understand why undocumented immigrants chose to come to the United States despite the difficulties they would likely face for being in the country illegally. Although many studies addressed poverty, policy aspects of immigration, family separation, and political opinions, no studies have been conducted on undocumented immigrants to describe the impact of their experiences or their difficulties in the United States. This paucity of research represents a considerable gap that my study's findings may fill. By examining the influence of anti-poverty policies that exclude

this population, my study provided a basis to understand the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrant communities. This research addressed the factors that maintain poverty in contrast to the socioeconomic development programs that reduce poverty.

By determining the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants and by including their data in academic research, I aimed to contribute an accurate analysis of their situation and to create a basis for positive social change. The implications for positive social change include informing policymakers who may determine ways in which undocumented immigrants living in poverty may become an integral and productive part of U.S. society. Social change sometimes involves policy re-engineering that promotes equal opportunity for all. Promoting equal opportunity implies supporting the values, dignity, and development of individuals, institutions, organizations, cultures, communities, and society in general (McMichael, 2011; Zoetman & Mommaas, 2012). The inclusion of individuals living in poverty is especially important because, as of 2010, an estimated 46.2 million lawful residents were living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Due to the limitations of data collection, this figure did not include the estimated 11.3 million people and their children living in the United States clandestinely or without proper immigration documents. The effect of undocumented immigrants in poverty is a larger public policy issue that may require structural and policy changes.

The findings of this study may be used by practitioners and lawmakers attempting to determine the best methods to engage with the undocumented and ensure their participation in their communities. Given their lack of education, political participation, and access to technology, social isolation will continue to deepen the poverty plaguing

undocumented communities (Anyon, 2014; Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010). Consequently, this will keep those residents in poverty, further diminishing incomes and social equality that will impact an entire generation (Anyon, 2014; Wilson, 2012). These problems may also require a traditional approach to public administration in combination with sound policy reforms and efficiency in governmental actions (Kraft & Furlong, 2012; Kersting & Vetter, 2013; Peters, 2012).

**Significance to Public Policy Practice**

In a democratic society, governmental entities enact laws, design policies, and allocate resources. Bredenoord and van Lindert (2010); Ludwig, Kling, and Mullainathan (2011), and Campbell (2012) argued that many policies are designed to help the poor. Some are drafted to protect the environment. Others are intended to protect the defenseless and ensure social justice, freedom of speech, and civil liberty. Liable governments often arbitrate in regulating and deregulating government agencies and other industries, so that people can acquire basic products and services such as basic healthcare, shelter, water, heat, and clothing. Further, Bowman and Kearney (2012) affirmed that governments hold most of the responsibilities in developing policies and socioeconomic programs to protect their citizens from poverty. The United Nations Development Programs and other researchers such as Amsden (2010); Karnani (2011); Smeeding & Waldfogel (2010) shared this affirmation.

As a continuous process, the purpose of public policy is to meld into a body of fundamental principles or established precedents according to legislative acts, and judicial decisions by which states or other organizations approve for the good of their

communities (Scheingold, 2010). It is the courses of action, regulatory measures, laws, doctrines, and funding priorities concerning a given issue identified by a governmental entity or its representatives (Kraft & Furlong, 2012; Post & Preston, 2012). As one of the most fundamental principles, governments have an obligation to locate, identify, quantify, and control the ins and outs of every individual living or transiting within its territories. The presence of unauthorized, undocumented, or illegal immigrants in the United States and their means of survival and socioeconomic standing represent national security and public policy issues. In 2010, the United States government reported spending $23,480 for each undocumented immigrant repatriated (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011). Hypothetically, deporting the estimated 11.2 million illegal immigrants would have cost $285 billion to the American economy (Immigration & Customs Enforcement, 2011). Gans, Replogle, & Tichenor (2012) found that the country would lose an estimated $2.6 trillion in cumulative GDP over ten years. Under a different alternative, Lynch and Oakford (2013) found that the United States would benefit from a significant increase in GDP and income and a modest increase in jobs. The earnings of the newly authorized immigrants would rise significantly, and the government revenues would increase considerably.

Other researchers such as Borjas (2014) and Hinojosa-Ojeda (2012) discovered that a policy change would generate extra income for the economy, regardless of whether it may push down wages for the average worker (Borjas, 2011; Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2012). Moreover, the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) found that policy re-evaluation would raise the productivity of resources by increasing the labor supply. In

fact, regardless of their undocumented status, this population increases the economic output as they collectively paid an estimated $11.84 billion in 2012 (Gardner, Johnson, & Wiehe, 2015). Considering the overall impact the undocumented immigrants have in the country's economy, proponents of immigrations reforms believe the following reform alternative would be more beneficial for the country:

- Provide adequate legal channels for the admission of workers by expanding proper immigration venues, while maintaining rational enforcement of immigration laws.
- Allow the natural inflows to vary with the economy.
- Charge a penalty to those who violated the immigration laws as one of the qualifiers to be eligible for legal residence.
- Create a set of incentives to reward workers' compliance.
- Motivate businesses who play by the rules by ensuring meaningful enforcement in the United States labor market; and
- Mitigate the economic influence of low-skilled immigrants workers by charging a fee to employers who choose to hire workers from overseas instead of hiring at home (Hanson, 2010; Hanson, 2012; Kalleberg, 2011).

Governments operate on policies that evolve periodically; therefore, reforming outdated policies is important (Howlett & Newman, 2010; Zahariadis, 2014). It is a Citizen's responsibility to report the policy issues to whom are elected to change or amend them (Cordner, 2014; Kraft & Furlong, 2012; Peters, 2012). Public policy issues include oil shortages, unaffordable healthcare, unemployment, security issues, water

contamination, illegal immigration, crowded prisons, disaster response, and environmental issues (Chettiparamb, 2015). The close relationship between low family incomes and the health of children of undocumented parents is a major cause for concern in both public policy and public health communities (Dreby, 2012; Hatzenbuehler, Phelan, & Link, 2013; Levy & Sidel, 2013; Wilson, 2012). Anderson (2014) and Cairney (2011) defined public policy issues as conditions that produce dissatisfaction among people for which a direct intervention of governmental action is required. In particular cases, policy grievances do not require political intervention or interference but arbitration (Cochran, Mayer, Carr, Cayer, & McKenzie, 2015).

Base on the studies cited above, apparently the policies that keep the undocumented immigrant population in the shadow and unproductive require a re-evaluation. Sound reassessment of current immigration policy would generate productivity gains for the country's economy while limiting financial costs and spending on immigration. Among the benefits of a policy reevaluation will include the safe transition from the shadow by the undocumented immigrants. As a result, the government would have a more accurate census of those who live in the country. The identification of the undocumented immigrants will also decrease the security risks the country currently faces for not knowing their exact numbers.

Many theorists argued that improving people's lives by enhancing their health and well-being is one of the goals of public policy (Birkland, 2014; Scheingold, 2010). Lack of action to redress the issue of undocumented and unauthorized immigration will to be an everlasting burden for local governments (Burke & Pentony, 2011). When

policymakers clearly see the impact of their decisions, they can better adapt appropriate policies for the benefit of the public good (Krogstad & Passel, 2014).

Overall, public policy is defined as a system of social laws, sometimes regulatory measures, ordinances, courses of action, and funding priorities a government decides to apply or to ignore while dealing with a particular problem or concern (Birkland, 2014; Hill & Varone, 2014). This study aimed to be used as a blueprint that would serve to influence policymaking on whether to design or amend federal and local policies that would reduce the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants and their American-born children.

**Significance to Social Change**

For many concerned citizens, the presence of the undocumented immigrants in the United States is a security threat (Chavez, 2013; Dowling & Inda, 2013). Others consider their presence as a social problem that must be solved (Chavez, 2013). Even ignoring their presence would ultimately contribute to their exploitation, which is against the moral values of the nation (Crane, 2013; Petersen, 2013).

Per definition, social change involves several different deliberate processes that lead to the betterment of society (Professor L. Stadtlander, personal communication, November 2015). Prof. Stadtlander believes that social change can also occur through the dissemination of information, community engagement, and needs to be based best practices and scientific evidence. The presence of the undocumented immigrants is controversial. Opponents of immigration reforms identify them as a socioeconomic burden to government and a hazard to national security (Chavez, 2013; Kirshner, 2013).

Some believe that their presence also has an impact on domestic crimes (Papastergiadis, 2013; Papastergiadis, McQuire, Gu, Barikin, Gibson, Yue, & Jones, 2013; Zatz & Smith, 2012; Zedner, 2013). Others point out some types of cultural issues as if undocumented immigrants would face challenges integrating into the American culture due to language barriers and the inaccessibility of services, and systemic social exclusion (Mahalingam, 2013; Malhotra, Margalit, & Mo, 2013; Ngai, 2014).

The strength of a nation is determined primarily by its human capital (Budhwar & Debrah, 2013). Many development organizations affirmed the imperativeness to have a knowledgeable and productive workforce to attain long-term economic growth (Kefela, 2010; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012). The core social capital of this nation also includes the undocumented immigrants and their children regardless of their limited ability to contribute to the workforce. Several research studies found that due to lack of documentation children of the undocumented immigrants can barely achieve a post-secondary education that would qualify them to hold decent jobs (Marquardt, Steigenga, Williams, & Vasquez, 2013; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Tienda & Haskins, 2011; Vergolini & Zanini, 2013). This situation may present a long-term issue since they could become underproductive when compared to their counterparts (Coll & Marks, 2012; Pew research Center, 2014). Such problems are complex and require decisive social change actions that would help curtail any plausible long lasting inequality (Castañeda, Holmes, Madrigal, Young, Beyeler, & Quesada, 2015; Oakes, Lipton, Anderson, & Stillman, 2015). It is this form of social change that this study sought to conduct by filling the gap in the literature that would inform policymakers of

the long-term danger of ignoring the possible impact of poverty on this population that is already part of the American society.

## Summary and Transition

In this first chapter, I provided an outline of poverty as a social phenomenon and its implication for public policy. In the background section, I explicitly introduced the establishment of the poverty threshold, the Federal Assistance Programs of 1935, the TANF, the EITC, and the Aid to Families with Dependent Children. I then introduced the problem statement and my purpose in conducting my research.

I introduced the nature and the significance of the study. I also discussed the study's theoretical framework, which views poverty as aspirations failure. I briefly introduced a conceptual framework from the OECD that defined poverty and vulnerability as a dynamic concept in which the vulnerable face a greater risk of falling into extreme poverty. I presented justification for using exploratory case study as my study methodology. I briefly described the data collection plan and methods that I used to answer my research question and sub questions. In this chapter, I introduced a list of the definitions of the terms as they pertained to my study. I discussed a number of assumptions relating to the data accuracy, my research scope and delimitations, and I highlighted the study limitations and the potential contribution of study results to positive social change.

In chapter 2, I described a comprehensive overview of poverty and the study's potential implications for public policy and administration. I also compared and contrasted theories, problems, and issues relating to undocumented immigration, poverty,

and other socioeconomic factors. I provided narrative insights into the question of undocumented immigrants and poverty, examined whether they live in poverty, or they are victims of social exclusion, denied choices, or faced restrictions of possibilities. Finally, I reviewed literature materials relating to research methods and designs to support the approach used in this study.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review

Undocumented immigrants face many challenges while pursuing the American dream. They live in a parallel world that requires silence and secrecy due to their lack of legal status. This literature review provides an extensive overview of the literature from several academic sources that focus on poverty, its causes, and its consequences. Because of the concealed presence of undocumented immigrants, the impact of poverty on them has gone unnoticed despite the recommendation from the standards for quality research that all segments of a population must be included in the data evaluation of a social phenomenon. The exclusion of 11.2 million individuals not only limits the findings of the causes and consequences of poverty, but it also hinders the public policy decisions. U.S. children born from undocumented parents are systematically ineligible for government benefits and are more vulnerable to poverty than their counterparts. Those children are more likely to reside in impoverished communities where they are exposed to drugs, alcohol abuse, mental illness, obesity, teen pregnancy, lower life expectancy, and poor educational performance and literacy scores. I conducted this exploratory case study to provide data to describe the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants. My purpose was fourfold: First, I examined the impact of poverty on the estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants in rural South Florida, who constitute 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrant population in the United States. My second purpose was to explore and describe the experience of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States. My third purpose was to describe the collateral impacts of government policies designed to keep undocumented immigrants

from receiving government benefits such as higher education and socioeconomic protection that would include living wage employment. My fourth purpose was to identify challenges of collecting accurate data on poverty while the undocumented children remain excluded in the data collection of this phenomenon.

In this literature review, I summarize the available research literature on poverty including the challenges faced by the undocumented immigrants. This literature review also focused, in part, on the poverty as aspirations failure of Dalton et al. (2014) and the multidimensional nature of poverty concept by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. This review positioned the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants in the scientific context. At the beginning of this chapter is a description of the literature search strategy. Next is the theoretical foundation that includes an overall description of the theory, and the conceptual framework. Next are a literature review of various theories of poverty and a literature review of key concepts including extensive discussion of studies, in which, researchers examined undocumented, unauthorized, or illegal immigrants' life. Last, I offer a summary and transition.

## Literature Search Strategy

To find information on my topic, I explored the most recent research about undocumented immigrants and compiled journal articles, books, and local newspaper articles. Multiple searches were conducted in several libraries such as the Library of Congress, Walden University Online Library, Collier County Library, and the University of Miami Libraries, including books about undocumented immigrants. I used search terms such as *illegal immigration*, *illegal aliens*, *unauthorized immigrants*, *undocumented*

*aliens*, *undocumented immigrants*, *criminal aliens*, *illegal immigrants*, and *poverty.* I also used *legal immigration*, *causes of poverty*, *poverty within illegal immigrants*, *illegal immigrants' children*, *employment*, *illegal immigrants in the workforce*, *immigration enforcement*, *local immigration enforcement*, *immigration laws*, *immigration legislation*, *illegal immigration enforcement*, *local immigration*, and *local illegal immigration*. I used the same search words and criteria in searching all ProQuest databases including Academic Search Premier Database, Government Database, Thesis and Dissertation Database, as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) library, Immigration and Customs Enforcement's (ICE) library, and the Internet. I thoroughly searched multiple reference lists of research articles for additional sources pertaining to my topic. Although there were reliable sources, not all the studies included in this literature review were from peer-review journals. This research study did include some academic research conducted in other countries, particularly developing countries. However, this literature review segment focused on studies carried out exclusively in the United States.

## Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of study included the theory of Dalton et al. (2014) who characterized poverty as aspirations failure and a consequence rather than a cause. Assessing the value of aspirations and aspirations failure, I compared both concepts to current poverty policies to establish the impact of poverty within those who see their aspirations as inconceivable. Appadurai (2004) argued that aspirations are central to the path out of poverty. Dalton et al. (2014) showed that poverty could exacerbate the effects of behavioral bias that leads to aspirations failure and creates a behavioral poverty

ambush. Dalton et al. theory served as the foundation for my study considering that undocumented immigrants are a marginalized group. According to Creswell (2013), the basic tenet of a transformative framework is that knowledge is not neutral; it reflects the power and social relationships within society, and thus the purpose of knowledge construction is to help people improve society. Dalton et al. (2014) specified the conditions under which raising hopes alone is sufficient to help individuals escape from poverty entrapment, even without relaxing material constraints. Aspirations not only fortify an individual's determination and ambitions, but they also represent the keys to progress, life satisfaction, and development of a person. Many theorists assert that aspirations play a significant role in poverty reduction (Carr, 2013; Carr, Thompson, Dalal, de Guzman, Gloss, Munns, & Steadman, 2014; Flechtner, 2014). Aspirations refer to hopes or ambitions to achieve something (Renshon, 2014). Recently, researchers conducting development studies have attempted to link the concept of aspirations to moving out of poverty (Boyden, 2013; Genicot & Ray, 2014). Others have found that aspirations are complicated, multifaceted, and socially embedded (Irwin & Elley, 2011; Irwin & Elley, 2013). Copestake and Camfield (2010) defined aspirations as the perceived importance or necessity of a person's ambitions. For Bernard, Dercon, Orkin, and Taffesse (2014), aspirations are targets that a person wishes to achieve. They are also connected to willingness, preferences, choices, and calculations.

Poverty is often associated with powerlessness, vulnerability, and failure of aspirations (Walker, Kyomuhendo, Chase, Choudhry, Gubrium, Nicola, & Ming, 2013). Davenport (2013) warned that poor people might not be able to explore their capacities,

but this does not mean that they do not have aspirations they would like to fulfill. The connection between aspirations and poverty seems to be mutually reinforcing. Carter-Wall and Whitfield (2012) argued that poverty might lead to a failure of aspirations as it suppresses dreams, including the process of attaining goals, thus resulting in a self-perpetuating trap. Flechtner (2014) maintained that the capacity to aspire could itself help people to improve their conditions, as it can force the poor to cooperate collectively against poverty. Development efforts need to include collective actions (Chambers, 2014); therefore, to strengthen the capacity of poor people to aspire, they are expected to follow certain principles. The first is to study the processes of consensus production among themselves. The second is to understanding the variables that hinder their aspirations. Third, they must nurture their ambitions as they aim their capacity to aspire and take meaningful actions (Ibrahim, 2011). Policies that address aspirations failure can be invoked to evaluate variables such as social exclusion and restriction of opportunities (Abeler, Falk, Goette, & Huffman, 2011; Dalton et al., 2014).

The framework for this literature review draws on the notion that social exclusion and restrictions of opportunities steer undocumented immigrants into poverty instead of inadequate income, low education, and other constraints. My study raises concerns because, due to undocumented immigrants' lack of status, they are marginalized in their communities. Several labels are assigned to them that push them to live in constant fear. They are not eligible for government-subsidized services including education and other socioeconomic programs. I conducted this research study to determine the impact of poverty on them. The rational approaches that set this study apart are groundbreaking.

As Creswell (2013) recommended, a researcher adheres to the value-laden nature of information gathered from the field to report the voice of the participants as well as its interpretation. Dede (2009) argued that scholars have a duty to go beyond reporting findings and theories regardless of the fact that assuming such a responsibility means admitting the value of contributions from people whose nature of knowledge, rationality of belief, justification, principles, and values diverge from their own. Acceptance of knowledge involves the willingness of the researcher to gain an understanding of the dynamic forces that shape participants' lives.

This theoretical framework provided an understanding of some of the ways undocumented immigrants are targeted and prevented from pursuing the American dream. I designed this study to bring to light the struggles of the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida to answer the central question: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in rural South Florida? The following sub questions were used to guide the study:

- Sub question 1: What is the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 2: What are the consequences of being undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 3: Why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida?
- Sub question 4: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida?

## Conceptual Framework

The phenomenon of poverty is a debatable concept. Its meanings vary based on the ideological and political context of the time. In a broad sense, poverty is the inability to possess sufficient resources to meet basic needs or a socially acceptable standard of living. This definition seems relevant to the purpose of this study, although, basic needs and socially acceptable are relative. Many social theorists describe the condition of being poor, rather than how or why the conditions exist. Some of those descriptions focus on individual attributes such as lack of assets, income, personal motivation, or education. However, those descriptions fail to include prejudice, social exclusion, lack of status that creates restrictions on opportunities, and lack of social cohesion. All these attributes are the outcomes of a social process that runs within a social system. Therefore, understanding the consequences of those elements is essential to identify the structures and processes that underline those deprivations.

Social division, inequality concerns, and social policy issues are fundamental to poverty research (Anyon, 2014; Shipman, 2014). Public policy actions or inactions from governmental institutions govern social relations. The structures of social relations spread out over many levels of social issues (Anyon, 2014; Chambers, 2014). In turn, they affect opportunities, ability to access resources, make choices, and eventually defend fundamental rights. They also influence the distribution of benefits, costs, and risks between individuals and communities (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014).

Dalton et al. (2014) assessed the risks that push people into poverty, but failed to consider many other factors that may influence people's lives. Those factors include

individual immigration status that affects decision-making ability. Lack of status restricts people from pursuing dreams that would nurture their aspirations. Because of lack of status, poverty within an undocumented immigrant household seems to make no difference to policymakers compared to lawful resident households. The United States officials identified as the established poverty threshold regardless of the exclusion of a fringe of the population lives below the standards. These thresholds determine and define the state of deprivation, lack of the usual or socially acceptable material possessions or the adequate amount of money.

## Literature Review

Long before the declaration of war on poverty by President Lyndon Johnson (1964), poverty played a central role in U.S. politics and policy. From the launch of the New Deal (1933-35) to the Four Freedoms of 1941 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, poverty has been shown to be a complex, multifaceted problem (Kearney & Harris, 2014; Snell & Thomson, 2013). Many leaders and policymakers believe that poverty can be overcome only through the design of comprehensive sets of innovative policies and practical reforms (Ferretti & Molina, 2012; Walker & Day, 2012). I presented this literature review in several sections to offer an extensive understanding of the intricacy of the phenomenon of poverty and its impact on undocumented immigrants. I selected and examined the definitions of poverty and the relevant theories that helped frame this study.

Poverty is a social phenomenon of multiple dimensions, one of the most relevant being income or lack thereof. Income, according to Saez and Zucman (2014) and

Wilkinson and Klaes (2012), is a fundamental concept in the science of economics that is considered acutely confusing and conflicting. Income may be from various sources and dimensions (Dreher, Méon, & Schneider, 2014). It may be earned either as cash received from the sale of goods or property or as profit from financial investments. It may also be defined as the means and resources to access certain products and services for meeting minimum basic needs. In this study, the definition was the amount of money earned in exchange for labor services (Watkins, 2014). This amount of earned income may be adequate or inadequate. An adequate income is fundamental to a person's security, well-being, and independence (Coleman-Jensen, 2011; Dalton et al., 2014). It is what empowers people to provide housing, education, food, transportation, and other essentials for themselves and their family. An adequate income contributes to personal freedom and mental fitness and provides the choice to participate in social activities that are often essential for comfort. In the United States, low-income means anyone who lives below 200% of the federal poverty threshold (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). More succinctly, poverty is defined as lack of adequate income or living on an income of $11,720 for a single person family (Pew Research Center, 2011; Southern Poverty Center, 2012).

**Theories of Poverty**

Although classified by multiple sets of measures, most recent literature has collectively recognized different theories of poverty (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Anand & Lea, 2011; Dalton et al., 2014; Lawson, 2012). Perceptively, most of social theory researchers have been able to differentiate between methods that identify the causes of poverty as individual's deficiencies (Alkire & Santos, 2010; Barrett, Garg, &

McBride, 2016; Ravallion, 2011; Walker & Day, 2012). Other theorists placed the causes of poverty on a broader social discourse (Alkire & Foster, 2011; Lustig, 2011; Pridemore, 2011; Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012).

On one hand, a quasi-collective set of beliefs perceived poverty in the American society under a theory that embeds on a systemic inequity that based on economics shortcomings (Englmaier & Wambach, 2010; Kelly & Enns, 2010). Since the 80s, researchers have attempted to prove that individual's impoverishment is directly related to financial, social, and political structure inadequacies. Those factors, therefore, perpetuate economic failure (Bowles & Gintis, 2011; Hunter & Jordan, 2010; Ötsch & Kapeller, 2010). However, it is a common belief that economic failure trends include significant variables such as cultural, structural, and aptitudinal inequities (Wilson, 2012). Many eminent theorists of poverty have dodged some of the most central issues surrounding poverty debates such as disposition, character, temperament, awareness, and base assumptions held by those in poverty (Dixon, 2010). The divergence of opinions and inconclusiveness over its origins make it difficult to adopt an absolute definition. In fact, some academic, social science textbook studies indicate that poverty is rarely analyzed in depth (Kurtz, 2014; Lerong, 2014; Milner, 2013; Wilson, 2014).

On the other hand, Harding, Lamont, & Small (2010) in *Reconsidering Culture and Poverty* rebutted the beliefs that blame the victims for their poverty. Apparently, earlier scholars seemed to imply that people might cease to be poor if they changed their cultural mindset (MacDonald, Shildrick, & Blackman, 2013; Mullen & Kealy, 2013). With more evidence to counter the blaming the victims' theory, contemporary researchers

contain themselves from claiming that culture perpetuates itself for multiple generations despite structural changes (Gorski, 2015; Lacour & Tissington, 2011). In fact, many cautiously abstain themselves from using the term pathology when it comes to the phenomenon of poverty (Borjas, 2014; Harkness, Gregg, & MacMillan, 2012; Mohan, 2011). However, with the advance of the concept of diversity that includes acceptance, civility, and respect, the new generation of social scientists came to the understanding of culture in substantially different ways. They characteristically reject the idea that someone's poverty can be explained by their values (Duflo & Banerjee, 2011; Tay & Diener, 2011). The new generation of scholars was also hesitant to share new ideas into structural and cultural poverty, because of the increasingly questionable validity of previous distinction (Katz, 2013; Lamont & Small, 2010). In their quest to distinguish values from perceptions and attitudes from behavior, the new generation of scholars often failed to define culture as comprehensively as did Professor Oscar Lewis. It often excluded the ideas that members of a group or nation share a culture or a group's culture that is more coherent or internally consistent (Cotterrell, 2013; Swidler, 2013). In many instances, the new generation of social scientists' conceptions of culture tended to be narrowly defined, easier to measure, and more exposed to falsification (Baughman, 2013; Kurtz, 2014; Vaisey, 2010). A general theory and definition of poverty seem to focus exclusively on the political and welfare institutions of a state while attributing a lesser importance to the limitation of the labor market. Regardless of the theory of poverty, it always seems to limit the capacity of the poor to aspire. Aspirations failure, in consequence, does reinforce and perpetuate the cycle of poverty.

**The Meaning of Poverty in Historical Perspective**

Poverty is one of the oldest topics in social science research (Center for Law and Social Policy, 2012; Institute for Research on Poverty, 2013). At the end of the 19th century, theorists such as Charles Booth (1840-1916) and Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954) determined the importance of analyzing the phenomenon of poverty. Their research goal was essentially to find a proper definition of poverty. To date, it is still a demanding task for researchers and policymakers to find the most appropriate definition to measure and represent the spread and distribution of poverty. Some researchers view poverty as an absolute phenomenon (Chen, Zhang, Li, & Xi, 2012; Gordon & Nandy, 2012), following the basic needs approach or biological approach established by Orshansky (1965), which focuses on the needs required to ensure a physical survival. The foundation for early poverty research and political action intended to reduce the phenomenon adopted this official definition (Green, 2012). However, subsequent failure to reach consensus in modern welfare states in the 1960s and 70s made absolute definitions inadequate.

Poverty as a public policy concern has long been considered by social theorists as a complicated issue (Anyon, 2014; Wilson, 2012). Every period brings different variables into poverty (Christiaensen, Demery, & Kuhl, 2011; Dercon, Hoddinott, & Woldehanna, 2012). Contemporary poverty is defined by more than homelessness and starvation (Bodley, 2012). According to Raphael (2011) and Riley, Moore, Sorensen, Tulsky, Bangsberg, and Neilands (2011), distinctiveness has moved from a focus on subsistence needs to a focus on basic needs. In the 1980s and early 90s, the

understanding of poverty switched from focusing on reasonable nutrition or daily calorie consumption to viewing poverty as a social formation or a series of adverse circumstances (United Nations Development Program, 2012). This level of poverty was known by many researchers as relative deprivation (Silber & Verme, 2012; Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2012). Relativity applies to both material (e.g., income and other resources) and social conditions. One of the strengths of relative deprivation concept is the view that people's perceptions and experiences of poverty connect well with researchers' observations (Camfield, Masae, McGregor, & Promphaking, 2013). Klasen, Lange, & Carmela Lo Bue (2012) argued that although subjective and objective poverty are distinct in principle, they overlap in their detailed exposition. They also argued that their determining factors sometimes create an apparent connection between the subjective and the objective poverty.

In the 21st century, societies passed through unexpected change that contested previous standards for poverty, and justified new definitions that countered the assumption that poverty is determined by income and consumption (Meyer & Sullivan, 2011). Contemporary society did not expose people to the same laws, obligations, and customs that applied to previous centuries (Pradhan & Ravallion, 2011). Globalization has connected people and their standards of living while inequalities within and between countries have grown. In response, some scholars have objected to the historical benchmark of poverty, income, due to rapid inflation (Stone, Trisi, Sherman, & DeBot, 2012). The International Poverty Centre (2011) argued that it was not suitable to define poverty only as a condition that applies to those whose disposable incomes are relatively

small comparatively to others, for it fails to distinguish conceptually between inequality and poverty. Poor people are not only the victims of an unequal distribution of resources, but they are also denied resources to fulfill social obligations and maintain the status quo and the unwritten rules of society. As such, the concept of poverty is redefined by social theorists as a condition of living that reveals structural failures in people's lives, such as anxiety, desperation, unemployment, hunger, and homelessness, the absence of equity, illness, social inequality, powerlessness, and victimization. These restrictions culminate into a violation of human rights or an assault on human dignity (United Nations Development Program, 2011). Dalton et al. (2014) approached poverty as a condition that requires an understanding of an involved process that makes people needy and holds them into it. Researchers of the World Bank (2011) and the Pew Research Center (2012) found that poverty's underlying root causes are embedded in inequality, insecurity, vulnerability, discrimination, and exclusion. Accordingly, the ways to attack poverty are related to equal opportunities, economic and social security, decent work, empowerment, non-discrimination, and making social and economic institutions more fair and accountable (Devereux, McGregor, & Sabates Wheeler, 2011; Miller, 2013).

**Cultural Poverty**

While it is the imperfection of the American social structure to blame, there is still a timid misconception that tends to expose poverty as the fault of the individuals (Hymes, 2013; Norman-Major & Gooden, 2012). Most of our cultural poverty perceptions are based on the beliefs that particular shared philosophies take their shape into an absolute economic inadequacy (Boswell, 2013; Castells, 2011; Wilson, 2014). Under this school

of thought, it is a challenge to prove that a prolonged period of slow economic growth is not a direct result of a fundamental socioeconomic opportunity gap (Nelson, 2014; Wilson, 2014). Directly related to disproportionate dominance and submissively accepted ideas combined with cultural identity protection, cultural poverty theory seems to be deeply anchored in perceptions concluding that most democratic values are contrary to many subcultures' economic advancement (Garrard, 2010). Further, Wilson (2011), Li (2012), and Brake (2013) found that impoverished subgroups embrace their subculture that virtually excludes beliefs, habits, standards, and values that are critical for attaining economic advancement.

**Structural Poverty**

One perception of poverty tends to blame capitalism as one of the underlying causes of poverty (Gorski, 2015). Other theorists perceived poverty in America as the result of a prearranged economic system (Hall, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). It is arguably evident that tailored capitalism impulse for financial fulfillment warrants a dominance of minimum wage as survival level of occupations (Short, 2011, 2014; Smith, 2010). This structural inequality reveals to guarantee only a slim percentage of individuals that enjoy prosperity (Kaplinsky, 2013). Researchers argued that it is at no one's fault from this small, successful group if the market fails to provide a decent number of jobs that would pay enough to keep families out of poverty (Anyon, 2014). Theoretically, even if unemployment is reduced considerably, the labor market may be flooded with part-time and minimum wage works that lack benefits that would help families to get out of poverty (Short, 2011; Wight et al., 2010). As it stands even redistributive measures that

address inequity within the economic system as advocated by some theorists would not be an ideal solution to redress structural poverty (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2012). In fact, if poverty is seen as a result of structural inequality within a particular society, any attempt to eliminate poverty must seek to change those conditions that produce it (Kaplinsky, 2013). Although it is common that individual members of society tend to deny responsibility for the existence of poverty, its perpetuation is poor judgment on the society that condones the conditions causing it (Walby et al., 2012).

**Aptitudinal Poverty**

Aptitudinal poverty is the deficit of cognitive abilities that nurture intelligence, perception, and attentions (Ghosh, 2013; Wilson, 2014). Some theoreticians blame individuals in poverty as their lack of visions and often argue that with hard work and better choices the ones in poverty can reverse their situations (Asen, 2012; Mohan, 2011). Other distinctions of the theory of poverty attribute it to lack of genetic qualities, such as intelligence, that are not so easily transferred, or motivational and aptitudinal characteristics (Vu, 2010). Those are the same beliefs that individuals in poverty are solely responsible for their poverty situation. Aptitudinal poverty theorists also argue that the impoverished individuals lack the main ambitions and desires due to reduced societal expectations (Katz, 2013; Robinson, 2014; Wilson, 2014).

Aptitudinal poverty theories embrace the fundamental belief that for an individual currently living in poverty, the possibility to reverse the status quo is quasi-irrelevant. In other words, the continued impoverishment is, theoretically, this individual's destined existence (Asch, 2010; Wilson, 2011). Convincingly for those theorists, the individuals

living in poverty do not know any escape route or method and are unable of lifting themselves (Anderson, 2014; Wilson, 2011). In aptitudinal poverty approaches, poverty stricken individuals are destined to the collaborative hopelessness that deters actions or upward movement and mobility (Hagenaars, 2014; Iceland, 2013; Kaplinsky, 2013; Townsend, 2014). Proponents of aptitudinal poverty theory recommend adjustments that would rectify the unfit status between the social groups (Ghosh, 2013; Gorard, 2012; Preparata, 2013; Wilson, 2014). If believed as presented, this theory would counter the beliefs that even the poorest individuals still have a chance to success, while in reality, by re-structuring people's social statuses, they will have a better outlook that would raise their personal ambitions. If people living in poverty were offered a higher living standard, hypothetically, their low aspiration, which is driven exclusively by lack of opportunity or lack of vision for a way out, would eventually evaporate (Sen, 2003; Southern Poverty Center, 2012). By reversing the existing impediment that keeps the poor unproductive, there would be a potential development of their vision that will deter the imaginary aptitude deficiency (Banerjee, Banerjee, & Duflo, 2011; Bernard et al., 2011; Dalton et al., 2014.

**Social Poverty**

The impacts of poverty can be seen in how profound lack of basic needs can affect an individual's quality of life. Lack of resources, restricted or limited options or a complete submission to the forces that prevail can be the essential factors of those effects (Hagenaars, 2014; Peña, 2010; Rojek, 2012). Social poverty looks at the conditions that create a person or communities' circumstances and the state of mind that can be

developed as a result (Omi & Winant, 2014). Contrarily to other poverty theories, social poverty requires the understanding of two different approaches: an attribute centric and a network centric. Fundamentally, the American social poverty relates to negative personal traits infused and reinforced by restrictive horizontal networks (Akerlof & Kranton, 2010; Schell & Gallo, 2012).

In a horizontal network, people who share common interests or with common backgrounds connect to each other (Newman & Newman, 2014; Widén-Wulff, 2014; Zehrer, Raich, Siller, & Tschiderer, 2014). Few theorists believe that leveraging availed social capital present in one's vertical network can ideally overcome social poverty (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010; Wilson, 2014). As one of the most fundamental vertical networking assets for a socially impoverished individual is higher education, which is also a social capital element that disqualifies a poor person from aptitudinal poverty category (Bukenya, Hickey, & King, 2012). Regardless of the scarcity of research on how a vertical network can shield or uplift an unfortunate individual, few researchers argued that, in such case, people have a higher chance to succeed (Barnard & Turner, 2011). For those individuals, the odd of success only arises when the vertical network connection is well established (Fraser & Dutta, 2010; Holyfield, 2010).

**Horizontal and vertical networks.** Both vertical and horizontal networks can provide opportunities and constraints for impoverished individuals (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012). Therefore, it may critical to examine how these individuals become contrastingly qualified for structurally embedded resources through different patterns of connections and exchanges: The conditions under which

vertical networks are preferred to horizontal networks and vice versa (Dousset, 2012; Hassan & Birungi, 2011; Magaña, 2010; Pryke, 2012). Membership in a social network, whether vertical or horizontal, does not entirely shield an individual from poverty. Instead, it creates a resourceful social capital (Greene, 2011). Basically, due to the inextricable link between social poverty and social capital, to adequately comprehend the former, it is essential to understand the later.

**Social Capital**

Because of its conceptual acumen, there is not a commonly accepted theory of social capital (Portes, 2014). The notion of social capital ranges across the whole social sciences, from anthropology to sociology, from political science to economics (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & Labianca, 2009). It provides a technological umbrella for grouping together an extraordinarily diverse range of casually constructed illustrations (Ferragina, 2012; Payne, 2014; Shilling, 2012). Many scholars used the idea of social capital including Hanifan (1916), Bourdieu (1985), Coleman (1988), Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1993), and most recently Adler and Kwon (2002). By definition, social capital is the benefits of membership within a social network (Aldrich, 2012; Laursen, Masciarelli, & Prencipe, 2012; Nilsson, Svendsen, & Svendsen, 2012). Häuberer (2014) argued that social capital is the composition of the benefits that provides members with increased opportunity. Currently, social capital encompasses all social resources potentially leveraged to support an individual's forward advancement (Bratton & Gold, 2012; Cao, Simsek, & Jansen, 2012; Edinger, 2012; Hughes, Le Bon, & Rapp, 2013).

Researchers also defined social capital as resources inherent in social relations that facilitate collective action i.e., working together (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993). These resources include trust, norms, values, and networks of an association representing any group that gathers consistently for a common purpose. Putnam (1993a) stressed that working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of human capital. For Putnam, working together is a quality that can be a facilitator of social cooperation. Furthermore, Putnam's adopted Coleman's (1988) correlation between the shortcoming of strong family and community networks and the intergenerational decline of social capital in the United States of America. His argument presented social capital, mainly the amount of trust available, as the main stock characterizing the political culture of modern societies. Putnam (1993a) noted that voluntary associations that enable a horizontal linking of people to produce trust are the norms that cause social bonding. Putnam, however, explicitly connects trust and its connected reciprocity to civic engagement which involves individual and collective actions that designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Putnam Joined Alexis de Tocqueville's perspective that presumes public virtue in itself is an index of the strength of civil society. Theorists also connected social capital to political involvement, particularly via voluntary associations that elevate social capital to a direct test of the democratic strength of American society (Portes, 2014; Tzanakis, 2013).

Decisively, this is the notion of social capital as a universal lubricant of social relations (Putnam, 2000). Social capital in this aspect is operating either as bridging or as bonding. Bourdieu (2011) redefined social capital as the aggregate of current or potential

resources that are linked to possession of a long-lasting network of well-adjusted institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition. More succinctly, social capital is a group membership that provides the potentially uplifting economic benefit (Hughes, Le Bon, & Rapp, 2013).

Moreover, Baker (1990) identified social capital as a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests. For Carmona-Lavado, Cuevas-Rodríguez, and Cabello-Medina (2010), it reflects the extent of social relationships that contribute to the achievement of a community or an organization's goals, through social networks, norms, obligations and other patterns arising from social interactions. Most recently, Milana & Maldaon (2014) sustained that social capital is an enduring personal competitive advantage that derived from positive interpersonal relationships. Social capital has a pivotal effect on social trust networks and connections that facilitate individual action, in particular, environments or cultures (Payne, 2013(.

Social capital is the life support in relations between and among individuals. Theorists recognized it as valued associations linking individuals that hold practical usefulness. These relationships may serve to bridge in vertical networking and bond in horizontally networking (Hofer & Aubert, 2013; Iwase, Suzuki, Fujiwara, Takao, Doi, & Kawachi, 2012; Poortinga, 2012). Researchers referred to bridging in regards to social capital that relates to vertical networking, as social networking among socially heterogeneous groups (Ariani, 2012; Karahanna, Preston, 2013; Oliveira, 2013). In such a case, it promotes diversity and allows different groups to share and exchange information, opinions, ideas, and innovations to build consensus among groups

representing diverse interests (Milana & Maldaon, 2014). Contrary to bonding, which holds a more constricted pattern of trust, bridging may create an inclusive institutional structure that is more autonomous in nature and may have a larger impact on economic development (Pettit, 2012). However, bonding and bridging in social capital can coexist as long as they are cleverly balanced (Geys & Murdoch, 2010).

Bonding is essential to cultivate trust (Carmeli, Tishler, & Edmondson, 2012). Cooperation and collective strength among individuals and groups with a shared history and experience, and common purpose are essential to higher accomplishment (Poteete, Janssen, & Ostrom, 2010). In the case of systemically marginalized group like undocumented immigrants, it may be important to build bridges and consensus among those groups that constitutes diverse interests to increase collective resource (Ahn, 2012; Brandtzaeg, Heim, &Kaare, 2010; Choi, Kim, Sung, & Sohn, 2011).

Bateman and Snell (2011) perused over the absence of social capital as a social poverty antecedent, whereas many other social poverty theorists sustain that social capital shortfall directly results in social impoverishment (Ansari, Munir, & Gregg, 2012; Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012; Streich & Lewandowski, 2012). Further, Chantarat and Barrett (2012) and Bullock (2014) noted that suppositions group membership restricts upward mobility, results in little social capital holdings, and contributes to social poverty. Other theorists established that cultural-based social connections serve to hinder economic advancement, resulting in economic opportunity shortcomings (Hastie & Dawes, 2010). An attempt to break generational poverty bindings, even slight horizontal network intervention, may disrupt upward mobility

(Brown, 2011; Carrington, 2011; Gilchrist et al., 2011; Hastie & Dawes, 2010). The debate is still intense on whether social capital is dependable capital, should be conceptually defined, and whether it can be constructed or endowed. The active engagement of scholar-practitioners has moved the field forward in terms of conceptual development and empirical outcomes (Ansari et al., 2012; Bounfour & Edvinsson, 2012).

One of the benefits of social networks is that the accessibility of additional resources from either network enables impoverished individuals to form a bond for daily survival that includes crisis management. Social networking is seen more as an insurance policy aims to protect members of a network of any crises such as natural disasters, health emergencies, or unemployment. More substantially, mutual exchange through social connections provides a source of financial, social, emotional, or/and political support that can be drawn from during times of crisis (Bodin & Prell, 2011; Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos, & Zontini, 2010). In summary, even though friends, professional ties, neighbors, and connections can extend beyond a network as critical assets for improving the well-being of an unfortunate individual, the most noticeable coping mechanism for poor people is the extended family. In many cases, researchers noted the extended family as the strongest social safety net (Bitler & Hoynes, 2010; Edin & Kissane, 2010; Ruel, Oakley, Wilson, & Maddox, 2010).

Social theorists agree that the shape of any network, horizontal or vertical, does not alone indicate much about the nature of human relationships within that network (Bauman, 2011; Laumann & Pappi, 2013; Scott, 2012). Questions related to the suitable system may require answers that include the norms that are associated with each type of

network, where a particular system may be associated with patterns of cooperation and social trust, at certain times and in certain situations as variable or factors. It may be useful to add such network into the measurement of social capital (Henry, Lubell, & McCoy, 2010; Jackson, 2010). Because of these variable or factors, the norms of social interaction that are associated with any particular network type tend to vary from one situation to another (Giordano, Björk, & Lindström, 2012; Van Dijk, 2012). A complete participation may be necessary to assure benefit from a social network, regardless of the network types. This means that members of a social network do not behave as an isolated cellular outside a social context, nor do they adhere obediently to rules created by a particular faction of social class that they belong to (Newman & Newman, 2014; Rutten, Westlund, & Boekema, 2010).

An assertion from Granovetter's (1985) seconded by Shapiro (1987) who argued that while social relations may be a condition for trust and trustworthiness, they are not sufficient to guarantee a favorable outcome (Riecken & Boruch, 2013). However, they can fundamentally help shield individuals from wrongdoings, despair, and conflict on a scale larger than the alternatives (Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011; Misztal, 2013). The type of norms related to a particular type of networks should be examined independently for each separate context. Since, there is no perfect theory of social capital, the norms for social capital can vary base on a particular setting (Boyas et al., 2012; Braden et al., 2012; Charnock et al., 2012).

In the social capital concept, the individual who claims to be looking for relief in one context may become a subversive element in another (Ellingsen et al., 2013;

Shrestha, 2013; Song, 2013). For instance, the cleric that supports brotherhood and peace in one context may become a forum for armed militancy in another. Moreover, the union that claims to be promoting coordination and cooperation among employers, workers, and the state in a job market context may wage bitter confrontation in another context (Flores et al., 2013; Wittek et al., 2013). Therefore, analysts studying social capital in different contexts have identified different network forms to be associated with the social capital formation (Gould, 2008). Accordingly, the form or forms privileged by each analyst are unique to a particular cultural domain and may have little or no value outside that domain and a horizontal or vertical network may matter for social capital in one community, but not so much in another (Castells, 2011; Henry, Lubell, & McCoy, 2010; Laursen, Masciarelli, & Prencipe, 2012).

Personal virtue shortcomings seem to contribute to social impoverishment, by introducing and reinforcing restrictive horizontal networks in social poverty's ethical context and social structures in its doctrinal or phenomenological context (Bebbington, Mitlin, Mogaladi, Scurrah, & Bielich, 2010; Cecchini, 2014). In the United States, social poverty results from social capital scarcity (Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010). Central to American social impoverishment discussions is social capital existence or absence caused by ordinary individual associations (Chantarat & Barrett, 2012; Shivarajan & Srinivasan, 2013). Social capital paucity results from poor decision making stemming from aptitudinal mental models imprinted by restrictive horizontal social connections (Ansari, Munir, & Gregg, 2012; Ariani, 2012; Edinger, 2012). In the United States, leveraging availed social capital present in vertical networks may overcome social impoverishment).

Combating social poverty requires social capital reinforcement (Blocker et al., 2013; Shivarajan & Srinivasan, 2013). Radner and Shonkoff (2012) noted that intrinsic value found in and among social relations, especially as personalized consideration among college athletes, hypothetically leads to social capital development (Antoci et al., 2013; Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Wilson, 2014). Conventional wisdom analysts define social capital as a common aphorism "It's not what you know, it's who you know." It is the wisdom born of the experience that identifies the idea of social capital as that one's family, friends, and associates constitute some significant assets (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012). The catalyze of recognition and correlation of individualized consideration may increase the social capital advantage (Doise et al., 2013; Krasny et al., 2015; Leenders et al., 2013; Nicholls, 2013; Savioli, 2014; Searle & Barbuto, 2013).

**Social poverty and policy**. **S**ocial poverty debates are essential for the design of policy; they are not just a voluntary initiative (Barry & Wisor, 2013). Researchers argued that poverty discourses must center on personal accountability questions, not on entitlements inquiries that infuse traditional grounds (Bukenya, Hickey, & King, 2012). Many sociologists also argued that people become who they are through small, incremental decisions (Birkland, 2014). Many social theorists frequently referred to social poverty as poor decision-making; hence the reason why some policymakers argue that social poverty is avoidable even when it is the result of coerced impoverishment (Taket, Crisp, Nevill, Lamaro, Graham, & Barter-Godfrey, 2009). Poverty may not a problem for only the unfortunate; although, many researchers noted that bad choices,

instead of economic conditions, may be some of its causes. In other words, poor decisions tend to produce poor results, which in turn lead people to social impoverishment (Ladd, 2012; Small et al., 2010). Other researchers such as Kanbur et al. (2012) and Ravallion (2012) maintained that poverty undermines judgment and leads to poor decision making (Kanbur & Sumner, 2012; Ravallion, 2012; Farrigan & Parker, 2012). This makes social poverty unquestionably connected to previous low-quality economic decision making that arose from social capital deficiencies attributed to one's horizontal network (Foley & O'Connor, 2013).

Social impoverishment is viewed by many social theorists as a condition of perpetual, unpreventable, inevitable way of life that is under the line of poverty (Iceland, 2013; Putman, 2010; Sen, 1996). However, anthropologist Trivers's (1972) parental investment concept might be out of phase with the basis of generational social impoverishment (Alvergne et al., 2010; Coall & Hertwig, 2010). Researchers acknowledged parental investment as parents' acceptance of personal hardship to assure a better future to their offsprings. They defined it as an exceptionally courageous activity which decreases parental wellness while increasing offspring survival chances, this parental investment is naturally implanted in previous generations (Fischer, 2008; Seidman, 2012). The benefits of parental investment to the offspring are large and associated with the effects of conditions, growth, survival, and specifically reproductive success (Alonso-Alvarez et al., 2012). Consequently, offspring who received greater parental investment are more likely to thrive (Jeynes, 2010). To the contrary, Androff, Ayon, Becerra, and Gurrola (2011) found that in the United States, parental sacrifice

inclination had been replaced, in socially impoverished situations, by individualism, preset time orientations, and sturdy horizontal network presence. People tend to compel to better their lives beyond what their parents expected from them (LaRocque et al., 2011).

Moreover, many researchers have stated that social impoverishment spawned by low-quality decision making is starkly generational in nature (Bartlett et al., 2012; Comer et al., 2012). Other researchers noted that socially impoverished cultures have their elders to blame and that low-quality decisions are passed from one generation to the next by horizontal networks, thereby perpetuating poverty's cycle (Farley & Smith, 2013; Flanagan et al., 2011). Social poverty is generationally transmitted among Americans (Babajanian & Hagen-Zanker, 2012; Lee & Matejkowski, 2012; Niebuhr, 2010; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2013; Vandenbroucke & Vleminckx, 2011). People living in impoverished communities are often threatened across the life course in several spheres, including biological, psychological, social, and spiritual (Newman & Newman, 2014; Prilleltensky, 2012). Earlier, Viggiani (2007) maintained that impoverished children are of particular concern because their biological, emotional, cognitive, and social development is susceptible to environmental deprivations (Grusec & Lytton, 2012). This hardship ends up putting them at high risk for many of poverty's complications, including death. Without financial resources, communities are unable to meet the basic needs of their members and violence and unrest are often the results (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2012; Global Policy Forum, 2012). Rising out of

poverty involves improving several aspects of one's personal and financial well-being using some different methods (Andrews & Withey, 2012; Wilson, 2012).

The relativity of poverty affects the likelihood of researchers' ability to reach a complete definition (Hagenaars, 2014; Jerven, 2010; Ravallion & Chen, 2011; Townsend, 2014). In developed nations, for example, poverty analysts tend to identify poverty either as personal failure or a structural vulnerability (Blocker et al., 2013; Hansen et al., 2014; Worby et al., 2014). While in developing nations, social theorists attribute poverty to mismanagement, corruption, or lack of government resources (Abdulai & Shamshiry, 2014; Chrzanowski, 2014; Tella et al., 2014). Most of the literature on poverty in the developing world focuses on cultural characteristics as impediments to further development (Bakare, 2014; Coetzee, 2014; Mtapuri, 2014; Roberts & Hohmann, 2014; Suleiman & Karim, 2015). Contradicting the literature on poverty, Lewis (1970) laid the blame for poverty, which is often a denial of choice and opportunities, on the poor themselves and on policies that encourage people's dependency.

Millions of Americans lack the resources to nourish, clothe, shelter, and care for themselves adequately according to socially defined standards (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Of the various definitions available, the one that guides this study views poverty as a state of living without the economic, political, and social resources required to achieve success in society (World Bank, 2012). This poverty is connected to many different dimensions of society. For example, social poverty that I narrated above as the absence of social capital often originates from a lack or deprivation of education (Dhakal, 2015). Moreover, political poverty results in structural inequity that the justice system

policymakers often overlook (Research Institute for Social Development, 2010). For this study, poverty means powerlessness and a lack of representation and freedom (World Bank, 2012). Lastly, economic poverty leads to limited or restricted employment opportunities and inadequate housing (Institute of Development Studies, 2012; Sumner, 2012). According to Sen (1979), there are two theories of economic poverty. The first is the direct measure of poverty, by which the poor was defined as those whose actual consumption fails to meet the accepted standard of minimum needs. And the second is the income measure of poverty, in which, the poor was defined the poor as those who do not have the aptitude to meet standards within the behavioral constraints typical of the community (Townsend, 2011).

In earlier literature, researchers focused on social and political factors that generate poverty (Bates, 2005), and how perceptions of the poor affect the plans for and implementation of programs to alleviate poverty. For example, Grondona (2000) outlined two scores of cultural factors which, depending on the culture's view of each, could be indicators of whether the cultural environment represents support or resistance to development. Harrison (2000) identified values which, like Grondona's factors, could be indicative of a nation's cultural atmosphere. Lindsay (2000) claimed that the differences between development-friendly and development-defiant nations may be attributed to mental models which are also cultural models (like values) that can influence decision-making on all levels. Overall, these theorists gathered that, without development-driven values and passions, it would be more challenging for nations to develop efficiently and that some cultural change would be essential in these nations to

reduce poverty. This idea was subsequently embraced by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001).

Other researchers argue that lack of capacity is the key cause that forces people into the cycle of poverty (Appadurai, 2004). Appadurai's idea of capacity relates to Hirschman's (1970) treatise, *Voice and Exit*, in which he discusses the ways in which people ignore aspects of their surroundings to voice displeasure and create change, or to depart from such conditions. Based on that approach, Appadurai (2004) assumed that people in poverty lack adequate capacity to pull themselves out of their routine. Appadurai specifically dealt with the ability to aspire and its role in the continuation and environment of poverty. Appadurai argued that aspirations were formed through social life and interactions. He also maintained his argument that social status inclusively influences people's expectations (Appadurai, 2004; Thompson & Dahling, 2010). Appadurai (2004) stressed that the better off people are, the more chances they have to go further to reach their aspirations and discover pathways to the fulfillment of their goals. In contrast, the elite who actively practice the use of their abilities and aspirations not only expand their aspirational horizon but, also solidify their capacity to reach aspirations by learning which is the easiest and most efficient path to such practice. In other words, the poor's horizon of aspiration is the closest and the least secure compared to the elite's horizon (Appadurai 2004; Czaika & Vothknecht, 2014).

This study bases its argument on the policy that defines poverty as the restriction of opportunities and the result of social exclusion (Chakravarti, 2006; Devicienti & Poggi, 2011). To understand the impact of restriction of opportunities for the

undocumented immigrants, I will examine the most recent immigration policies and reforms, such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) of 1996 (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). IIRAIRA contained a steady approach to illegal immigration by introducing restrictive regulations that aimed to eliminate illegal entry to the United States and classify undocumented individuals as not qualified and ineligible for social services or economic assistance (Broder & Blazer, 2011).

**Poverty as Social Exclusion**

The term social exclusion originated from the French governmental socialist policy during the 1980s, when it was used to refer to a disparate group of people forced into segregation (i.e., separated from society) without access to government benefits (Devicienti & Poggi, 2011). Socialists defined social exclusion as the lack of recognition of fundamental rights or, where such recognition exists, it is constraint by a lack of access to the political and legal systems necessary to enforce and protect those rights (Forst, 2012; Walker & Day, 2012). Many socialists considered social exclusion as a structural issue, where individuals or groups are mediated through power relations that lead to life conditions characterized by the scarce or poor utilization of collective and individual welfare (Offer, 2012; Rodger, 2012). People are socially excluded if they are geographically residing in a community, but for reasons beyond their control, they cannot take part in normal activities with other citizens from that community, regardless of their desire to participate (Benneworth, 2013; Chauvin et al., 2012; Scharf & Keating, 2012). Many theorists, including Chantarat & Barrett (2012), argued that poverty and social degradation results from social inequality and social exclusion and poverty is an

economic problem. Sue et al. (2012) and Miciukiewicz et al. (2012) noted that in the last two decades, analyses of poverty were focused on a combination of socioeconomic and cultural practices including social exclusion. These analyses findings illustrated that certain groups were excluded from the benefits of social and economic development based solely on their immigration status. The social exclusion of the undocumented or unauthorized immigrants severely restricts access to essential social services or jobs required for a minimal standard of living and the ability to live in dignity and security. These restrictions create an asymmetrical relationship of causes and effects between social exclusion and poverty (Arora & Romijn, 2012).

Social exclusion is not only a transgression against human dignity but also a phenomenon that leads to isolation, alienation, and a reclusive existence. According to Jones and Novak (2012), even when socially-excluded groups do not comprise the majority of the poor, they typically constitute the poorest of the poor. Social exclusion, however, is not only about material deprivation, but also reflects people's inability to take control of their lives by exercising the fundamental rights offered in a democratic society (Department of Social Security, 2011). The difference between material deprivation and the inability to exercise rights align with Sen (1992)'s idea of capability poverty. Researchers suggested taking issues of power and privilege into account to better understand social exclusion (Collins, 2014; Davies, 2005; Devicienti & Poggi, 2011; Hulse & Stone, 2007). Social exclusion affects an individual, community, or group's opportunities to find good work, decent housing, quality health care, primary education, safe living conditions, and inconsistent Justice (Commission of the European

Communities, 2011). Social exclusion also affects localities, particularly rural areas and parts of some inner cities (Walklate et al., 2012). The decision to include or exclude people may not be placed in the hands of individual members of a community, who may be making decisions based on emotions and nationalistic point of views (Arrow, 2012). Researchers suggested the need to understanding the concept of choice or free will when analyzing social exclusion (De Nooy et al., 2011). For instance, for religious purposes, members of a community may choose to self-exclude themselves. Therefore, it may be imperative to investigate whether the exclusion is voluntary or forced (Martin, 2010). Some individuals may opt out of participation in social and productive relations because of unwanted circumstances (Atkinson & Hills, 2010). Thus, a person or group is only socially excluded if their exclusion arises from constraint (Burchardt, Le Grand, & Piachaud, 1999). In this case, the focus should be based on mutual responsibility and the spirit of collective obligation (Williams, 2013). Another dimension of social exclusion details those who want to participate but are not qualified for reasons beyond their control (Bjørnskov, Dreher, Fischer, Schnellenbach, & Gehring, 2013). These reasons may be related to social constraints, such as gender inequality, ethnic status, unemployment or inability to find work, inability to participate in economically-viable activities, or physical disabilities (Craig & Porter, 2012; Mittler, 2012).

To fully understand social exclusion, social theorists consider some factors that include consumption, i.e., the capacity to purchase goods and services; as well as, production that relies on participation in economically and socially viable activities. Other key questions to consider include: Do individuals demonstrate a willingness to

engage in these activities? Do individuals have the human capital, and social, physical, and financial capacity to pursue a different life? What are the unseen or unspoken constraining factors? Creating a better understanding of social exclusion and developing actions to address forced social exclusion are essential aspects of poverty eradication. Conversely, inclusion would contribute to social justice and people's ability to live in dignity, despite the considerable discord within modern views about the government's role in reducing economic inequality (Bowles & Gintis, 2012; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012). Many analysts argue that the issue of poverty due to social exclusion can be solved through affirmative action (Bowles, 2012; Hulse & Stone, 2007; Ibrahim, 2011; Jones & Novak, 2012). Their argument is that through redistribution as an affirmative action; better policy would be drafted to ensure that a few are not holding hostage all the resources of a state (Bowles, 2012). Otherwise, a state may possess great stock and yet starve due to the bitter reality that some in power choose to disregard values, morals, and ethics in order to profit (Bentley, 2016; Gould, 2008; Lomasky & Tesón, 2015). DeNavas-Wait et al. (2010) suggested that people who view success as depending on hard work and the willingness to take risks tend to decline handouts or any redistributive programs. Contrarily, researchers have found that those who support redistribution hold the idea that success results from inheriting money from family, parents or through connections with the right people, or believe that race is a factor in their poverty (Lin, 2009; Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013). As it stands, social exclusion means not being able to enjoy the fundamental rights that permit full

participation in society, whether immigration status, race, insecurity, or conflict motivates it; social exclusion is a cause of poverty (Thomas, 2005).

Social exclusion results in limited choices, reduced opportunities, and undermined hopes, thereby threatening the individual health and well-being, and leave people very vulnerable to poverty (Loppie & Wien, 2009; Singh et al., 2012). As Arias (2013) noted, individuals who experience social exclusion are exposed to underachievement in education and the labor market, low income, poor access to services, stress, ill-health and severe impact on their children. To the wider society, these individuals are susceptible to social cohesion, higher crime and fear of crime, and higher levels of stress and reduced mobility (Arias, 2013; Corak, Curtis, & Phipps, 2011). These variables also include restrictive or selective opportunities for minorities and other benefits that would have extended access to personal socioeconomic development (Schneider & Paunescu, 2012). The sources of poverty validate it as a social phenomenon that is also generated, in some instances, by shortsighted social policies that push for cutbacks in health care, limit or deny access to higher education (Collins, 2011; Drachman, 2006; Eusebio & Mendoza, 2015; Levitas et al., 2007).

Atkinson (1998) defined social exclusion as a related concept that involves free will (people may choose to exclude themselves) and it implies future hopes and aspirations (Genicot & Ray, 2014). Bandura (1991) argued that people believe in the efficacy that influences their choice and their aspirations so they can determine the amount of effort they need for a given endeavor and how long they need to persevere in the face of difficulties and setbacks. Moreover, Narayan (1999) noted that people are

excluded not necessarily because they are without a job or income but, because they have little prospects for the future (Ghosal, 2013). Dalton et al., (2014)'s theory poverty and aspirations failure, which is the theoretical framework for this study, validates Narayan (1999) argument.

**Working Poverty**

ACS, Phillips, and McKenzie (2000) identified the working poor as employed people whose incomes fall below the standard poverty line. The American Bureau of Labor Statistics researchers noted that though poverty is usually associated with unemployment, a significant portion of the poor is employed (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2009). Due to their low wages, the working poor face countless obstacles that make it difficult to find and keep a job, cover basic expenses, and obtain a sense of security (Cross, 2010). The official working poverty rate in the United States has been stable over the past four decades (Kalleberg, 2011). However, some scholars disagreed with this stability and argued that the official definition is set too low as the share of workers facing financial hardship has increased over the years (Wicks-Lim, 2010). Others argued that changes in the economy that shifted from a manufacturing-based to the service-based economy have resulted in the oscillation of the labor market (Satya, 2011). This means that while there are more jobs in both extremities of the income spectrum, there are fewer jobs in the middle (Kalleberg, 2011).

Researchers from the Institute for Social and Economic Research attempted to determine if the concept of working poverty competes against the common American ethos that hard work leads to prosperity in the United States (2012). They found that the

most appropriate measure of working poverty for some American families is one that relies on a measure of work equivalents. This criterion measures at least one full-time worker or more and their total hours worked. There was no significant contrast found besides the level of poverty that is equal to 150% of the federal thresholds, which included a simple regional adjustment for inflation.

**Labor Migration and Poverty**

According to the Migration Policy Institute (2013) and the Center for Immigrant Studies (2012), poverty is seen as a motivating factor for labor migration in many developing countries. Researchers from those institutions argue that temporary labor migration contributes to reducing poverty because of remittances sent by migrant workers help improve the economic conditions of their families back home. However, recent trends suggest that the age of the great honey pot is over, especially for Asian unskilled migrant workers (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2011). In many cases, the economic costs of migration outweigh the benefits. Today's migrant workers and their families are more concerned about the economic outcome of labor migration than before. Current migration research does not adequately document this particular trend.

Earlier, the literature identified three types of interrelationships between labor migration and poverty: (a) poverty as a cause of migration, (b) migration as the result of poverty, and (c) migration as a fundamental cause of poverty. Rahman (2005) introduced an interrelationship, which acknowledged poverty as a result of migration. Focusing on Bangladeshi temporary labor migration to Singapore, Rahman (2005) demonstrated that

labor migration caused the expansion of poverty for a substantial number of migrants and their families in Bangladesh instead of mitigating it. In regards to the U.S., Rahman found that the current inflow of immigrants (legal and illegal) fell within historical norms. As such, the flow of immigration is cyclical and related to economic conditions.

**Poverty as the Restriction of Opportunities**

Dehan and Deal (2001) stated that poverty in the United States is conceptualized as an urban minority problem. In general, poverty has many factors; only some components of those factors are directly associated with a lack of physical capital, infrastructure, or other economic resources (Chakravarti, 2006). Today's expansion of poverty is not the sum of unfortunate circumstances, but conditions that interact and reinforce in nature (World Bank, 2001).

In 2001, the World Bank forecasted broader conceptualizations of poverty that include psychological constructs covering the experiential realities of the poor in the new millennium. Children of immigrants face considerable academic challenges in language and culture compared to their American counterparts; despite the fact that immigrant parents care profoundly about their children's education, well-being, and future (American Psychological Association, 2012; Villarreal et al., 2016). Education stimulates voice, enhances communication, and imparts a sense of empowerment and self-determination essential to the ground-level success of poverty amelioration efforts (Venkatesh, 2000). Chakravarti (2006) discussed how it is important to recognize the extent to which poverty shrinks people's capability, and how inequality and exploitation survive by preying on the deprived. As Chakravarti (2006) stated, the poor's mental state

and behavior are the result of a rational system that adapts to its ecological setting and deliberatively pursues simultaneous goals in a concurrent manner similar to those more affluent. The author also pointed out that others tend to view this perception as the likeness of a culture of poverty that is weak on self-sustainability and in substantial need of helpful guidance (O'Connor, 2009).

Hundeide (1999) conducted an ethnographic study characterizing the attribution patterns and coping mechanisms demonstrated by several poor communities from different countries. The author found one community of poor slum-dwellers in Eastern India exhibited an inspiring fatalism that accepted poverty as predestined by fate and, surprisingly, reported relative satisfaction in their lives. These slum-dwellers affirmed that things could be better, but identified no capacity for individual effort, nor any remorse, guilt, or personal responsibility for their condition. Then, within a set of migrant peasants in Indonesia, Hundeide found a similar transcendental fatalism that allowed room for improvement through individual effort, but still with effects reliant within their belief in fate. Again, guilt and personal responsibility were not apparent. In a western Indonesian city, a third group of slum-dwellers exhibited a material fatalism that was characterized by abdication provoked by repeated failure, a lack of initiative, and a lack of moral basis for improvement. Such attribution systems, particularly the third, pose serious problems for policymakers and social workers who aim to create systems in which the deprived can obtain equal treatment and opportunity. In contrast, a fourth community of urban, poor Eastern European Jews showed greater ability to rise from poverty using both well-established literary customs and pragmatic orientation set

within a competitive individualism (Hundeide, 1999; Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd, & Patsios, 2007).

Networks and other social ties that reflect socioeconomic status often place people into comfortable social structures that bridge them directly with poverty (Chakravarti, 2006). Therefore, it is important to measure whether the structure and content of communication flow homogeneously within networks accessible to the poor (Frenzen & Nakamoto, 1993). The problems of poverty and deprivation are involved and may not be solved only with proper policies and efficient markets, although these do help at the ground level (Bertrand et al., 2004). Researchers of poverty in urban and rural settings work tirelessly to describe the various ways in which the poor live in those communities (Edin & Kissane, 2010). Lewis (1959) argued that the poor share a common culture that cuts across regional, rural-urban, and national borders. In contrast, Harrington (1962) argued that this common culture consists only of the products and causes of poverty. In the United States, evidence suggests a disproportion of diversity and cultural norms in different poverty settings.

Sherman (2005) argued that within rural communities, the choices of the poor influence their survival and community existence through the creation or reduction of moral capital, a form of symbolic capital based on the apparent moral worth. As such, financially balanced coping strategies in urban settings may be socially and economically irrational in rural areas (Sherman, 2005). Moreover, as Pateman (2011) established, rural settings differ substantially from urban ones, since urban settings offer a greater range of survival strategies suitable for separate sub-cultural spheres. Lamont and Small (2010)

stated that morality could force people of low socioeconomic status to locate themselves above others of similar or higher status. Sayer (2004) argued that economic activities often constrain the moral criteria that social groups use to distinguish between themselves and others. In many communities, moral worth has evolved into symbolic capital, which allows the poor to create dissimilarity among their groups when facing a lack of significant economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

An opinion of an individual's moral worth is often based on their coping behaviors, including how productive they can be, and their involvement in illegal activities. An individual's moral status contributes to more than just their reputation (Bitektine, 2011; Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). Those who are perceived as having lower moral values are often denied access to jobs, as well as forms of community-level charity (Kindle & Caplan, 2015). Moral capital can thus be a currency to leverage economic capital (e.g., employment opportunities) or social capital (e.g., social support and community bonds), (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000).

Sherman (2005) established the importance of developing survival strategies among the poor. This researcher found that a small group of anonymous people, with cultural homogeneity in a small community, can succeed in creating greater social pressure to accept the poor based on existing local standards. The findings suggested that a unique economic process may still occur regardless of the settings. When coping abilities are not matched with local norms, it results in decreased self-respect and community-level sensor that damages the poor's quality of life and likelihood to escape poverty (Sherman, 2005).

**Levels and Dimensions of Poverty**

Researchers such as Hagenaars (2014) and Ravallion (2011) have identified three levels of poverty such as extreme poverty, moderate poverty, and relative poverty. Extreme poverty, also called absolute poverty or destitution, is the result of long-lasting forms of precariousness that undermine the capacity of families, individuals, communities, and population groups to assume fundamental rights prescribed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Extreme poverty cannot be overcome by material assistance and capacity building alone (Ravallion, 2012). Extreme poverty occurs when families cannot get their basic needs for survival. It is when members of a family frequently go hungry, suffer from lack of safe drinking water, cannot offer education for their children, and cannot afford shelter and clothing.

There are three dimensions of extreme poverty namely; income poverty, human development poverty, and social exclusion which have been central concepts in the development of social work over the past century. Income poverty if chronic and severe, can lead to homelessness, hunger, lack of healthcare and suspension of parental rights. The phenomenon of poverty epitomizes the non-fulfillment of fundamental rights and needs in the crucial area of education, training, and access to information, employment, and health. Those elements are essential to all poverty reduction strategies. No poverty initiative can be successful unless it is based on the recognition of the inherent dignity and on the inalienable rights of all members of the human family as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Contrary to developing countries, in developed countries, extreme poverty seems to affect only a small proportion of the entire

populations (Lindborg, 2014). However, it is worth noting that education and training are the most efficient tools that lead the way out of poverty in either developed or industrialized countries (Chandy & Gertz, 2011; Chandy & Kharas, 2014). Moderate poverty occurs when families can only meet their basic needs (Abramsky, 2013; Desmond, 2016). And finally, relative poverty refers to circumstances in developed countries when household income is below a given proportion of national income (Haymes, Vidal de Haymes, & Miller, 2015; Ravallion et al., 2011).

## Undocumented Immigrants

Illegal immigration has been the subject of controversial debate across America at all levels of government and the media. In this study, people who get caught in the illegal immigration discourses will be called undocumented immigrants (Abrego, 2011; Dunaway et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011). The issues surrounding the undocumented immigrants are not new to the United States and have continually come to the attention of legislators and law enforcement throughout its history (Flynn, Eggerth, & Jeffrey, 2015). The literature will not depict the immigration debates outside of the scope of politics; although, little if any academic report is delivered without political bias (Varsanyi, 2011; Zimmerman, 2011; Zuckerman, Waidmann, & Lawton, 2011). For example, the supporters of the undocumented immigrants base their argument on human rights and everyone's right to have a better life (Aleksynska, 2011; Facchini & Mayda, 2013). Conversely, the anti-illegal immigration position contends that the numbers of both legal and illegal immigrants have far exceeded the United States' ability to absorb them

without detrimental impact on the public welfare system (Aksoy, 2012; Cosby, Aanstoos, Matta, Porter, & James, 2013; Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012; Nyers, 2011).

Most of the advocating arguments sustained that as long as the United States is not willing to amend the most recent act that systematically excludes undocumented immigrants from any social integration, their presence will remain a threat on several fronts such as health and socioeconomic (Galarneau, 2011; Voss & Bloemraad, 2011). Due to the nature of the immigration debate, scholars and public administrators must become involved in developing in-depth, unbiased research on undocumented immigrants criminalized by partisan politics (Boushey & Luedtke, 2011; Hawley, 2011; Sanchez & So, 2015). As explained, the arguments in favor or against the undocumented immigrants seem to originate from a plethora of sources that include nonprofit, public, and private sectors. Unfortunately, all sides of the arguments utilize the same ethnic groups in their rhetoric, which depending on the type of portrayal has dramatic impacts on public opinion at a point to scorn the undocumented immigrants (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, & Haynes, 2013). Public opinion in many cases is known to drive policymakers to introduce adjustments or changes in legislations that are related to certain complex issues.

Studying poverty among undocumented immigrants presents a set of issues distinct from the national poverty analysis. The theories, tools, and techniques presented in this study are relevant to this particular set of problems. Undocumented immigrants are typically identified and referred to as illegal immigrants or illegal aliens, a label that emphasizes their status as foreigners and non-citizens. Because IIRAIRA prohibits unlawful presence in the country, immigrants who lack proper documentation have

limited opportunities for employment, education, healthcare, and government assistance. Uneven progress among immigrants due to restrictions imposed by immigration policies reflects a fundamental weakness in current approaches to measuring poverty, influencing the critical issues and the policies against poverty more broadly (Center for American Progress, 2012). Structural adjustment policies that cause cutbacks in development incentives, education, and other vital social services can result in the isolation of an entire generation (Ortiz, Fajth, Yablonski, & Rabi, 2010). As previously affirmed, poverty is complicated, and its definitions range according to different thresholds of income, the consideration of other factors, or the use of relative (rather than absolute) measures (United Nations Development Program, 2015). Many undocumented immigrants come from developing nations where governments have opened their economies to compete globally against more powerful industrialized nations under agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement of 1994 (NAFTA) (Brown & Lopez, 2013). To attract investment, many developing countries have entered in a spiraling race to the bottom to determine which one can provide lower standards, reduced wages, and cheaper resources (Isacson et al., 2012). Consequently, these agreements have increased poverty and inequality that threaten their stability (Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2015). This process also forms a backbone of globalization and maintains historically various rules of trade (U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 2015). NAFTA has not left room to promote inclusive and sustainable economies means to improve well-being and enable everyone to participate in and benefit from economic growth (Schneider, Kallis, & Martinez-Alier, 2010). Instead, it reduced income equality and controlled all indicators of equality to

prop up its goals, and pushed the multidimensional measures of poverty; to a global scope, without recognizing the social and local realities. It has increased poverty and discouraged regional objectives (Chien & Ravallion, 2013). NAFTA controlled all prospect to social protection and deprived them of all development perspectives. As a result, this trend increases exodus to big cities and other countries ((Barrientos, 2011).

Contrary to the assumption that the presence of the undocumented immigrants represents an economic burden to the American economy, several research studies found that they are not legally qualified for welfare benefits (Passel, 2011). Although some forms of assistance are being delivered on a humanitarian basis (Broder & Blazer, 2011). As a barrier to the undocumented immigrants' population, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) was enacted to restrict implicitly the provision of many federal, state, and local public services to undocumented immigrants (Viladrich, 2012). The PRWORA, known as the welfare reform law, includes strong provisions that created new qualification standards for service eligibility based on citizenship status. This law also approved new rules for qualification for all other immigrants based on principles of self-sufficiency, which disqualified larger categories of immigrants from public assistance (Public Law 104-193, Title IV, § 400). Following such rules, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) was signed into law, aiming to crack down on illegal immigration (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). These reformed laws established broader and more stringent legal restrictions for immigration and welfare provisions directed at immigrants already residing in the country, as well as those desiring or planning to emigrate (Public Law,

104-208). Other assumptions claim that undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes while the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) found that they have paid $10.5 billion in 2010 and $11.84 billion in 2012 (Chavez, 2012; Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2012). The enactment of these two major policies reflected a new era in policymaking in the United States. While the relationship between immigration and welfare policy are understood as two separate areas of law, the convergence of these two policies in the mid-1990s reflects a particular political moment that warrants new analysis and consideration. The 1996 welfare and immigration reform laws codified a traditional racial politics whereby immigrants are excluded and disenfranchised from American society. Those were the same trends seen earlier in 1994 with California's Proposition 187, also known as the Save Our State initiative (Aguirre, 1997; Crichlow, 2013). Proposition 187 expelled fears that undocumented immigrants were over utilizing healthcare, education, and economic assistance at the expense of the working class Americans (Hildebrandt & Stevens, 2011; Torres & Wallace, 2013).

Based on Chakravarti's (2006) theory, the most attractive environment for poverty is the one marked with unstable conditions and the absence of a socioeconomic foundation, which together create the vulnerability characteristic of poverty. The underlying principle of this position is that people's lives are lived in their surroundings, which determine their daily decisions, and actions based on what is within reach and what is not. Chakravarti argued that the poor's usual practice of navigating the world of poverty fosters a fluency in the poverty setting and an assumed ignorance of the context of the larger society. Therefore, when a poor individual enters into interactions with

social norms that person's understanding is destined to be limited, and accordingly decisions are less efficient in a poverty setting. As a result, a revolving door is created from which the dimensions of poverty are not quantifiable, but are interacting and reinforcing in nature (Chakravarti, 2006).

Sheppard (2012) referred to social exclusion as a process in which individuals are systematically blocked from opportunities, resources, and fundamental rights. It is the systematic denial of resources, goods and services, rights, and the inability to participate in building relationships and activities, available to the majority of people, whether in socioeconomic, cultural, or political arenas. It influences both the quality of life of marginalized groups and the equity and social cohesion (Levitas et al., 2007). The statutory exclusion extends from social relations to housing, from healthcare to education, from employment to civic engagement, from common activities that are usually accessible to members of a democratic society, and are keys to socioeconomic development and social integration. Garland (2012) pointed out the incompatibility between social exclusion and social solidarity. As it is defined, exclusion is identified and conceptualized through different social, economic, cultural, physical, political, and institutional processes and dimensions of everyday life (Sen, 1998). When it relates to moral value, social solidarity occurs regardless of cultural differences or interests (Berry, 2011; Goodman, 2011). It is necessary to clarify that social exclusion and restrictions of opportunity are not the only causes of poverty (Hall, 2010), they are rather factors of the phenomenon. Any correct evaluation of social exclusion in the framework of social structure, in which many factors such as social welfare, social integration, community

and societal acceptance come into play, must be multi-dimensionally balanced against the most important reasons to consider the social disadvantage and the relegated to the fringe of society (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012).

## Poverty and Undocumented Immigration

### Migration and Poverty

Migration is an outcome rather than a cause of poverty. It is the action of moving away from unemployment, poverty, insecurity, or hardship. It is in part one of the perks of the global economy. Both qualitative and quantitative studies on migration and poverty suggest that migration is selective on income and earning capacity. Lichter, Johnston, & McLaughlin (2010) examined the role that migration plays in the relationship between poor people and poor places. Their study described an eastern New York town experiencing increasing welfare caseloads and urban exodus. Out-of-town investors bought vacated buildings and storefronts in the downtown, subdivided into multi-dwelling apartment buildings, and leased to low-income residents. Furthermore, Fitchen described a trend of a progressive movement, where people were displaced to less urban areas. Their action resulted in the process of migration to the countryside that converts into structural calamity, economic decline, the out-migration of the middle class. As well as a drop in the cost of living, a rise in the supply of low-income housing, people moving in from areas where housing was higher and, once social linkages were established, the promotion of additional in-migration of low-income populations. Lichter et al. (2010) work suggested that the urban poor move more in response to a need for a cheaper cost of living than for better job prospects. Poor people seem to be coerced to

remain in an environment that bounds the poor together. The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (2012) also found that low-income people are obligated to move to low-income places.

The many variables of poverty may provide some indication as to its causes, but no single variable can be the cause. Unemployment rates, for example, do not capture potentially discouraged or underemployed workers and often exclude out-migration (Pateman, 2011). Corbett (2014) found that factors such as the unequal opportunities among genders, and the differential participation in the labor force, employment and population ratios between men and women can provide a better assessment of the labor market tightness than any official unemployment rates. That mean job growth rates may better capture opportunities for low-income people than unemployment rates even if new jobs were filled by migrants and in-commuters (Bartik, 1991; Raphael, 2011). Moreover, Bartik (1996) suggested that job growth may be less intrinsic than a local unemployment rate. Bartik (1996) cautioned that the labor market should not be seen as the only contextual influence of poverty. Such things as a lack of affordable childcare and a lack of public transportation alternative in sparsely settled places may impose barriers to labor force participation and employment for low-income adults. Those barriers are often more constraining in rural areas than cities (Corbett, 2014).

**Immigrants and Poverty in the United States**

As it was during the industrial revolution, migration continues to play an important role in the economic relations between developed and developing countries. The Center for Immigration Studies demonstrated the close relationship between

immigrants (documented or undocumented), the economy, the labor market, employment, and wages. Raphael and Smolensky (2009) discussed about how immigration affected poverty in the United States since the 1970s by documenting trends in poverty rates among U.S.-born citizens by race and ethnicity, and poverty trends among immigrants by their region and country of origin. They reviewed how poverty rates among immigrants in the United States change with time (Borstelmann, 2011). Then, they simulated the effects of labor competition between immigrants and U.S.-born citizens on the poverty rate. They found that international immigration to the United States from 1970 to 2005 had increased the overall poverty rate.

Borjas (2011) explained this impact, arguing immigrants are more likely to live in poverty, and a growing proportion of the U.S. resident population is foreign born. In contrast, Motel and Patten (2013) found that immigration does not increase the likelihood of U.S.-born citizens with similar skills, education, and experience to migrate out of state or lose jobs. Indeed, from 1960 to 2004, immigration had a much more adverse effect on the wages for current immigrants than on the wages of U.S.-born workers. This finding suggests that U.S-born and foreign-born workers perform work that is more complementary rather than competitive in nature in regards to their skills, talents, occupations, and abilities (Motel & Patten, 2013). In fact, immigration raised the average wage of the U.S.-born worker by 1.1% during the 1990s. Among American-born workers with a high school diploma or higher education, wages increased 0.8 % to 1.5 %. Among U.S.-born workers without a high school diploma, wages declined by 1.2 %. The

median estimates indicate that the complementary work of immigrants spurred wage growth of U.S. citizens by about 4% in 14 years (Motel & Patten, 2013).

Many researchers encouraged policymakers to take these results into account as they consider reforming current immigration laws. These findings should help defuse the argument that an anti-immigration stance protects the livelihood of American society. Since California leads the nation in immigration trends, this study might have provided a glimpse into the effects of immigration on employment and incomes at a national level. Ivanic et al. (2012) determined that economic growth has had limited impact on poverty since tackling earnings inequality may leave many workers with reduced income security. Further, social theorists such as Sen (2014) and Béné, Newsham, Davies, Ulrichs, & Godfrey□Wood (2014) noticed that the persistence of poverty has created doubts about the ability of economic growth to reduce poverty. These doubts are especially relevant to developmental professionals who work directly with the poor in developing countries. Given the current economic conditions in America, poverty will not be substantially reduced unless the government is consistent in providing assistance to low-income workers and job seekers. Bailey & Danziger (2013) also argued that poverty remains high not because of a shortage of effective antipoverty policy options, but because policymakers and the public have not made reducing poverty a real priority. A variety of other factors influencing the incidence of poverty has yet to be identified.

**Vulnerability of Undocumented Immigrants' Children**

Fix, Zimmermann, and Passel (2001) reported 75% of immigrants' children in the United States are born citizens regardless of the fact that they are offensively being

labeled politically as Anchor babies. However, for each 700,000 to 900,000 lawful immigrants, there are at least 300,000 to 500,000 undocumented arriving annually (Rynell, 2008). If these trends continue and the current immigration policies remain unchanged, the foreign-born population is projected to double in four decades, when it will account for 15% of the general population of the United States (Capps & Fix, 2005). It is important to note that not everyone who enters the United States stays permanently; as many as one-third of all visitors eventually return to their homeland (Borjas, 2001). Recently, the Pew Hispanic Center found that the net migration from Mexico, for example, falls to zero. Chapman & Bernstein (2003) found that increases in immigration over the past decade had had a lesser effect on the overall poverty rate. They argued that immigration's impact on poverty may have been overstated at the expense of other economic factors, including increased inequality and high unemployment, which affect all low-income workers. Hoynes, Page, and Stevens (2006) supported this assertion, finding that the post-1980s increase in the foreign-born population has increased the poverty rate by 0.3%. Mishel et al. (2006) established that, for the period from 1993-2000, if immigration carried on consistently, poverty rates would have been somewhat lower, and the median income would have been slightly higher. More specifically, if the population of immigrants and non-immigrants stood at what it was in 1993 (9%), poverty would have stopped at about 12.6%. If the immigrant population were at 12%, the national poverty rate would be virtually unchanged at 12.7%, only one-tenth of a percentage point higher. This decline of poverty among immigrants has offset the effect of the growth of the overall immigrant population (Mishel et al., 2006). As per the

children, Van Hook, Brown, and Kwenda (2004) discovered that 50% of the increase in poverty among child immigrants from 1969-1999 resulted from changing economic trends that have made it harder to raise a family than in previous eras.

One issue that frequently arises about immigration is its impact on the United States economy. Friedberg, Safran, Coltin, Dresser, & Schneider (2010) concluded that there is a lack of evidence to support the claim that immigration has an effect on the economic outcomes of American citizens, despite the widespread nature of this view. Proof of immigrants' effect on the joblessness rate is even harder to determine (Howell et al., 2010). Immigrants come to the United States with different job skills, levels of education, and other assets that impact their earnings. Their immigration status also affects their social and economic characteristics and outcomes (Migration Policy Institute, 2012). Despite challenges, immigrants hold a decent rate of employment although they are limited to the lowest paying sectors. Still, immigration has not been the most influential factor affecting poverty rates in the past decade; rather than other economic factors such as increasing inequality, deregulation of the market, and unemployment that affected economic development in general (Center for Immigration Studies, 2012). Some researchers have compared poverty rates among the immigrant population to the American-born citizens. Mishel, Berstein, and Allegretto (2006) found that American-born citizens' likelihood of being poor was three times lower than other fractions of the American Society. But earlier Chapman and Bernstein (2003) found that immigrants experienced a higher increase in median family incomes (26.3%) from 1994 to 2000 while American-born individuals' incomes grew only half as fast. Capps and Fix

(2005) also found that the longer immigrants live in the United States, the more analogous they become to the American-born population in social and economic status. Median family income increases over time for immigrants, and it is now as high as that of native immigrants who entered the country in the 1970s. Friedberg and Hunt (1995) found that a 10% increase in low-skilled immigrants in the population reduces the wages of the least-skilled American-born workers by at most 1%. Although the literature on qualified immigrant workers is fairly controversial, it is accepted that surges in immigration have no effect on the wage for the average member of the labor market (Howell et al., 2010).

Research has also illustrated the relationship between immigrant status and low-wage incomes. Capps and Fix (2005) found that immigrants gradually became a larger share of the American labor force (i.e., one out of every seven workers); however, immigrants were overrepresented among low-wage workers (one of every five workers or 20%). Immigrants' wages were lower on average than authorized workers, and approximately half earned less than twice the official minimum wage. Other researchers have found that undocumented workers receive less than the established minimum wage (Passel & Woodrow, 2013). Even if 96% of all undocumented workers were included in the workforce, they would earn much less than working U.S. citizens (Congressional Budget Office, 2015). Undocumented immigrants would be engaged in jobs that require no formal education (Center for Immigration Studies, 2011). Since, they would not be qualified for most of the country's antipoverty services such as Food Stamps, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF),and Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP)

(Pew Research Center, 2011). Passel et al. (2011) argued that the recent surge in low-skilled immigration has produced a class of undocumented workers receiving lower wages, due to their lack of bargaining power to negotiate fair wages. If lower wages imply a lower quality of life, and a lower quality of life implies living in poverty, then it follows that the majority of undocumented immigrants live in poverty (Economic Policy Institute, 2014). According to the Department of Homeland Security, since 2013, the undocumented population has been gradually increasing. As shown in Figure 2, in 1980, this population was estimated at 2- 4 million, a number that grew to 8.5 million in 2000, then to a peak 11.8 million in 2007 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015).

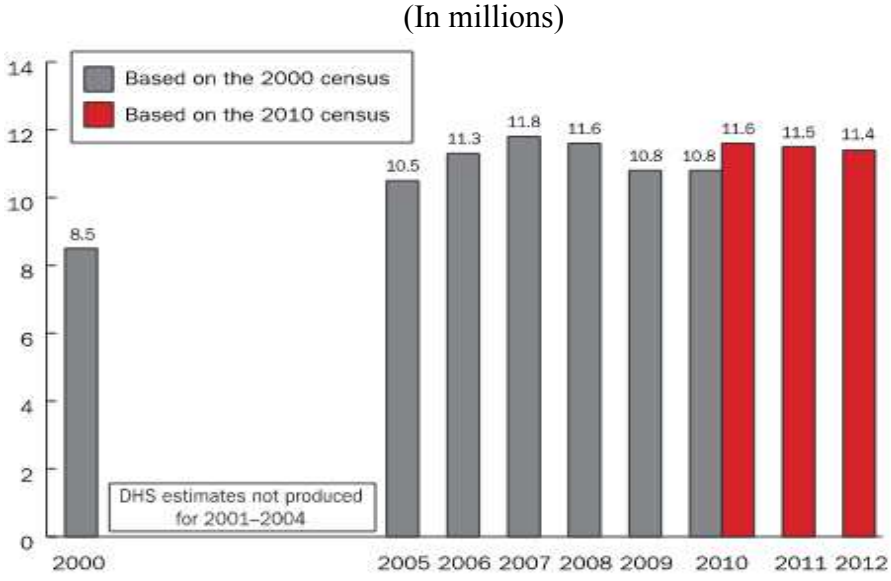



*Figure 1*. Estimates of undocumented resident population from 2000 to 2012.

*Note*. Adapted from "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2012," by B. Baker and N. Rytina, 2013, *DHS, March*.

Table 2 displays the size of each component of the undocumented immigrant population estimates for 2012. The Department of Homeland Security revised 2010

unauthorized estimate was 11.6 million, indicating little change in the size of the unauthorized population between 2010 and 2012.

Table 2

*Entry of Undocumented Immigrant from 1980 to 2011(DHS, March 2013).*

| Period of entry | Estimated population January 2012 | |
|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percent |
| All years | 11,430,000 | 100 |
| 2005–2011 | 1,540,000 | 14 |
| 2000–2004 | 3,250,000 | 28 |
| 1995–1999 | 2,920,000 | 26 |
| 1990–1994 | 1,720,000 | 15 |
| 1985–1989 | 1,110,000 | 10 |
| 1980–1984 | 890,000 | 8 |

*Note.* Detail may not sum to total due to rounding.

Figure 2 shows recent demographic estimates were put forth by the Pew Hispanic Center based on the supplements from the September 2013 Current Population Survey, to calculate the amount of naturalized citizens, temporary residents and refugees, and lawful residents in relation to the total foreign-born population.

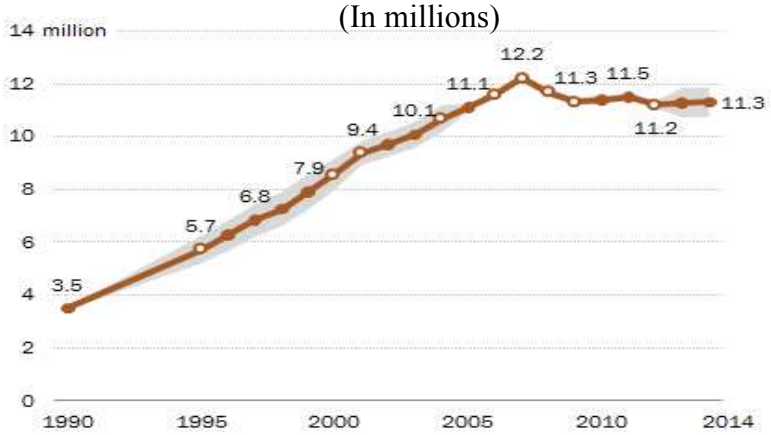



Figure 2. Undocumented immigrant population in the United States from 1990 to 2014.

*Note*: Shading surrounding line indicates low and high points of the estimated 90% confidence interval. White data markers indicate the change from previous year is

statistically significant (for 1995, change is significant from 1990). Data labels are for 1990, odd years from 1995-2011, 2012, 2014. Adapted from "Pew Research Center Estimates Based on Residual Methodology Applied to March Supplements to the Current Population Survey (1995-2004, 2013-2014) and American Community Survey (2005-2012) Estimates for 1990 from Warren and Warren, 2013," by J. S. Passel, D.V. Cohn, and A. Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013, Pew Research Center.

The federal government used data from the CPS to estimate the number of illegal immigrants living in the U.S. by subtracting the estimated lawful immigrant population from the total foreign-born population in a given period (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2013).

The residual population estimates the number of unauthorized immigrants to 11.7 million as of March 2012. As shown, the estimated number of undocumented immigrants reached 12.2 million in 2007 and decreased to 11.3 million in 2009, interrupting a climbing trend that had held for decades. The undercount rate of the estimated unauthorized population in 2012 varied from 11.4 million to 12.9 million.

Many unauthorized immigrants in the estimate provided by the government have legal authorization to work in the United States, but yet to be lawful residents. Among those groups are those with temporary protected status (TPS), those who are caught crossing the borders and released on their own recognizance until deportation, and the asylum seekers who may account for about 10% of the official estimate.

The undocumented immigrants are those who do not fall into any legal categories. This group accounts for the undocumented immigrants and includes only those who

entered the country clandestinely: (a) were never issued a valid document, and (b) have never been detained. On the other hand, as seen below in Table 3, there is another group comprises of those admitted with valid visas and overstayed or defied the terms of their admission by hiding into the population are unauthorized.

Table 3

*Estimates of the Undocumented Population in the United States from 2005 to 2012*

| | National in Millions | | Florida in Thousands | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Estimate | Range | Estimate | Range |
| 2012 | 11,700 | (11,100-12,200) | 950 | (750-1,150) |
| 2011 | 11,500 | (11,300-11,600) | 950** | (900-975) |
| 2010 | 11,400* | (11,200-11,500) | 900* | (875-925) |
| 2009 | 11,300** | (11,200-11,500) | 875** | (850-900) |
| 2008 | 11,700** | (11,500-11,800) | 950** | (925-975) |
| 2007 | 12,200** | (12,100-12,400) | 1,050* | (1,000-1,050) |
| 2006 | 11,600** | (11,400-11,700) | 1,000** | (975-1,000) |
| 2005 | 11,100* | (11,000-11,300) | 925 | (900-975) |

*Notes.* Range represents the bounds of the estimated 90% confidence interval. The symbol ** indicates the change from the previous year is statistically significant (for 2006, change significantly from 2005). If the annual change is not significant, the symbol* indicates the change from two years ago is significant. Significance of other differences is not shown.

Sources: Pew Research Center estimates based on residual methodology applied to March Supplements to the Current Population Survey for 2005-2012 and to American Community Survey for 2005 -2011. Estimates from Warren and Warren (2013)

**Poverty at the National Level**

Despite the scarcity of exact definition and the uncertainty of the primary measurement tools, governments still find means to report the hundreds of millions of people living in poverty (Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2013; DeNavas-Walt et al., 2014). Because of the multifarious of the causes, they can still be analyzed through livelihoods frameworks (Fisher, Patenaude, Meir, Nightingale, Rounsevell, Williams, & Woodhouse, 2013). In this study, much of the literature on poverty is focused on a national level.

The poverty rate for children under age 18 increased to 22% in 2010, which meant that more than one-fifth children in the U.S. were living in poverty. As of April 2011, 46.2 million people lived in poverty; 2.6 million more than the previous year (Censky, 2011). In 2012, this figure rose to 47 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). By race, the poverty rate has been found to be lower for non-Hispanic whites (9.9 %) and Asians (12.1%), while Blacks had the highest rate (27.4 %), followed by people of Hispanic origin (26.6 %; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). In 2013, about 48.8 million people or 15.8% of the U.S. population had income below the poverty level. No indicator for 2013 was statistically different from 2012. Those statistics, however, do not include undocumented immigrants.

The government defines the poverty line as an income of $22,314 per year for a four-member family, and $11,139 for an individual (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The Office of Management and Budget updates the poverty line each year to account for inflation. As shown in Figure 3, the poverty rate rose to 15.1% in 2010, its highest level since 1993 (United States Census Bureau, 2011).

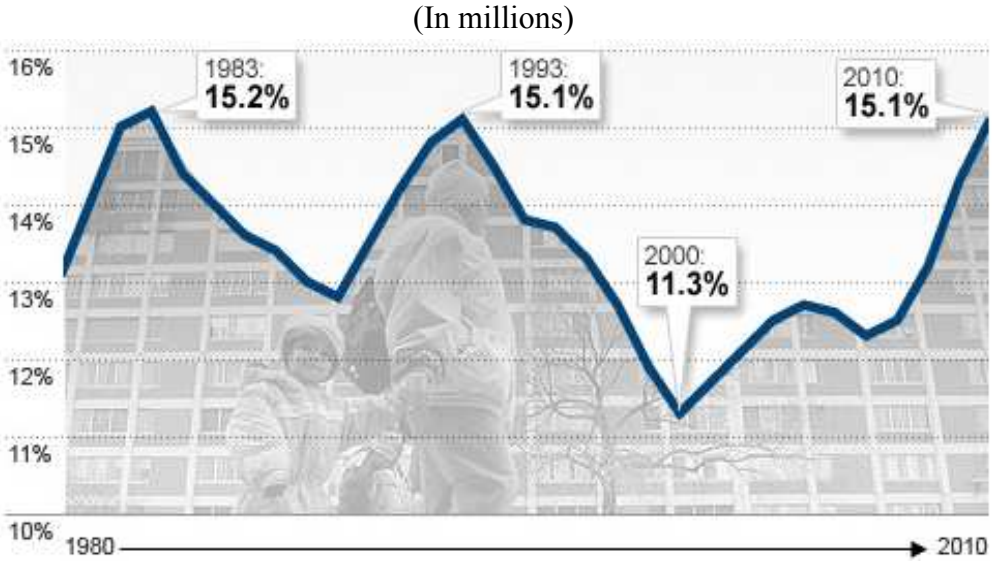



*Figure 3.* Poverty rate according to the United States Census Bureau. Adapted from "American Community Survey Briefs, 2012," by A. Bishaw and K. Fontenot, 2014, *U.S. Department of Commerce and US Census Bureau.*

*Note.* Poverty status is determined by comparing annual income to a set of dollar values called poverty thresholds that vary by family size, number of children, and the age of the householder. If a family's income before tax is less than the dollar value of their threshold, then that family and every individual in it are factually living in poverty. For people not living in families, poverty status is determined by comparing the individual's income to his or her poverty threshold.

**Poverty According to the Federal Government**

The federal government defines poverty using a statistical measure based on the annual income that a household needs to survive. Orshansky (1969) initially calculated the poverty line in 1963 based on three times the estimate of what an average family would need to spend for a modest lifestyle. According to Darby (1996), this definition of

poverty was political and aimed to standardize the progress of poverty programs in the fight against poverty. The number of people living in poverty would be estimated much higher if based on public perceptions rather than the government's poverty measure, which does not count as non-cash benefits (Gentilini, 2007; O'Hare, 1990). The discrepancy between the government's poverty measure and that recommended by the public indicates the need for a reexamination of the poverty line and what counts as income (Deaton, 2010). Researchers such as Coley and Baker (2013) have identified problems with the definition of the poverty line as it pertains to the concept of family income and the cost of living in different regions.

**Identifying Poverty in the United States**

Some researchers have chosen to view poverty inclusively as if lawful residents and citizens were the only segment of the population affected by poverty (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010; Kaplinsky, 2013), disregarding the definitions related to the poverty line (Bailey & Danziger, 2013). Reyes and Due (2009) examined the implications of social policy in poverty reduction strategies and government poverty indicators. They argue that governments need to take more aggressive approaches by creating efficient poverty monitoring systems to measure different dimensions of poverty in particular areas. These tracking systems could then guide decision-makers by illustrating how poverty occurs in various contexts and capacities (Reyes & Due, 2009). According to Sawhill (2010), many researchers consider the correct method of measuring poverty as flawed. Some argue that poverty is a state of relative economic deficiency that depends not on whether income is lower than some consistent level, but whether the income falls far below those

of others in the same society. If poverty is defined to mean relative economic deprivation, then no matter how wealthy some may become, poverty will persist (Sawhill, 2010). Few researchers believe that the official method of calculating poverty is conceptually acceptable, as it errs by omission. For example, the value of essential government assistance like food stamps and housing vouchers are not taken into consideration when calculating the official poverty line. Regardless of how scholars look at the science of poverty, or what O'Connor's (2009) called the *Knowledge of Poverty*, it is important to acknowledge the impact of political interests on definitions of policies related to poverty. As the Migration Policy Institute asserted, the poverty line is a politically connected issue in which political agendas are the overriding factors. Indeed, according to Drainville (2012), poverty is a capitalist tool where powerful interests dictate how it is defined and what type of actions should be taken to counter it.

In general, poverty research has provided tools to develop a series of social science instruments and methods for evaluating the effectiveness of public policy interventions, as well as a variety of approaches to qualitative research including semi structured interviews and data analysis. Social scientists have long been aware that the incidence of poverty is inversely proportional to economic trends — i.e., it rises when economic conditions deteriorate and fall when the economy sustains systematic growth (Ferreira et al., 2010; Ravallion & Chen, 2011).

The Institute for Research on Poverty determined that among the factors of poverty, individual status, and place of residence are used to define the type of opportunities (e.g., jobs) offered in various occupational sectors by local industries.

Meanwhile, barriers to local unemployment conditions affect the likelihood of being hired (Redding, 2012). In a critical review of rural poverty, Peters (2012) and Weber et al. (2014) affirmed that rural communities offer fewer opportunities and higher barriers to successful economic development. Weber et al. (2014) maintained that most analysts believe that there is something immeasurable about rural settings that make it harder for residents of those communities to succeed economically (Weber et al., 2014). Ransom et al. (2014) argued that poverty is related to institutional barriers, social networks, community capacity, and cultural norms and practices that lead to different economic decisions and outcomes. To understand the real effect of poverty in rural areas, which are independent of measuring economic conditions, analysts must first control the estimated economic conditions as a whole (Economic Research Service, 2012).

As a whole, poverty is defined by income, and most household income is from wages. As such, the local economic variations in most of these studies focus on local labor markets (Weber et al., 2014). Many analysts have used different variables to measure local labor market conditions that affect income and poverty (Fisher, 1906). The most commonly used labor market variables are unemployment rates, employment and population ratios, job growth rates, industrial sector composition, and occupational structure. For example, Haynie and Gorman's (1999) research included variables that capture the unemployment and underemployment of men and women to explain household poverty status. The supply of labor was measured by controlling the variable related to differences in age structure. Further, Jensen, Goetz, and Swaminathan (2006) included in their research some local labor market controls, including job growth, the

percentage of the labor force employed, male and female labor force participation, and several variables capturing the industrial composition. Crandall and Weber's (2004) research examined job growth, and Swaminathan & Findeis (2004) study predicted employment growth. Levernier, Partridge, and Rickman (2000) reviewed the differences in industrial structures between rural and urban areas to explain the higher poverty rates in rural areas. Similarly, Brown and Hirschl's (1995) research used an occupational structural variable to examine higher poverty rates in rural areas.

**Jobs and Illegal Immigrants**

The Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR) reported that as many as 10,000 undocumented individuals crossed the 1,940-mile Mexico-U.S. border every day (Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform, 2012). While border officials caught approximately 33%, it was argued that many who were caught would try again immediately. It was also estimated that every day, approximately 3,500 illegal aliens become permanent residents, which accounts for an increase of at least three million residents a year (Rytina, 2012). The Center for Immigration Studies (2011) reported that 25.8% of immigrants from Mexico lived in poverty. That figure was believed to be more than double the rate for American citizens in 1999 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In a different report, the Heritage Foundation stated that from 1990 to 2006, the number of poor people of Hispanic origin increased from six million to 9.2 million.

Borgas (2011) found that even if undocumented immigrants disappeared from the U.S., Americans would not notice a difference in their paychecks, for most Americans and legal immigrants do not directly compete with illegal immigrants for jobs. Cohen

(2011) argued that in some cases, instead of securing American jobs, persecuting illegal immigrants affects the fragile economic status of some states, as seen in Alabama after the passage of the Alabama Immigration Bill. However, it is still widely believed that Americans would benefit from a dramatic cut in undocumented immigration, particularly high school dropouts. Most economists agree that the wages of high school dropouts and low-skilled individuals are suppressed between 3-8% because of competition with legal or illegal immigrants. These economists forecasted that if competition from immigrants were removed, the average high school dropout would see an increase in income of approximately $25 per week. That means illegal immigration has little to no impact on unemployment rates (Hanson, 2012). Still, others argue illegal workers take jobs that would otherwise go to legal workers who may fight for higher wages (Johnson, 2010). At the same time, illegal workers help the economy by purchasing goods and services locally, such as food, cars, landscaping tools and materials, and cell phones (Sherraden & Barrera, 2015). In reality, there is virtually no net impact on the unemployment rate due to illegal workers (Sherraden et al., 2015).

**Illegal Immigrants and Nonstandard Jobs**

The Economic Research Service (2014) examined the prevalence of non-standard employment in the non-metropolitan areas using the Current Population Survey Supplement on Contingent Work of (2013). Logistic regression models controlling for socio-demographic and work characteristics showed that nonmetropolitan workers experience higher amounts of non-standard employment than central cities or rural workers (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2014). Variations in industrial and

occupational structures in nonmetro and metro areas did not explain residential differences in non-standard work. Coleman-Jensen also estimated the odds of employment in each of the three components of non-standard work, i.e., contingent work, part-time, and varied hour work. Nonmetropolitan workers were more likely than the central city and rural workers to be employed in contingent or varied hour work. The benefits and wages of non-standard work were lower than the standard work across the areas. The results highlight the importance of understanding work and the components of non-standard work, especially when keeping in mind the nature of work across industries, occupations, and areas (Coleman-Jensen, 2011).

United States Department of Labor (2012) defined standard work as work conducted at the employer's place of business or under the employer's control. Standard work tends to be full-time work, where both the employer and employee hold the expectation of continued employment. Non-standard work includes jobs that are part-time or temporary, often including employment intermediaries (e.g. employment agency). Also included in non-standard employment is contract work. In contracts, hours worked and locations of employment vary, they are short-term jobs and casual work that occur when a worker has an uncertain tenure, little expectation of continued employment, or work schedules that impulsively vary (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011; U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). Because of the tenuous link to a single employer, these jobs lack security and rarely provide employer-sponsored health insurance, pensions, and other benefits. In spite of their categorization, such jobs are not intended for undocumented immigrants (Employee Benefits Security Administration, 2013).

After conducting surveys based on the 1999 and 2001 Current Population Survey Supplement on Contingent Work to study nonstandard employment, McLaughlin and Coleman-Jensen (2008) determined that the outcomes of non-standard works were causes for concern, particularly in non-metro areas. The low wages and limited benefits provided to non-standard workers place them at increased risk of poverty and a lack of adequate nutrition (McLaughlin & Coleman-Jensen, 2008). Areas that have higher shares of employment in sectors or occupations more likely to use nonstandard work arrangements will have a larger proportion of residents vulnerable to the consequences of non-standard work. The number of non-standard jobs held by illegal immigrants in Florida is estimated at 585,480 (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2010; Pew Research Center, 2011).

**Health Insurance and Illegal Immigrants**

As occurred in previous centuries, the increase of up to 15% of foreign born in the American population tends to incite some anti-immigrant sentiments that call for restriction of all benefits to immigrants including access to health care (Hansen & Farber, 1996; Rumbaut, 1996). To examine the impacts of health insurance coverage on illegal immigrants and other low-income children, Howell et al. (2010) studied populations in three California counties. The selected counties have high proportions of Latino children (84-92%) from low-income families (almost all below 200% of the federal poverty level), and high proportions of non-citizen children (89-100%). Accordingly, their study population consisted primarily of recent immigrant Latino families with very low incomes. Since the poorest children are undocumented (i.e., not born in the U.S.), many

receive their early health care in their country of origin (Hacker et al., 2015). Howell et al. (2010) found that providing these children with health insurance significantly improved their access to medical and dental care that, in turn, led to the improved the use of critical health services and reduced unmet needs for services. The consistency of findings across all three counties suggested that these results could be generalized to other groups of children who had previously been underserved, such as undocumented children. Depriving children of preventive care, education, or other assistance will likely keep them in the cycle of poverty. The effects seen in these studies on access and use were greater than those observed in the national SCHIP evaluation and other studies on health insurance coverage for children. This was possible because uninsured immigrant children lacked primary care to a greater degree than uninsured children who grew up in America before enrolling in health insurance. However, Howell et al. (2010) found while the children's health improved substantially, they were less likely to be in terrific health than their counterparts, including Hispanic children who are about 70% in good health.

The relevance of Howell et al.'s research for this study is their finding that most children in these programs are undocumented and are particularly disadvantaged (Howell et al., 2010). Improvement in health status may not be as pronounced in U.S.-born children who have previously had better access to care. On the other hand, the public and nonprofit healthcare safety net in these counties created by providing health insurance may lead to improvements for children in other communities without such a strong safety net (Hardy et al., 2012). An additional caveat is that while Howell et al.'s method of evaluation differed from previous studies on the impact of new health insurance, such

new insurance was not a randomly assigned. Consequently, it is possible that there were unmeasured factors that determined when children enrolled in the SCHIP program that affected outcomes.

## Illegal Immigrant Dilemma

Sherraden and Barrera (2015) found poverty was present in a disproportionate amount of first generation Mexicans residing in the United States. Morales and Salcido (2011) detailed how family practitioners develop a "pool of knowledge" while serving disadvantaged and undocumented Mexicans in urban Southwest areas. Many Mexicans outside the Southwest are immigrants and live in the same situations (Center for American Progress, 2012). Many Mexican immigrants are firmly committed to their work and traditional family structures (Pew Research Center, 2014).

Passel (2013) affirmed that large proportions of undocumented Mexican immigrant families new to the U.S. often have young children with poor English skills, little education, and large family factors that increase their risk of poverty. Other studies suggest that Mexican immigrants who settle in the rural South or Midwest may have fewer resources than those who choose the southwest. For example, McConnell and LeClere (2002) conducted a study of 52 communities in Mexico and found that men who immigrated to the Midwest of the United States were more educated and experienced in services and manufacturing work, and more likely to be documented than those who moved to the Southwest (McConnell & LeClere, 2002). Moreover, Blewett, Johnson, and Mach (2010) found that, in 2007, Mexican immigrants accounted for 31.3 % of the overall number of undocumented immigrants in the United States. If categories are

combined to include Mexico, Latin America in general and the Caribbean, immigrants from those areas accounted for 54.6%, of the total influx into the United States, while East and Southeast Asia accounted for the second largest percentage (17.6%) of immigrants (Center for Immigration Studies, 2011). A third of all resident foreigners in the United States are undocumented, with an estimated 50% of them from Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean (Blewett et al., 2010).

**Health Concerns from Illegal Immigrants**

There are substantial concerns that undocumented immigrants who come from countries carry with them regional health issues (Schmunis & Yadon, 2010; Zimmerman, Kiss, & Hossain, 2011). The fact is that people from underdeveloped countries with weak health care systems are more likely to bring disease into the United States (Almeida, Caldas, Ayres-de-Campos, Salcedo-Barrientos, & Dias, 2013; Chavez, 2012; Ngai, 2014). As undocumented none of those individuals is believed to have passed health inspections. Therefore, they are likely to bring contagious diseases such as tuberculosis, polio, malaria, hepatitis A, B, and C, leprosy (Mackey et al., 2014). Many argue that they can bring also Dengue fever and Chagas disease or American trypanosomiasis (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011; Guerrant et al., 2011). Based on data from the Center for Disease and Prevention, the impact of Chagas disease, previously thought to be restrained or circumscribed in Latin America where an estimated 8-11 million people were infected, has entered the U.S. clandestinely through immigration of those from Chagas-infected areas of Mexico and Latin America. The CDC estimated that the number of infected people currently living in the U.S. was

300,000 or more. This estimate is based on data about this disease from Latin American countries (Center for Diseases Control, 2011; U.S. Department of Health, 2012). The CDC stated that the parasite has long been known to occur in local mammals and bugs in the southern regions of the U.S., and there have been reports of local transmission in humans (Center for Diseases Control, 2011).

Liu, Weinberg, Ortega, Painter, and Maloney (2009) found 57.8% of the 13,293 new cases of tuberculosis in the United States were diagnosed from foreign-born patients. That made the tuberculosis rate found among foreign-born individuals about 9.8 times higher than in American citizens (20.6 vs. 2.1 cases per a population of 100,000). Roughly 400,000 immigrants and 50,000 to 70,000 refugees from overseas who arrive annually contribute to the tuberculosis burden among foreign-born people in the country. Liu et al. (2009) also explained that while a medical testing process for tuberculosis is required for immigrants and refugees, many undocumented aliens are unscreened. They, in fact, represent a threat to public health and safety (Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, & Wisner, 2014). Although, mentioning those research results may lead to further stigmatization of the undocumented immigrant population (Hacker et al., 2015).

**The Crime of Being Undocumented**

Many denounced undocumented immigrants as criminals (Carbado & Harris, 2011). Most claimed that while the representation of Blacks as inherently criminal and violent was erroneous, Latinos should be viewed as violent, foreign, criminal-minded, disloyal, and overrunning the border (Gabbidon & Greene, 2012). Overzealous nationalists use this type of rhetoric to justify violence against marginalized populations,

including the undocumented (Goody, 2009; Menjívar et al., 2012). Anti-immigrant vigilantism aims to dictate immigration decisions and dominate marginalized people, following methods designed to criminalize and control nonwhite, poor individuals (Gabbidon & Greene, 2013; Escobar, 2008). The anti-immigrant discourses dominating the public sphere, especially during official election periods, follow the logic that the undocumented have broken U.S. immigration laws, therefore, should be treated as criminals (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2011). This rhetoric creates a binary between criminal and noncriminal categories and offers no historical context for migration trends and patterns. It also refuses to recognize the role of prejudice in the policing, criminalization, and detention of immigrants, regardless of their immigration status (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012; Meissner, Kerwin, Chishti, & Bergeron, 2013).

**Undocumented Immigrant Workers**

The Pew Hispanic Center affirmed that immigrants represent a growing segment of the workforce in America (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012). Illegal immigrants accounted for roughly 40% of all immigrants entering the U.S. in 2005, or around 5% of the country's labor force (Passel, 2012). Because of their status, these workers experience flagrant employment violations and face many barriers to their rights as workers (Hacker et al., 2015). Under fear and threat of being deported, it is unlikely that undocumented workers with poor language skills seek legal help or assistance from government agencies (Gordon et al., 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2006). Gleeson (2009) reported that Mexican immigrants are not alone in the discrimination they face, although they are seen among the most vulnerable groups due to their economic standing and immigration history.

While the largest concentration of Mexican immigrants is in the states bordering Mexico, some Mexican immigrants move to other parts of the U.S., particularly in the South (Batalova, 2008). According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2008), Mexican immigrants represent the largest number of foreign-born residents in U.S., but hold one of the lowest socioeconomic profiles. Their immigration history differs considerably from that of other immigrant communities. For example, Passel (2006) reported that the vast majority (80-85%) of Mexican immigrants in recent years was undocumented, and more than 57% of the overall undocumented population within the United States are Mexicans. While the Mexican population does not represent a proxy for the undocumented population across the country, the likelihood that a Mexican immigrant is undocumented is relatively high and believed to impact community norms for accessing benefits and rights (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). Van Hook & Bean (2009) discussed the role of employment-based cultural repertoires for Mexicans immigrants obtaining benefits. They found that the effect of an undocumented status is not merely an instrumental liability that hinders access to institutional rights, but also a legal definition that emphasizes a person's labor function in society while imposing cultural and psychological barriers to accessing those rights (Gleeson, 2009; Hacker et al., 2015).

Gleeson's study also revealed three main aspects of the undocumented experience that affected respondents' mental health: fear, family fragmentation, and economic uncertainty. These findings highlight the realities of living in an anti-immigrant society and the impact of terms like undocumented or illegal. Social barriers limit undocumented immigrants' opportunities for upward mobility (Attree, 2006; Pew Research Center,

2014). While men try to keep themselves out of the spotlight by moving from one farm to another, women are prone to learn how to navigate society within an environment that has identified them as illegal, a label that carries a discriminatory meaning for them (Berger, 2013; Muñoz, 2013). Research also suggests that women use adult education opportunities as outlets for their frustration as undocumented immigrants (Giancola et al., 2010). Coupled with the general stress that adult students face in literacy classes, the participants of these classes also face the reality of being undocumented, which increases their vulnerability to psychological distress.

These findings offer a glimpse into how an undocumented status affects the mental health, integration, and social outlook of undocumented immigrants. More specifically, these results reveal the social significance of an undocumented status, and how the unequal social structure of the United States combined with widespread discrimination prevent immigrants' upward integration, particularly for women. The findings also show the salience of undocumented immigrants and how the barriers associated with being undocumented in the United States contribute to hardship. The experiences of undocumented immigrants represent the complex and unjust circumstances that occur in what is a self-proclaimed civilized society (Garcia & Tierney, 2011). Research that addresses inequalities, such as those imposed on vulnerable populations, elucidates the importance of examining documentation status (Azariadis, 2006; Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). The experience of undocumented immigrants demonstrates the broader impact of how an undocumented status limits opportunities for upward mobility and affects the integration process.

## Spirituality and Undocumented Immigrants

Groody and Campese (2011) explored the spirituality of undocumented immigrants in the United States and Mexico border. By comparing undocumented immigrants with Jesus, Groody and Campese (2011) inferred that being undocumented has a spiritual implication. That is only an ideology that rhymes with the theological concept of those who live in hardship (Archibold, 2010; Heeren, 2012; Rodriguez & Sider, 2013). The study also looked at biblical recommendations that suggest others help the underserved and disadvantaged while highlighting the Christian mission and discipleship (Dahl, 2012; McDaniel et al., 2010). The author explored what strengthens and empowers immigrants, and examined how immigrant experiences can offer new ways of considering core elements of the Gospel narrative. The author suggested theological reflections on undocumented immigrants' realities, arguing the undocumented have been categorized as the crucified people of contemporary society. Therefore, the article stressed that undocumented immigrants are not just suffering people, who depend on the charity of others, but people who manifest in their flesh the real presence of Christ (Daniel, 2010; York, 2012).

## Summary and Conclusions

In Chapter 2, I presented a review of selected literature on poverty in the United States, describing the gap in current research and highlighting the need to include data from undocumented immigrants. I reviewed the most recent literature about poverty and the undocumented immigrants. Additionally, I explored different concepts of poverty and described the study's potential implications for public policy and administration. I

compared theories, problems, and issues relating to undocumented immigration, poverty, and other socioeconomic factors. I also provided insights into the question of undocumented immigrants and poverty, examining whether they live in poverty, or are victims of social exclusion, denied choices, or restrictions of opportunities. I introduced researchers' arguments that poverty may stem from lack or inadequacy of income, low-paying jobs, lack of education, constraints of any safety net as imposed by the Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996).

Chapter 3 includes the rationale for choosing a qualitative paradigm using an exploratory case study research method and the reasons why other research methods are not appropriate. In Chapter 3 I provided extensive details on the role of researcher, study methodology including data collection, analyses, protection, and reporting, and discussed issues of trustworthiness.

# Chapter 3: Research Method

## Introduction

My purpose in conducting this exploratory case study was fourfold. The first purpose was to examine the impact of poverty on the estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants in South Florida, who constitute 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrants' population in the United States (Center for Migration Studies, 2012). The second purpose was to explore and describe the experience of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States. The third purpose was to describe the collateral impact of government policies designed to keep undocumented immigrants from receiving government benefits, such as socioeconomic protection that would include decent living wage (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). The fourth purpose was to identify challenges of collecting accurate data on poverty while the undocumented children remain excluded in the data collection of the phenomenon of poverty.

In this chapter, I provided details about the research design, population, and role of the researcher. I also present the research questions, context, sample selection, data collection and analysis techniques, trustworthiness, credibility, reliability, and validity. I conclude this chapter with a summary and transition to the next chapter.

## Research Design and Rationale

As explained in Chapter 1, a qualitative methodology was used to answer the primary research question for this research study: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida? The qualitative case study approach favored the emphasis on participants' personal experiences and the

understanding of their thoughts, feelings, perceptions, and worldviews (Gray, 2013; Smith, 2015). This study was conducted to contribute literature on the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants. Moreover, I used four sub questions to divide this explorative question into more specific poverty-related queries and to direct the participant interviews that took place during the research process. The sub questions were the following:

- Sub question 1: What is the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 2: What are the consequences of being undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 3: Why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida?
- Sub question 4: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida?

Poverty is a social phenomenon; it is not a voluntary choice or an intentional state of mind (Berliner, 2012; Bossert et al., 2013; Campbell et al., 2012; Hick, 2012). The phenomenon of poverty is one of the reasons why undocumented immigrants leave their countries and come to the United States looking to improve their lives (Andrews & Withey, 2012; Wilson, 2012). The scarceness of research about the impact of poverty as a social phenomenon within the undocumented immigrant group represents a significant gap in poverty studies (Chavez, 2012; De Haas, 2012). Only a few researchers seem to be interested in exploring that side of this social issue (Gonzales, 2011; Hochschild et al., 2012; Schein, 2012).

Living as an undocumented immigrant and poverty are two contemporary phenomena in a real-life context. The boundaries between both phenomenon and context were not evidently clear; hence, a case study was the approach that supported deeper and more detailed investigation of the type that was required to answer the how, and why of my research questions (Yin, 2013). This design aligned with my research questions by providing first-hand and non-manipulated data from different sources. There was a probability that the undocumented immigrants were the most vulnerable population due to the systemic exclusion imposed by the Illegal Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (Chavez, 2012; Viladrich, 2012). Many policymakers identify poverty as one of the most complex problems; therefore, a case study methodology appeared to be the most appropriate method for this study. As a complex functioning population, this approach was necessary because it was direct, revelatory, and unique (Stake, 2013; Yin, 2013). Experiments differ from this type of study because they split the phenomenon from its context. Histories differ in that they are limited to events of the past, where relevant participants may be unavailable for interviews and related events unavailable for direct observation (Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2013). Regardless of the assumption that case study cannot be of value unless they link to hypotheses, Wilhite and Fong (2012) countered that a researcher could validly explain a single case base on a general assumption. In this study, I followed Yin's (2013) case study methodology. The exploratory case study was the most appropriate for a problem of this magnitude where virtually little research has been conducted on the impact of poverty on the targeted population for this study. The exploratory case study design afforded the most potential to examine a complex

phenomenon such as poverty. It helped me answer the research question and sub questions while taking into consideration how the phenomenon of poverty was influenced by its context. This exploratory case study design helped me gather data from a variety of sources and use them to answer the research questions (Mack et al., 2011).

Few theorists argued that case studies could not contribute to scientific literature and researchers cannot generalize a single case results (Whitley, Kite, & Adams, 2012; Yin, 2013). Furthermore, case studies contain biases toward verification and it is often difficult to summarize specific case studies (Thomas, 2011; Tight, 2010). Others noted that theoretical knowledge has more value than practical knowledge (Barnes, 2013). Moreover, case studies are more useful to generate hypotheses while other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building (Runeson et al., 2012). Regardless of the conventional assumptions that case studies cannot be of value unless they are linked to hypotheses, many contemporary theorists argued that researchers might validly explain single cases base on general assumptions (Wilhite & Fong, 2012). Researchers such as Yin (2013), Creswell (2013), and Marshall and Rossman (2014) have found that case study researchers, through reports of previous research, have facilitated the exploration and understanding of complex issues. The philosophical orientation of this case study helped me realize that a change in perspective does not inherently mean an underestimation of the scientific method in social science research (Bendassolli, 2013). Researchers could explore this highly subjective world through concise description and analysis (Merriam, 2012). This position is supported by Yin (2013), who reaffirmed that this approach is preferred when the purpose of a study is to

determine the impact of a problem. Creswell (2013) argued that naturalistic inquiry tends to capture feelings and emotions, which are difficult to measure.

I conducted semi structured interviews with the study's participants i.e., undocumented immigrants. I used other sources of data such as documents to strengthen the validity of this study (Yin, 2013). Yin (2013) indicated that external validity is difficult to obtain from case studies of logical relationships with systematical explanations. Conducting interviews with multiple groups or participants enhanced the external validity of this study as recommended by Yin (2013). Information that I received from participants with different backgrounds served to strengthen this study's validity. I improved reliability by making many of the interview questions repetitive. Overall, researchers often recommend case study methodologies to carry out significant research tasks in the social sciences (Bryman, 2012). When compared to other methods in the social science research, case study holds up well (Sarantakos, 2012; Yin, 2013). Case studies have various advantages: They present data of real-life situations and they provide better insights into the specific behaviors of the subjects of interest; however, their results are not generalizable (Stake, 2013; Yin, 2013).

**Study Sample**

A purposive sampling technique called snowball sampling was used in this study. It is a chain-referral sampling technique that involves study participants helping to recruit others from among their connections. Generally, in this method, participants who have been contacted through their social networks refer to other people who could participate in the study. Snowball sampling is often used to find and recruit hidden populations that

are not readily available to researchers through other sampling strategies (Barratt, Ferris, & Lenton, 2015; McCreesh, 2013; Robinson, 2014). This method provided a different perspective than those derived from the positivists' practice on policy impact because the responses received to the open-ended interview questions provided me with insights that contribute to strengthening the validity and reliability of this study (Creswell, 2013).

One of the disadvantages of snowball sampling is that a researcher has no control over the sampling method. The researcher may rely mainly on previous connections that were interviewed to recruit additional participants. Moreover, the researcher may not have knowledge about the actual distribution of the population and the sample. Sampling bias is most likely a concern for researchers when using this sampling technique (Schmidt, & Hunter, 2014). Initial participants tend to refer others whom they know well. Because of this particularity, it is highly possible that they share the same characteristics and attributes; therefore, it is likely that the sample that the researcher obtains is only a small subgroup of the entire population.

## Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher may be one of the instruments (Yin, 2010). Hatch et al. (2012) suggested that in some cases, to earn the trust of participants, researchers may become members of a cultural group and may need to adopt positions unique to those environments. In this case study, I established a connection with the participants by participating in some of their social activities (Marshall et al., 2014). Moreover, qualitative researchers may be concurrently explorers, cartographers, synthesizers, and interpreters investigating a phenomenon to enhance understanding

(Creswell, 2012). However, minimizing subjectivity is a necessary and intrinsic part of qualitative research. Freeman (2011) noted that understanding may not be a fixing of meaning, but a description of how the meaning is generated and transformed. To discover meaning in the data, researchers need to adopt an open attitude to allow the emergence of unexpected meanings (Giorgi, 2011). To remove any personal bias and judgment, researchers should report the exact information provided by the participants. As recommended by Freeman (2011), using the methodology of bracketing one's personal experiences, researchers should avoid influencing the participants' understanding of the phenomenon (Chan et al., 2013; Tufford & Newman, 2012). Bracketing helps researchers avoid inclusion of their beliefs about an investigated phenomenon (Chan et al., 2013). Researchers used it as a means of demonstrating the validity of the data collection and analysis process (Creswell, 2013). Accordingly, I used bracketing method in this qualitative study to mitigate any potentially damaging effects of preconceptions that may tarnish the research process. On the issue of poverty within undocumented immigrants, it is more scientifically appropriate to approach the problem without preconceived explanations. Following Creswell (2013)'s suggestion, I split the research process for this study into seven stages: designing, interviewing, transcribing, bracketing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting (Yin, 2013).

## Methodology

Many qualitative theorists argued that qualitative research generates detailed information to describe a phenomenon (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Additionally, Creswell (2012) defined qualitative research as a form of interpretive inquiry in which

researchers make sense of what they see, hear, and understand. Qualitative research enables a researcher to describe a research phenomenon in the language of the participants (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). The goal is to build a complex, holistic picture of a problem (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative methodology correlates well with objective researcher-driven observations (Roscigno et al., 2012). Creswell (2012) defined qualitative research as an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that helps a researcher understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible. In this study, qualitative methodology was the best tool to examine the impact of poverty on the illegal immigrant population, including finding out how the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 has affected their lives.

As a research method that aims to build an understanding by discovering practical meanings, I conducted this qualitative research study to explore the complexity of the phenomenon of poverty within the undocumented communities. This study served as an inquiry into how undocumented individuals make sense of their living experiences and the world around them (The Pew Research Center, 2014). Additionally, Creswell (2013) noted that qualitative researchers use a naturalistic approach to dealing with humans and attempts to safeguard the essence of human behavior by not resting evidence on the logic of mathematics and statistical measurements. Researchers interact with people, in qualitative studies, to understand firsthand the root of an issue, becoming a participant in one's research (Creswell, 2013).

Since I focus in this study on a social phenomenon instead of a theoretical construct (Glaser & Strauss, 2009), case study was the most appropriate methodology. An exploratory case study would supply a blueprint to incorporate as many variables as needed to investigate this study's focus area (Creswell, 2012; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2013). Moreover, different kinds of research questions require different types of approaches. In the sphere of academic research various methodologies such as phenomenology, grounded theory, narrative inquiry, action research, biographical, and ethnography, have emerged. Unlike those methodologies, an exploratory case study is the methodology that, through interpretive meanings to participants' lived experiences, can provide insights into poverty within the undocumented immigrants (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2012; Maxwell, 2012). In the following, I briefly discuss the inapplicability of the other methodologies to my study.

A phenomenological study would be inappropriate since this research does not deal with an event, disaster, or an incredible accomplishment (Bayne et al., 2011; Flood, 2010; Merleau-Ponty, 2012; Zahavi, 2012).

A grounded theory would not be appropriate since there has not been any known theory of the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrant communities (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). Grounded theory methodology is a systematic generation of theory from systematic research (Glaser & Strauss, 2009; Charmaz, 2014). As an inductive methodology, grounded theory would have required the adoption of earlier theory or theories which seem unlikely due to the scarcity of research about the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants. In other words, grounded theory differed from its

requirements of comparison and analysis of data from many sources (Holloway & Todres, 2010; Creswell, 2012).

Narrative inquiry methodology would have presented challenges such as the need to collect extensive data about the participants, and would have required a clearer understanding of the context of the individual's life (Spector-Mersel, 2011; Xu & Connelly, 2010). Extensive information of and from an undocumented individual would have put this person at risk. Narrative inquiry requires identifying the source of materials that gather the particular stories that capture the individual's experiences. The justification of research in three different ways is also required in a narrative inquiry (Creswell, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The first way is the personal explanation (i.e., a form of subjective justification). The second way is the practical rationale (i.e., the capacity to establish, revise, and rationally pursue a conception of something). The third way is the social justification or ideological justification (Littlejohn, 2012; Timmons et al., 2013; Forst, 2011). Such methodology would have required active collaboration with the participants and the researcher would have needed to discuss the participant's stories while comparing them to their owns (Creswell, 2012). Action research is based on the close interaction between practice, theory, and change. However, it would have been too practice-oriented to study the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants who live in the shadow of the American society.

Action research involves intervention not only as a main feature of the data collection but as an explicit goal of the research (Stringer, 2013; Huang, 2010; McNiff, 2013; Coghlan & Brannick, 2014). My study was an exploratory but, not an intervention.

A biographical study would have consisted of summaries of participants' life and work, including, as might be appropriate photographic or images, which are unlikely in the case of this study. Such methodology would be inefficient because it would have told the story of the single individual as the focus of the study (Karpetis, 2014).

Ethnography would have required examining the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants from a cultural perspective. Moreover, ethnography study deals with cultural issues, such as organizational culture, ethnicities, group behaviors at work, it would not be appropriate for my focus in this research (Bryman & Burgess, 2002; Britzman, 2012; Patton, 2005). In summary, none of the above methodologies was applicable to determine the effects of poverty on the undocumented immigrant communities.

**Participant Selection Logic**

The research population in this study included only undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida. I have chosen Immokalee, which means *my home* in the Seminole tribal language (Cano, 2014; Giagnoni, 2011) based on its diverse population that includes a large number of agricultural and construction workers and because it is an area in which the undocumented immigrants can discreetly integrate. Immokalee, where thousands of farm workers chose to reside, is a small city located about thirty minutes from Naples and about two hours away from Miami. Bordered by the Big Cypress Swamp, citrus groves, and tomato fields; this city is important for its contribution to the supply of over 90% of all winter goods that are produced in Florida and sold throughout the United States (Greenhouse, 2014).

In 2010, the officially tallied population was 24,154 which was projected to 25,087 in 2015 (Immokalee, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This population tends to increase considerably during the harvesting and sowing seasons which extend from March to October. Hence, the appropriate timeframe to collect data for this study was during spring. It is a distinctly diverse city in terms of ethnicity, class, and region of origin. Undocumented immigrant workers, 86% of whom are of Mexican descent, inhabit most slums of the city (Collier Business & Economic Development, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Exclusively, most migrant workers in Immokalee perform jobs in the agricultural sector. With undocumented immigrant children working illegally in agricultural fields, labor rights are only a fragment of the issues happening in Immokalee (Cano, 2014; Kollar et al., 2013; Koreishi & Donohoe, 2010; Martin, 2014; Owen, 2011; Wainer, 2011). The social problems reported include the use of toxic pesticides, sexual harassment, and verbal and observable physical abuse (Cano, 2014; Estabrook, 2012). Jobs in Immokalee are mostly seasonal and inconsistent hence, not designed to grant any employee benefits (Alkon, 2014; Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2014; Dixon, 2014; Greenhouse, 2014). Due to various factors, including their undocumented status, many migrant families do not receive any social, economic, or health services (Cano, 2014; Elmes et al., 2015; Cigler et al., 2015). Schools and clinics in Immokalee are mostly funded by private donors or grants that are provided by the state (Cano, 2014; McSween, 2011). Even for the lawful residents, the reception of social services in Immokalee is limited because the Collier County government does not pay for social services (Monaghan, 2011).

**Participant Selection**

Participant selection in this study was purposeful. To answer the research questions, people who agreed to participate were contacted directly or indirectly through other references in their networks (Creswell, 2013). Two criteria qualified the participants for this study. The first criterion was that participants must be 21 or older. The second was that participants needed to affirm, although confidentially, to be undocumented before signing the consent for their participation. During my first conversations with them, taking into account the perception of prospective participants was critical as they expressed concerns about their potential participation in my study.

Eighteen undocumented immigrants ($n$ = 18) were interviewed until I reached a point of saturation of the data. I encouraged every participant to recommend other prospective participants within their networks. I conducted the interviews confidentially. I did not identify the participants by names. I only placed a number on the interview transcripts. I wrote the interview responses on paper. As s security measure, I did not use any audio or video recordings during the interviews.

**Access to and Protection of Participants**

I clearly informed the participants of the purpose of the research as mandated by the Health and Human Services Policy for Protection of Human Research Subjects 45 CFR 46. To access the participants, I secured connections with Catholic and evangelical churches in Immokalee, Florida. After explaining the purpose of the study to the religious leaders, they help arrange meetings with potential participants. They did not ask or encourage their parishioners to agree to participate in the study. Using religious

leaders' references, regardless of the participant's countries of origin, as long as they could confirm verbally and honestly to be undocumented immigrants, I succeeded in recruiting the participants. There were no other means to authenticate their undocumented status beside their statement. The location and date of the interviews varied to accommodate the participants' potential lack of or undisclosed physical address. They were the Friendship Baptist Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), and the Catholic Church Our Lady of Guadalupe all located in Immokalee.

I conducted the one-on-one semi structured interviews at locations agreed upon by the participants where they are not easily observed or identified. I used discretional approaches to avoid giving the impression that the interviews were a question- answer (QA) session. I used smooth tone of voice to interact with the participants in an effort to avoid being singled out as someone with authority among them. As part of a vulnerable population, all procedures were followed to assure the participants' safety. The Walden's Institutional Review Board (IRB) provided primary instructions on how to approach the participants for the interviews (Appendix B). Abiding by the IRB recommendation, I did not ask the participants to provide their full name at any point. I followed all procedures to maximize the confidentiality of the participants' information. I also adequately informed the participants about any risk to ensure ethical treatment. I adopted all policies and guidelines for assuring that the safety and rights of the participants are protected. I provided copies of letters of consent detailing participant privacy, whether they agreed or declined to sign them. I provided the letters in the native language that corresponded to each participant, in Spanish for Spanish speakers; and in French for French speaker.

## Data Collection

### Semi structured Interviews

One-on-one semi structured interviews were the primary means to collect the data for this study. I developed an interview protocol using Corbin and Strauss (2014) and Creswell (2012) as a guide for the protocol and Yin (2015) and Patton (2012) as a guide for the open-ended interview questions (see Appendix A). Because of its flexibility, the semi structured model seemed to be the best approach to conducting the interviews (Rabionet, 2011). During the interview, I adjusted the sequences of the questions to ask questions based on the context of the participants' responses as suggested by Doody and Noonan (2013). Semi structured interviews helped me develop a keen understanding of the experience of the undocumented immigrants. The semi structured interviews were appropriate for eliciting the undocumented immigrants' experiences, opinions, feelings addressing sensitive topics (Mack et al., 2011). One of the strengths of interviews is that they helped extract in-depth responses, with nuances and contradictions. They also provided interpretive perspective, i.e., the connections and relationships participants saw between particular events, phenomena, and beliefs (Mack et al., 2011). These semi structured interviews allowed participants to share their stories, as suggested by many researchers (Seidman, 2013; Jacob et al., 2012). They were mostly open-ended questions, and emphasis was placed on an open interview model, with vivid and nuanced answers, rich with thematic material, as suggested by Rubin and Rubin (2011). An open-ended protocol was appropriate to consider data collection and management which are

critical features of successful and credible qualitative studies (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Jacob & Ferguson, 2012).

**Document Review**

By reviewing existing documents as suggested by Bryman (2015), I conducted documents review for collecting additional data. Considering the variation in the number of undocumented and unauthorized immigrants, my purpose of reviewing documents related to undocumented immigrants was to track changes in poverty among this population. Reviewing documents gave me access to previously gathered data that were collected through questionnaires or interviews over a longer period as well as larger samples. Some documents contained spontaneous data, such as feelings, and refer to events that occurred for a specific purpose, not intending to answer a particular research question. As the second data collection method for this study, I reviewed many immigration-related reports. Including those the United States Department of Homeland Security, United States Immigration and Customs Enforcements, United States Census Bureau, United States Department of Labor and Statistics, Collier County Government Office, Pew Research Center, and Pew Hispanic Center, Southern Poverty Law Center for analysis from the three different libraries. Including Immokalee City Library, Everglades' City Library and Golden Gates Estate Library all belong to Collier County government. The review of those existing reports helped me develop a better understanding of the government entities personnel usage of measures and how they perceived the presence of the undocumented or unauthorized immigrants.

## Validity, Reliability, and Interpretation of Research.

Validity is defined as how well a test measures what it is purported to measure. It encompasses the entire experimental concept and establishes whether the results obtained meet all of the requirements of the scientific research method. Lincoln et al. (2011) and Leung (2015) noted that validity is one of the core concerns in qualitative research. They also argued that research can be affected by factors that are irrelevant to the concerns of the research, but still impact and nullify the findings. Controlling all possible factors that may threaten a research's validity is the researcher's primary responsibility (Maxwell, 2012). Researchers are expected to be aware that internal validity can be affected by flaws originating in the design of the study or issues related to the data collection instrument(s).

In this study, I collected the data according to institutional standards, and performed data following the rules set by the institution to assure the validity of this study. Many researchers warned that if the findings of a study are affected by reasons other than those thought to have caused them, and then the results are internally invalid and cannot be reported (Schmidt et al., 2014). The interpretation of the collected data must be academically supported at all level of research (Silverman, 2011). To assure validity of this study, I used participant's check which consisted of asking the participants to confirm their answers after transcription. Then, I compared one response to another. I crossed verify the interview transcripts to determine how many participants provide the same response to a particular question before quantifying and reporting the findings

(Punch, 2013). In Chapter 4, I discuss in details the measures I took to increase the validity of the data.

Many qualitative researchers noted concerns about reliability and validity when designing a study, analyzing results, and judging the quality of a study (Merriam, 2014; Marshall et al., 2014). Reliability is the level to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results that can be verified. It is a common threat to internal validity (Houser, 2013). Reliability may often be at risk when evaluations are taken over time or performed by different people or when assessments are highly subjective (Sullivan, 2011). Lincoln and Guba (2011) acknowledged that reliability corresponds to the query of how can researchers persuade their audience that research findings are worthy of attention. The idea of testing is a way of validating data through the most reliable test of any qualitative research is its quality. Clauser et al. (2012) defined reliability, as evaluating the quality of a qualitative study with the purpose of generating understanding. Some researchers countered that reliability in qualitative research is sometimes misleading. The assumption is that questioning a qualitative researcher about the reliability of a study means that the study had failed its reliability and validity test (Denzin et al., 2011). Mallett et al. (2012) argued that an examination of trustworthiness is crucial to guarantee the reliability in qualitative research since, it consists of establishing credibility to enforce confidence in the truth of the findings. Results transferability aims to show that the findings have applicability in other contexts. Dependability may prove that the findings are consistent and other researchers could replicate the study. Moreover, conformability displays a degree of neutrality or the

extent to which the results of a study are shaped by the participants and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest. To ensure high quality qualitative results, I developed an interview guide that was previewed by my research committee and the University research authorities. The interviews were transcribed and member checking was used to ensure accuracy.

**Interpretation**

Research inquiries need descriptions, and descriptions require interpretations (Silverman, 2013). Understanding of any phenomenon requires, at least, knowing the facts or specifics about that phenomenon (Fleck, 2012). Descriptions always depend on the perceptions, inclinations, and emotions from the writer (White, 2014). Researchers who are seeking to describe an experience choose what they will describe, and, in the process of featuring some aspects of their description, they begin to transform that experience (Dokic & Lemaire, 2013). To interpret the data, the researcher will bracket the interviews to check for biases. Another step will be participant's check which consists of asking the participants to confirm their answers after transcription. The researcher will compare one response to another. Cross verify the interview transcripts to determine how many participants provide the same response to a particular question before quantifying and reporting the findings (Punch, 2013).

**Data Collection and Management**

Data collection and their management are essential aspects of any research study (Creswell, 2014, Patton, 2012; Silverman, 2012). Moreover, data management is essential to the success of qualitative studies (White et al., 2012). Many researchers

stressed on maintaining rigor in qualitative research (O'Reilly et al., 2012). Inaccurate data collection can theoretically change the purpose by changing the results of a study and ultimately lead to unintended results (Pope et al., 2013; Silverman, 2013; Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012). Data collection approaches for qualitative research involves direct interaction with individuals (Creswell, 2012; Marshall et al., 2014).

**Data collection process**. Qualitative data collection techniques were used in this study. The semi structured interviews were the primary source of data. As a secondary source, data from private non-partisan and official government reports were analyzed. The reports were drawn from multiple sources such as the United States Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Pew Hispanic Center, Pew Research Center, Department of Homeland Security, and Department of Labor Statistics as a secondary source of data. Additional academic reports, research reports from non-profit organizations, development agencies, project reports, and peer-reviewed journal articles. These secondary data sources are necessary because they believe to contain the most accurate data estimates about the population of undocumented immigrants in the United States. The secondary data source helped in the analysis of the factors that affect the undocumented immigrants' live. More practically, it helped determine the responses to the sub questions. The purpose of the sub questions was exploratory. They helped steer into some more specific poverty-related queries. The sub questions were the followings:

- Sub question 1: What is the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?

Type of Data: One-on-one semi structured interviews and documents review from the Institute for Research on Poverty, Migration Policy Institute, Pew Research Center, United Nations Development Program, and the World Bank Group.

- Sub question 2: What are the consequences of being undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?

Type of data: Semi structured interviews and documents review from the Current poverty data from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey (CPS), Pew Hispanic Center, Pew Research Center, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Labor Statistics, Central Intelligence Agency, Migration Policy Institute, and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.

- Sub question 3: Why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida?

Type of data: Semi structured interviews and documents review from the Current poverty data analysis, Southern Poverty Law Center, Immigration Policy Institute, Center for American Progress, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and North American Congress on Latin America.

- Sub question 4: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida?

Type of data: Semi structured interviews and documents review from the United States Census Bureau, Migration Policy Institute, Center for Immigration Studies, Migration Policy Institute, Pew Research Center, American Psychological Association, Pew Research Center, and Center for Immigration Studies.

The use of multiple data collection sources in this study facilitated a better understanding of the phenomena of poverty and helped determine its impacts on the undocumented immigrant population. Those sources provided a more detailed understanding of this exploratory case study and allowed to address a broader range of factors related to poverty within the undocumented immigrants.

**Sample size and interview process**. I interviewed the participants ($n$ = 18) until I reached data saturation. I reached the data saturation when there was sufficient information to replicate, no new information was emerging, and no further coding was necessary. The participants (13 males and five females) mostly Hispanics were 21 to 47 years old undocumented immigrants from different Latin American countries and the Caribbean including Mexico, Guatemala, Granada, Honduras, Haiti, Colombia, Peru, El Salvador, and Venezuela. I recruited these participants through references from religious leaders with whom I had developed good working relationship. For security reason, I conducted the interviews confidentially. I used only the participants' initials to identify their interviews. To assure that most or all of the perceptions that might be significant are uncovered, but at the same time avoid having a sample that is too large since the data can become repetitive and, eventually, unnecessary, I selected sufficient sample size of 18 participants (Fugard & Potts, 2015). This sample size helped reduce the chances of discovery failure, broadened the range of the data, assured sufficient data for data validation and formed a more reliable picture for analysis (Ritchie et al., 2013).

I conducted the interviews in Spanish for Spanish speakers, in English for those who speak only English but are undocumented immigrants, in French for participants

who speak only French or Creole. I recruited participants regardless of their countries of origin as long as they affirmed to be undocumented immigrants. I invited all to participate upon reference from church leaders and members of undocumented participants' social networks. To acquire those references, I have established connections with Catholic and evangelical churches in Immokalee. I did not recruit the participants based on their ethnicity or group membership. I explained the objective and nature of the study to the participants in their native language. I asked each participant to affirm their immigration status confidentially. If the answer was affirmative, at this point, I read and explained the informed consent form to the participant. I encouraged the participants to sign the informed consent before their participation. I disqualified a participant when she/he decided not to sign the informed consent, or declared to have had legal immigration document or had been detained during their presence in the country.

I wrote manually all responses from the participants and read them back to the participants for validation. I conducted the interviews at different secure places agreed upon by the participants. These interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Until the participants answered the interview questions, I did assume that participants were living in poverty. However, I made all possible attempts to recruit participants in the poorest parts of the city such as the Lake Trafford, Farmer's Market areas, and the Immokalee Agricultural Workers Village.

**Data analysis**. Qualitative data are descriptive (Miles et al., 2013). They are unique to a particular context and therefore cannot be reproduced time and again to demonstrate reliability (Polit & Beck, 2012). In a qualitative study, researchers mostly

use analytical categories to explain social phenomena (Marshall et al., 2014). Data analysis involves working to discover connections within data sources (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). It is the process of bringing structure, order, and meaning to the mass of collected data (Bryman, 2012; Kuhn, 2012). Collection and analysis of qualitative data are concurrent processes in which the analysis process brings order, structure, and interpretation of the collected information (Grbich, 2012; Miles et al., 2013). Being an ongoing iterative process, I made sure to collect and analyze the data almost concurrently. I analyzed for patterns in my interviews transcripts during the entire data collection phase. This form of analysis was more in line with the exploratory qualitative approach and the form of data available for this study. To assure the accuracy and appropriate analysis of the findings of this study I followed essential measure such as repetition and participant check to confirm the integrity of their responses.

As one of the characteristics of qualitative research, the iterative process provided flexibility for the data collection. It was necessary to validate the data during the interviews because there was no insurance that the participants would be available for secondary visit. As Creswell (2013) argued, the analytical process of most qualitative research begins during the data collection period, shaping ongoing data collection. In general, qualitative research generates significant amounts of textual data and analysis of the data is time-consuming and labor intensive. Textual data can be explored inductively by using content analysis to create categories and explanations. The researcher read through all data, and organizes comments into similar themes or categories, including suggestions, comparisons, strengths, weaknesses, similar experiences, outcome

indicators, and expectations. Themes can come from both the data and from the researcher's prior theoretical understanding of a phenomenon. Many researchers suggested that themes should come from the characteristics of the phenomenon being studied (Bryman et al., 2015). These themes should be the ones already accepted on professional definitions from academic literature; from common sense constructs; and from researchers' values, theoretical orientations, and personal experiences (Sargeant, 2012). A researcher's decisions about what topics to cover and how to gather data related to these topics are a rich source of preliminary themes (Maxwell, 2011). In fact, the first step in generating themes often comes from the questions in an interview protocol (Baker, 2012).

This qualitative study required a thorough evaluation, interpretation, and explanation of the social phenomena that I investigated. To facilitate the analysis of the data, I used NVivo software package. I used this qualitative software to organize and analyze interviews, field notes, and textual sources. Although this software cannot replace the analytical expertise of the researcher, it helped manage, explore, and find patterns within the transcripts of the semi structured interviews and field notes. Coding in NVivo, allowed me to keep the data rooted in the participant's language.

Many researchers find analyzing qualitative data to be a muddled, vague and time-consuming process (Whittaker, 2012). Therefore, they found NVivo to be an ideal technique for analyzing data. It has an advantage of managing data and ideas, querying data, modeling visually and reporting. As shown in Figure 4, using NVivo to organize and analyze the data helped me increase the transparency of the research outcomes as suggested

by Bazeley et al. (2013). I executed the NVivo step-by-step process as followed (a) I imported the interviews; (b) I auto coded data to create a node for each question; (c) I explored the node for each item while creating new themes; (d) I used run queries and visualizations; (e) I displayed memo to record the results; then (f) I reported the findings.

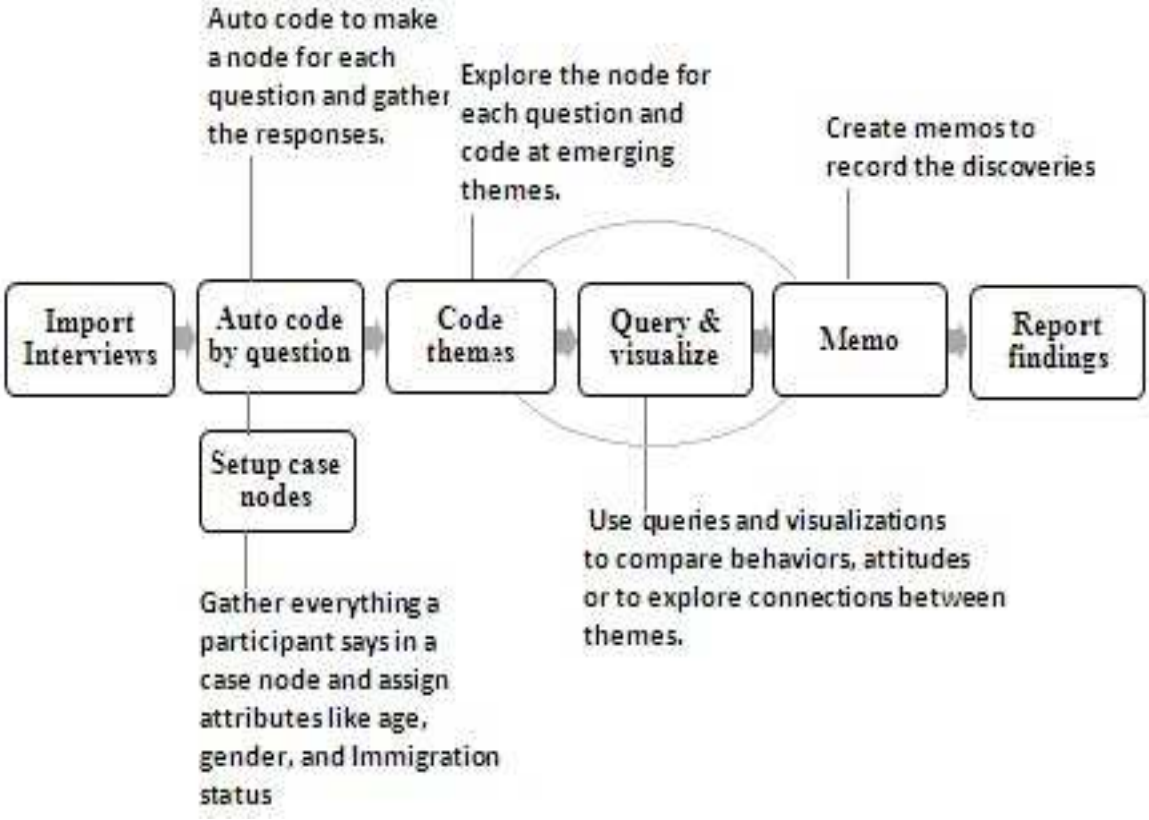



*Figure 4*. Schematic of step by step NVivo simulation for qualitative research.

*Note*. The rectangular boxes represent the steps that will be followed. The phrases provide an explanation for each phase. The circle represents the back in forth of the exploration between the codes, the themes, and the memo. This figure is designed as a visual simulation of the process as suggested in Bazeley and Jackson (2013)'s book *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*.

To refine new queries and develop new strategies, I analyzed the data simultaneously with data collection (Creswell, 2012). I followed the subsequent steps to analyze the data:

1. I transcribed the interviews into documents.
2. I validated the transcripts by repeating the responses to the participants.
3. I reviewed the local government and national poverty data.
4. I developed themes and categories from the interview transcripts and classified all identical responses into specific data sets, and then categorized them.
5. I coded the data by highlighting passages and making margin notes, following Bryman's 4 stages of coding (See Table 4).
6. I read the transcripts entirely to discover new categories and new themes.
7. I listed all interview responses and clustered similar responses into columns.
8. I abbreviated the topics as codes, and write the codes next to the text segments.
9. I discovered and turned into categories the descriptive wording for the data.
10. I grouped the similar topics to reduce the total list of categories.
11. I created abbreviated terms for each category and alphabetized the codes.
12. I gathered the data from each category to perform the preliminary analysis.
13. I re-coded the existing data to avoid repetitive themes. And lastly,
14. I interpreted the data to determine the answer to the research questions.
15. I re-coded the existing data to avoid repetitive themes. And lastly,
16. I interpreted the data to determine the lessons learned and the answer to the research question and the sub-questions.

Table 4

*Bryman's 4 Stages of Coding*

| | |
|---|---|
| **Stage 1** | Read the text as a whole, make notes at the end. |
| | Look for what it is about |
| | Major themes |
| | Unusual issues and events |
| | Group cases into types or categories (Reflect research questions) |
| | Mark the text (underline, circle, and highlight) |
| | Marginal notes/annotations |
| | |
| **Stage 2** | Label for codes |
| | Highlight keywords |
| | Note any analytic ideas suggested |
| | Systematically mark the text |
| | Indicate what chunks of text are about- themes – index them. |
| | |
| **Stage 3** | Review the codes |
| | Eliminate repetition and similar codes |
| | Think of groupings |
| | May have lots of different codes (can be reduced later) |
| | Coding is only part of analysis |
| | Researcher must add their interpretation |
| | |
| **Stage 4** | Identify significance for respondents |
| | Interconnections between codes |
| | Relation of codes to research question and research literature |

*Note*: Adapted from Bryman's 4 Stages of Coding (Gibbs, 2010, pg. 137-138)

## Issues of Trustworthiness

### Credibility

Credibility is the criterion that helps establish that the results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participants (Lincoln and Guba, 2011). Credibility is what convinces readers to recognize the authenticity of a study; therefore, credibility is significant to maintaining trustworthiness (Creswell, 2012). From this perspective, the overall purpose of qualitative research is to describe and

understand a phenomenon of interest from the participants' eyes (Conway, 2014). Paradoxically, the participants are the only ones who can legitimately judge the credibility of the results of a particular study (Hernon et al., 2013). To ensure the credibility of information in this study, I used multiples data collection methods such as one-on-one interviews and documents review. Additionally, I used member checking which also enhanced credibility (Creswell, 2012). After completing the data analysis, I asked the participants to review the results to make sure that my interpretations of their perceptions of the way of life and how it connected to poverty.

**Transferability**

Transferability adheres to the degree to which the findings of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings (Trochim et al., 2015). To ensure transferability a researcher must determine if the conclusions of a particular research under study are transferable to other contexts (Miles et al., 2012). From a qualitative perspective, however, transferability is primarily the responsibility of the one doing the generalizing (Leung, 2015). Qualitative researchers must enhance transferability by performing in-depth clarification of a research context and the assumptions that are essential to the research. In general, a researcher who wishes to transfer the results of a study to a different context is then accountable to make the judgment of the consequences and worthiness of a potential transfer. Researchers from the Pew research Center consider undocumented immigrants as a maginarlized group (Pew Resarch Center, 2014 ). As a measure of protection, I conducted the interviews anonynymously. The gender of the gender of the participants was not equal, their

incomes could not be verified, and the sample was limited to a limited geographic area, due to those factors the transferabilityof this study could not be guaranteed.

**Dependability**

Miles and Huberman (2012) argued that dependability of a research study depends on its overtime and across researchers and methods stability. To guarantee dependability, an audit trail, meaning a thorough record keeping of research actions, is essential. The idea of dependability stresses on the need for a researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs. In fact, Miles and Huberman confirmed that an excellent research study requires careful record keeping as a way of connecting with relevant audiences (Miles & Huberman, 2012). To assure dependability, I wrote in a journal about my actions and the modifications I made in this study. Furthermore, I kept a journal that helped me discover and remind me of my personal biases. Moreover, study participants played a critical role in ensuring dependability of this study. Along with using the audit trail to document research activities, I used member checking to guarantee dependability. Member checking consisted of having the participants to confirm their responses.

**Confirmability**

Qualitative research tends to assume that each researcher brings a unique perspective to the study (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Confirmability refers to the level of which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others (Anney, 2014). Several strategies may help enhance confirmability (Cohen et al., 2011). As in this study, I documented the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study.

Then, I had another researcher to critically review the result as I actively search and correct negative instances that contradicted previous assertions.

Consequently, when reporting this research study, I provided a detailed account of the data collection and analysis process. Along with journaling about biases, I explicitly stated my biases in the research study. According to Miles and Huberman (2012), another strategy that the researcher may use to establish confirmability is to question if other conclusions other than the conclusion created by the researcher are possible. To further determine confirmability and confirm that the conclusion was correct, I linked data collected to my conclusions.

**Ethical Procedures**

The ethical operations for this research study were the followings. Initially, I started data collection only after obtaining the Walden University IRB approval number 05-26-16-0119576. Due to the complexity of this research study and the hardship it may represent for the participants, the religious leaders whom I have contacted for reference suggested having only verbal communication because based on policies they should not be helping identify their parishioners. Moreover, it was against policy for the religious leaders to try to convince anyone to participate in the study. Therefore, I had to have a one on one conversation with the participants to explain the purpose of this research. Participants read and had to place their initials on the informed consent forms indicating that he/she is a willing contributor to this research.

Starting with the initial contact and as stated in the informed consent form, I affirmed to the participants that the interview data were confidential; no one would have

access to any of their interviews except a University mandated instructor who supervised my research. To preserve confidentiality, as advised by Creswell (2013), I took the followings safety measures (a) I used numbers rather than names as interview identifiers; (b) participants were not asked to give their full names; and (c) participants signed the consent forms using their initials only.

For additional security, I saved all data in a locked file case that can be accessed only with a key. As I proceed with data collection, I continued to follow ethical procedures. For example, before beginning the interviews, I informed participants that they had the right to answer only the questions they felt comfortable answering. I also reassured them that even during the interview, if one of them decided to withdraw their consent, I would respect their decision and would seek out others.

Most of the participants who agreed to conduct the interviews felt comfortable answering all of the interview questions as long as I agreed with their designated meeting locations. Out of concerns, they choose not to share their physical addresses. They insisted on meeting either at a church, at their workplaces, or other undisclosed location. There were no adverse consequences; all participants who initialized the consent form did complete the interview. Those who doubted that their information would be at risk chose to decline to participate. For additional organization and confidentiality purposes, I have stored the transcripts of the interviews in my computer with an extra copy stored in a binder. To ensure that I am the only individual who has access to the data, I saved the binder that contained the research data in a locked file case and secured my computer with a secure passcode known only to me. Per University requirements, I would keep

these files for at least five years after completion of this study. After this mandated period of five years, I will use a paper shredder to discard the data kept in the binder and completely delete the transcripts of the interviews.

## Summary and Conclusion

In this section, I communicated the methodology plans for this research study. I included the framework of the proposed research plan, the purpose of the study, research question and sub questions, the research design, information on the recruitment of participants, a description of the research participants, and an explanation of how I selected them. Consistent with my plans, I used a qualitative research approach and an exploratory case study design to determine the impact of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee.

Coinciding with a case study design, I used open-ended semi structured interviews and documents analysis as my data collection methods. This chapter included explanations of the interview process and a description of how I conducted the interviews. My data analysis plan involved coding of transcribed interviews and documents from non-partisan, private, and governmental institutions electronic archives, which led to theme development and research results based on interpretation of meanings. For trustworthiness, I followed ethical procedures by obtaining IRB approval, informing participants of the purpose of the study and their rights as participants. Lastly, throughout this study, I have kept all data confidential and will keep it as is for five years, until after the binding period to discard collected data.

In Chapter 4, I described the research in depth. Chapter 4 includes the data collection process and the data analysis in more detail. The next chapter defines the themes that emerged from the research along with examples from the data that exemplify each theme.

# Chapter 4: Results

## Introduction

The purpose of this exploratory case study was fourfold. The first purpose was to examine the impact of poverty on the estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants in South Florida, who constitute 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrants' population in the United States (Center for Migration Studies, 2012). The second purpose was to explore and describe the experience of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States. The third purpose was to describe the collateral impact of government policies designed to keep undocumented immigrants from receiving government benefits, such as socioeconomic protection that would include decent living wage (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). The fourth purpose was to identify challenges of collecting accurate data on poverty while the undocumented children remain excluded in the data collection of the phenomenon of poverty.

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings of the interviews conducted and the data collected from official poverty data in libraries and websites of organizations such as the Department of Labor and Statistics, the Department of Homeland Security, the Institute of Taxation and Economic Policy, and the Pew Research Center. In this chapter, I describe the setting and the demographics of the participants. I explain the data collection and analysis processes. I describe strategies used to ensure trustworthiness. Then, I provide the study results that answered the research question of this study: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida? I

used four sub questions to divide the research question into more specific poverty-related queries:

- Sub question 1: What is the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 2: What are the consequences of being undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida?
- Sub question 3: Why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida?
- Sub question 4: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida?

The study's question and sub questions helped direct the participant interviews and dialogues that took place during the research process. I conclude this chapter with a summary and transition to the next chapter.

## Research Setting

The setting for this research study was unusual because of the complex problems undocumented immigrants face in their everyday lives. As a population frayed by conflicting social and cultural differences, they face constant challenges that make it nearly impossible to be approached by academic researchers. To acquire references, I secured connections with Catholic and evangelical churches in Immokalee, Florida. After I explained the purpose of the study to the religious leaders, they help arrange meetings with potential participants. They did not ask or encourage their parishioners to agree to participate in the study. Using religious leaders' references, I succeeded in recruiting the participants regardless of their countries of origin, as long as they could

confirm verbally to be undocumented immigrants. There were no other means to authenticate their undocumented status besides their statements. The location and date of the interviews varied to accommodate the participants' lack of or undisclosed physical address. There were also two separate workplaces close to the farmers market and two other undisclosed locations. I conducted 12 of the interviews in the churches' yards. I conducted four of the interviews in the participants' workplaces. The participants selected their private spots during their lunch time to conduct the interviews without interruption and uneasiness. In addition, two participants led me to two different undisclosed locations where we conducted the interviews. The participants answered the questions calmly except in the workplaces where participants experienced concerns that their bosses would interfere during the interviews. The participants and I agreed to conduct the interviews only in settings where they would feel comfortable, and if there were a reason for a participant to be nervous while answering the questions, I suggested that we reschedule the interviews. It was necessary to avoid compromising the participants' trust during the interviews. There was no anxiety observed during the interviews. The participants were not recruited based on their ethnicity or group membership. The criteria to be a participant were to be adult undocumented immigrants. Participation was voluntary; I did not offer any compensation to the participants. Twelve of them resided within walking distance of their churches or where we agreed to conduct the interviews. One female participant brought her four-year-old child to the interview because she did not have anyone to look after the child. For those who lived farther away, I was responsible for picking them up from their location and driving them to their

respective churches to conduct the interviews. The participants conveyed a composed and casual attitude. Before the interviews, we agreed upon a prepared response in case someone walked in to interact with us. I conducted the interviews only at the convenience of the participants (i.e., at a time when they did not have to miss work or any other personal responsibilities). Outside of the interview questions and data related details about their responses, no other conversation occurred with the participants. No unusual circumstance or adverse incidents occurred during the interviews or throughout the data collection process.

## Demographics

In 2012, the United States Department of Homeland Security reported that the population of undocumented, unauthorized, or illegal immigrants in the United States was about 11.43 million, approximately 3.7% of the entire U.S. population. In 2015, undocumented immigrants make up 5.1% of the U.S. labor force (U.S. Department of Labor and Statistics, 2016). In the U. S. labor force, there were 8.1 million undocumented immigrants either working or looking for a job in 2012. An estimated 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrant population lives in Florida (Center for Migration Studies, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2015). As shown in Table 5, the participants were 21 to 47 years old, parents or nonparents, 15 males, and three females. The sample included six participants from Mexico, one from Guatemala, one from Granada, two from Honduras, four from Haiti, one from Colombia, one from Peru, one from El Salvador, and one from Venezuela. Their annual income varied from $9,500 to

$36,400. I contacted seven other participants who declined to participate in the study due to their fear of being identified.

Table 5

*Interview Participant Profiles*

| Case No. | Gender | Age | Country of Origin | Race/ Ethnicity | Years in Immokalee | Level of education | Family Size | Annual Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 001 | Male | 27 | Mexico | Hispanic | 3 years | 4th Grade | 4 | $10,400 |
| 002 | Male | 41 | Guatemala | Hispanic | 2 years | 2nd Grade | 8 | $12,480 |
| 003 | Male | 31 | Mexico | Hispanic | 8 months | 2nd Grade | 5 | $ 9,600 |
| 004 | Female | 26 | Grenada | Black | 11 months | High Sch. | 2 | $ 9,800 |
| 005 | Male | 23 | Honduras | Hispanic | 8 months | 8th Grade | 1 | $ 9,000 |
| 006 | Male | 32 | Mexico | Hispanic | 4 years | 11th Grade | 4 | $10,500 |
| 007 | Male | 32 | Haiti | Black | 18 months | 6th Grade | 3 | $10,900 |
| 008 | Male | 38 | Haiti | Black | 2 years | High Sch. | 5 | $15,600 |
| 009 | Male | 28 | Colombia | Hispanic | 9 months | High Sch. | 1 | $ 9,500 |
| 010 | Male | 25 | Haiti | Black | One year | 3rd Grade | 1 | $10,000 |
| 011 | Female | 31 | Peru | Hispanic | 3 years | 12th Grade | 3 | $10,200 |
| 012 | Male | 26 | Mexico | Hispanic | One year | High Sch. | 2 | $ 9,800 |
| 013 | Male | 29 | El Salvador | Hispanic | 3 years | 12th Grade | 4 | $13,200 |
| 014 | Male | 28 | Mexico | Hispanic | 8 months | High Sch. | 3 | $13,000 |
| 015 | Male | 28 | Venezuela | Hispanic | 8 months | 10th Grade | 3 | $10,950 |
| 016 | Male | 47 | Haiti | Black | 7 years | 4th Grade | 6 | $23,400 |
| 017 | Male | 45 | Mexico | Hispanic | 3 years | 8th Grade | 7 | $36,400 |
| 018 | Female | 29 | Honduras | Hispanic | 2 years | 9th Grade | 4 | $13,000 |

*Note*. The median annual income of an undocumented immigrant individual is: $9,500.

## Data Collection

The data collected for this research study originated from two sources: interviews and documents. The interviews were the primary source of data. I conducted 18 semi structured interviews over a period of 2 months. In addition, I collected reports from the Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor and Statistics, Collier County Government Office, Pew Research Center, and Southern Poverty Law Center using three different libraries including Immokalee City Library,

Everglades' City Library, and Golden Gates Estate Library. I requested access to any existing local registry of undocumented immigrants, but the county did not have a particular database for undocumented immigrants. Additionally, I visited several websites such as the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), Pew Research Center, and the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP).

The DHS provided data related to securing and managing the United States' borders as well as enforcing and administering the country immigration laws. I reviewed statistical documents from the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), United States Customs and Border Protection (CBP), as well as U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The USCIS is the primary institution that processes applications for change of status, permanent residency, and naturalization (Russell & Batalova, 2012). Most of the documents I reviewed from those entities identified undocumented immigrants as *illegal aliens* and *unauthorized immigrants* (USCIS, 2016). The BLS supplies labor-related data to the Federal Government in the field of labor economics and statistics. The data recovered from this site served to enhance the reliability of this study's data. Other reviews were from the Pew Research Center and from the ITEP, which provides data about the amount of money paid by the undocumented immigrants in all 50 states. Data from ITEP were used to determine whether undocumented immigrants were paying taxes or whether they represented a burden on the U.S. government.

After receiving the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval number 05-26-16-0119576, I moved to Southwest Florida and began the process of recruiting participants. I consulted two evangelical pastors and one Catholic priest in Immokalee with whom I had previous religious connections and friendship. They provided references to contact worshippers they knew who would probably agree to participate in the study. The pastors introduced me to their parishioners. Those who agreed to participate provided their phone numbers as I explained to them the reason for the meeting. As many as eight of them were not qualified to take part in the study because once or twice during their time in the United States, they were caught and registered in some government database. Being caught alone confirms their presence, although they may not be authorized to stay, there are traceable. For the purpose of this study, undocumented immigrants were those who entered the country clandestinely.

I called those who were qualified and agreed to participate so I could set up appointments to meet them individually. We arranged a day, time, and place to meet so I could provide more details about the procedures for the study. I stayed in touch with them through phone communications and showed up to where it was more convenient and secure for them to conduct the interviews. Before the interviews, I explained to them the purpose of the consent form and why they would have to initial it. I assured the participants that I would manually write down their responses, and I would not record their voices under any circumstance. I also informed them of their right to stop the interview at any time if they felt uncomfortable for any reason. Those who consented to participate agreed to initial the consent forms after asking questions about any potential

risk of being interviewed for this study. Based on the interview guide, I had to deny inclusion to seven invitees who would not confirm that they were undocumented. I encouraged participants to refer others they know would agree to participate in this study

**Semi structured Interviews**

Interviews are conversations with a purpose, in which researchers employ various methods. Those techniques can include probes such as *why, when, where*, and *how* to gather data that will validate the understanding of their lives, experiences, and the cognitive thinking (Corbin et al., 2014). I conducted 18 semi structured interviews from May 28, 2016, to July 31, 2016. They varied in length because of the inconsistency in interview locations. When a participant agreed to do the interview only during lunch break, the interview lasted between 25 and 30 minutes. In some cases, I had to return to complete the interviews. The reason behind conducting interviews during lunch break was that some participants did not feel comfortable meeting outside of their comfort zone, which is where friends and colleagues could see them. When meeting in an undisclosed location with enough time, the interviews lasted 45 to 60 minutes. The interviews with undocumented parents were longer than those with nonparents. The interviews with the participants provided a cache of information-rich data for the study. Along with the interview questions from Appendix D, I used probes to clarify the responses of the participants. With participants who did not speak English, I read and explained the consent form to them in Spanish or French accordingly. As authorized by the IRB for confidentiality protection, I used only the participants' initials to identify their interviews. Also, I used numbers from 001 to 018 to analyze the interview

transcripts. I handwrote the responses from the participants and read them back for confirmation.

Besides the basic prescreen questions to determine the status of a participant, the interview questions focused on the content of the interview guide (Appendix D). The interviews concluded without incident. After conducting the interviews, I went back to the church to thank the pastors and the priest for their help and to make sure that the participants did not have any concerns related to the study. The interviews generated information-rich data. As planned, before each interview, I made sure the location was secured to avoid interference. I made sure to use the interview protocol suggested by Creswell (2013) as a guide for the protocol and Patton (2012) as a guide for the open-ended interview questions. Along with the interview questions listed in the protocol, I used probes to collect more information or to clarify the responses of the participants.

**Document Review**

The second data collection method was document analysis using materials from the libraries cited earlier. I reviewed existing records to develop an understanding of the history and philosophy and how governments perceive the presence of the undocumented immigrants. This review yielded additional information that provided a better understanding of the phenomenon under study. I visited the libraries, introduced myself, and explained the purpose of the study. I explained that the targeted documents to review were mostly the ones from the U.S. Census Bureau, the Department of Homeland Security, and the U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics. I asked the librarians for academic and official documents about unauthorized, undocumented, or illegal immigrants.

I explored available documents and determined which ones would answer the research question and sub questions. Access to the records was permitted only inside of the libraries although none of the documents required permission of others before being released for review and analysis. All the materials at the libraries are public domain; therefore confidentiality was not an issue to consider. I made sure to limit my review to only those documents that answer questions related to my study. I attempted to understand how and why the records were created and archived. To determine the accuracy of the reports, I compared those that contain similar information and examined the documents against the data that I have collected. The documents show that most of the data about the undocumented immigrants from the local libraries were inapplicable and outdated. For example, some reports about the rise of poverty in South Florida from the U.S. Census Bureau dated from 2002 to 2008. Some documents illustrated public opinion polls that dated from 2006 by certain national news broadcasting that included New York Times and CBS News. They reported the belief that 59% of Americans identified immigration as a very serious problem (CBS NEWS Poll, 2006). Additionally, USA Today reported that 81% of Americans believed that immigration was out of control (USA Today, 2006). The Los Angeles Times also reported the support of a combined legislation that included stricter enforcement of immigration laws and a guest worker program for illegal migrants by that 58% of Americans (LA Times, 2006).

Some documents seemed to bear preconception due to particular words and unverified information which made their content incomplete. Including reports from the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) that not only labeled

undocumented immigrants as *illegal aliens*, but also as *criminals* (Proctor, 2011). After document review, I created a data collection form to summarize data gleaned from the document review. On this form, I noted the type of material as a reference for each document. I included information relevant to each of the study's questions. I used the form to compile my findings as suggested by Corbin et al., 2014).

## Data Analysis

The data analysis consisted of analyzing the two data collection sources, which were the interviews and the documents review. I used the NVivo qualitative software program to analyzing the collected data. The analysis proceeded periodically after the completion of each interview. After each interview, I input the transcript into a word document, and then entered the text into the NVivo program for coding and theme development. I wrote down each contact using a Contact Summary Form as suggested by Miles et al. (2014). A contact summary form is a sheet containing a series of focusing point and summarizing questions about interactions and field contact. The use of the Contact Summary Form helped discover patterns and themes in the data (Miles et al., 2014). The coding process began with the segmentation of the interviews into nodes based on similarities of the concepts identified during the data collection. I started assigning phrase and word to each coding category related to the research questions. Systematically, the codes derived from factors such as the experience of the participants, their ideas, and their understanding of poverty, and meanings. I coded the themes to fit the categories. Even before beginning the segmentation process with NVivo, I started the analysis process by developing a list of the initial 12 pre-set codes (see Table 6).

Table 6

*List of the Initial 12 Pre-Existing Codes*

| No | Nodes | Codes |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Residents who don't have immigration document and have never been arrested or registered in any government archive. | "UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS" |
| 2 | Participants seemed uncomfortable to tell where they live and if they live with their children. | "EXTREME PRUDENCE" |
| 3 | Participants described their lack of status and the fear that they can be stopped for no reason and asked for immigration document. | "HARDSHIP." |
| 4 | The perception of undocumented immigrants as criminals who bring drugs and are rapists. | "RACISM." |
| 5 | Participants' descriptions of the reasons for being in the United States without immigration documents. | "REALITY." |
| 6 | Public views perceive undocumented immigrants as a problem due to lack of border enforcement that allowed them to cross the borders and settle in the U.S. Many politicians express their displeasure on the growing immigration population in general. | "POLITICS." |
| 7 | The misconception that undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes and are a tax burden to taxpayers because of their alleged use of public services. | "TAX BURDEN" |
| 8 | Repressive behavior from lawful residents and sentiment that has led to legislations focusing on exclusion from public services and unfair treatment making it difficult to integrate and participate, live, and work in the country. | "SOCIAL EXCLUSION" |
| 9 | National, regional and local communities' discourses that evoke sentiments that rooted in concerns that the arrival of foreigners will eventually lead to social, economic, political and cultural threats seek to separate people into those who belong in the country vs. those who do not. | "ANTI-IMMIGRANT." |
| 10 | The estimated low-income of the undocumented immigrants confirms their hardship. This hardship and the extend income inequality shift to a trend that grows poverty faster in this population | "ECONOMIC ISSUES" |
| 11 | Economic downturn, unemployment, and low job opportunities often generate anti-immigrant sentiment. If the economy is flourishing, immigration doesn't hurt. In a weaker economy immigrants are to blame. | "ECONOMY vs. LABOR MARKET." |
| 12 | Participants affirmed that they come to the United States in quest of better opportunities that would help secure a better future for their children. | "ASPIRATIONS." |

During further analysis of the data, I identified reoccurring patterns that included elements that came up that matched up with the pre-existing codes. Then I summarized them into themes, as more themes emerged. The coding process ended only after examining the answers from all the interview questions. The initial codes were listed on a master code list using the first three letters of every concept for identification. Then, as analysis of each interview continued, some of the original codes became insignificant because they were repetitive or inconsistent. Examples of the trivial codes were:

Table 7

*List of Some of the Insignificant and Discarded Codes*

| No. | Nodes | Codes |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Illegal immigrants are uneducated and bring drugs. They are rapists, criminals, drug dealers, and they don't learn English. | "DISCRIMINATION." |
| 2 | There is no place here for illegal immigrants. Arrest and deport them to their countries. | "MASS DEPORTATION" |
| 3 | Education is a universal right to all children, both legal and illegal, residing in the U.S. Educated citizens and noncitizens alike, create skilled workers and taxpayers. However, in the U.S. migrant children are amongst the most educationally neglected. | "UNDERPRIVILEGED " |
| 4 | Some of the employers pay what they want; they ignore the federal minimum wage regulations. | "INJUSTICE." |
| 5 | Socioeconomic status is a strong indicator of academic achievement and those living in high-poverty regions are at higher risk to fall beneath basic performance levels, therefore creating an achievement gap compare to others. | "RESTRICTIONS OF OPPORTUNITY" |
| 6 | Families working in the agriculture industry are considered to be living under the poverty level. | "POVERTY." |

For the analysis of the documents, I used two approaches. First, I completed a Document Summary Form (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 2014). On every form, I identified and described the document or group of similar documents,

summarized the contents of the document, and noted its importance. Additionally, I wrote memos about what I have read to highlight possible connections with other data. As I reviewed the forms and notes, I highlighted the links between the documents and the interviews. The similarities substantiated the responses of participants and supplemented the data included under nodes such as *farm works*, *sources of fear*, *impact* and *effects on children*. Throughout the data analysis process, I identified reoccurring patterns and codes from the collected data.

Along with using pre-existing codes, I used an inductive approach to developing codes during the data collection and analysis process. Compatible with the research question and upon reflection of their experiences, participants described their lack of status and the hardship they endured. Thus, the analysis began with transcription of the interviews as the content of the interviews unfolded. I repetitively read the transcribed interview to familiarize myself with the content of the interviews. While repeating the readings, I wrote memos in the margins of the transcripts to assist in detecting the patterns, highlight the connections in meanings, and reflect on potential biases.

After coding the data from the interviews, the process of connecting the fragmented text started. I began the process of clustering by putting together a group of similar words or patterns that seemed to have relative meanings. Clustering assists in better understand a phenomenon by grouping and then conceptualizing objects that have similar patterns or characteristics (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Using NVivo, I clustered and organized the codes. This process highlighted the codes commonalities that I used to initiate their development (see Appendix C). I summarized the codes into themes as they

emerged from the documents. I described each theme as they relate to the review of the documents as reported below. Further in the results section, I provide the connections of the described themes to the interview data. Referencing to the research question and sub questions, I could name the groups of codes and themes. The most appealing themes originated from the collected data were:

a) Extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants;
b) Expectations of undocumented immigrants;
c) Aspirations failure for the undocumented immigrants;
d) Social exclusion of the undocumented immigrants;
e) Scapegoating the undocumented immigrants;
f) Challenges for children of the undocumented parents;
g) General challenges for undocumented immigrants;
h) Social repercussion over the presence of the undocumented immigrants;
i) Farmers' choice to engage undocumented workers;
j) Benefits of the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee farm
k) Government's discretion on the presence of the undocumented immigrants, and;
l) Lack of social cohesion between residents and undocumented immigrants.

The initial theme that originated from the documents review was: Extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015; Migration Policy Institute, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015). This theme identified and exposed the impacts of poverty on the undocumented immigrants. Those impacts include

hardship, fear, anxiety, stress, uncertainty, poor nutrition, poor housing, children's poor health and achievement. They also include emotional and behavioral outcomes, illness, social exclusion, discrimination, restriction of opportunity, lack of social support, social repercussion, and aspirations failure (United Nations Development Program, 2014).

The second theme was: Expectations of the undocumented immigrants. This theme shares the same reasons of why do undocumented immigrants come to the United States. For the most educated, the United States is like a large social scientific laboratory. For the economically challenged this is the only place on earth where someone can start from nothing and succeed in life (Obama, 2012). Residing in the United States or visiting when they fell like it, is a lifelong dream for many around the world, wealthy or poor, nobles or persecuted, to come to the United States (Congressional Research Service, 2015). People are attracted to the United States for the freedom it offers, its high standard of living, its diversity, the power of its currency (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Those who chose to enter the country as undocumented immigrants or become unauthorized do it for circumstantial motives (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2014). Many of them simply cannot fulfill the visa requirements or afford the expenses to follow the legal channel (Pew Research Center, 2013).

The theme: Aspirations failure for the undocumented immigrants. As a new theoretical concept, there is a lack of supportive documents for this theme. However, interview data provide clarity about the aspirations failure of the participants. Equipped with ambitious dreams, undocumented immigrants embarked on the journey to the United

States. All they aspire is to succeed regardless of the price they have to pay since they don't have anything left to lose. Only after they arrive, they come to realize that being undocumented in the United States will not permit them to fulfill any of their aspirations.

A new theme that emerged was: Social exclusion of the undocumented immigrants (United States Office of Economic Opportunity, 2014). Some policies about immigration have become more restrictive and punitive than others that have direct intervention from the federal instead of local levels (Public Law 104–193, 1996; Public Law 104-208, 1996). These changes have both contributed to a hostile anti-immigrant climate and have placed undocumented immigrant children in an even more precarious economic situation (Chavez et al., 2012). Undocumented immigrant families experience greater economic, health, and housing hardship (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011).

The next theme was: Scapegoating the undocumented immigrants (Institute for Policy Studies, 2015**)**. As the issue indicates the practice of singling out the undocumented immigrants as if they represent a higher risk of bringing diseases seems unmerited. There has not been any known case of undocumented immigrants spreading any infectious disease. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has specifically noted that undocumented immigrants who entered the country present little risk of spreading diseases among the public (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015).

Another theme was: Challenges for children of undocumented parents helped determine some of the restrictions that impact this population (Public Policy Institute, 2011). Many children of undocumented parents encounter many difficulties to meet

documentary requirements of school enrollment because of their conditional status. One major example is their lack of proof of residency. Many parents do not have a lease in their name. Those who use a borrowed residency from family friends do not have any security that they will be able to use it every year to keep their children active in school. In other cases, some kids face issues to be registered for government mandated tests because of lack of valid Social Security Numbers. Some of them are forced to delay their enrollment until after testing periods due to administrators' fear that they will negatively impact test performance. Additionally, some children and parents may be challenged linguistically or culturally to find appropriate school materials that may render it more difficult for them to involve thoroughly in activities (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Participants' response to the challenges their children face, offered in-depth details about unequal treatment. The focus was on undocumented parents who suffer from disadvantages (American Immigration Council, 2015).

The next theme was: General challenges for undocumented immigrants in general (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). For undocumented immigrants whose daily lives include stories about workplace raids and family separations, frequently, their fear of deportation powerfully restrict them from speaking out against any violations of their rights (Participant 018, personal communication, July 12, 2016). Their challenges amount to getting a driver's license, work for a legal minimum wage, traveling freely, working, studying or applying to college (Center for Immigration Studies, 2015).

The theme: Social repercussion over the presence of the undocumented immigrants represented and evaluation of the current views on the undocumented

immigrant (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). Opponents of immigration reform concern that the arrival of unauthorized or undocumented immigrants leads to social, economic, political, and cultural threats that will eventually change the landscape of the nation (Immigration Policy Institute, 2013). Although the hostile sentiment against the undocumented immigrants does not advocate for racial supremacy, many find it logical to keep them isolated (Center for American Progress, 2013). While the American government assumes to have control over the social impact that relates to the presence of the undocumented immigrants, their depreciation, and their laissez-faire attitude is seen through legislation and other social factors (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2013). Ignoring the economic status and the level of education of a growing population, eventually, sets the tone to see this group as objects instead of subjects with complete disregard for their well-being (North American Congress on Latin America, 2011).

The theme: Farmers' choice to engage undocumented immigrant workers (U.S. Department of Labors and Statistics, 2014). With this theme, I looked into why undocumented immigrant farm workers are willing to accept lower wages and their commitment to work harder. Why are they considered to be more reliable than other workers? To answer this question, I delved into the responses from my participants and other researchers such as Chavez (2012); Ngai (2014); and the National Center for Farmworker Health (2012).

Another theme that originated from the documents review was: Benefits of the undocumented immigrants on Immokalee farms (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). This one responded to the "why" undocumented immigrants chose Immokalee Florida.

Leading to this theme were categories such as government complicity, convenience for the undocumented immigrants, discretion from government authority, and the many reasons evoked by farmers to hire undocumented immigrants (National Agricultural Statistics Service, 2011; U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2012; USDA analysis of National Agricultural Workers Survey data, 2011).

The following theme that emerged from the reviewed documents was: Government's discretion on the presence of the undocumented immigrants (Center for Immigration Studies, 2013). This theme included information related to the Title IV: Restricting Welfare and Public Benefits for Aliens that determines applicants' eligibility of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–193, 1996). And Title V: Restrictions on Benefits for Aliens that clarifies the ineligibility of excludable, deportable, and nonimmigrant aliens from public assistance and benefits of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-208, 1996). Both laws were enacted to combat unauthorized immigration. Provisions from those legislations refer to the exercise of discretion by the authorities that seem to help shape the social conditions of the undocumented immigrants including those of Immokalee farms.

An additional theme was: Lack of social cohesion between Immokalee residents and the undocumented immigrants. Social cohesion is the strength or weakness of social relations (Cramm, Van Dijk, & Nieboer, 2013). Social cohesion is a relational concept that combines the political determination of governments to bring in social development policies and make a success of them, with their citizens' aspirations towards greater

solidarity (Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation, 2011). Many identify it as solidarity or togetherness; however, it seems to mean this only when it applies in a productive way (Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation, 2007; Phillips, 2014). Distribution of opportunities dimension focuses on structural socioeconomic conditions that affect citizens' ability to enjoy opportunities in the economic, social, and political spheres (Chambers, 2014). What should have been social cohesion within the undocumented immigrant population seems more of social disorder, social disenfranchise, social division and disorganization because of it opposite effect (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012).

Finally, during the interviews, two participants expressed their disappointment about the hostility against them and their frustration over politicians who consistently label them as criminals. They blamed their countries' economic problems which deny them hope and purpose in life, to be the results of the political interferences from the United States. Both seemed to deviate from the purpose of the research. They expressed views that contrasted with my understanding and the causes of their issues or other perceptions that may be contrary to the viewpoints of the majority. I reported both discrepant cases in the analysis and included the details that describe them at the end of the results section.

## Evidence of Trustworthiness

### Credibility

A credible research study bears at least two basics characteristics. First, it is one that makes sense. Second, it is a study that offers an authentic and curious portrait

(Rossman & Rallis, 2011; Miles & Huberman, 2014). Those singularities help identify the authenticity of a study; therefore, enhance credibility which is essential to maintain the trustworthiness of a research study. Accordingly, to ensure the integrity of the information I collected, I used different data collection. Often referred to as triangulation, multiple data collection methods contribute to making the research study credible when the conclusions from the data methods are comparable (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Another strategy is member checking also ensured credibility (Creswell, 2013).

After completing the data analysis, I asked participants to review the results to make sure that my interpretations of the participant responses were accurate. To limit my bias of the study, I vowed to describe the real stories of the undocumented immigrants by precisely writing their answers as recommended by Marshall and Rossman (2013). Throughout the data collections process, I kept personal notes about my experiences with the participants. During the interviews, I did experience both sympathy and empathy for the participants. Sympathy was the feeling of compassion or pity for the hardships that the participants were describing, and a sense of empathy surfaced when instinctively I was putting myself in the shoes of my participants. As an aspect of human interaction, I was self-aware to counter those personal biases, which I could limit through introspection and in-depth analysis. I also wrote in my notes, how much I was alerted to my feelings, and to highlight my biases in the limitation section of this study.

**Transferability**

Transferability is related to trustworthiness. It is the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. Many

researchers suggest that to ensure portability, the researcher must determine if the conclusions of the research under study are transferable to other contexts (Bell, 2014; Denscombe, 2014). To ensure transferability; initially, I used thick description to support the results when reporting conclusions (Hyett et al., 2014; Polit & Beck, 2010; Richards, 2014). Thick description is a detailed description of the research study (Creswell, 2013; Houghton et al., 2013; Sarantakos, 2012). Then, I used variations in my sample to ensure transferability. Variation of the sample involved interviewing participants for diverse perceptions and experiences, including those from different backgrounds and ethnicity. Contrary to the general beliefs, regardless of the high percentage of undocumented immigrants from Mexico, Hispanics or Mexicans are not the only ethnicities that represent this population (Passel & Cohn, 2014). In 2012, for example, 52% of undocumented immigrants were from Mexico, 15% from Central America, 12% from Asia, 6% from South America, 5% from the Caribbean, 5% from Europe, and 5% from Canada (Pew Research Center, 2013). Because of the difficulty to represent gender into an equal number of males and females and the sample frame that was limited to a small geographic area, the transferability of this study to any group other than the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida may be contested.

**Dependability**

A dependable research study is stable over time and across researchers and methods (Greig et al., 2012; Maxwell, 2012). Many scientists advised that an audit trail, meaning a thorough record keeping of research actions, provided dependability to a study. Others emphasized that a good research study requires careful record keeping as a

way of connecting the study results with relevant audiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 2014; Seidman, 2013; Yin, 2013). To ensure dependability, all documents, and materials about my research actions throughout this study are archived and available upon request. Moreover, journaling about biases on the phenomenon under study and the participants helped ensure the research dependability. Along with using an audit trail to document research activities, I used triangulation to guarantee dependability. The triangulation of data implied open-ended interviews with research participants and analysis of records verifying official estimates about the undocumented and unauthorized immigrants' population.

To establish the genuineness of their research, scientists must be explicit about their biases and give detailed accounts of their analysis process (Lichtman, 2012; Maxwell, 2012; Sarantakos, 2012). As researchers recommended, when reporting this research study, I provided a detailed account of the data collection and analysis process, including an explicit statement of my biases.

**Confirmability**

Moreover, to ensure confirmability of this study, I gave each participant the option to review the transcript of the interview as a follow up to verify whether the participant felt that I reported their views correctly. Additionally, when reporting the research study, I gave a detailed account of the data collection and analysis process. Another approach that researchers can use to establish confirmability is to question if additional conclusions other than the encountered ones are possible (Miles & Huberman, 2014; Runeson et al., 2012; Seidman, 2013; Yin, 2013). I explored all possible codes and

themes and questioned if conclusions other than the ones I reached were adequate. To further establish confirmability, I linked the data collected to the findings as suggest by Miles and Huberman (2014).

I used several methods to secure the confirmability of the findings. After noting each response from participants, while conducting the interviews, I read it back to validate that the transcript was in the exact words of the participant (Bryman, 2015). In some instances, as I seek validation by repeating the responses, few participants have shown some defensive reactions. In such cases, I returned the transcripts to those who want to read it to confirm their accuracy. During the interviews, I wrote comments about relevant elements of responses from the participants on the margin of the transcripts. Then, shared my understanding of what I heard and learned through the interviews and beyond. Participants frequently confirmed the accuracy of my descriptions.

I used the analytic codes to create a thick description and provide a more vivid perspective of the data (Creswell, 2013). Throughout the interviews, I let the voices of my participants' guide the narrative. Furthermore, when someone attempted to provide details of the fear they endured, I let them vent out while taking notes on the margin of their interview transcript. Throughout the process, I was cognizant about my potential biases and made a concerted effort to decrease any preconceived idea I held about the hardship I witnessed during the data collection process and the analysis.

## Study Results

This section presents the findings in response to the research question: What is the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida? Following

the transcription of the interviews and analysis of the data into codes, I organized the experiences and perspectives of the participants into the emerged themes. I used direct quotations from the participants to support these themes.

**Finding from the Most Appealing Themes**

**Extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants.** The United States Census Bureau affirmed that the average income of some lawful immigrants is less than half that of U.S.-born Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2014). Per policy design, undocumented immigrants are channeled to live in poverty or near poverty (Center for Immigration Studies, 2011). Unlike unauthorized immigrants, undocumented immigrants like those who participated in this study, are excluded from all census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Near poverty level is defined as less than 200 percent of the poverty threshold (United States Census Bureau, 2015). A comparison of the undocumented immigrants estimated income with the official poverty threshold shows that the overall rate of poverty among them is about twice that of Americans and lawful residents with a 30 percent rate with their U.S.-born children (Pew Research Center, 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Poverty is a multifaceted concept that includes social, economic, and political elements (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2011; United States Census Bureau, 2013). Poverty is either absolute or relative. Absolute when the poor is utterly destitute, i.e., no means to meet basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2015). Absolute poverty is the scarcity, shortage, or the state of one who lacks a certain amount

of material possessions or money (World Bank, 2015). Relative poverty takes into consideration individual social and economic status compared to the rest of society. When comparing the estimated income of the undocumented immigrants with the official poverty threshold, their income is considerably lower, i.e., less than 200 percent of the poverty guideline. Therefore, the undocumented immigrants' standard of living is lower than their counterparts.

As shown in Table 5 the median income among participants was $9,500, contrary to $11,720 for a lawful individual family living under a 200 percent of the poverty threshold (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). In this study's sample, the estimated median income for an undocumented immigrant family of two was $9,800, conversely to $14,937 for a lawful family of two (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Participants with a family of three earned an estimated annual income of $11,265, while for a lawful family with the same size, this income is $18,284. For an undocumented immigrant family of four that includes two children, the median income was $11,775. The poverty threshold for a family of four was $24,230 in 2014 (Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Again, for this study's participants, a family of five earned an estimated income $12,600 contrarily to $28,695 for a lawful family of five (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). For an undocumented immigrant family of six, the median income was $23,400; $36,400 for a family of seven; and $12,480 for a family of eight, compared to $32,473; $36,927; and $40,968 respectively for lawful families of similar sizes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Notice that the estimated income for the family of eight is lower compared to the families of seven and six. This discrepancy is because

only the low educated father works in the family and the mother has to stay at home to care for the children.

From a participants' perspective, many say that although their life in the United States is promising and more hopeful than where they come from, they still live a more challenging life than their counterparts. All participants seemed to be aware that they live in poverty. When asked if he considers himself living in poverty, participant 001, a 27- year-old father of three from Mexico, who earns an estimated income of $10,400, responded:

> Yes absolutely. Although my life is better than what it could have been in my home country, I still cannot rent a house under my name to live. In my case, I had to pay someone more money to sub-rent a house he rented in his name. Even when I am sick, I cannot stay at home. I have three children and a wife to feed. We are five living in a house. What I make is not enough for rent, food, and all the bills. It is hard when you can't afford it when your kids ask you for an Ice cream. If not having money to take care of one's family properly means poverty. Yes, we are all five living in poverty. I am always concerned if one day I cannot work; I just don't know what I am going to do

There are many aspects that converge to make poverty an intricate and multidimensional phenomenon. To the question do you consider yourself living in poverty, Participant 002, a 41-year-old father of six from Guatemala with an estimated income of $12,480 responded:

> Yes. I am struggling. Life's hard for my family. If I were in my country with over $12,000 income, which is unlikely, I would have done well. My income is very low to raise six children. Life in Guatemala is still not the same. Here one has to pay for everything. I am not a man with a high education. Although this amount of money is not enough, I am still grateful because we are in a country where things can get better, unlike my country Guatemala.

Some participants seem to be resolute regardless of the fact that they may not directly reap the benefits of being in the United States. Participant 003, a 31-year-old male farm worker from Mexico who is raising his four children with an estimated annual income of $9,600 affirmed:

> The poverty here is not the same as it is at home, but yes I am living in poverty. I was under the impression that the better life I would find in the United States was about being healthy, happy and live without hunger, in love and proud as shown in television series. I don't know when I will have access to that life, but now there is nothing that I can do than making sure I can put food on the table for my children. At least, since my kids were born here, they will one day do better for themselves.

Participant 004, a 26-year-old mother of one from Grenada, who estimates her annual income to $9,800, compares living in poverty with not being happy. For her, the poor are those who are living a stressful life for not being able to pay their bills all the time. She stated:

> People from my country are happy people. To me not living in poverty means not to worry about my son's future. To know that he is happy and gets what he needs. Not being poor means not have to worry about the rent or what am I going to eat today. Being well means I would not have to be looking over my shoulders all the time because of lack of immigration documents; it also means not having the feeling that everyone who knows my situation is trying to blackmail me and I can sit and chat with my friends and neighbors without fear. I do believe I am living in poverty. Right now, I am close to becoming homeless; the problem is one day I missed work because I was sick and could not make it to work, so I was behind on my rent. Isn't this how poor people live?

The inability to provide material needs or comforts sums up also to the meaning of life in poverty. For example, to the question of do you consider yourself living in poverty, participant 006, a 32-year-old undocumented farmworker who is a father of three from Mexico and who earned an estimated $10,500 responded saying:

> I come from a destitute village in Mexico. Considering the cost of living here in the United States, I do live in poverty. The money I am making is not enough to raise my three children. When my kids are hungry with twenty dollars, we can go to a McDonald and have dinner. Not being able to afford more than that means I do live in poverty. Poor people like me cannot improve our life because we live day by day, and if we get sick, then we are in trouble because we won't be able to keep taking care of our bills and our children.

To the same question, Participant 007, a 32-year-old undocumented parent of two children from Haiti, who estimates his annual income to $10,900, responded:

> Yes. I live in poverty. However, here in the United States, I have a lot of hope that things will get better, and my children will not go through the same adversity I went through. While back home we don't have any expectation. This reason alone is why many of us risk our lives at sea to get here. And, we are the most fortunate to make it. I grew up in an environment full of violence, hate, and corruptions. I didn't have the right to education, work or leisure, and I was on my own even those who supposed to help the people out ignore them. Yes, I still live in poverty, I am way better.

When Participant 008, a father of five from Haiti, earning an estimated annual income of $15,600 was asked if he considered himself and his family living in poverty, he responded:

> First of all, I am undocumented. If I were not living in poverty, I would find money to get my immigration documented. Being undocumented is like being in prison. As any prisoner, I am limited and restricted. No difference than living in poverty which put you under bondage, waiting to be free. At least there is hope.

Undocumented immigrants' status and the subsequent widespread lack of opportunities carry significant negative consequences for the success of those who live in rural South Florida including their children and eventually their grandchildren (National Poverty Research Centers, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2012). Undocumented immigrants exist in a shadow economy that is subject to the whims of unscrupulous

employers. Unable to defend their rights and, for all practical purposes, beyond the protection of labor laws that protect workers from abuse, discrimination and wage cheating in the workplace (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010).

From the documents review analysis, the United States Census Bureau found that low income does lead to a residence in extremely deprived neighborhoods characterized by social inadequacy and few resources for child development (Immigration Policy Center, 2012; United States Census Bureau, 2014). Parents who are poor are likely to be less healthy, both emotionally and physically, than those who are not poor (Economic Policy Institute, 2015; National Center for Children in Poverty, 2013; Policy Research Bureau, 2011). Family income is more strongly related to children's ability and achievement-related outcomes than to emotional outcomes (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015). These income effects are unlikely due to some unmeasured characteristics of low-income families. In fact, household income does play a significant role in those effects (Federal Supplemental Poverty Measure, 2015). Moreover, the impacts of poverty have a deeper impact on children who live below the poverty line for several years and for children who live in extreme poverty i. e., 50% or less of the poverty threshold (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2012). Low income during preschool and early school years do exhibit the strongest correlation with low rates of high school completion compared to low income during the childhood and adolescent years (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2010; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014).

In 2014, 21% of all children, i.e., 15.5 million of children lived in poverty. That's about 1 in every five children (United States Census Bureau, 2014). Children who grew up in poverty are at increased risk of a wide range of adverse outcomes that are identified at an early age and can extend into adulthood (Gershoff et al., 2013). Negative results are associated with profound and long-term poverty and with poverty in early childhood (American Psychological Association, 2015; Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015).

Poor-quality schooling, which associates with high neighborhood poverty, only broadens the impact of poverty (Center for American Progress, 2013; Economic Policy Institute, 2014). Problematic emotional outcomes often associated with family poverty; however, the effects of poverty on emotional outcomes are not as large as its effects on cognitive outcomes (American Psychological Association, 2015; Economic Policy Institute, 2014; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014). The effects of long-term poverty on measures of children's cognitive ability were significantly greater than the effects of short-term poverty (Foundation for Child Development, 2013; Institute for Research on Poverty, 2010; National Center for Children in Poverty, 2015).

**Expectations of the undocumented immigrants.** This theme also explained why undocumented immigrants come to the United States? From a participant's perspective, the risk of liquidating everything they owned to come to the United States is worth it at all level. As participant 001, the 27-year-old from Mexico, explained:

> I come here looking for work. I make good money here. The amount of money I would never be able to make back home for the whole year. The money I make

here, during the season, is very much more than what I could make in Mexico for the whole year.

Undocumented immigrants, if they reach their destination, expect to earn considerably higher income than what they earn back home (Pew Research Center, 2013). Participant 017, the 45-year-old father from Mexico stated:

> My expectations are clear and simple. Make as much money I can to be able to take care of my kids. When they decide to deport me at least, I will have a couple of bucks somewhere to start over with my life. If I knew I could get a visa to come here legally, I would have preferred that. However, they make it difficult even to have an appointment at the consulate. They left me no choice except to find someone who I could pay to get me here.

Substantial improvement of living conditions, better income, and higher education for their children, freedom, and eventual immigrant authorization are among the expectations of the undocumented immigrants (Center for Immigration Studies, 2012). Participant 011, the 31-year-old female from Peru stated:

> I want a better future. I was born in Quechua, a very poor city of Peru. Peru is a country that doesn't offer any hope at all. I grow up seeing my family struggling every day to feed me. I said to myself if it is so difficult to have food how can they survive. I decided I would leave on my own. I met my husband during the journey. We entered the United States together. Since then, we have been inseparable. At least even if we don't realize much for ourselves our children will

not have to go through what we went through. In addition to that, my only expectation is to get a chance to apply for my immigration papers.

Migrate to the United States, hope to earn better and higher income, having a shot to a better future are the main motivations for undocumented immigrants (Center for American Progress, 2013). As essential for a successful life, most undocumented immigrants are resolute in fulfilling their expectations. Participant 005, the 23-year-old male from Honduras, said:

> It may take me time to get there, but what do I have to lose? Here I can dream to become an actor one day as long as I don't get deported. Back home, I would not dare even to dream that big. My priority now is to work hard to save enough money to apply for papers as soon as they allow us

Participant 001, a 27- year-old father of three from Mexico, who earns an estimated income of $10,400 stated:

> The only thing I do here is work. It is what I came here to do. The money I make during the season is way more than what I could make in Mexico for the whole year. The future of my children back home would have been more uncertain

Participant 005, a 23-year-old male from Honduras, who earns an estimated annual income of $9,000 said:

> I am still young; I am saving every penny I make working on farms. I hope one day I am going to be legal, and I can go to school and change my life for good.

> I don't expect anything from the American government. I don't want them to deport me. I have high expectations including making sure I have a better future for my children.

Participant 007 who arrived in the country nine years ago after completing a 6th grade education in Haiti expected to work exclusively in farms, where he believed to have a lot of talents to offer.

> Sometimes you look up and down, left to right; you don't see any escaping point this is when you decide to dive head on into something that you know will not be easy for you. Back home I was hopeless and desperate, so paying to arrive here was my ultimate sacrifice. Most of us are aware of how difficult it can be before embarking on their journey to the United States. We do it regardless because we don't see other option. "…" I still feel this country has offered to me the hope that keeps me going. I work almost every day, and when I don't work, I don't go out unless it is necessary.

To influence their reality, undocumented immigrants do dream as Morewedge et al. (2009) suggested. When they start dreaming, they create expectations (Heintz et al., 2015). Those who are on Immokalee farms took actions to chase their dreams and fulfill their expectations by making decisions that may look negative by illegal immigration opponents. For many of them, their expectations give them reasons to live and to dream. Participant 003 affirmed:

> I sold everything I had to pay someone to get me here. I have been here for three years looking for a better opportunity for my children that I cannot find back

> home. I don't know what will happen to my children if the government deports me. As long as, I breathe I will be fighting to make sure they have a better life.

Many undocumented immigrants see America as the only country that can give them hope. Participant 008, the 38-year-old male undocumented farmworker from Haiti described:

> In my country, I didn't have the hope I have in America. I sold a couple of cows I had in addition to a piece of land I inherited. I paid a captain US $2,400 to take me to Miami. We could not make it because of bad weather. He dropped me somewhere in the Bahamas. Then, after a while, I managed to get here. I understand that I don't have the same rights as everyone else. I never expected that without legal papers. "…" The only thing I ask the government is a chance to have papers. As of now, I am only one of the millions out there who live in America. It is the only place where we can exist and have hope. Deport me will be like digging a hole to bury me. I don't want to think about that.

Hope and expectations are the real motives that pushed undocumented immigrants to take actions by embarking in their journey to America. Participant 002 affirmed:

> Growing up I always wanted to be a lawyer. I still dream about it. Become lawyer is not something I could ever realize back home. So, here I am an undocumented immigrant, but I am working to save my money. If America ever gives me a chance, I will fulfill my dream. I am up to the challenges.

Many undocumented immigrants, despite working in farms, still have high expectations. Participant 005 acknowledged:

> I want to be an actor. My friends told me that, since I came here on my own, I can't call myself a dreamer. Because according to them, if I were a dreamer I would have been eligible for the DACA. Regardless what they say I am a dreamer as everyone else. I am here because I dream of changing my life. But, as I hear things they are saying during this election season, I am afraid that I may get deported.

For many undocumented immigrants, the risks and the challenges of entering the country illegally exceed all alternatives. Therefore, paying whatever they have to make it to America is the best investment of their life. Participant 009, the 28-year-old from Colombia explained:

> My goal is working hard save enough money to apply for papers as soon as they allow us. I cannot even have a bank account. I give the money I earn for my hard work to my pastor so it can be safe and even if the government deports me, at least he would send it to me. I trust him he is the only person I trust here.

Even trying to get out of the shadow is an immense risk for undocumented immigrants. Many of them would like to become citizens one day, or at least get official documents that will allow them to be free (Participant 001, personal communication, May 30, 2016). Unfortunately, to apply for these documents, they must make themselves known to the authorities, which put them at risk of being deported (Participant 006, personal communication, June 3, 2016). Many undocumented farmworkers feel that, because of the political standoff against the undocumented community, going through the

legal channels will have the opposite effect, and once the government identifies them, they will eventually be forced to deport them.

From a documents review perspective, opponents of immigration reform tend to demonize undocumented immigrants by asking questions such as: Why don't they get in line? The response to that is that there is no line to get into (American Immigration Council, 2014; Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2016). The United States immigration system is designed to receive three types of immigrants: family reunification, employment, or humanitarian protection (American Immigration Council, 2014; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2015). It is not too common for undocumented immigrants to have the required employment or family relationships. And although sometimes they argue to be qualified as asylum seekers, they often fail to access humanitarian protection system (United States Department of Justice, 2015).

Moreover, individual applicants for employment based immigration are required to have certain skills; they are expected to have a job lined up with eligible employers (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015; United States Department of Labor, 2015). An employer can request this specific type of visas to bring in qualified foreign workers, but only after proving that they meet requirements, such as job skills and education level. In such a case, the employer must prove to be unable to find a qualified U.S. worker to perform the specific job. Employment-based immigrant permissions are delivered only to those with high qualifications (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015; United States Department of Labor; 2015). Most professions for employment based immigration require high levels of education and professional

experiences, such as scientists, professors, and multinational executives (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015; United States Department of Labor, 2015). As for family-based immigration permission, they are limited only to certain close family relationships, and they are numerically restricted (American Immigration Council, 2014; United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). For example, as of May 2016, a United States Citizen must wait for at least of 20 years for a visa to become available to enter an unmarried child from Mexico. It is 25 years for a US Citizen close family member from the Philippines (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015).

For those who are threatened or persecuted in their homeland, the United States does offer access to humanitarian protection. However, qualifying and accessing that protection may be very complex. First of all, to be eligible and admitted as refugees, individuals must be screened by multiple international and U.S. agencies. They must prove that they have a legitimate and well-substantiated fear of persecution (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2013). Their fear needs to be base on religion, race, political opinion, membership in a particular social group, or national origin (INA § 101(a) (42)(A), 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(42)(A)(2015)). On the other hand, asylum seekers are individuals already in the United States who experience fear to return to their home countries, and they must prove they meet the definition of a refugee (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2013; United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). Since undocumented immigrants are here to pursue the better opportunities America has to offer and may not be able to demonstrate that they

experience fear; certainly, they fail to qualify as refugees or asylees (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). Poverty or difficult economic conditions of applicants' home countries qualifies them only on humanitarian basis unless they can demonstrate that while outside of the United States (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2013).

Based on current immigration laws, undocumented immigrants who would like to legalize their status in the United States are not qualified to even get in line (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). The United States Department of Homeland Security does have lines, but a large number of aspiring immigrants are not qualified to be in any of them (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). They may have violated the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA) by entering the country clandestinely of fail to fulfill the pre-established requirements (American Immigration Council, 2014; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2016). In fact, even when a prospective immigrant does meet the requirements to immigrate, the wait can be very long if she or he is applying from countries where there is an overflow of immigrants like Mexico or the Philippines (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2016; Center for Immigration Studies, 2015).

**Aspirations failure for the undocumented immigrants.** The theme aspirations failure illustrated how the lack of immigration status increases additional pressure across different layers of undocumented immigrant lives (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014). Aspirations are born from desire, dreams, craving, intention, objective, ambition, hope, wish, or yearn (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015; Tyler,

2015). They are what give people purposes in their life. Being aspired implies dreaming about better future. Undocumented immigrants feel as though having to move across different communities, having to act so discreetly depending upon where they are, is morally inappropriate (Participant 003, personal communication, June 13, 2016). Furthermore, participant 004 said: "our circumstance is isolating and depressing." In the public mind, the undocumented status seems to connect them to illegal activity, and by extension, criminality. Further, Participant 007, the 32-year-old male from Haiti said:

> I feel invisible. I would like to be like everyone else. The way things are going for me, I don't know if I am going to succeed. I don't want to work the farms all my life. I am afraid of defeat. Sometimes, it is just too difficult to bear.

Aspirations are the combination of choices people made and maintained. They include beliefs they held and the eventual constraints about aspects of their future (Bernard et al., 2014). Undocumented immigrants do aspire to change their life and eventually the life of their children. Many of them are determined enough to take actions toward those aspirations. Aspirations are multidimensional. While many may hold wealth or income aspirations others pleased themselves in nurturing educational aspirations, social status aspirations, or aspirations about others such as their children (Bernard et al., 2014). Participant 016, the 47-year-old participant from Haiti declared:

> My desire to make my children's life better it what keeps me going. Growing up, I dreamed to become a military officer. I loved uniforms, well; I could not even get recruited. I failed myself. Now I am here; I will not let any of my children

> fail the same way. Things may still be difficult because of my poor situation, but I want to make sure they do better.

Undocumented immigrants do not seem to hold any social status in the American Society (Pew Research Center, 2014). Socially excluded, from the common daily life they aspire only to see their children succeed in having a better life than them. Participant 010 clarified:

> Here in America, we the undocumented immigrants are nobody. They can do whatever they feel like against us. We don't have a say in fact if we say anything we will be apprehended and deported. Our personal dreams do not exist anymore. But, being undocumented immigrants, we don't blame this country for that. In my case, I am just fighting for my kids.

For lack of choice, undocumented immigrants may end up enriching their knowledge of farm work; however, many of them expressed their inner desire to either be lawyers, actors, teachers, nurses, etc….Participant 018 reaffirmed:

> I know this is far fetching. My dream to become a nurse was gone since my first child. Without immigration documents, it would have been unattainable. I know that working in farms or under the table is all I would probably be doing to try to find a better life.

For many undocumented immigrants, even the opportunity to leave their country was considered a step toward climbing the ladder. Those who make it through this journey affirm that their income and position in their home country would never match their dreams and either increases their social capital. However, they are still uncertainty

that they will ever fulfill their personal dreams. They move to places while they realize that their aspirations evade them farther. Participant 002 affirmed:

> I wanted to be a lawyer. Now, I am over 41years old with a family of eight to feed. I am struggling to get by without immigration documents. Going to school is not something I cannot do in my situation. This situation is what happens when someone like me was born in a developing country.

In the case of undocumented immigrants, their potential failure to fulfill their dreams or the failure of their aspirations is not identical to a lack of aspiration. To the contrary, the only endure a circumstantial period of their life. Also, Participant 005 said:

> I wanted to be an actor. Now, I stop thinking about it. As I hear things they are saying during this election season. I am afraid that I may get deported. Going to school is not something I will ever be able to afford in my country. Poor like myself don't become actors back home.

The reality of being undocumented immigrants in the United States does stifle dreams or at least the process of attaining dreams (Center for Immigration Studies, 2015; Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2014). Thus, lack of status and the failure of aspirations may be reciprocally linked in a self-inflicted entrapment. An individual decision to embark on such a clandestine journey does make it more challenging to their aspirational success.

Undocumented immigrants' status and the subsequent widespread lack of opportunities carry significant negative consequences for the success of those who live in Immokalee, Florida, including their children and eventually their grandchildren (National

Poverty Research Centers, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2012). Undocumented immigrants exist in a shadow economy that is subject to the whims of unscrupulous employers. Unable to defend their rights and, for all practical purposes, beyond the protection of labor laws that protect workers from abuse, discrimination and wage cheating in the workplace (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010). Aspiration is the hope of accomplishing or achieving goals (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2013). Undocumented immigrants did aspire to better socioeconomic standard. They also harbored many other aspirations such as education, lawful employment, health care, housing, dignity, religious freedom, recognition, including political power (Center for American Progress, 2013; Economic Policy Institute, 2016).

Children of the undocumented immigrants are much more likely to be exposed to poverty and public assistance than others (Borjas, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2015). They are more vulnerable to the higher prevalence of many health conditions that include increased the risk of chronic disease, impairments, injury, deprived infant development, stress, anxiety, depression, and premature death (American Psychological Association, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2013). These health issues are linked to poverty most burden outlying groups such as undocumented immigrants, women, children, and the physically challenged (Center for Immigration Studies, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2015). Social determinants of health such as child development, education, living and working conditions, and healthcare are of particular relevance to the impoverished (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2014).

Table 5 showed that the median income for an undocumented immigrant individual was $9,500, contrary to $11,720 for a lawful individual family living under a 200 percent of the poverty threshold (US Census Bureau, 2013). The estimated median income for an undocumented immigrant family of two was $9,800, conversely to $14,937 for a lawful family of two (US Census Bureau, 2013). An undocumented immigrant family of three earned an estimated annual income of $11,265, while for a lawful family of three, it was $18,284. For an undocumented immigrant family of four that includes two children, the median income was $11,775 (personal communication, May 29 to July 31, 2016). In 2014, for a family of four, the poverty threshold was $24,230 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013; Current Population Survey, 2013; Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2013). An undocumented immigrant family of five earned an estimated income $12,600 contrarily to $28,695 for a lawful family of five (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). For an undocumented immigrant family of six, the median income was $23,400; $36,400 for a family of seven; and $12,480 for a family of eight, compared to $32,473; $36,927; and $40,968 respectively for lawful families of similar characteristics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

The estimated incomes published by the Census Bureau represent the poverty threshold as the official description of the federal poverty measure. Although the threshold is used essentially for statistical purposes, it is different of the annually updated poverty guideline which is a simplified version of the federal poverty threshold used for administrative purposes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013; Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015). Based on the comparison of the poverty threshold from the Census Bureau and

the estimated annual incomes reported by the undocumented immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee, there is evidence to establish that they are in fact do live in poverty.

**Social exclusion of the undocumented immigrants.** This theme highlighted the obstacles for the undocumented immigrants to have proper integration opportunities within the American Society. First of all, to have a proper integration, undocumented immigrants would have to earn the rights to be part of the nation. As suggested in previous court cases such as Plyler v. Doe (457 U.S. 202 (1982)), and, Linda Bosniak's (2006) brief: *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Including, the 2011's case of United States v. Portillo-Muñoz, when a panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit upheld a federal statute prohibiting the rights to bear arms by undocumented immigrants by concluding that undocumented immigrants are not part of "the people" expressed in Second Amendment rights (643 F.3d 437, 442 (5th Cir. 2011)). From a participant's perspective, there is a marginalized effect on those who experience exclusion. As participant 011, the 31-year-old female farmworker from Peru who lives in Immokalee for three years put it:

> They don't like us. When we tried to do some good deeds we are the ones who end up the victim. Personally, if I see something going on in my neighborhood, I rely on friends to report it. If my children get in trouble at school, I rely on my pastor to intervene on my behalf. Even when I go to pick them up after school, I am always nervous. Sometimes if I am going to buy groceries and I see a police car in the parking lot, I walked straight passing the store.

Although undocumented immigrants are not owed citizenship privilege, still they believe to have at least the fundamental desire that allow them to belong with others. However, many times there are circumstances that limit or impede them to interact. They are more focus on providing for their family than anything else. Participant 007 affirmed:

> It doesn't matter to me if people here don't like me. I don't understand why they can't stand us. The reason we are in their country is that we are trying to survive. They say we can't be eligible for anything we agree because we understand we are not from here. I am here to assure a better future for my children. People call us names only because of their lack of empathy. I don't think our presence affect them in any way. We don't ask anything from them. Instead, we contribute without anything in return.

As cited above, the court did validate the exclusion of undocumented immigrants from Second Amendment rights. That occurred in part by creating a distinction between types of constitutional rights. Participant 004, the 26-year-old mother from Grenada, who has been in Immokalee for eleven months at the time of the interview said:

> I understand I don't have the as many rights as my son who is only three years old, and I don't complain about that. At least my son is American he will be better off regardless what happen to me. Things affect you only when you think about them too much. I am a little better than most undocumented friends I have because I speak some English. As long as I don't go to a place where I am required to provide identification I don't have too much problem. But, it is sad when you are that young and can't get a real job and use your full potential

> because of proper documents. Some people get depressed, but I think it is a mistake. I can't get depressed. I need to be able to take care of myself.

Policymakers are aware that excluding undocumented immigrants from worker's compensation coverage can create a financial incentive for those who exclusively hire undocumented immigrants. Participant 003, the 31-year-old male father of three farm worker from Mexico, said:

> None of us knows about unemployment insurance. We earn money when we work. If we are sick, we leave and come back when we can work. We already know we don't have the right to anything. Why expect something we are not qualified or eligible to receive? Until I have the chance to have my papers, I don't even want to hear about benefits like employment insurance.

Participant 005, the 23-year-old male from Honduras, who, one day, hopes to have an opportunity to go to school states:

> My boss pays me in cash. I followed a straight line and had never been in any trouble. I don't expect to apply for or receive anything. At work, we are like family. If something happens to one of us while working, because of our conditions, we know we have to take care of each other. We know we are not welcome here, so, we stay away to avoid all type of problem.

Conscious of their exclusion many undocumented immigrants downplay the consequences of being excluded. Instead, they are determined to follow their dreams. Participant 008 acknowledged.

> Even though I am not qualified for federal or local government benefits, I don't consider myself as a burden on taxpayers as people claim to justify animosity against us. I understand as foreigners we are the constant target of backlash, social isolation, and deportation, and we just have to deal with it and stay away from them as much as we can.

From a documents review perspective, governments at various levels of administrations increasingly exclude undocumented immigrants from labor markets and public provisions, apprehend and deport those who have settled in their territories (Congressional Budget Office, 2012; United States Census Bureau, 2013).

Relatively, low levels of education and low-skilled occupations lead to undocumented immigrants having lower household incomes than either other immigrants or U.S. born Americans. For example, in 2011, the median income for undocumented immigrants' household was $35,755, for Americans, $50,437. The annual household income of undocumented immigrants was $49,191. For professional Americans, it is $68,361, a sizeable difference of about a third of their earnings. These differences in income are particularly noticeable considering that the undocumented immigrant families have more workers per household on average than U.S.-born households.

Undocumented immigrants are more likely to be socially excluded than the lawful population (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). They suffer from cumulative disadvantages that include being at risk of poverty, suffering from harsh material deprivation and living in poor households (Congressional Budget Office, 2015). They are also ineligible for government-funded public health or insurance programs such as

Medicare, Medicaid, and the Child Health Insurance Program (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). As required by the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, they cannot enjoy the same benefits as their counterparts (Public Law 104–193-Aug. 22, 1996).

Many undocumented immigrants believed that if they make the necessary sacrifice to educate their children to some extent that will prevent social exclusion. With more language fluency and good job, they will be in a better position to not be too vulnerable to the humiliations that come with being socially excluded. Although, the exclusion of the undocumented immigrants seems to favor the existence of an underclass of workers at the disposal of those who can hire them below the market wage for farming, construction, maintenance, and housework while keeping them living under fear so they would not dare demand better working conditions. Many undocumented immigrants believed that if they make the necessary sacrifice to educate their children to some extent that will prevent social exclusion. With more language fluency and good paying jobs, they will be in better position to not be too vulnerable to the humiliations that come with social exclusion.

**Scapegoating the undocumented immigrants.** Immigration reform opponents make undocumented Immigrants the scapegoats for the failing U.S. economy and deflate government entitlement services (American Immigration Council, 2015). This theme included some of the reasons for shifting the blames on this vulnerable population. According to interviews and documents data, the relevant depiction of social reality regarding undocumented immigrants coincides to a new social class of workers (Southern

Poverty Law Center, 2015). Most of the undocumented immigrants have the lowest possible social status and besides having countless social and economic problems, they are burdened with discrimination and often treated as the scapegoats of political conflicts (Economic Policy Institute, 2014). In their responses to the interview questions, participants stated having experienced being the scapegoats of political conflicts. Participant 014 said:

> Nobody wants to be accountable for anything in this country. They accused us of everything when something scary happened in a neighborhood, and the police cannot find the criminal they often accuse undocumented immigrants. When the banks targeted undocumented immigrants for big cars and big home loans, when they failed to pay up, politicians blame us. The economy collapsed they blame us. When politicians want to get elected, they blame illegal immigrants especially people from Mexico they call them *drug mules*. I am from Mexico I never do or sell drugs. I wish they could stop accusing all of us of everything.

Furthermore, many undocumented immigrants feel uncomfortable with what they are hearing about themselves. Participant 006 said:

> People who don't like us keep saying: undocumented immigrants are here to steal jobs, while most of us work jobs Americans don't want to do. They say we are here to collect welfare. I pray God to protect Americans because if they ever get some types of infections, they will pin it on us. And no one will be able to defend us. We are the foreigners.

Also, participant 005, the 23-year-old male from Honduras, who earns an estimated annual income of $9,000 said:

> The blame against us are things we hear almost every day. People look at us and tell us to go home. Others call us criminals and invaders. Apparently, it makes them feel good when they harass us. As if we were responsible for everything that happens to them. We try to remain as discreet as we can. But still, the media and the intimidating political discourses do not help either.

Undocumented immigrants often face many obstacles to obtaining the most essentials for survival, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers (Pew Research Center, 2013). However, for opponents of immigration reforms undocumented immigrants are to blame (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2015). Participant 016, a 47-year-old father of four, who earns an estimated $23,400 annual income statement, illustrated his perspective about being blamed for problems that he did not cause:

> Good Americans know our reality. They know we are no criminals. They know who the criminals are. Even when things are perfect, some people will always find others to blame "..." Why would I commit crimes or get involved in wrong doings which will eventually impact my children's life? People who accuse us baselessly for everything or blame their problems on us need to grow up. We may not be legal here if this is a crime it is the only one I commit.

Participant 017, the 45-year-old father of six from Mexico who has been living in the US for three years with an annual income of $36,400, also stated:

> I don't think we are responsible for the problems in this country as politicians are accusing us in the media when they want to be elected. I don't understand why they are against us while we are only looking for a better life. I come here to work, and I am not looking for or expecting anything more.

It is only a psychological relief for discontented citizens to blame the vulnerable when things go badly (Pew Research Center, 2015). Although, recently there have been few reports on unauthorized immigrants related crimes, however, as in any population those who choose to commit crimes are not farmworkers (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2015). Opponents of immigration reform kept those incidents active in the media sphere to show the negative impacts of undocumented immigration (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014; Social Science Research Network, 2014). In many instances, the media stirs sensation to the public discourses on most public issues, including the ones associated with immigration (Migration Policy Institute, 2010; Pogliano, 2016). Participant 005, the 23-year-old male from Honduras explained the adverse impact of news on his life:

> I don't listen to the news. Also, almost all the news is in English. What it does is adding more fear and more anxiety on us. I heard all they talk on the news is how bad we are. How disastrous we are for America. Being informed or not, if immigration wants to round us up and deport us all, there is nothing we can do to avoid that.

Using the blame rhetoric against undocumented immigrants, politicians seem not to willing to sacrifice their personal economic interests from some of their most powerful

supporters to provoke anti-immigrant hysteria (Pew Research Center, 2014). Negative or sometimes even xenophobic attitudes towards undocumented immigrant workers in the United States are the result of the agricultural industry's almost insatiable demand for cheap labor (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015).

From a documents' review perspective, the data consistently pointed out the fabricated danger that some reform opponents accused the undocumented immigrants of causing (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2011). One of the most popular is that undocumented immigrants bring infectious diseases from their countries (Southern Medical Association, 2012). To counter this assumption, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have repeatedly confirmed that undocumented immigrants pose no significant risk of spreading infectious diseases to the general public (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). This rhetoric aims to undermine any substantial argument about the importance and cost-effectiveness to provide preventive health care to the undocumented immigrants currently working in the United States, and to their children, the majority of whom are first-generation U.S. citizens (Pew Research Center, 2014; US Department of Homeland Security, 2015). Such position will not only widen the intergenerational economic disparity caused by social exclusion; it will continue to amplify poverty in their communities (International Monetary Fund, 2015; Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, 2013).

Ironically, singling out or harassing those who are undocumented immigrants appears to violate their fundamental human rights as prescribed by the XIV Amendment to the United States Constitution (U.S. Const. amend. XIV). While unlawful status

constraint undocumented immigrants survival and mobility across the American Society (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2011), they still eligible for some constitutional provisions that aimed to shield them against the common habit of harassment despite their undocumented status (U.S. Const. amend. XIV).

**Challenges for children of undocumented parents.** This theme looked into the dilemma that the children of the undocumented parents face. From a participant's point of view, many of them understood their children's limitations to develop their full potential as do other children. Still, many of those participants believe their children's life will be better than theirs. Participant 006, the 32-year-old undocumented farmworker father of three from Mexico who earned an estimated $10,500, explained the effects of being undocumented parent on his children:

> Raising my children while undocumented is difficult for all of us. If I had papers, I would go to learn English. One day I tried, but when I get there, the person didn't speak Spanish, so she didn't understand what I was saying. My most difficult day in life was when I had to sit my children down to explain to them that I can go out looking for work and at anytime I may not be able to return to them. I remember the fear in children eyes when I said those words. They look so afraid while I explain to them that they don't have to be afraid because they would be safe. However, I explain to them to be on their best behavior at school and in the street because my situation may become more complicated if they get into trouble. My kids are very respectful and obedient. They speak more English than my wife and I. When they ask me about something in English I feel

> embarrassed because I don't understand what they are saying. I think if I knew English my kids would have been as brilliant as other kids in their school.

While undocumented immigrants may be resolute to live their life as is, for their children it is more complex. Undocumented parents are often not present to offer the necessary affection, attention, and mentorship their children may need during their early age. This situation tends to present a considerable emptiness throughout their life (Migration Policy Institute, 2013; Vera Institute of Justice, 2015). Participant 004, a 26-year-old mother of one from Grenada, who estimates her annual income to $9,800 said:

> Even though I am making sure that my son has a better childhood and a secure future he is still not getting it easy. I work every day as soon as I drop my son at school or the daycare I am rushing to get to work. After work, I retrieve my son, but I am usually too tired to help him with homework. If I were legal here, I could have had a job with a better schedule so I could be there to help him out. I hope they will give me a chance to change my status because I don't think I can continue with my way of living. I want to be able to be there when he needs me.

Some parents expressed their disappointment when facing the fact that they cannot mediate when their children are in need as explained by Participant 013. The 29-year-old father of three from El Salvador who earns an estimated annual income of $13,200 and has been in Immokalee for three years, affirmed:

> In school, others bully them; we cannot even talk to the school authorities. When we do, they asked us to go to the police because they know we will not dare speak

> to the police. We don't hold grudges. We just want a better life for our children, and we are up to any and all the challenges.

Many of the undocumented immigrant children experience handicap (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Not uniquely because of their parents' lack of status but also because almost no attempt is made by government agencies to facilitate their integration into society (Center for American Progress, 2014; Bean et al., 2013). Participant 011 explained:

> Regardless of what they say, I am not a criminal. I am the mother of American children. The youngest ones are the most vulnerable. I know they can deport me at any time, but my biggest concerns are about how difficult that will be for my children. If they deport me, I assume they are going to place them with foster families. I heard children with foster families are abused. Many of them end up in gangs and prison.

To emphasize more challenges for being children of undocumented immigrants in America, Participant 001 explained:

> Even when my kids are sick, I try to see private doctors. To afford that, I work very hard to provide for my children. I don't expect more than making sure my children are healthy, and I know one day my situation will change.

Children of the undocumented immigrants are much more likely to be exposed to poverty and public assistance than others (Borjas, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2015). They are more vulnerable to the higher prevalence of many health conditions that include increased the risk of chronic disease, impairments, injury, deprived infant development,

stress, anxiety, depression, and premature death (American Psychological Association, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2013). These health afflictions of poverty most burden outlying groups such as undocumented immigrants, women, children, and the physically challenged (Center for Immigration Studies, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2015). Social determinants of health such as child development, education, living and working conditions, and healthcare are of particular relevance to the impoverished (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2014).

From a documents review perspective, there is evidence that undocumented parental status harms children's development during early childhood and adolescence. The current immigration policies barely consider the rights and needs of children with at least one parent whose status is an undocumented immigrant (Pew Research Center, 2015). Many children of undocumented parents are forced to live in the shadow, and only a few will eventually have the chance to be educated beyond high school (Pew Research Center, 2014). The outcome of this situation will likely continue to impact their development through their second generations (U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, 2014). Children will continue to suffer from their parents' and grandparents' lack of status (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2012; Family Research Council, 2011). For example, a mother's undocumented status alone appears to reduce children's schooling, compare to their counterparts (Pew Research Center, 2015). Baum and Flores (2011) found that children of legal Mexican immigrants averaged 13 years of education. A reduction of 15 months marks the difference between attending some college and not finishing high school (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2013; National

Center for Biotechnology Information, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015). With a lack of a high school diploma, Americans earn on average half a million dollars less over their lifespan and die about seven years earlier than a high school graduate (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). The disadvantage to the undocumented immigrants' children would presumably be proportionately higher, but nonetheless non-trivial (Educational Testing Service; 2015). This assertion raises the question of what causes these disadvantages. In particular, to what extent do they derive from discrimination? Many researchers argue that current research results of poverty explain much of the handicap. But, they also note that one cannot rule out the possibility that indiscriminate exclusion of the undocumented immigrant's children accounts for at least some of the educational differences (Center for American Progress, 2015; Economic Policy Institute, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2013). Overall in America, 22% of children live in officially poor families (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2014).

Undocumented immigrant children are not eligible for early childhood education programs. Including programs such as Earned Income Tax Credit that would help improve early health outcomes and increase academic achievement and college attendance. They are not eligible for housing assistance that enables families to move to areas with higher levels of upward mobility that would help improve college enrollment, adult earnings, and marriage rates (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2015). They are neither eligible for nutrition assistance programs that would enhance development and economic self-sufficiency (Economic Policy Institute, 2015). They are not eligible for Medicaid/CHIP, which offers in childhood that aims to

improve adult economic and health outcomes. Including programs such as cash assistance that set to help low-income families make ends meet, increase earnings, educational achievement, and assure longevity (Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, 2015). The Center for Immigration Studies affirmed that the average household of undocumented immigrant parents in some states still benefits from services. Those benefits include health care, education, welfare, and criminal justice (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014).

The children of migrant farmworkers, also, have higher rates of pesticide exposure than the public (National Center for Farm Worker Health, 2009). Each year, the estimated cases of physician-diagnosed pesticide poisoning among farmworkers, which include children, add up from 10,000 to 20,000 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2012). Because of special exemptions for agriculture, in some states, children as young as 16 years old or under may work in the fields (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012). Also, many states exempt farmworker children from compulsory education laws (Fassa et al., 2013; McGinnis, 2010; Miller, 2012; National Center for Farm Worker Health, 2011).

The children of the undocumented immigrants who were qualified for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and obtained a Social Security number have found that they can legally work to help offset college costs. However, they are still not qualified for government-subsidized financial aid (United States Department of Education, 2013). That means, despite the benefits that the DACA offered, the beneficiaries still faced many more obstacles that stopped them from pursuing higher

education. Despite more financial supports available, DACA holders continue to struggle to find the money to pay for college. Because they remain ineligible from receiving federal funding, they have limited resources compared to their U.S.-born/legally residing peers (Negrón-Gonzales, 2015). As a result, some of them feel as intruders comparatively to their classmates (Cigarroa, 2013). Not all undocumented children were qualified to apply for DACA (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013). For those who do, they quickly learn the limits of their Social Security number when they are unable to use it for the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (United States Department of Education, 2013). Moreover, many youths with pending applications for a work permit through DACA or are ineligible to do so, enter underground workplaces where they are still at high risk of being exploited.

Children of the undocumented played no role in the decision to come to the United States without legal status (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). Nonetheless, they live in constant fear and face incredible social, financial, and legal hurdles (American Psychological Association, 2015). Although their parents agree to do whatever they can to secure a better future for them, 83% of undocumented children still live below the poverty line and typically live in constant fear of deportation and involuntary family separation (Children's Advocacy Institute, 2015; Economic Policy Institute, 2013). Children of undocumented parents face many disadvantages in education, social service resources, and other essential children rights afforded to others (National Association for the Education of Young Children, 2016; The Foundation for Child Development, 2013).

**General challenges for undocumented immigrants.** This theme helped answer the sub question: How do undocumented immigrants perform their daily living activities in Immokalee, Florida? From a participant's perspective, the majority of the undocumented immigrants interviewed for this study were aware of how difficult it would be for them to live clandestinely in America. Including, the systematic exclusion from basic social services they face.

For undocumented immigrants, their journey to the United States implies life-threatening risks, incur debts, leave their families, and live in isolation under tough conditions. Undocumented immigrants are often the victims of crimes such as discrimination, harassment, and exploitation in the workplace (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015). To counter the popular belief that identifies undocumented immigrants as criminals, participant 001 objected:

> I never understand why Americans think we are all criminals. If being afraid of leaving the home where I sleep is a crime I guess I am guilty. Every day I leave my place very early in the morning to return late in the afternoon. I don't drive. I don't stay in the streets. I don't take people stuff. I don't have friends. I don't even know my neighbors' names. It is frustrating to be called criminal for no reason. I guess I have to live with it.

Some undocumented immigrants did not even know about the available governmental social services, either because they didn't exist in their homeland, or they never needed or looked for them. Those who knew about those services were afraid of

coming out the shadow which would put them at risk of being deported. As participant 009, the 28-year-old from Colombia who estimates her income to $9,500, affirmed:

> Life is tough for most of us. In my case, I feel like I am in a perpetual seclusion all the time. As I said before, I feel a little safer here than other places I have lived. However, that doesn't mean that I am free from fear and anxiety. I can't see a doctor if I am sick even if I would pay for the service. I am only part of a silent population. Even if I see a crime, I cannot report it "…" I never intend to apply for government services. That doesn't exist in my country.

Part of their challenges is the reluctance for many undocumented immigrants to accompany their children to school. As a consequence, their children suffer many obstacles to an eventual effective education. Participant 013 revealed:

> What I do is simple. I curtail my daily activities to limit the public as much as I can. If I don't need the store I just don't go outside. "…" As a parent, I would like to safely accompany my kids to school without fear of not being able to return home. I would like to attend all parent meetings to know how my children are progressing with school. I would like to be present in my children's life.

For most participants, the challenges they are facing are only part of their life experience. Some of them explained that before embarking on their journey, they weighed the consequences. Sometimes they determine they have nothing to lose. Participant 008, the 38-year-old male undocumented farmworker from Haiti explained:

> Although Immokalee is a quiet place, still that doesn't remove all my concerns. Personally, I feel nervous all the time and more when walking the streets alone or

> going to the stores or taking my children to school. I am always afraid of being stopped by the authorities. Many of us try to change the way we walk to appear calm and less anxious to avoid drawing suspicion. It doesn't always work.

Not being able to contribute in a certain way by reporting crimes to the local authority is part of undocumented immigrants' daily struggles. For example, participants 011 explained:

> Many times I feel like if I see something illegal happening, I should call the police as any responsible person would do. However, the nervousness and the pressure I feel when I try to call the police when they insist that I give them my complete name and telephone number are just not worth it. I try to be a law-abiding member of my community by staying away from authorities as much as I can.

As undocumented immigrants they are always happy to take whatever job they can find when they enter the country, however, crossing the border is still incredibly difficult (Participant 018, personal communication, July 12, 2016). For most undocumented immigrants, fear and the stress that comes with it is a constant part of their life. Participant 010, a 25-year-old male from Haiti, who estimates his annual income to $10,000, said:

> I don't drink, I don't smoke, and I don't go to parties. Even to drive a car I would need a driver's license which I cannot obtain in my situation. What will happen if I get into an accident? Not only I cannot afford to be in the spotlight, but they would deport me as a result of it. You would never find me wandering in the street. I only go to church; you will not find me anywhere else.

Undocumented immigrants are sometimes called America's most invisible workforce (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). Their days start at dawn and end after sunset. That help them keep a life of invisibility. Participant 010 persisted:

> Staying invisible is the only shield I believe to have. Staying under the radar is challenging, but we don't have other options. It is just our only means of protection. Usually, I go to work very early in the morning.

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers reported that undocumented immigrants are often taken advantage of by their employers. However, many of the undocumented I interviewed stated that it is better to accept their fate quietly than losing their only means of income (Farmworker Justice, 2012; Organic Consumers Association, 2015). Participants of this study told many stories about the problems they have encountered due to their inability to speak English. Participant 007admitted

> I have been in this country for nine years now. I have seen a lot of people being arrested and deported. One of my advantages is my color. I don't think the authorities pursue blacks who are undocumented as much as they do to Hispanics. I am a humble man. No hair dreadlocks, no tattoos, and I don't have anything to show off. I am not saying that I am safe, but sometimes, I act like I am as legal as everybody else. Deep inside, I am still nervous.

The interconnections of the challenges faced by the undocumented immigrants render the search for solutions quasi- unreachable. For example, language barrier, legal status, fear of discrimination, and lack of proper identification can all play a role in an

undocumented immigrants' ability to receive health services. As participant 018, a 29-year-old mother of three from Honduras who earn an estimated income of $13,000 said:

> I live in perpetual fear, and I pray hoping that my day will always be uneventful. I don't have anyone here if something ever happens to me, and I get deported I don't know if I will survive without my children.

From a documents review perspective, employers do not feel obligated to pay decent wages and provide better work conditions because the workers have no legal rights to complain (Pew Research Center, 2012; Southern Poverty Law Center; 2014). If undocumented immigrants dare to contact the labor authorities, they risk being arrested and deported (Pew Research Center, 2013; Center for Immigration Studies, 2014). If they complain, their employers tend to threaten them about calling in immigration and have them taken away (Economic Policy Institute, 2012). Landlords feel at ease to ignore their tenants living conditions because they have no way to complain or fight back (Center for American Progress, 2011).

**Social repercussion over the presence of the undocumented immigrants.** This theme answered the sub question: What are the consequences of being an undocumented immigrant in Immokalee, Florida? America is a country that has traditionally been a country built on principles of immigration (American Immigration Council, 2015). However, lately, issues related to undocumented immigrants are ones the most dominant concerns of the American people. Many opponents of immigration reform imply that the presence of the undocumented immigrants has brought or have increased crimes, endangered the national security, and drained government resources (Center for

Immigration Studies, 2015; Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2014). Moreover, the American protection laws do not protect either the undocumented immigrants or their children (Center for Immigration Studies, 2015), except for certain Human Rights provisions (American Civil Liberties Union, 2015). By fear of being deported many of them accept silently any illegal act against them (Pew Research Center, 2014). They do not have the same opportunity as everyone else to defend themselves or their children. From a participant's perspective, this theme looks into the social impacts related to being an undocumented immigrant. Participant 014, a 28-year-old and a father of two with an estimated annual income of $13,200, and who has been in Immokalee for eight months affirmed:

> Here many people really don't like us. They call us illegal, criminals, rapists (sic), but we are the ones picking their food, cut their lawn, and most of us pay taxes. When they come to work with us, they cannot keep up after 10:00 AM. They don't have any idea how to work on farms. They are always complaining about bugs, ants, etc. Still, they believe they are better than us.

Many participants of this research believe their best way to avoid being deported is to stay clear of any trouble. Participant 002, a 41-year-old Guatemalan father of six, who earns an estimated annual income of $12,480 said:

> It is very hard being an undocumented immigrant. The life I am living now was never the one I expected. I wanted to become a lawyer, but now I feel like nothing. While I don't blame the Americans for my failure, still it is annoying that even the worst criminals here are more respected than any of us. All I do is

> minding my own business. I have already sacrificed so much, given so much of myself, working for such low wages, and then living in precarious conditions while no one cares. Even if I saw someone committing a crime, I cannot report it simply because I am afraid of being questioned by police. It is frustrating.

The stigma against the undocumented immigrants increases their fear to interact or socialize with other people (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). Such withdraw does carry long-term consequences on the social fabric of their communities in general (Migration Policy Institute, 2011). Participant 005, a 23-year-old male from Honduras, who earns an estimated annual income of $9,000, explained the reasons for his isolation:

> People call us many names such as *Wetbacks* (wetbacks is an insult to Mexican immigrants who clandestinely swam across the Rio Grande to get into the United States), *invaders*, *out of control*, *criminals*, *and illegals*. They take all Hispanics for Mexicans. I feel ashamed when I am out of my place because people look at us like we are from another planet. I was never intended to be part of the American Society. They disgust us all.

The difficulties expressed by some of the participants in this study explained their failed aspiration and despair. For example, participant 017, a 45-year-old father of six from Mexico who has been living in the US for three years with an annual income of $36,400, stated:

> My wife and I work seven days a week filling bins with squash, tomatoes, beans, and cucumbers, in Immokalee. I go early, and she usually joins me after sending the kids to school. Neither of us enjoyed working on the farms, but without immigration

document, and good education that's all we can do. That's why we came here to work, growing up I wanted to be a teacher, but now the only job I can do is farm work. Even in the factories or restaurants, they ask for papers; the farms are the only places where they don't ask for papers.

Farmers who engage undocumented immigrants are taking as much risk as the workers (Federation for American Immigration, 2012). On the other hand, participants expressed how they carry most of the burden of being undocumented that makes having basic human rights unreachable. Participant 001, the 27- year-old father of three from Mexico, explained:

> Sometimes, some of us are injured, but we can't even tell anyone because we are afraid of being fired. Also, if the bosses know when we are injured, they get nervous. They think we will be forced to seek treatment. Therefore, will be compelled to report how we got injured. While working hard for them for low wages, we still have to protect them. If a worker dares to report an injustice, this worker will never find work on any farm again. They communicate with each other; it is like they create a network.

Participant 015, a 31-year-old mother of two from Peru who earns an estimated annual income of $10,200, also noted this burden:

> Recently, I stepped on a nail while working. I could not walk to work for almost five days. I could not go to the hospital either. Considering all the risks associated with having to identify myself and tell how I got hurt. Being undocumented in America is a very hard life.

Moreover, undocumented immigrants do not believe they are a social burden for the United States because they are not eligible for any social benefits as many Americans assume. Participant 015, a 31-year-old mother of two from Peru who earns an estimated annual income of $10,200, affirmed:

> Many Americans believe that because we don't have immigration documents, we must be costing the country a lot of money for using government welfare services like public education and medical services. In reality, this belief may be accurate for basic education, but not for the medical services. I never take my children to hospital when they are sick I buy over the counter medicines for which I pay taxes as everyone else. As per my husband and I, we just don't get sick "..." It bothers me when people keep repeating those lies about us.

In reality, because of the constant fear, it is almost impracticable to evaluate the social impact of undocumented immigration due to the inaccuracy of the data on this population. As participant 018, the 29-year-old mother of three from Honduras who earn an estimated annual income of $13,000 said:

> Working on the farm is not safe at all, and I am afraid I will not be able to do it forever. I can't afford to see a physician, the last time I saw one was when I was giving birth to my daughter. My pastor was the one who took me to the hospital himself. My husband doesn't speak English, and I would not go alone because I would not know what to say. When my daughter is sick, I call my pastor, who helps me out a lot. He is more like a family member to me. If I didn't have him, I don't know what I would do.

Under the constant fear of being arrested and deported, many undocumented immigrants relinquish their rights as a measure to protect their employment and their bosses (Pew Research Center, 2014). Participant 008, the 38-year-old male undocumented farmworker from Haiti explained:

> I don't get sick as a farmworker; I use Aloe Vera all the times. I also use other remedies from the bushes. We have our natural medicines. My elders back home never go to hospitals and they lived beyond their nineties. I don't bother anyone here. Besides my family and my children, the only friends I have are in the same conditions. As of my kids, they are my wife responsibility. She is the pillar of my house. I bring the money home, and she is the one who handles everything. If my wife is not around, I go crazy because I don't know what to do with them.

The social aspect of being socially excluded seems to surpass the aspirations and the hope that undocumented immigrants hold while pursuing the American opportunities. Participant 011 acknowledged:

> My partner and I envisioned a better future for our family, a future that was out of reach for us in Quechua, Peru "..." Being here has given me hope I didn't have before. We attempt to be as discreet as we can to avoid the spotlight, but that doesn't mean we are criminals. I don't see how I can represent a social problem for American people if I don't even share anything.

On the repercussion aspect of the presence of the undocumented immigrants, participant 001 had a message:

> As I said before, personally, I am not looking for any government service from America. I never apply for anything. I know the government doesn't owe me anything. As long as they allow me to stay here to make sure that the future of my children is different than mine.

Being labeled "illegals" and "criminals" do place undocumented immigrants in shameful positions that impact their ability to interact with others. For example, participant 009, the 28-year-old from Colombia said:

> I would do everything I can to avoid seeing a doctor or reaching out for any services including legal guidance. I heard some other cities those doctors work for immigration as well. When a patient goes to them for consultation, if the patient is illegal, they call immigration secretly. When the patient leaves, then immigration can follow and detain the patient.

The inability to participate in activities design to strengthen the well-being of individuals and families often have a negative effect on the social fabric of a community. Participant 010, the 25-year-old male from Haiti, explained:

> Usually, I return very late at night. I try to avoid any places where people gather. Except for church. "…" I believe God would not let them detain me while worshiping him. I don't do anything that would call people's attentions. If I need something, I go to Win Dixie get it and go back. In this store, people know me I can blend in, buy what I need and disappear. My place is where I feel safe if I am not working.

Moreover, participant 010 said:

> Being undocumented is very hard. Most of us don't have a social life. I don't want people to be asking me questions. Even walking on the street is not safe. If something happens, I don't want to become a witness. So, I try to stay away as much as I can. Personally, I don't mingle with people. My average workday is as long as I can endure. Then, I find somewhere to sleep then early in the morning I start again. I am not interested in receiving any support because to apply I would have required to identify myself.

The discomfort experienced by undocumented immigrants make interactions with others more challenging. Participant 007 affirmed:

> I don't come here to make friends; even though people still treat us like intruders. I am not a criminal and I live as every model citizen. I don't see how I can be a danger for this country that I love. They say bad things against us every day, and we can't even respond. This life is ours; there is nothing we can do.

To the consequences of being undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, participant 011, the 31-year-old female farmworker from Peru who has been living in Immokalee for three years explained:

> Besides going to church, most of us don't mingle with people outside of our comfort zone. What I call comfort zone is being among people who are in the same situation as us. The way people address us when they realize we don't speak English, the way they look at us when we pass by doesn't give us any desire to address them or even stay close to them. You would find my husband playing domino now and then with only our friends who are as cautious as we are.

Furthermore, participant 011 said:

> No one likes to feel rejected. When people in the street, tell me to go back to my country only because they see me differently it hurts my guts. I stay home all the time unless I am going to work or church. I don't expect anyone to love me, not even to accept me. I mean no harm to anyone and I knew living here under my conditions would be difficult. All I want is a chance to live as a human being.

Many opponents of immigration reform claim that the presence of the undocumented immigrants alone has a societal impact on America (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Their negative position, however, suppresses the determination of those who only intend to pursue a better life. Almost all participants lamented the disgust they suffer from the Americans or lawful immigrants who interact with them. Participant 012 acknowledged:

> They call us names such as aliens, invaders, or criminals that mean for them we don't belong here. They always ask us to go back home. If people don't like us what can we do? I know it can be risky and beneficial to have friends on the other sides. Having friends, however, is riskier because the same people I may be trying to befriend can report me to the authorities. Personally, I would feel better if I could be allowed to be part of my community. It would be great if people could trust me and treat me as a human being. Unfortunately many only see us as *illegal immigrants* and *criminals.*

The challenges of being undocumented immigrants are numerous and complex. They include isolation, prejudice and discrimination; lack of secure jobs; and cultural

differences that prevent those without proper documents from seeking or receiving services (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). The participants of this study said being undocumented immigrants impede them from reaching out for help or information (Participant 018, personal communication, July 12, 2016). Instead, they hide and try to become "invisible" so that they do not run into trouble with the immigration authorities (Participant 010, personal communication, June 11, 2016). They consistently experience difficult lives as they follow their dream of reaching better opportunities (Participant 013, personal communication, June 14, 2016). It is almost not viable for them to adjust to new communities and new cultures. Some of these challenges affect their health; certainly, access to health care services is difficult, but the education system, jobs, emotional isolation, prejudice and basic cultural differences also shape the ability of these residents to be healthy (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). These challenges make undocumented immigrants more vulnerable to exploitation and extreme poverty than any other community (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). The challenges extend to all undocumented immigrant children and youth who are frequently subject to experience ongoing discrimination (Pew Research Center, 2014). Including, exposure to gangs, racial profiling, arbitrary stopping of family members to check their documentation status, continuous immigration raids in their communities, being forcibly taken or separated from their families (American Psychological Association, 2015; Pew Hispanic Center, 2012).

Concerns continue to increase with the arrival of more undocumented and unauthorized immigrants. Many opponents claim that their arrival leads to social,

economic, political, and cultural threats that will eventually change the landscape of the nation (Immigration Policy Institute, 2013). They believe that the prevalence of undocumented immigration also generates disturbing social and cultural tensions, and causes a decline in Americans' support for a more general immigration reform (Heritage Foundation, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2013). Although the hostile sentiment against the undocumented immigrants does not advocate for racial supremacy, many of those opponents find it logical to keep them isolated (Center for American Progress, 2013). While the American government assumes to have control over the social impact that relates to the presence of the undocumented immigrants, their depreciation, and their laissez-faire attitude is seen through legislation and other social factors (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2013). As in recent debates, many leading politicians claimed that undocumented immigrants hurt the job prospects of natives and legal immigrants, as well as having other undesirable social effects (Center for Immigration Studies, 2015). The social repercussion over this rhetoric may have more negative impact on the American society than the presence of the undocumented immigrants themselves (Migration Policy Institute, 2013).

The anti-social behavior against the undocumented immigrants does carry long-term consequences on the social fabric of America and well-being of the individuals and families (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). There will be consequences for ignoring the economic status and level of education of a growing population. Eventually, this trend will set the tone to see this group of people as objects instead of subjects with complete disregard for their well-being (North American Congress on Latin America,

2011). Instead of fueling hostility against the undocumented immigrants, it would have been more beneficial to create opportunities for their socioeconomic advancement and social integration of this population and their descendants (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014). The denial of any functional status to a group of people such as the undocumented immigrants represents an active exclusion, and it applies to most of the refusal of services from which most minority communities suffer (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). Living conditions are not up to code, forfeited wages, and fear of deportation continually distressed the undocumented workers (Economic Policy Institute, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2014). Regardless if undocumented immigrant workers have rights under current legislation or not, they may still feel like they are being treated as criminals or characterized as *illegals* (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015).

**Farmers' choice to engage undocumented immigrant workers.** This theme responded to the "why" Immokalee farmers opt to hire undocumented immigrants. Undocumented immigrants believed that farm owners and managers choose them because they work harder and cheaper than anyone else. Farmers can decrease the already low pay for undocumented immigrants for any reason at any time. Participant 011 is a 31-year-old female farmworker from Peru who is raising two children in Immokalee with an estimated $10,200 annual income, described her experience:

> Some bosses are good people, but some others are very strict. For example, if my boss found someone sitting somewhere or stalling for whatever reason, he decreases the pay without notice. Although, we don't get paid per hour, bosses

> always want us to do the job very quickly. So, we are forced to rush all the time until we complete the job.

Undocumented immigrants are expected to accept any pay to do hard work to be able to survive and support their families (Pew Research Center, 2013). Participant 003, a 31-year-old male farm worker from Mexico who is raising his four children with an estimated annual income of $9,600 expressed his gratitude.

> We thank God for our strength, without it, I would not have any chance to find work easily. Most of us are willing to accept lower pay. Like in my case, for example, I often agree to work harder. Because there is nothing, I would not do to make sure I have food for my children.

Farmers are well aware of the difficulty for the undocumented immigrants to find work. They use this awareness to decide on the salary they want to pay and the conditions they want them to follow. Participant 006, a 32-year-old undocumented farmworker who is a father of three from Mexico and who earned an estimated $10,500, retorted:

> We come to the U.S. to better our lives and our children, more than anything. In my country, I can't find work or do anything. For a better future for my three children, I came to this side. And the truth is: we suffer a lot to make a living here. But we cannot go back.

Many from the general public seem to disregard the fact that many farmers take advantage of the lack of status of the undocumented (Center for Immigration Studies, 2013). Participant 013, a 29-year-old father of three from El Salvador who earns an estimated annual income of $13,200 and has been in Immokalee for three years, said:

> I understand that I am not welcome here they call us all kind of names and we always have to stay quiet having no one to help us. Some employers take pride in abusing us. I don't know for others but, for me, most of the sacrifices we do are for our children. But it is frustrating to see what I had to go through just to nurture hope for my kids.

For many undocumented immigrants regardless of the inconsistency of their informal job market and the low earnings, being able to find work increase their hopes and make them grateful. Participant 005, the 23-year-old male from Honduras, said:

> I work very hard, my boss like me, and as long as there are farmers who want to hire me, I am grateful. As of now, all I know is how to work in farms. But, I am into saving my money because one day I want to go to school and become an actor. That's my dream.

The hiring of undocumented immigrant farmworkers seems to be inevitable since they are the ones who can and want to do the job. Participant 011affirmed:

> Many farmers prefer to hire us only because we work harder for less money. If they could find lawful workers, they would not be taking risks to hire us. I think we do more for them than they do for us, if we cannot work we don't get paid.

Farm employers rely on mostly undocumented immigrants to harvest and make higher profits on their fresh fruits and vegetables that go to the nation's dinner tables. Regardless of their circumstantial condition, some farmers do treat their workers decently. Participant 017, the 45-year-old father of five from Mexico affirmed:

> Not every farmer is bad some of them just want to make sure you do as much as they expect from you. I always wake up early to be picked first. "…" Although, I earn less money than a regular worker, at the end of the week, most farmers are decent enough to pay the money they owe which I can use to feed my children.

As in any other industry, employers seem to forge relationships with undocumented farmworkers. Participant 008, the 38-year-old male undocumented farmworker from Haiti confirmed:

> Here almost all the farmers know me by name. If I know a farmer who is conflictive and heartless I simply don't work for him "…" Employers are aware of the special circumstances of the undocumented immigrant population to find and keep their jobs. Thus, it is more lucrative to hire those workers to the less desirable and unsafe roles as if they were expendable (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015). As undocumented immigrants, employers assume they have no rights, and workers who don't speak any English are the most vulnerable targets (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015).

From a farmers' perspective, this theme looks into how farmers take advantages of the undocumented immigrants because of their willingness to accept low payment for their work. Meanwhile, lawful immigrant workers are constantly moving away from agricultural works (American Enterprise Institute, 2013; Institute of Development Studies, 2011). Many farmers affirmed that they have come to rely on undocumented immigrants to harvest their crops (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014).

The federal government estimates that 61% of farm workers are undocumented immigrants; some farmworker advocates argue that the percentage is far higher. The National Center for Farmworkers reported about 3 million migrants and seasonal farmworkers employed in the United States in 2009 (National Center for Farmworker Health, 2010). Undocumented immigrants are more reliable than other farmworkers; their loyalty increases the farmer's demand (Farmworker Justice, 2013). The Department of Agriculture recognizes that about half of the hired workers employed in U.S. crop agriculture were unauthorized. Farmers seem to discourage the legalization of undocumented farm workers because legal status would cost more to run their farms. In fact, many farmers confirmed that if undocumented farmworkers were to gain legal status, they would eventually ask for benefits that farmers might not be able to afford (Center for American Progress, 2013). The USDA has also warned that any potential immigration reform could have significant impacts on the U.S. fruit and vegetable industry. A different report from the National Milk Producers Federation (2009) warned that if the undocumented immigrant labor force were to disappear, retail milk prices would increase by 61 percent. Additionally, farmers are concerned that undocumented farm workers would probably leave the farms for more profitable work in major cities; in construction or factories. As Chuck Herrin, the manager of a large company contracting labor for farms in the Central Valley affirmed: "we need these people to get our food to market" (New York Times, 2014).

**Benefits of the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee farms.** This theme responded to the "How" Immokalee farms benefits from undocumented immigrants by

answering the sub question: why do many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida? I approached this theme under two perceptions: initially, from participants' perspective, then from a farmer's perspective according to documents that I reviewed from the city and Collier county's libraries. Both views evolved around the benefits of the presence of the undocumented immigrants.

From a participants' perspective: Eleven participants affirmed to have chosen Immokalee for the serenity this city has to offer rather than the money. When asked why did you choose Immokalee? Those participants provided affirmative responses that the city was very quiet, and there was more work for them than other cities of South Florida. As many as six participants explained that their friends or family already live and work in Immokalee, thus family members' presence influenced their choice to move into this city. As participant 009, a 28-year-old from Colombia who estimates her income to $9,500, affirmed:

> I have lived in other places before; however, I feel safer here in Immokalee than anywhere else I have lived. Employers like us here because they can rely on us to do their works. When we make the money, we spend it here in the city. I believe this is why the authorities don't bother us.

Mindful of their lack of status, undocumented immigrants constantly look for places where they would avoid harassment. Hence, Immokalee seems to be one of those places where they feel no intimidation. Participant 002, a 41-year-old from Guatemala with an estimated income of $12,480 said:

> What I like here is that police seem to understand we are here looking for work not to commit crimes. They do not follow me or stop me in the street. Normally, police stop those who drive. In my case, I don't have a car. The chance of being stopped is lower than those who are drivers. Sometimes, the police only want to know if they are authorized to drive. In fact, they would not stop anyone unless they are looking for someone in particular who did something wrong.

Although, Immokalee is not considered to be a sanctuary city that holds policies designed to avoid intimidating people based on their immigration status. Still, participants (008); (009); and (018) stated that they do not feel as threatened as they used to feel in other cities. Although the level of fear is not very high in Immokalee, participants have still experienced some levels of hostility. For example, Participants 009 said very recently some people shout at her in a neighborhood while looking for a friend's address.

It is obvious that employers tend to hire individuals who can offer better productivity (United States Department of Labor, 2014). Agricultural work is very demanding; therefore many employers found that American workers are less reliable and unwilling to work hard. As soon as the sunrise they start complaining said Participant 018, a mother of three from Honduras, said:

> Many of us here in Immokalee are undocumented workers. Some employers only need you to provide a Social Security Number as a cover in case of an audit. It doesn't matter if it is real. Apparently, even the authorities know that, but I guess they have mercy for us. However, most of our bosses make us work longer hours

while doing the hardest jobs. We are good at what we do. We are the ones who can do the job right.

As a cultural characteristic of people from developing countries, undocumented farmworkers tend to be docile and authority-fearing. They are often relatively easy to manage. Hence, those are the reasons why farm employers recruit them over lawful workers. Participant (009) who has been in Immokalee for six months explicitly stated that this is the case in Immokalee:

> Immokalee is good to us. We come here to work. Employers in Immokalee need us. Without us, their crops would remain in the fields. They hire us because they know we are hard workers. Although, we are paid only when we pick the crops, we are paid only for full buckets of produce we pick. Sometimes, they try to hire American workers; it never works out. When American Workers come to work with us, they cannot keep up after 10:00 AM. They don't have any idea how to work on farms. They are always complaining about bugs, ants, etc. When they complain, we are happy knowing that they probably will not come back the next day; therefore, more work for us.

Young and determined, bearing in mind the reasons they left their home countries, undocumented immigrant farmworkers do not complain or report their workplace conditions. Participant 010 said:

> I cannot affirm that they abuse me because, at the end of the month, stressful or not, what I earn here in this reclusive way of life here is still way more than

anything I would earn back home. I take it as it is. Telling will not fix anything. Instead, I would make it more difficult for myself to find work.

The main benefits for the participants of this study to live in Immokalee are exclusively for the convenience, the tranquility, and the passivity of the authorities in most rural environments. Those elements amount to the response to the sub question of why many undocumented immigrants choose rural Florida.

From a farmers' perspective based on findings from official and non-partisan research, undocumented immigrants are hard workers and their labor is cheaper than their counterparts (Pew Research Center, 2015). Among the benefits the farmers enjoy are the lacks of regulatory wages (Bureau of Labor and Statistics, 2015). Tomato pickers in Immokalee, for example, do not receive a wage. Instead, they established a per bucket rate for picked products which make a decent earning unpredictable (National Center for Farmworker Health, 2012). They are those who struggle daily from mornings that start before the sunrise to shifts that end past dinnertime (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2014; Ampatzidis, Whiting, Scharf, & Zhang, 2012).

In general, undocumented immigrants are essential to the United States economy, as well vital to certain industries like agriculture (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014; Centre for Immigration Policy Reform, 2015). The agricultural industry has consistently resisted any attempt to reform the immigration policy that would result in a legal workforce (Economic Research Service, 2015; United States Department of Agriculture, 2015). Harrison and Lloyd (2012) found that nearly 94% of recent immigrants legal or

illegal went to live in rural America and work in agriculture versus 5% of native-born (Fox, 2012). That trend seems to benefit the agricultural industry as a whole exclusively.

The undocumented immigrants' rural preference is more about fear of standing out in the major cities where the risk of being caught would have been higher (Pew Research Center, 2015). Simply, the rural development seems to benefit from the presence of more people since they contribute to their taxable expenses to enhancing the economy; either they are undocumented or lawful immigrants (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015). On the other hand, they seem to create a circular relationship, in their terms, between three main features of rural communities: farm employment, immigration, and poverty (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2012; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Both perspectives seemed to be rational enough to attract more undocumented immigrants in Immokalee. In fact, the suggestion to detain and deport all undocumented immigrant workers may sound popular, it has also served the purpose of emphasizing the significance of the undocumented immigrant labor to the U.S. economy (Center for American Progress, 2014; U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2016). Overall, the presence of the undocumented immigrants benefits the city financially with their taxable income and the services they offer to the Immokalee farmers (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2015).

**Government discretion on the presence of the undocumented immigrants.** On this theme, from a participant's perspective, the government seems to be dealing with a dilemma between maintaining the status quo and deporting which would adversely impact the agricultural industry. Many factors confirm the benefits of the undocumented

immigrants in the agricultural industry in general and in Immokalee farms in particular. Primarily, the undocumented immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee work harder regardless of their low earnings comparing to their counterparts (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2015). For this reason, undocumented immigrants represent over 75% of all hired farm workers (Center for Immigration Studies, 2015). Also, farmers rely on undocumented immigrant farmworkers to pick the crops, fresh fruits, and vegetables because it helps them keep the prices lower on the market. The former alone makes the hiring of undocumented farmworkers more beneficial to farmers and the public in general (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015). Participant 008, a 38-year-old male undocumented farmworker from Haiti explained:

> On one hand, it would have been a disaster for us if one day the US government decides to deport us all. On the other hand, if that would have to happen we would not be the only one suffered from the consequences. I bet the agricultural industry would eventually collapse. They need us as much as we need them. We are not indispensable, but necessary as long as Americans choose not to do the type of work we do in the fields.

It i s not that undocumented farmworkers are shielded from deportation and are free to work in the field. Participant 007, a 32-year-old undocumented farmworker and a parent of two children from Haiti, who estimates his annual income to $10,900 said:

> Some of us even pay taxes with nothing in return. The IRS (Internal Revenue Service) knows and collects our taxes. Those of us who are using false Social

> Security Numbers pay like everyone else. We pray God every day to appease the government on our behalf, and we have hope one day he will answer our prayers.

The American government has passed strict legislation to control, discourage, deter, or eliminate undocumented migration (US Department of Homeland Security, 2014). However, a full stop of this clandestine movement of farm workers seems out of reach (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2013). Moreover, even the removal of those who are already here would have a serious impact on the agricultural industry (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2012). Participant 001, a 27- year-old father of three from Mexico, who earns an estimated income of $10,400 stated:

> They know we are here. If they need us, they can easily find us. Many times, we are working on the farms, planes and helicopters are patrolling above us. We may be discreet, but we are not completely invisible. Personally, I don't expect anything from the American government. But, I don't want them to deport me. It is not for me it is for my children. I don't bother anyone. I don't ask for anything. I work hard every day only on Sundays I go to church with my family. I don't see why I can't stay here to make sure my children have a better life than mine.

Deporting all undocumented immigrants whom most of them are parents seem not to be a priority for the government. Participant 001 affirmed:

> We take precaution to avoid being in the spotlights. But, the government knows we are here. My reason to be here is my children. I want them to have everything they need. I know there is a social service. I prefer not to file for things like that because they will be asking me a lot of questions. The only problem is without

> proper documents; life is very difficult. I would like a chance to apply for my papers. I don't want the government to deport me.

The government bears the responsibilities to manage concerns about security and social issues. It is up to the government to determine who should be eligible for their services. As participant 009, the 28-year-old from Colombia who estimates her income to $9,500, explained:

> Why would I be interested in government services? First of all, I know they would ask me for my documents. So, it would be like asking them to deport me. Asking for favors is not something I do. I am not comfortable to ask for anything. In my country, the government doesn't even know we exist; they remember us only when something happened.

For undocumented immigrants, discretion or inaction from government can play a role in shaping both the public perception and the level of trust the public has in the ability of government to manage immigration. Participant 008 appealed:

> The only thing I ask the government is a chance to have papers. As of now, I am only one of the millions out there who live in America because of it the only place where we can exist and have hope. I can work, and I know if the government wants to help us they can. The same way if they want to deport us they will.

Because of the discretion of the government, some undocumented immigrants have succeeded in moving around to avoid being caught. As participant 018, a 29-year-old mother of three from Honduras who earn an estimated annual income of $13,000 explained:

> My first stop was in Texas, but after the person who helped me was arrested and they were forcing him to give names of people he helped. I left Texas "..." I cannot complain. I have been here for eight years. If I had proper documentation, I would go to school and become a nurse. I don't like working on farms, I would like to be a nurse, but this is only a dream.

Because undocumented immigrants live in fear of being discovered, they go without essential services that are necessary for human development. For example, some parents might not enroll their kids in school, or take them to the doctor when they are sick, for fear that these things could get them into trouble (Participant 009, personal communication, June 10, 2016; Center for American Progress, 2015). Children grow up unconscious that they are not legal citizens since they never need to verify their status (United States Department of Education, 2015). Until it comes time for them to apply for college or jobs, this is when they have to face the hard truth, which often catches them off guard and destroy their plans for the future (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013).

From the government perspective, the broad discretion exercised by immigration officials derive from immediate human concerns (American Immigration Council, 2015; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2015). First, deporting undocumented immigrants would have cost the government a lot of money (Center for American Progress, 2010: U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2013). Second, on a humanitarian basis, deporting all undocumented immigrants would have a devastated effect on their children (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Third, the country would have a tremendous price hike for agricultural products (Economic Research Service, 2011).

And finally, the agricultural industry would probably go bankrupt (Pew Research Center, 2012; Washington Post, June 2012). The government only uses discretionary measures to remove only those who represent a security hazard for the nation (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015). It would have cost the government either to deport or to legalize the undocumented farmworkers (Economic Policy Institute, 2013).

Some discretionary decisions involve policy choices that strengthen United States' international relations (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). For example, the label of humanitarian basis is often the reason for those decisions (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). The foreign state may have had a natural disaster, mired in civil war, complicit in political persecution, or enduring conditions that create a detrimental risk for a deportee or his family. The dynamic nature of relations with other countries requires the Executive Branch to ensure that enforcement policies are consistent with a Nation's foreign policy based on its realities (United States Department of Justice, 2015; United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 2014).

Although the American government relied only on estimation to quantify the undocumented immigrants, they are well aware of their presence. Since, the Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) allows the exclusion of data from the undocumented immigrants (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). Analysis of the national poverty seems to have been limited only to the lawful population (Migration Policy Institute, 2012). The exclusion of data, although approved by government policies, tricks the precise estimate of poverty and also decreases the reliability and validity as require on the academic arena (US Census Bureau, 2010). In fact, any method of excluding undocumented immigrants

presents the risk of distorting the census enumeration. Academically speaking, the census count itself is only an estimate that is seemingly affected by omissions, unclear inclusions of data, and potential erroneous imputations (United States Census Bureau, 2012). While the impact of lowering the number of undocumented immigrants may seem irrelevant socially, it remains a significant long-term issue when considering the number of undocumented that may be living in poverty (Center for Immigration Studies, 2014). Excluding a population of over 11 Million, who are having children; over many variables commonly used to measure the phenomenon of poverty is not doing any good to the well-being of the nation (Pew Research Center, 2014). It is likely that the undocumented immigrant population is much larger than 11.3 million in 2016 (Center for Immigration Study, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2014). In that case, the undercount of undocumented immigrants in poverty assessment is proportionately greater than the figures published by the government.

On one hand, the presence of the undocumented immigrants is beneficiary to the agricultural sector (Economic Policy Institute, 2013). The belief that undocumented immigrants' hiring leads to displacement of eligible workers. Or, further degradation of benefits and deterioration of the middle class may be mythical (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014). In reality, undocumented immigrants seem to have no impact on unemployment rates since most of them hold jobs that are turned down by lawful workers (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). The government seems to practice discretionary policy, but their discretion in enforcing immigration laws is not unlimited (U.S. Department of Homeland

Security, 2014). Most of the discretionary cases tend to base usually on individual or family circumstances (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015).

On the other hand, farmers evoke many reasons to engage undocumented immigrant workers, and the government is aware of their avoidance to pay decent wages (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014). If undocumented immigrants were to leave the country, farmers would be forced to raise wages to attract legal workers. Hiring lawful workers would translate into a higher price for all agriculture related products (Chuck Herrin interview with Jennifer Medina from New York Times, 2014). In 2014, the government did publish its discretionary policies for the apprehension, detention, and removal of undocumented immigrants, to respond to the momentum for an eventual mass deportation (Meissner et al., 2013; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). Although their presence can become a factor in depleting wages and reducing the bargaining power of lawful job seekers, there are no current attempts being taken to stop them from coming (Center for Immigration Study, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2014).

**Lack of social cohesion between residents and the undocumented immigrants.** Social cohesion adheres to the elements that bring and hold people together in community. In a socially cohesive society, all individuals and groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition, and legitimacy. Social cohesive communities are not necessarily demographically homogenous. Rather, by respecting diversity, they harness the potential residing in their societal diversity including ideas, opinions, ideology, and skills. Therefore, they are less vulnerable to slip into destructive patterns of tension and conflict when different interests collide**.** The lack of social cohesion does foster poverty (Organization for

Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2016). One of the most appropriate strategies of social cohesion involves action to combat poverty and social exclusion (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2014; International Labor Organization, 2011). Particularly in areas such as housing, health, education and training, employment and income distribution, education and social services (International Labor Organization, 2015). Many of the participants affirmed they feel treated like intruders. Participant 005 lamented:

> I would like to be a part of my community. I know there are community programs that help adults like me to give them a head up out of poverty. I would like to have my kids playing with other children without being nervous that they will call the police on them. No one likes to feel unwanted or cast off. I know things could have been better if we were accepted, guided, helped, and treated like a human being instead of criminals or invaders.

One of the roles of government-sponsored social supports is to connect community together (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Despite the fact that they are essential instruments for social cohesion, undocumented immigrants do not meet eligibility requirements for them (Center for Immigration Studies, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2012). Participant 007 clarified:

> Americans use us as if we were expendables. Being undocumented immigrants and poor do not play in our favor at all. When people in the street, tell me to go back to my country only because they see me differently I feel distressed. I stay home all the time unless I am going to work or church. I don't expect anyone to

> love me, not even to accept me. I mean no harm to anyone and I was expecting to be treated with respect as I treat everyone else.

Social cohesion is an invasive process (Husband & Alam, 2011). Noticing that they are not welcome to integrate into the American society, undocumented immigrants try to stay away as far as they can from views and troubles except to attend church activities. Because of their conditions, the lack of social cohesion does help them to remain invisible. As Participant 010, the 25-year-old male from Haiti, explained:

> Being undocumented is our biggest challenge. Many of us avoid going out as much as possible. Even walking on the street is not safe. If something happens, I don't want to become a witness. So, I try to stay away as much as I can. I work as hard as I can during the day. Then, I find somewhere to sleep then early in the morning I start over. Every day this is my routine. I don't know for how long I will be able to be doing it. I am not interested in receiving any support because to apply I would have to identify myself or be telling my situation to someone.

Being undocumented alone tampers with the willingness of the newcomers to integrate (Center for American Progress, 2010). The sentiment of being unwelcome represents a concern about social cohesion which is a more broad issue of unity within diversity (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2011). When applied positively social cohesion implements the responsibility for ensuring the well-being of individuals and communities (Bloemraad, 2015; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015). Other elements relevant to the issue of unity within

diversity include minorities, demographics differences, religious, and linguistic differences (Pew Research Center, 2015). Participant 011 said:

> I don't doubt that I would be better off if I had my immigration documents. I see how well those who are legal are doing. They have all the support they need. They have social workers and financial counselors working with them. Those things are not for me. I don't blame anyone for my situation; I have to live with it. Coming here was my choice.

In social cohesion people of a community gather to work towards the well-being of each other (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014). They expect to fight exclusion and marginalization to create a sense of belonging. Including promoting trust, and offer members of the group the opportunity of upward mobility. It encompasses a sense of belonging to a family, community, a social group, neighborhood, a workplace, and a country (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013). The lack of support only makes life more challenging for undocumented immigrants. As Participant 010, the 25-year-old male from Haiti, explained:

> Instead of attracting us they push us away. They call us names such as aliens, invaders, or criminals that mean for them we don't belong here. They always ask us to go back home. If people don't like us what can we do? I know it can be risky and beneficial to have friends on the other sides. Having friends, however, is riskier because the same people I may be trying to befriend can report me to the authorities. Personally, I would feel better if I could be allowed to be part of my

community. It would be great if people could trust me and treat me as a human being. Unfortunately many see us only as 'illegal immigrants' than anything else.

From documents review point of view, when social cohesion justifies by unwanted solidarity and somewhat interchangeably used together with the term community cohesion, it encourages an adverse effect that coincides with social exclusion (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015). When applied negatively social cohesion is one of the characteristic of a society dealing with exclusion and lack of connections between societal units such as individuals, groups, associations as well as territorial units (United Nations Development Program, 2013). The Durkheimian terms collective consciousness defined social cohesion as an ordering feature of a society and described it as the interdependence between the members of a community, shared loyalties, and solidarity (Allman, 2013; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013; Moulaert et al., 2013). Social cohesion is the strength of social relations, shared values, and communities of interpretation. It is the feelings of a common identity and a sense of belonging to the same community. It is designed to build trust among societal members as well as to destroy inequality and disparities (Pew Research Center, 2013). Instead, the cohesion applied against the undocumented immigrant population fuels a greater stream of inequality (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2015).

For example, the estimated average income of an undocumented family is about $30,000 well below the country's median household income of $ 53,482 (American Community Survey, 2014; Census Bureau., 2016). In contrast to other immigrants,

undocumented immigrants do not attain markedly higher incomes the longer they live in the United States. A third of the children and a fifth of undocumented immigrant adults live in poverty (Pew Research Center, 2015). This percentage nearly doubles the poverty rate for children of US-born parents (18%) or US-born adults (10%). More than half of unauthorized adult immigrants (59%) had no health insurance during all of 2007. Among their children, nearly half of those who are undocumented immigrants (45%) were uninsured, and 25% of those who were born in the United States were uninsured (Pew Research Center, 2015).

**Discrepant Cases**

As mentioned above, there were two discrepant cases. One of the participants was resolute that the United States was responsible for some of the problems they are having back home. Participant 015 from Venezuela said:

> My country was one of the peaceful countries until the American killed Chavez with radioactive induced cancer (sic). Chavez cared for us we were progressing. Our schools and universities were free. He wanted all Venezuelans to be equal; the Americans labeled him communist. They could not find any evidence that he killed or oppressed anyone. They could not prove he stole the country's money, but still, they wanted him out of power. His sin was that he helped control the price of oil around the world. He provided food and work for the whole nation because he didn't let the Americans exploit the oil as they wish they painted him as the worst human being on the planet. They cornered him until he died.

Another participant noticed the deceitful strategy America used to implement free market exchanges such as NAFTA. According to Participant 010 from Haiti:

> The Americans destroyed the country's national production with the free market exchange agreement where they can overload the Haitian market with American products such as rice, beans, chicken, eggs, peanuts, and beef. Haiti has already had a weak national production safety net. With so much foreign goods there was no control of the domestic production and farmers needed to exude to the capital and it was the end of the national sovereignty.

Both discrepant cases seem to have eroded the purpose of the study. Therefore, they would hurt its rationalistic nature. Based on the topic of the study, those cases were not fit for analysis. However, despite their negative aspects, they were reported to strengthen the validity and the reliability of this study as suggested by Maxwell (2014).

## Summary

In this chapter, I presented the study results that answered the research question and sub questions. I answered the queries through semi structured one-to-one interviews and review of official documents about the presence of undocumented immigrants in the United States. The research question probed the impacts of poverty on undocumented immigrants living in Immokalee, Florida. They include hardship, fear, anxiety, stress, insecurity, poor nutrition, inadequate housing, children's poor health and achievement, challenges, social exclusion, discrimination, restriction of opportunity, and lack of social support. Those impacts do vary on a case by case basis. In families with no children, but living in poverty, they suffer the failure of their personal aspirations. The impact is

greater and more complex for families with children. Children living in impoverished households experience many impediments such as the ability to learn and contribute to emotional, social, and behavioral problems. Living in poverty also has significant effects on the children physical and mental health, as well as educational achievement.

The first sub question determined the extent of poverty within the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida. Adding up to the fear and anxiety they live, undocumented immigrants face significant barriers to pursue their aspirations. Living in poverty spawns emotional and behavioral withdrawn, illness, social repercussion, and aspirations failure. The undocumented parent status, level of education and skill levels increase the odds for their children to live poverty. Poverty delays the growth of children, who live in poor conditions, and in time, influence their education at all stages.

The second sub question addressed the consequences of being undocumented immigrants. The consequences range from harassment to poor treatment, inconsistent wages, no health protection, unsafe environment. They include isolation, prejudice and discrimination, hazardous workplaces, and social exclusion. Because of their underground form of life, children are more exposed to bullying, violence, racial profiling, and incessant immigration raids, and sudden separation of children from their families. These consequences make undocumented immigrants more at risk to exploitation and extreme poverty than any other community.

The third sub question also examined the reasons why many undocumented immigrants choose Immokalee, Florida. Well known for its agricultural landscape, its fauna and its flora, Immokalee is convenient, tranquil, and more serene than most rural

environments. While Immokalee is not a sanctuary city, still it holds unwritten policies designed to avoid intimidating people based on their immigration status. Those are the main reasons why undocumented immigrants choose this city. Although undocumented farmworkers in Immokalee claim to work harder and earn a lower income than their counterparts, still they prefer it for the apparent peace of mind they enjoy.

Finally, the fourth sub question looked into the daily living of the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida. For undocumented immigrants, daily routines include stories about workplace raids and family separations, fear of deportation powerfully restrict them from speaking out against any violations of their rights. With no access to social services, undocumented immigrants try hard to remain invisible. Leaving early to work and usually return late to avoid being seen. Fear of public transportation to avoid being photographed by in bus cameras. Their challenges amount to their incapacity to get driver's licenses, work for a legal wage, and moving freely from one place to another.

The following Chapter 5 includes my interpretations of this study finding, a discussion of the study's limitations, and recommendations for further research. Chapter 5 also includes the implications for social change derived through the completion of the study and the determination of the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants in South Florida.

# Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

There is a scarcity of research on the impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants. Because of their concealed presence, the level or the impact of poverty on them seems to be systematically excluded in the research on poverty. This is contrary to the recommendation from the standards for quality research that all segments of a population must be included when gathering data to evaluate a social phenomenon (Boaz & Ashby, 2003; Feuer & Towne, 2002; Shavelson & Towne, 2002). The purpose of this exploratory case study was fourfold. First, I determined the impact of poverty on the estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants in South Florida, who constitute 4.8% of the total undocumented immigrant population in the United States (Center for Migration Studies, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2015). The second purpose was to explore and describe the experience of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States. The third purpose was to describe the collateral impact of government policies designed to keep undocumented immigrants from receiving government benefits such as socioeconomic protection and higher education that would include better living wage (Pub. II Reform - L, 1996). The fourth purpose was to identify challenges of collecting accurate data on poverty while the undocumented children remain excluded in the data collection of this phenomenon. This qualitative case study included semi structured interviews to collect the experiences of undocumented immigrant farmworkers in rural South Florida. Eighteen undocumented immigrants participated in this exploratory case study and provided in-depth responses regarding their experiences and hardships. Participants were from diverse Latin American countries. The responses from the

participants revealed that the lack of immigration documents is the main reason why they live in poverty. They affirmed to have been abused, taken advantage of, and excluded from U.S. society. They live in perpetual fear and anxiety in the poorest neighborhoods that make their children more vulnerable to bullies, crimes, and violence. Undocumented immigrants report many stories of harassment, poor treatment, inconsistent wages, nonexistent health protection, and insecure workplaces. Additionally, participants shared their fears regarding the uncertainty of their futures. Many participants reported that they may never have access to the American dream due to their undocumented status. The exclusion of undocumented immigrants in official poverty estimates represents a significant gap in research. This study contributes to the literature and provides insight into the experiences of undocumented immigrants for policymakers to develop a better understanding of their challenges.

## Interpretation of Findings

The results from this study confirm, contradict, and extend the knowledge of the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrant population. The responses from the participants revealed that the lack of immigration documents caused their fear and anxiety. Participants confirmed the different challenges that they and their children have to overcome because of their conditions. During the interviews, they described the impact of poverty on their children and themselves, including the effects of social exclusion and the social repercussions that derived from being undocumented. The findings also highlighted the undocumented immigrants' expectations and emphasized the absence of social cohesion that steers them to the failure of their aspirations. This

study confirmed that undocumented immigrants are exceptionally vulnerable to poverty. The main factor for their vulnerability is their lack of immigration status. Being undocumented influences their lives and the lives of their children due to their being socially excluded and restricted from all types of opportunities such as development programs and other socioeconomic services.

The impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants varied in several ways. For example, the effect of poverty on those who are single was lower than those with children. For those who are parents, the consequences also varied based on the number of children in the household. For an undocumented farmworker family of one, the median income was $9,500, as seen in Table 8, compared to $11,720 for a lawful family of the same size. The data confirmed that the income of the undocumented farmworker population is considerably lower than the official poverty threshold (United States Census Bureau, 2014). Although all participants interviewed affirmed to be living in poverty, this study does not support the claim that most undocumented immigrants live in poverty. Undocumented immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee account for only a modest percentage of the total population. Therefore, there are gaps in understanding the general impact of poverty on undocumented immigrants. Other factors associated with undocumented immigrants living in poverty are the denied access to essential services such as community-based socioeconomic development. Some impacts associated with the lack of status of undocumented immigrants are fear of deportation, avoidance of local authorities, and difficulty obtaining legal services.

Table 8

*Estimated Median Income for Undocumented Workers in Immokalee, FL.*

| Estimated Annual Income of Undocumented Immigrants | Family Size | Estimated Median Income of Undocumented Immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| $ 9,000 | 1 | $9,500 |
| $ 9,500 | 1 | |
| $10,000 | 1 | |
| $ 9,800 | 2 | $9,800 |
| $ 9,800 | 2 | |
| $10,900 | 3 | $11,270 |
| $10,200 | 3 | |
| $13,000 | 3 | |
| $10,950 | 3 | |
| $10,500 | 4 | $11,780 |
| $10,400 | 4 | |
| $13,200 | 4 | |
| $13,000 | 4 | |
| $ 9,600 | 5 | $12,600 |
| $15,600 | 5 | |
| $23,400 | 6 | $23,400 |
| $36,400 | 7 | $36,400 |
| $12,480 | 8 | $12,480 |

The estimated median incomes were calculated based on the number of households. I was not equipped to verify the accuracy of the estimated incomes provided by the participants. Table 8 indicates the estimated median income per family size.

It remains to be proven whether poverty within the undocumented immigrant population has an impact on the level of poverty in the United States. The median household incomes of undocumented immigrants appear to be lower than the earnings of lawful immigrants. Therefore, their presence only benefits the agricultural sector, but no

apparent direct benefits to the city itself. The undocumented immigrant median incomes may remain the same regardless of the number of years of experience they have been in the industry; by contrast, the median incomes of lawful immigrant households will rise according to the job market, as indicated by the Pew Research Center (2012).

Other factors of poverty within the undocumented immigrant population include hardship, fear, anxiety, stress, insecurity, poor nutrition, inadequate lodging, children's poor health and achievement, social exclusion, discrimination, restriction of opportunity, and lack of social support. These impacts vary on a case-by-case basis. In families with no children but living in poverty, they suffer the failure of their personal aspirations. The impact is greater and more complex for families with children. Children living in impoverished households are doomed to live in deprived accommodations. Living in poverty also has significant effects on the children's physical and mental health, including poor educational achievement (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2013; Economic Policy Institute, 2015). Many studies have shown that socioeconomic status is a strong indicator of a student's academic achievement. Students living in high poverty regions are at greater risk of falling below basic performance levels, thus creating an achievement gap in comparison to children not living in poverty (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015).

Participants reported many of their concerns regarding the uncertainty of their futures and the future of their children. They felt that they could not access any benefits or services because of their undocumented status. Additionally, they reported that they are not only economically disadvantaged and politically disenfranchised, but they also

live with consistent threat of deportation, experiencing alienation and tremendous uncertainty about their future. Undocumented immigrants limit their lifestyles and work in the shadows of mainstream society while being relentlessly scape-goated and dehumanized by political officials, criminalized by immigration officials, and exploited by unscrupulous employers.

Undocumented families experience more poverty than others due to the absence of social cohesion and lack of social accommodations. Undocumented immigrants are more vulnerable to social exclusion than other groups of immigrants. They appear to experience more social, legal, economic, familial, and cultural problems than mainstream U.S. families. Their challenges include isolation, prejudice, discrimination, lack of secure jobs, and cultural differences that prevent them from seeking or receiving services.

The study findings confirm that the children of undocumented immigrants are most at risk of academic failure by all federal and state measures (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012). They are the most isolated student population (Harvard Educational Review, 2015). Beyond the narrative of failure that typifies educational research exists an uncertain story of hope voiced by some undocumented immigrants who experience a lower the standard of living than others in U.S. society, but one that is better than what they would experience in their native countries (Waters, 2015). Some undocumented immigrants affirmed that the risk of being killed in their countries of origin was much higher than their risk of being exploited in the United States, and they would prefer to be jailed here than be deported.

Undocumented immigrants in Immokalee, Florida affirmed to have witnessed many political gains. Those benefits included seeing some of their children qualify for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and eligibility to apply for a Social Security number. Despite their personal disqualification, these victories allow their children to experience a better integration into U.S. society and proceed toward a high school level of education. Most of those undocumented parents remain in one of the most vulnerable and marginalized groups. Although many children of undocumented immigrants have gained greater access to education in some states and have qualified to apply for the DACA, the immigration enforcers have carried out the largest wave of deportations in the span of the last 7 years (McCabe et al., 2010; Rosenblum & McCabe, 2014). These massive deportations have disproportionately targeted undocumented Latin Americans and led to family separations that have taken a toll on U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants.

Many undocumented immigrants associate their central issue with the current politics related to immigration. They believe that the situation has worsened with new players in the political arena. Many undocumented immigrants feel that the current U.S. administration is under pressures to deport as many individuals as they can. They believe that the priority should be on drug traffickers, gang members, and other criminals who violate the laws. Many participants say deporting families who are not criminals has an adverse impact on the lives of the children left behind. The participants of this study reported that they were very concerned about the possibility of being caught and deported

at any moment. Many confessed to having to make plans on a daily basis because on any given day they could go for something at the grocery store and get apprehended.

Only adults were interviewed in this study, and many expressed their gratitude for their children having legal papers shielding them from deportation. They understood that parents and accompanying children do not have the same protection, but at least they have something to hold until they can change their status for the better. Their children suffer from the same uncertainty their undocumented immigrant parents live with on a daily basis. Almost all of the participants (96%) reported living with a high level of anxiety and fear that was noticeable during the interviews. Some believed that their concerns were related to the media coverage of certain immigration raids. Many undocumented immigrants cannot distinguish between Immigrations and Customs Enforcement agents, state police officers, or county officers, which increases their fear of being taken away by any person of authority at any moment.

Undocumented immigrants tend to behave and act reverently at all times to mitigate the risk of being exposed to hostile behavior. They understand that they do not have the same liberties as their peers. They try to be as discreet as they can to avoid displaying behavior that could place them or their family at risk of deportation. While moving from one location to another, their freedom and happiness are limited based on their constant fear of something happening. The children of undocumented immigrants suffer from the same fear of deportation. They constantly worry that when their parents leave for work they may not return home. For the children of undocumented parents, they have to be on their best behavior at all times. For most of those children, it is safer

for them to follow all the rules and do what they are asked to do by their parents so they can avoid situations that could place them at risk of being noticed. Some participants explained that their children were being bullied by other students; afraid of being in the spotlight, the parents could not report the bullies. Children of undocumented parents have to protect themselves and their parents. Any reaction may affect their family member due to their lack of status. The self-imposed restriction those children endure may eventually have an adverse impact on their personal development and their progress.

Many participants voiced their concerns about the way politics have precluded immigration reform. Some noticed that because politicians never lived in the same environment as undocumented immigrants; they have no motivation to come up with any decent and comprehensive reform. However, it seems to be very troubling for children of the undocumented immigrants who experience the harsh apprehension and deportation of their family member. But despite setbacks, undocumented immigrants still held remnants of hope that immigration reform will mean greater opportunities for them and their families. This study found that undocumented immigrants dream of their full integration into the American society. Most of them believed that barriers they now face would be less challenging as soon as they allow access to legal documents. A change of their status will no longer make them feel different from any other person in the country. One of the biggest benefits the undocumented immigrants are referring to is upward mobility that includes the ability to attend college, gain legal employment, travel anywhere in the country without the fear they are currently enduring. Overall, children of the undocumented craved to have the same privileges as their peers. Additionally, children

of immigrant parents, in general, seem to be exposed to delicate developmental and behavioral problems (Androff et al., 2011; Fowler, 2015; Potochnick & Perreira, 2010).

## Limitations of the Study

This study was not about the impact of deportation on the entire undocumented immigrant population. Most research studies have limitations, and the present research study is not an exception. One of the first limitations was the sample size. The sample was diverse, but it consisted of only 18 undocumented immigrants. The majority of the participants were male adults; therefore, there was no emphasis on gender representation. Even after ensuring that the data collected will remain on strict confidentiality some of the participants still showed some level of anxiety that may have influenced their responses to the interview questions. Nevertheless, the information they provided was rich in data. While the small sample still allowed strength in the data concerning the impact of poverty in the undocumented communities, a larger number of participants from different locations would have strengthened further the reliability of the findings.

I conducted this research in Immokalee Florida. Immokalee is a rural agricultural city of 78% (18,751) Hispanics, 17.4% (4,175) Blacks, and 4.4% (1,053) Whites. The city openness to the undocumented immigrants was one of the reasons for its selection. In a different city approaching; the participants may have been more challenging therefore the result of this research may have been different. In other words, participants from different rural areas or agricultural settings and in a different state may have different perspectives than the participants of this study. The study did not disclose any benefits received by children of undocumented immigrants, nor report any earned income

sources. The findings of this research study are exclusive to Immokalee and will not apply to all settings of undocumented immigrant communities throughout the United States. Therefore, the sample results are not transferable to the overall population from which the sample derived. Since undocumented groups vary from one city to another, the findings may differ that those from other states. Another limitation was that this study might not apply to lawful residents in other settings without modification because the perspectives of the sample of participants selected may not reflect the opinions of those who live in different geographical areas. This study involved informative interviews, which could create a delimitation arising from the researcher's interpretations and experiences of the interviewee's words as suggested by Creswell (2013).

The last limitation was my personal biases on the impacts of poverty on the undocumented immigrants and the importance of an eventual intervention from policy makers. As someone from a developing country who lived poverty first hand, I value education, empowerment initiatives, and knowingly the benefits of education during early age, I had to alert myself of my biases when collecting, analyzing, and reporting the data. Likewise, many participants have expressed their easiness in talking to someone who speaks their language and probably has lived their experience. This sentimental viewpoint reminded me to be attentive to my personal biases that could have affected the result of my study. Overall, additional research will be necessary to gain a better grasp of the causes, nature, and consequences of the flow of immigrants to other American towns. I did minimize my bias by writing in a journal all the details of my experiences with the

participants and make sure to follow the research process. I was always alerted about my personal biases as exposed in this section.

## Recommendations

The researcher for this study recognized that the input of the participants was critical to the determination of the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants. The participants' contribution did play an essential role in the strength of this study. Based on the strengths and limitations of this study, I recommend more research on how to improve other research on the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants. First, I recommend a larger sample for in-depth narration and exploration of the phenomenon of poverty. One of the vigors of this study was the diversity of the participants. However, a larger sample from different locations would have improved the transferability.

Other research must include participants from various areas including large southern agricultural states. I would recommend that future research includes those who are unauthorized as well to determine if being unauthorized makes any difference compare to being undocumented. Even though the sample size was limited, I consider the diversity of the participants to be a significant strength. I would recommend different methods of collecting the data that include surveys and observations.

Besides the recommendations on improving the present research study, I would also suggest an empirical study on the consequences of not having the control on the number of undocumented immigrants in the country in a period when security is a concern. Some participants affirmed that such research has a positive outcome for their

communities because at least policy analysts will have an idea of their struggles. Other potential participants declined to participate stating that while it is an excellent initiative but the study may eventually be used to identify them.

In the past decade, many immigration reform attempts presented to policymakers have been unsuccessful. However, there is still an incontestable obligation to stop unauthorized immigration through common sense reform. While, all steam tends to wane down on the issue of what to do about the estimated of 11.3 millions of undocumented immigrants already living in the country (Pew Research Center, 2015). One of the recommendations is instead of pouring money into the developing world to fight poverty and pretend to contain illegal immigration; the United States needs to develop a new strategy toward a win-win outcome. The new plan would consist of allowing the undocumented immigrants to study, particularly the youths. With an American education, they will most likely enjoy helping develop their countries. Such development based- investment would decrease the need for people to leave their countries. Those who must stay for reasons that prove their eligibility to remain such as persecution or humanitarian basis would also be productive taxpayers to the American economy.

Legal status restrictions present considerable challenges to immigrant survival and mobility in the American society. More studies are needed to pinpoint the intergenerational health consequences of undocumented immigration in general. The disadvantage of being raised in families with one or more unauthorized residents suggest further evidence of a new policy dilemma for those concerned with improving access to health care and the well-being of this vulnerable population of children. In support of the

primary objective of this study, those findings suggest that children are much better off if both parents are lawful residents (Bean et al., 2015; Yoshikawa, 2011). They would have more food, better living accommodations, more health insurance, better health status, and eventually they will be healthier and wealthier (Institute for Research on Poverty, 2011). This study does not imply that undocumented parents and their children were sicker during this study. However, the fact that they are more likely to suffer greater poverty and poorer health status than their counterparts is more indicative of an increasing health risk that results exclusively from their lack of status.

Poorer child health can be the fractional consequence from social policies that set to divide citizens and noncitizens; the unseen effects of these policies leave citizen children wandering at risk, subject to restrictive policies that target their noncitizen parents (Schueths, 2012). In turn, child health risks rise because most undocumented immigrants must depend on their already limited personal financial resources and an already weak system of publicly funded services for healthcare (Androff et al., 2011). Findings such as those reported here indicate a health deficit rather than an advantage for the children of undocumented parents.

The results also emphasize the scarcity of current assimilation schemes that conceive upward mobility among other immigrant groups over time. In particular, legal status is fundamental to understanding diverse outcomes among immigrant groups. Even though many undocumented immigrants have been in the United States for a considerable time, their children do not share similar health benefits experienced by others from lawful households (Zuckerman, Waidmann, & Lawton, 2011). Under the fears of being

deported and other uncertainties, these families remain marginalized. And living on the verge of the American society, and consequently, their children suffer greater risks of poor health (Chaudry, 2011; Brabeck & Xu, 2010).

The trend in increasing income inequality, which will endlessly result in shrinking the middle class, is an issue of concern for a society that has long prided itself on a robust middle class. The role of immigration in contributing to increased income inequality needs to be discussed considering that immigration is a discretionary policy. The American system of legal immigration unnecessarily admits a disproportionate share of poorly skilled and educated competitors to the job market. And the failure to prevent unauthorized immigration fuels the ranks of low-wage workers. Both of these shortcomings of immigration policy need adjustment through sound immigration policy reform. The idea of reforming legal immigration to diminish the number and share of low-end workers is not new. As recounted above, many immigration reform recommendations have been introduced to policymakers in the past decade, to no avail. While the need to stop unauthorized immigration is still undeniable, all steam tends to wane down on the issue of what must happen to the estimated of millions of undocumented immigrants already living in the country.

Those who advocate for legalization argue that it is a matter of fairness to those who have been working in low-end jobs that are not wanted by American-born workers but are necessary for the American economy. If those advocates recognized not only that unauthorized immigration is spurring rising income inequality and that legal status will fairly ameliorate that trend, they might pause to reflect on their agenda. As the land of

opportunity, America expects everyone to earn their living; this is why it is important to offer the same option to everyone especially those children who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in this immigration uncertainty.

These findings, therefore, underscore the importance of arguments about the importance and cost-effectiveness of providing preventive and primary health care to the over 11million undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States, and to their children, the majority of whom are U.S. citizens. Addressing these needs carries particular significance for the future of a growing population, among whom these findings document an observable health deficit. This shortfall, which may also exist among other groups experiencing high rates of undocumented migration and uncertain legal status outcomes, will continue to contribute to existing health disparities and racial and ethnic inequality in the United States.

Without opportunities for legalization, the gap between children of the undocumented immigrants and their counterparts will continue to widen. Later generations educational deficiencies may derive just as much, if not more, from discrimination directed toward first generation undocumented migrants and toward their children, perhaps in schools than from that directed toward later-generation. Therefore, it may be the lack of initial societal membership and its legacy effects as much as ingrained prejudice against later-generation Americans that handicaps their education attainment. These findings indicate the crucial role that opportunities for legalization play in the success and failure of the undocumented immigrants' children. The disadvantages of

remaining undocumented are evident: legal status alone exerts its positive force on second and third generation education.

The inclusion of data about the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants' communities can help make decisions to ratify proper policies and programs to mitigate poverty. Those decisions will undoubtedly have positive impacts on the children of undocumented immigrants, 73% of whom were born in the United States. Undocumented status generates barriers that constrain the choices of both workers and employers. Including data from the undocumented immigrants can help remove the obstacles, which could potentially improve their lives and the overall efficiency of the labor market. For many in the undocumented population, they are forced to live in poverty. Others feel like they are marginalized and will be more vulnerable throughout their life. Therefore, new policies are required, and actions need to be taken to reduce ill-being and enhance well-being for the good of our society.

It is essential to carry out more research on the experiences of the undocumented immigrants so policymakers and government institutions would make better decisions to enact new or implement existing policies that will stop the trend of nurturing poverty inside of the American society. New in-depth, coordinated, and systematic community studies using proper research designs is essential to determine if there are other reasons for undocumented immigrants to choose this particular city of Florida. Some of the most hopeful approaches to improving the life of those children are by designing policies that include a developmental plan of actions and by targeting their undocumented status directly. Including lowering the risks of parent removal and control the consequences for

children during removal proceedings when it is the only solution. Improve families' access to public benefits; enhance early childhood learning opportunities; and address workplace conditions that reduce households' economic well-being (Bruton, Ketchen, & Ireland, 2013).

Current options in federal immigration policy include, most fundamentally, the choice between comprehensive reforms versus piecemeal or partial approaches. Comprehensive reforms under consideration include, among others, a pathway to legal status and possibly citizenship for most unauthorized immigrants, coupled with heightened immigration enforcement (Preston, 2013). As noted above certain aspects of the comprehensive approach are better from the standpoint of child development. Reform that extends beyond the restricted populations eligible for DACA and the DREAM Act would provide a path out of the shadows to parents beyond these age-limited provisions and those with low levels of formal education.

Many social sciences analysts argue that legalizing immigrants would provide momentum for their families to escape poverty (Anderson, 2014; Nowrasteh, 2012). It is for policymakers to switch place with the poor which entails spending time in poor communities to experience firsthand their realities, to find an appropriate meaning for poverty (Chambers, 2014). An acceptable definition needs to be tested and tasted by those in a position to make a decision about the phenomenon itself.

The downside of being raised in families with one or more undocumented residents suggest a new policy design for those concerned with improving access to benefits and the well-being of this vulnerable population of children (Kanaiaupuni,

2011). Immigration policy plays a role in the final determination of eligibility of the undocumented as much as income inequality does. Multiple conclusions can emerge from these findings for evaluating the future and the vulnerability of immigrant children. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) may help, but are far from enough for this, and may at times even misdirect effort. Direct actions towards real achievement may often not present the best priorities and paths. Since they narrow and standardize vision, leave out much of what matters, and do not allow for the diverse ways in which poor people can be enabled to enjoy a better life. Policies and actions need to be informed much less by top-down targets and much more by the diverse bottom-up realities of the powerless. In turn by consuming scarce public resources, an increase in the size of the low-income population may delay the ability of the nation to help lawfully qualified low incomes residents.

Although it is not the only reason, it may appear reasonable to affirm that undocumented immigrants who are employed typically in low-wage and unskilled labor are uneducated. In contrast, their hope is to set a better path for their children, who at the same time entail one of the highest costs imposed on the country, is education costs. Primary education seems to be the only investment on the undocumented immigrants' family that shows a high probability of producing a decent return to the country over the lifetime of the immigrant's children. Therefore, the question arises as to whether governments should allow access to free education to the children of the undocumented immigrants. Arguably, as long as undocumented immigrants are allowed to remain in the

United States denying them a higher education is likely to increase the net cost to the country rather than uplifting the country's human capital.

Because of so many complications, millions of people continue to live and work in countries without proper documentation. The presence of the undocumented immigrants is a situation that merits a well-thought solution contrary to what the immigration reform opponents have suggested. While policymakers fight and argue without a real solution to fix the system, undocumented immigrants go on living in secrecy and fear. A fear that handicap the development of children who are set to grow the pool of second class citizens within the American society (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2010). Science shows that exposure to circumstances that produce persistent fear and chronic anxiety can have lifelong consequences by disrupting the developing architecture of the brain.

By design, undocumented immigrants in the United States work in a variety of low-wage, high-risk occupations. This cheap labor boosts cooperate profits and reduce the commodity price for the public in general. The latter translates not only to direct savings in purchases for consumers but also contributes partly to control inflation. While this statement may seem to justify the presence of the undocumented immigrants it also points out the inequality that the American workers suffer from and the disproportionate burdens the presence of the undocumented immigrants will be for local and state government would they be qualified for government benefits.

The issue of undocumented immigration is particularly challenging because it impinges on some issues including the economy, human rights, employment, and

poverty. However, if the country aims to eliminate the increasing rates of poverty within industrialized nations, this issue needs to be addressed with more balance and less emotion. Current evidence shows that undocumented immigrants are the frequent victims of discrimination and exploitation in the workplace (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015). A potential improvement to the farm labor system would need to include legalization of undocumented farm workers currently in the United States. Their constant threat of deportation creates a precarious situation for their families. United States farmers need to know that they will have long-term access to a standard workforce.

The rationale of immigration policies is to maximize the benefits to a host nation. In another word, those policies need to be about doing what is in the best interest of the citizens of the host country. When viewed in that manner, the priority for every host country must be to focus on the legal immigrants and to have effective laws to favor their entry and their permanence within the host country. Reasonably speaking, undocumented immigrants, though not providing a direct benefit to the host country due to their unmonitored entries constitute a burden on the citizens of the host country. Therefore, though everyone might agree on the action to be taken to block the entry of undocumented immigrants, differences emerge when discussing what should be done vis-à-vis the 11.3 million already present in the country. It is at the end in the best interest of the citizens of the host country to encourage their governments to take action to eliminate poverty among the invisible residents in their country.

Many disagree that the legalization of the entire population will not solve the issue, before securing and stopping the influx of entries. However, money needs to be

allocated for such a large project while poverty will still increase. Some forms of regularization to encourage the undocumented immigrants to come out of the shadow are necessary. The alternative for the country to escort each and every undocumented immigrant out of the country and to finance the cost of such a policy is not reachable. Ultimately, whatever policy a nation chooses to adopt, there should be a joint consensus that the principles guiding government action should be to treat immigrants even the undocumented ones in accordance with the constitutional laws of the country. The assumption that high removal of undocumented immigrants would enhance public safety, national security, and the rule of law, is groundless. Considering there has been no report of any security endangerment and terrorist act committed by an undocumented immigrant living in the United States. Mass deportation, on the other hand, would carry severe human costs to families, children, communities, and tears at the common core of the nation (Migration Policy Institute, 2011).

Even if the 11.3 millions of undocumented immigrants never obtain legal immigration status, it is still in the best interests of the United States and the world to allow access to higher education to those who desire it. Many of the developing countries around the globe are suffering from extreme poverty. Instead of pouring money into international development, which often use to fuel corruptions, the United States should take the normative course of action to educate the undocumented immigrants and eventually return them as highly skilled professionals to assist in the development of their countries to promote sustainable economic development abroad. That strategy would

certainly help reduce the concerns of those who want to limit the number of people flocking to the United States for assistance.

## Implications for Social Change

This research study was conducted to produce potential social change by providing a voice to the undocumented immigrants. Social change is a deliberating process of creating and applying ideas, strategies, and actions to promote value, worth, dignity, and development of individuals, communities, organizations, institutions, cultures, and societies. Frequently, it requires the application of swift policy strategies. Undocumented immigrants in Immokalee Florida live in poverty, barred from government benefits, while being regularly exposed to diseases related farm labors and other adversities. Social change argues that to understand the roots of contemporary poverty, researchers must study the conflicts that have transformed government policies, public institutions, and labor markets within a shifting national and global economy. This study adheres to the definition of positive social change through its intellectually comprehensive and socially constructed findings. As the results section of this study holds the sound argument for the benefits of providing the opportunity to undocumented students to institutions of higher learning in the United States. Allowing undocumented immigrants to study in institutions of higher education would result in a superior trained workforce for those immigrants who succeed in remaining legally in the United States. Also, it would serve as a drive for the economic development of their home nations since they would return with degrees from American institutions of higher education. Although the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (1996)

and the Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996) are inherently biased against undocumented immigrant students; states do have the legal discretion to admit undocumented students to institutions of higher learning. That is an important consideration because as the 10th Amendment affirms, this policy process will take place in each state. Notwithstanding, as in the Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982)'s decision, Justice Brennan ruled for granting free public education to undocumented students. Considering that positive social change warrants the improvement of human and social conditions. The same logic needs to apply to higher education to allow undocumented immigrants to assimilate into the American society to enhance domestic economic development or to return home with the same mission in their countries of origin. This study helps support positive social change through the investigation of the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants in Immokalee Florida as a civic and professional contribution for the betterment of society.

A vast majority of children of undocumented parents are US-born citizens. Even so, they have no access to health service due to their parent's lack of status. The level of their limitations varies according to the policies of the state they reside. The aspects of their limitations include parents' limited awareness of outside resources; parents' reluctance to look for assistance because of fear of detection, apprehension, and deportation. Policies that promote comprehensive community-based services are essential in settings where children and their undocumented parents live. For example, school counselors can effectively engage the children and their undocumented parents

about available resources. Such effort needs to pair with culturally-sensitive services that involve both the children and the families.

Contrary to the intimidating conduct against the undocumented immigrants as reported by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (2014), it would have been a better strategy for social cohesion to promote employment for members of this community (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013). Social cohesion promotes and enforces integration (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2016). This type of promotion would involve appropriate economic policies that include social protection and employment support measures (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013). Particular attention would be paid to education, training, job search and placement and the promotion of entrepreneurship (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2014). Including decent and adequately remunerated employment is among the main approaches to promoting social cohesion (Economic Policy Institute, 2014; Institute for Research on Poverty, 2015).

The research problem investigated in this exploratory case study helped discover the experiences of undocumented immigrants and identified the impacts of poverty that significantly affect their lives and the lives of their children. Researchers have conducted limited research on this group because their silent voices have sheltered only in the shadow of the American society. The study followed a fundamental question that sought to delve into the fullness of the participants' ways of life as recommended by Corbin and Strauss (2014). It guided the thoughts, and opinions that help discover underlying themes to produce complex and nuanced narrative as suggested by Baker and Edwards (2012)

and Rossman and Rallis (2011). It aspired to draw out a clear understanding of the impact of the phenomenon of poverty within the undocumented immigrants. The qualitative exploratory case study approach helped emphasize the participants' personal experiences, better understand their thoughts, feelings, perceptions, and eventually, their worldviews (Gray, 2013; Smith, 2015). This research anticipated the introduction of literature about the impact of poverty on the undocumented immigrants.

## Conclusions

Undocumented immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee, Florida live a more challenging life compare to their counterparts. They live below the poverty levels of income households published by the official poverty threshold. This study contributes to the field of literature and provides insight into the experiences of undocumented immigrants for policy makers to develop a greater understanding of the service needs and challenges. Many analysts argue that this population represents a burden for the United States. Though, the arrival of undocumented immigrants in agriculture, in rural America is not a new phenomenon, except in Immokalee, this event has increased noticeably due to the strategic policies applied to help the farmers during harvesting seasons. The most significant question remains that the extent to which the dispersal of undocumented immigrants to rural communities has improved their circumstances. More research is needed to investigate this later issue that would include the implication for a broader nature of low-wage work.

It is essential to determine if the substantial concentration of undocumented immigrants in the labor sector has negative spillover for other workers who work

alongside them. Other research must examine how the density of undocumented immigrants in workplaces, industries, and labor markets may indirectly undermine work conditions for other laborers. Additional immigration research would benefit from a greater understanding of how the consequences of undocumented migration vary cross-nationally and how its broader impacts may base on specific characteristics of migrants, economic, and social conditions in origin and destination countries, and regulatory environments controlling the employment of undocumented immigrants. Many studies have found that welcoming undocumented immigrants has a favorable or at least a neutral effect on a community's economy and wages (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan, & Omata, 2014; Foged & Peri, 2013). Notably, Foged and Peri (2013) showed how an influx of lower-wage immigrants into a community tends to raise wages for everyone else. Surprisingly to the common beliefs, low-skilled foreign workers and low-skilled domestic workers often complement each other instead of displacing each other (Herreros & Criado, 2009; Legrain, 2014). If the nation continues to underinvest in education, and allows poverty to continue to fester then eventually there will be a bigger issue to solve than poverty.

Unbeknownst to most Americans, the strange reality is being in the United States alone is a dream come true for many immigrants either legal or undocumented. For many people around the world, America is the most attractive country for the poor, the underserved, the humble, the persecuted, the oppressed, the opportunists, and even the wealthy. Around the world, America is nothing less than the land of hope and opportunity, and the land of immigrants. Those characteristics make it irresistible to the

dreamers. And as such, there will never be a way to stop people from coming to the United States even if they have to die trying.

In 2011 for example, the Census Bureau of United States found 46 million Americans live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). If 46 million of Americans who have all the benefits to their dispositions are living in poverty, what happen to 11.3 million of undocumented immigrants who cannot receive social benefits, legal employment or registered income, and eligibility for higher education opportunities, and poverty alleviation programs? Based on this hypothesis it is concluded that 57.2 million people living in America live in poverty which would make poverty in the United States higher than it was in the 20th century. Poverty status is the comparison of the annual family income to a set of dollar values called poverty threshold that vary by the size, the number of children, and the age of the householders (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). If a family's annual income before-tax, is less than the dollar value of their threshold, then that family, including all its members are considered to be living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). As for those who are not living with family, the government compares their individual's income to the official threshold to determine their poverty status. Thus the government discretion can be identified as a blind policy.

# References

Abeler, J., Falk, A., Goette, L., & Huffman, D. (2011). Reference points and effort provision. *The American Economic Review*, *101*(2), 470-492. doi: 10.1257/aer.101.2.470

Abramsky, S. (2013). *The American way of poverty: How the other half still lives*. New York, NY: Nation Books.

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Danvers, MA: Crown Business.

Adler, P. S., & Kwon, S. W. (2002). Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of management review*, *27*(1), 17-40. doi: 10.5465/AMR.2002.5922314

Aguirre, A. J. (1997). *Nativism, Mexican immigrant workers, and Proposition 187 in California*. *California's Social Problems*. New York, NY: Longman.

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ahn, J. (2012). Teenagers' experiences with social network sites: Relationships to bridging and bonding social capital. *The Information Society*, *28*(2), 99-109. doi:10.1080/01972243.2011.649394

Akerlof, G. A., & Kranton, R. (2010). Identity economics. *The Economists' Voice*, *7*(2). doi: 10.2202/1553-3832.1762,

Aksoy, D. (2012). The flag or the pocketbook: To what are immigrants a threat? *International migration*, *50*(6), 28-41. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00685.x

Aldrich, D. P. (2012). *Building resilience: Social capital in post-disaster recovery*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Aleksynska, M. (2011) *Relative deprivation, relative satisfaction, and attitudes towards immigrants: Evidence from Ukraine*. Economic Systems. doi: 10.1016/j.ecosys.2010.06.002

Alkire, S., & Foster, J. (2011). Understandings and misunderstandings of multidimensional poverty measurement. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, *9*(2), 289-314. doi: 10.1007/s10888-011-9181-4

Alkire, S., & Santos, M. E. (2010). *Acute multidimensional poverty: A new index for developing countries*. New York, NY: United Nations Development Program Human Development Report Office Background Paper. doi:10.2139/ssrn.1815243

Alkire, S., & Sumner, A. (2013). Multidimensional poverty and the post-2015 MDGs. *Development*, *56*(1), 46-51. doi: 10.1057/dev.2013.6

Alkire, S., Conconi, A., & Roche, J. M. (2012). *Multidimensional poverty index 2012: Brief methodological note and results*. Oxford, England: University of oxford, Department of International Development, oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UAMk9h

Alkon, A. H. (2012). *Black, white, and green: Farmers markets, race, and the green economy* (Vol.13). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Alkon, A. H. (2014). Food justice and the challenge to neoliberalism. *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, *14*(2), 27-40. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2014.14.2.27

Allman, D. (2013). The sociology of social inclusion. *Sage Open*, *3*(1), 2158244012471957. doi**:** 10.1177/2158244012471957

Almeida, L. M., Caldas, J., Ayres-de-Campos, D., Salcedo-Barrientos, D., & Dias, S.

(2013). Maternal healthcare in migrants: A systematic review. *Maternal and child health journal, 17*(8), 1346-1354. doi: 10.1007/s10995-012-1149-x

American Enterprise Institute. (2015). *Opportunity, responsibility, and security: A consensus plan for reducing poverty and restoring the American dream.* Washington, DC:AEI. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/BkRrTd

American Psychological Association. (2012). Presidential task force on educational disparities. *Ethnic and racial disparities in education: Psychology's contributions to understanding and reducing disparities*. Washington, DC: APA. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/np6j4k

Ampatzidis, Y. G., Whiting, M. D., Scharf, P. A., & Zhang, Q. (2012). Development and evaluation of a novel system for monitoring harvest labor efficiency. *Computers and Electronics in Agriculture*, *88*, 85-94. doi: 10.1016/j.compag.2012.06.009

Amsden, A. H. (2010). Say's law, poverty persistence, and employment neglect. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, *11*(1), 57-66. doi: 10.1080/19452820903481434

Anand, P., & Lea, S. (2011). The psychology and behavioral economics of poverty. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, *32*(2), 284-293. doi: 10.1016/j.joep.2010.11.004

Anderson, J. E. (2014). *Public policymaking*. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning.

Andrews, F. M., & Withey, S. B. (2012). *Social indicators of well-being: Americans' perceptions of life quality*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Andrews, M. (2010). Good government means different things in different countries. *Governance*, *23*(1), 7-35. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0491.2009.01465.x

Androff, D. K., Ayon, C., Becerra, D., & Gurrola, M. (2011). U.S. immigration policy and immigrant children's well-being: The impact of policy shifts. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *38*, 77. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/C0YwJb

Ansari, S., Munir, K., & Gregg, T. (2012). Impact at the bottom of the pyramid: The role of social capital in capability development and community empowerment. *Journal of Management Studies*, *49*(4), 813-842. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6486.2012.01042.x

Anyon, J. (2014). *Radical possibilities: Public policy, urban education, and a new social movement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Appadurai, A. (2004). The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. In V. Rao and M. Walton (Eds.), *Cultural and public action*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

Aranda, E., & Vaquera, E. (2015). Racism, the immigration enforcement regime, and the implications for racial inequality in the lives of undocumented young adults. *Sociology of race and ethnicity*, *1*(1), 88-104. doi: 10.1177/2332649214551097

Arbona, C., Olvera, N., Rodriguez, N., Hagan, J., Linares, A., & Wiesner, M. (2010). Acculturative stress among documented and undocumented Latino immigrants in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*(3), 362-384. doi: 10.1177/0739986310373210

Ariani, D. W. (2012). The relationship between social capital, organizational citizenship behaviors, and individual performance: An empirical study from banking industry in Indonesia. *Journal of Management Research, 4*(2), 226-241. doi: 10.5296/jmr.v4i2.1483

Arias, F. N. (2013). U.S. citizen children of deportees: Picking up the broken pieces of a

Bulimic Society. In D.C. Brotherton, D. L. Stageman, & S. P. Leyro (Eds.), *Outside justice* (pp. 109-131). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-1-4614-6648-2_6

Arora, S., & Romijn, H. (2012). The empty rhetoric of poverty reduction at the base of the pyramid. *Organization, 19*(4), 481-505. doi: 10.1177/1350508411414294

Asch, C. M. (2010). The inadvertent bigotry of inappropriate expectations. *Education Week*, *29*(35), 35. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/7vi9jv

Asen, R. (2012). *Visions of poverty: Welfare policy and political imagination*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs (AFOP). (2007). *Children in the fields: An American problem.* Washington, DC: AFOP.

Austin, M. J., & Feit, M. D. (2013). *Changing welfare services: Case studies of local welfare reform programs*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Azariadis, C. (2006). The theory of poverty traps. What have we learned? In S. Bowles, S. Durlauf, & K. Hoff (Eds.), Poverty traps. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bailey, M. J., & Danziger, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Legacies of the war on poverty*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Baker, S. E., Edwards, R., & Doidge, M. (2012). *How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research*. Cary, NC: National Centre for Research Methods. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/lRI8sI

Baker, W. E. (1990). Market networks and corporate behavior. *American journal of*

*sociology*, 96(3), 589-625. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/pstHO4

Bane, M. J., & Ellwood, D. T. (1996). *Welfare realities: From rhetoric to reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Banerjee, A., Banerjee, A. V., &Duflo, E. (2011). *Poor economics: A radical rethinking of the way to fight global poverty*. New York, NY: Public Affairs Books.

Barnard, H., & Turner, C. (2011). Poverty and ethnicity: A review of evidence. York, United Kingdom: *Joseph Rowntree Foundation*.

Barratt, M. J., Ferris, J. A., & Lenton, S. (2015). Hidden populations, online purposive sampling, and external validity taking off the blindfold. *Field Methods*, *27*(1), 3-21. doi: 10.1177/1525822X14526838

Barrett, C., Garg, T., & McBride, L. (2016). Well-being dynamics and poverty traps. *Annual Review of Resource Economics*, *8*(1). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/huIvW0

Barrientos, A. (2011). Social protection and poverty. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 20*(3), 240-249. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00783.x

Barrientos, A. (2012). Social transfers and growth: What do we know? What do we need to find out? *World Development*, *40*(1), 11-20. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2011.05.012

Bartik, T. J. (1991). The effects of property taxes and other local public policies on the intra metropolitan pattern of business location. In H. W. Herzok, Jr. & A. M. Schlottmann (Eds.), *Industry Location and Public Policy* (pp 57-80). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee.

Bartik, T. J. (1996). The distributional effects of local labor demand and industrial mix: Estimates using individual panel data. *Journal of Urban Economics, 40*(2), 150-

178. doi:10.1006/juec.1996.0027

Bateman, T. S., & Snell, S. (2011). *Management: Leading & collaborating in a competitive world* (9th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill/Irwin

Baughman, E. E. (2013). *Black Americans: A psychological analysis*. Salt Lake City, UT: Academic Press.

Bauman, Z. (2011). *Collateral damage: Social inequalities in a global age*. Malden, MA: Polity Publishing.

Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (Eds.). (2013). *Qualitative data analysis with Nvivo*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bebbington, A. J., Mitlin, D., Mogaladi, J., Scurrah, M., & Bielich, C. (2010). Decentring poverty, reworking government: Social movements and states in the government of poverty. *The Journal Of Development Studies*, *46*(7), 1304-1326. doi: 10.1080/00220388.2010.487094

Bendassolli, P. F. (2013). Theory building in qualitative research: Reconsidering the problem of induction. In *Forum Qualitative: Qualitative Social Research, 14*(1). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/zBHonu

Béné, C., Newsham, A., Davies, M., Ulrichs, M., & Godfrey□Wood, R. (2014). Review article: resilience, poverty and development. *Journal of International Development*, *26*(5), 598-623. doi: 10.1002/jid.2992

Benneworth, P. (2013). University engagement with socially excluded communities. In P. Benneworth (Ed.) *University engagement with socially excluded communities* (pp. 3-31). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-4875-0_1

Bentley, D. (2016), Justice across boundaries: Whose obligations? In O. O'Neill (Eds.), *Justice at a distance: Extending freedom globally*. *International Affairs, 92*, 999–1000. doi:10.1111/1468-2346.12673

Berger, R. (2013). *Immigrant women tell their stories*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bergeron, C. (2013). *Going to the back of the line*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/mHO9FG

Berliner, D., Greenleaf, A. R., Lake, M., Levi, M., & Noveck, J. (2015). Governing global supply chains: What we know (and don't) about improving labor rights and working conditions. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *11*, 193-209. doi: 10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-120814-121322

Berlinger, J. (2012). *A new poverty calculation yields some surprising results. Business Insider.* Retrieved from https://goo.gl/o2yWH8

Bernard, H. R. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

Bernard, H. R., & Bernard, H. R. (2012). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bernard, T., Dercon, S., Orkin, K., & Taffesse, A.S. (2014). *The future in mind: Aspirations and forward-looking behavior in rural Ethiopia.* London, United Kingdom: Centre for Economic Policy Research.

Berry, J. W. (2011). Integration and multiculturalism: Ways towards social solidarity. *Papers on Social Representations*, *20*(2), 1-20. Retrieved from http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/

Betts, A., Bloom, L., Kaplan, J., & Omata, N. (2014). *Refugee economies: Rethinking popular assumptions*. Oxford, United Kingdom: University of Oxford.

Birkland, T. A. (2014). *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Bitektine, A. (2011). Toward a theory of social judgments of organizations: The case of legitimacy, reputation, and status. *Academy of Management Review*, *36*(1), 151-179. doi: 10.5465/amr.2009.0382

Bitler, M., & Hoynes, H. W. (2010). *The state of the safety net in the post-welfare reform era* (No. w16504). Washington, DC: National Bureau of Economic Research. doi: 10.3386/w16504

Bjørnskov, C., Dreher, A., Fischer, J. A., Schnellenbach, J., & Gehring, K. (2013). Inequality and happiness: When perceived social mobility and economic reality do not match. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *91*, 75-92. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/NaHTFf

Blaikie, P., Cannon, T., Davis, I., & Wisner, B. (2014). *At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Blewett, L. A., Johnson, P. J., & Mach, A. L. (2010). Immigrant children's access to health care: Differences by global region of birth. *Journal of Health care for the Poor and Underserved*, *21*(2), 13. doi: 10.1353/hpu.0.0315

Blum, R. W., Astone, N. M., Decker, M. R., & Mouli, V. C. (2014). A conceptual framework for early adolescence: A platform for research. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health, 26*(3), 321-331. doi:10.1515/ijamh-2013-0327

Bodin, Ö., & Prell, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Social networks and natural resource management: Uncovering the social fabric of environmental governance*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bodley, J. H. (2012). *Anthropology and contemporary human problems*. Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

Borgatti, S. P., Mehra, A., Brass, D. J., & Labianca, G. (2009).Network analysis in the social sciences. *Science*, *323*(5916), 892-895. doi: 10.1126/science.1165821

Borjas, G. J. (2001). *Heaven's door: Immigration policy and the American economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Borjas, G. J. (2011). Poverty and program participation among immigrant children. *The Future of Children*, *21*(1), 247-266. doi: 10.1353/foc.2011.0006

Borjas, G. J. (2014). *Immigration economics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bornstein, M. H., & Bradley, R. H. (Eds.). (2014). *Socioeconomic status, parenting, and child development*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Borstelmann, T. (2011). *The 1970s: A new global history from civil rights to economic inequality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bossert, W., Chakravarty, S. R., & D'Ambrosio, C. (2013). Multidimensional poverty and material deprivation with discrete data. *Review of Income and Wealth*, *59*(1), 29-43. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4991.2012.00519.x

Boswell, J. (2013). *Community and the economy: The theory of public co-operation*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bounfour, A., & Edvinsson, L. (2012). *Intellectual capital for communities*. New York,

NY: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital (1986). In I. Szeman & T. Kaposy (Ed.), *Cultural theory: An anthology* (pp. 81-93). Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons.

Boushey, G., & Luedtke, A. (2011). Immigrants across the US federal laboratory explaining state-level innovation in immigration policy. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, *11*(4), 390-414. doi: 10.1177/1532440011419286

Bowles, S. (2012). *The new economics of inequality and redistribution*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2011). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Bowles, S., & Polania-Reyes, S. (2012). Economic incentives and social preferences: substitutes or complements? *Journal of Economic Literature*, *50*(2), 368-425. doi: 10.1257/jel.50.2.368

Bowles, S., Gintis, H., & Groves, M. O. (Eds.). (2009). *Unequal chances: Family background and economic success*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bowles, S., Loury, G. C., & Sethi, R. (2014). Group inequality. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *12*(1), 129-152. doi: 10.1111/jeea.12037

Bowman, A. O. M., & Kearney, R. C. (2015). *State and local government*. Ontario, Canada: Nelson Education.

Boyden, J. (2013). We are not going to suffer like this in the mud: Educational

aspirations, social mobility and independent child migration among populations living in poverty. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *43*(5), 580-600. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2013.821317

Bradley, S. W., McMullen, J. S., Artz, K., &Simiyu, E. M. (2012). Capital is not enough: Innovation in developing economies. *Journal of Management Studies*, *49*(4), 684-717. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6486.2012.01043.x

Brake, M. (2013). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brandolini, A., Magri, S., & Smeeding, T. M. (2010). Asset□based measurement of poverty. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *29*(2), 267-284. doi: 10.1002/pam.20491

Brandtzaeg, P. B., Heim, J., &Kaare, B. H. (2010). Bridging and bonding in social network sites-investigating family-based capital. *International Journal of Web Based Communities*, *6*(3), 231-253. doi: 10.1504/IJWBC.2010.03375

Bratton, J., & Gold, J. (2012). *Human resource management: Theory and practice*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bredenoord, J., van Lindert, P., & Smets, P. (2010). Equal access to shelter: Coping with the urban crisis by supporting self-help housing. *Habitat International*, *34*(3), 274-277. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2009.12.001

Brown, A., & Lopez, M. H. (2013). *Mapping the Latino population, by state, county and city*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UEq1xo

Brown, D. L., & Hirschl, T. A. (1995). Household Poverty in Rural and Metropolitan□Core

Areas of the United States1. *Rural Sociology*, *60*(1), 44-66. doi: 10.1111/j.1549-0831.1995.tb00562.x

Brown, D. R., & Harvey, D. (2011). *An experiential approach to organization development*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bruton, C. M. (2013). *The pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade experiences of postsecondary students who identified as economically disadvantaged at rural schools*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/zuQYPg

Bruton, G. D., Ketchen, D. J., & Ireland, R. D. (2013). Entrepreneurship as a solution to poverty. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *28*(6), 683-689. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusvent.2013.05.002

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. New York, NY: Oxford university press.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2015). *Business research methods*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, USA.

Budhwar, P. S., & Debrah, Y. A. (Eds.). (2013). *Human resource management in developing countries*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Bukenya, B., Hickey, S., & King, S. (2012). *Understanding the role of context in shaping social accountability interventions: Towards an evidence-based approach*. Manchester, United Kingdom: Institute for Development Policy and Management.

Bullock, H. E. (2013). *Women and poverty: Psychology, public policy, and social justice*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Bullock, H. E. (2014).Social barriers to poverty reduction. *Barriers to and Opportunities for Poverty Reduction*, 135. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/zr5tzs

Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J., & Piachaud, D. (1999). Social exclusion in Britain 1991—1995. *Social Policy & Administration*, *33*(3), 227-44. doi:10.1111/1467-9515.00148

Bureau of Economic and Business Research. (2014). *Strength in diversity: The economic and political power of immigrants, Latinos, and Asians*. Gainesville, FL: BEBR. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/aq1Ndr

Burke, S., & Pentony, S. (2011). *Eliminating health inequalities: A matter of life and death.* Madison, WI: Total Administrative Services Corporation Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10147/301846

Burkhauser, R. V. (2001). What policymakers need to know about poverty dynamics? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *20*(4), 757-759. doi:10.1002/pam.1027

Burt, R. S. (2009). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university press.

Burtless, G., & Gordon, T. (2011). The federal stimulus programs and their effects. In D. B.Grusky, B. Western, & C. Wimer (Eds.), *The Great Recession* (pp. 249–293). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cairney, P. (2011). *Understanding public policy: Theories and issues*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cairney, P. (2012). Complexity theory in political science and public policy. *Political Studies Review*, *10*(3), 346-358. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-9302.2012.00270.x

Calderón, M., Slavin, R., & Sánchez, M. (2011). Effective instruction for English learners. *The Future of Children*, *21*(1), 103-127. doi: 10.1353/foc.2011.0007

Camarota, S. A. (2007). *Immigrants in the United States, 2007: A profile of America's*

*foreign-born population*. Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.

Camfield, L., Masae, A., McGregor, J. A., & Promphaking, B. (2013). Cultures of aspiration and poverty? Aspirational inequalities in Northeast and Southern Thailand. *Social indicators research, 114*(3), 1049-1072. doi: 10.1007/s11205-012-0189-3

Campbell, A. L. (2012). Policy makes mass politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *15*, 333-351. doi: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-012610-135202

Cancian, M., and Danziger, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Changing Poverty, Changing Policies*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cao, Q., Simsek, Z., & Jansen, J. J. (2012).CEO social capital and entrepreneurial orientation of the firm bonding and bridging effects. *Journal of Management*, 0149206312469666. doi: 10.1177/0149206312469666

Capps, R., & Fix, M. (2005). *Undocumented immigrants: Myths and reality*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Carbado, D. W., & Harris, C. I. (2011). Undocumented criminal procedure. *UCLA Law Review*, 58, 1543. Retrieved from https://ssrn.com/abstract=1914666

Carmeli, A., Ben-Hador, B., Waldman, D. A., & Rupp, D. E. (2009). How leaders cultivate social capital and nurture employee vigor: Implications for job performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*(6), 1553. doi: 10.1037/a0016429

Carmeli, A., Tishler, A., & Edmondson, A. C. (2012). CEO relational leadership and strategic decision quality in top management teams: The role of team trust and learning from failure. *Strategic Organization, 10*(1), 31-54. doi: 10.1177/1476127011434797

Carmona-Lavado, A., Cuevas-Rodriguez, G., & Cabello-Medina, C. (2010).Social and organizational capital: Building the context for innovation. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *39*(4), 681-690. doi: 10.1016/j.indmarman.2009.09.003

Carr, S. C. (2013). Community. In S.C. Carr (Ed.), *Anti-Poverty Psychology* (pp. 67-86). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-1-4614-6303-0_4

Carr, S. C., Thompson, M., Dalal, A. K., de Guzman, J. M., Gloss, A., Munns, L., & Steadman, A. (2014). Psychology and poverty reduction: A global special issue. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation*, *3*(4), 215. doi: 10.1037/ipp0000021

Carter-Wall, C., & Whitfield, G. (2012). *The role of aspirations, attitudes and behavior in closing the educational attainment gap*. New York, NY: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Castañeda, H., Holmes, S. M., Madrigal, D. S., Young, M. E. D., Beyeler, N., & Quesada, J. (2015). Immigration as a social determinant of health. *Annual review of public health*, *36*, 375-392. doi: 10.1146/annurev-publhealth-032013-182419

Castells, M. (2011). *The power of identity: The information age: Economy, society, and culture* (Vol. 2). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Castells, M. (2011). *The rise of the network society: The information age: Economy, society, and culture* (Vol. 1). Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons.

Cavalcante, M. (2009). Income-based estimates vs. consumption-based estimates of poverty: Evidence from rural Tamil Nadu after liberalization. In E. Basile & I. Mukhopadhyay (Ed.). *The Changing Identity of Rural India: A Socio-Historical*

*Analysis,* (pp.113-150). Haryana, India: Anthem Press India.

Censky, A. (2011). *Poverty rate rises in America*. New York, NY: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/COa5P

Center for American Progress. (2015). *The economic impacts of removing unauthorized immigrant workers*. Washington, DC: CAP. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/bWRl8P

Center for Law and Social Policy. (2012). *Immigration and immigrant families*. Washington, DC: CLSP. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/kVZBMw

Center for Law and Social Policy. (2014). *Strong reduction in poverty, improvement in health insurance, but more to do for next generation's families*. Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/YjodXE

Center for Migration Studies. (2012). *The promotion of understanding between immigrants and receiving communities*. Washington, DC: Center for Migration Studies. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/OdBuJd

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2013). *CDC health information for international travel 2014: The yellow book*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Chaddha, A., & Wilson, W. J. (2011). Way down in the hole: Systemic urban inequality and the wire. *Critical Inquiry, 38*(1), 164-188. doi: 10.1086/661647

Chakravarti, D. (2006). Voices unheard: The psychology of consumption in poverty and development. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *16*(4), 363-376. doi: 10.1207/s15327663jcp1604_8

Chambers, R. (2006). What is poverty? Who asks? Who answers? *International Poverty*

*Centre, Poverty in Focus*, 3-4. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/86tNx3

Chambers, R. (2014). *Rural development: Putting the last first.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Chand, D. E., & Schreckhise, W. D. (2015). Secure communities and community values: Local context and discretionary immigration law enforcement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(10), 1621-1643. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.986441

Chandy, L. & Kharas, H. (2014). *What do new price data mean for the goal of ending extreme poverty?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Chandy, L., & Gertz, G. (2011). *Poverty in numbers: The changing state of global poverty from 2005 to 2015*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Chantarat, S., & Barrett, C. B. (2012). Social network capital, economic mobility and poverty traps. *The Journal of Economic Inequality, 10*(3), 299-342. doi: 10.1007/s10888-011-9164-5

Chapin III, F. S., Folke, C., & Kofinas, G. P. (2009). A framework for understanding change. In C. Folke, G. P. Kofinas, & F. S. Chapin (Eds.), *Principles of ecosystem stewardship* (pp. 3-28). New York, NY: Springer Publishing. doi: 10.1007/978-0-387-73033-2_1

Chapman, J., & Bernstein, J. (2003). Immigration and poverty: How are they linked? *Monthly Lab. Rev.*, *126*, 10. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/FqZymx

Chauvin, S., & Garcés□Mascareñas, B. (2012). Beyond informal citizenship: The new moral economy of migrant illegality. *International Political Sociology, 6*(3), 241-259. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-5687.2012.00162.x

Chavez, L. (2012). *Shadowed lives: Undocumented immigrants in American society*. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.

Chavez, L. (2013). *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens, and the nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chen, H. T. (2014). *Practical program evaluation: Theory-driven evaluation and the integrated evaluation perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Chen, Z., Zhang, X., Li, Y., & Xi, N. (2012). Analysis of the factors impacting on rural poverty in the view of transaction cost-based on logistic regression model. *Journal of Convergence Information Technology*, *7*(14). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/cGsQNe

Chettiparamb, A. (2015). Articulating public interest through complexity theory. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, doi: 10.1177/0263774X15610580

Chien, S., & Ravallion, M. (2013). More relatively□poor people in a less absolutely□poor world. *Review of Income and Wealth*, *59*(1), 1-28. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4991.2012.00520.x

Choi, S. M., Kim, Y., Sung, Y., &Sohn, D. (2011). Bridging or bonding? A cross-cultural study of social relationships in social networking sites. *Information, Communication & Society*, *14*(1), 107-129. doi: 10.1080/13691181003792624

Christiaensen, L., Demery, L., & Kuhl, J. (2011). The (evolving) role of agriculture in poverty reduction — an empirical perspective. *Journal of Development Economics*, *96*(2), 239-254. doi: 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2010.10.006

Chung, Y., Isaacs, J. B., Smeeding, T. M., & Thornton, K. A. (2012). *Wisconsin poverty report: How the safety net protected families from poverty in 2010*. Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/10GzCX

Clark, J. R., Lawson, R., Nowrasteh, A., Powell, B., & Murphy, R. (2015). Does immigration impact institutions? *Public Choice*, *163*(3-4), 321-335. Washington DC: Cato Institute. Retrieved from www.cato.org/workingpapers.

Clauser, B. E., Margolis, M. J., Holtman, M. C., Katsufrakis, P. J., & Hawkins, R. E. (2012). Validity considerations in the assessment of professionalism. *Advances in Health Sciences Education, 17*(2), 165-181. doi: 10.1007/s10459-010-9219-6

Cochran, C., Mayer, L., Carr, T., Cayer, N., & McKenzie, M. (2015). *American public policy: An introduction*. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.

Coffee Jr, J. C. (2011). Political economy of Dodd-Frank: Why financial reform tends to be frustrated and systemic risk perpetuated. *Cornell L. Rev.*, *97*, 1019. Retrieved from http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/clr/vol97/iss5/2

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research methods in education* (7 Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Colby, S. L., & Ortman, J. M. (2015). *Projections of the size and composition of the U.S. population: 2014 to 2060*. Washington, DC: US Census Bureau. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/JE9qAS

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American journal of sociology*, S95-S120. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780243

Coleman, J. S. (1990). Foundations of social theory. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of

Harvard University Press.

Coleman-Jensen, A. J. (2011). Working for peanuts: Nonstandard work and food insecurity across household structure. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues, 32*(1), 84-97. doi: 10.1007/s10834-010-9190-7

Coleman-Jensen, A., Gregory, C., & Singh, A. (2014). *Household food security in the United States in 2013*. Washington DC: USDA-ERS Economic Research Report, (173). doi:10.2139/ssrn.2504067

Coleman-Jensen, A., Nord, M., Andrews, M., & Carlson, S. (2011). *Statistical supplement to household food security in the United States in 2010*. Washington DC: USDA-ERS Economic Research Report, (125). Retrieved from http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/

Coley, R. J., & Baker, B. (2013). *Poverty and education: Finding the way forward*. Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/xYX8Nd

Coll, C. G. E., & Marks, A. K. E. (2012). *The immigrant paradox in children and adolescents: Is becoming American a developmental risk?* Washington, DC: APA. doi: 10.1037/13094-000

Collins, C. S. (2011). *Higher education and global poverty: University partnerships and the World Bank in developing countries*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Collins, M. (2014). *Sport and social exclusion*. New York, NY: Routledge Publications.

Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform. (2012). Economic costs of legal and illegal immigration. Denver, CO: CAIR. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ukpnpz

Congressional Budget Office. (2015*). The distribution of household income and federal*

*taxes, 2011*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from www.cbo.gov/publication/49440

Congressional Budget Office. (2015). *The distribution of household income and federal taxes, 2014*.Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://www.cbo.gov/publication/51361.

Congressional Research Service. (2015). *Poverty in the United States in 2014: In brief*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ffzd7N

Contreras, F. (2009). Sin papeles y rompiendo barreras: Latino students and the challenges of persisting in college. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(4), 610-632. doi: 10.17763/haer.79.4.02671846902gl33w

Conway, C. M. (Ed.). (2014). *The oxford handbook of qualitative research in American music education*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Conway, C. M. (Ed.). (2014). *The oxford handbook of qualitative research in American music education*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Corak, M. (2012). Inequality from generation to generation: The United States in comparison. In R. S. Rycroft (Ed.), *The economics of inequality, poverty, and discrimination in the 21st century* (Vol. 2). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Retrieved from https://goo.gl/9UBmh9

Corak, M. (2013). The economics of inequality, poverty, and discrimination in the 21st century. In R. S. Rycroft (Ed.)*, Inequality from Generation to Generation: The United States in Comparison.* Westport, CT: Praeger, ABC-CLIO.

Corak, M., Curtis, L., & Phipps, S. (2011). Economic mobility, family background, and the well-being of children in the United States and Canada. In T. Smeeding, R. Erikson, & M. Jantti (Eds.), *Persistence, privilege, and parenting: The comparative study of intergenerational mobility* (pp. 22). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Corbett, T. J. (2014). Legacies of the war on poverty. *Journal of Children and Poverty*, *20*(1), 66-67. doi: 10.1080/10796126.2014.889665

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cordner, G. (2014). Community policing. In M. D. Reisig & R. J. Kane (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of police and policing* (pp. 148-171). doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199843886.013.012

Cordner, G. W. (2016). *Police administration*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Corner, M. (2010). A global sharing of sovereignty. In M. Corner (Ed.), *The binding of nations* (pp. 173-194). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230274952_9

Cortes, K. E. (2004). Are refugees different from economic immigrants? Some empirical evidence on the heterogeneity of immigrant groups in the United States. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *86*(2), 465-480. doi: 10.1162/003465304323031058

Cosby, A., Aanstoos, K., Matta, M., Porter, J., & James, W. (2013). Public support for Hispanic deportation in the United States: The effects of ethnic prejudice and perceptions of economic competition in a period of economic distress. *Journal of Population Research*, *30*(1), 87-96. doi:10.1007/s12546-012-9102-9

Cosman, M. P. (2005). Illegal aliens and American medicine. *Journal of American Physicians and Surgeons, 10*(1), 6-10. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/lPpOcI

Costa, D., Cooper, D., & Shierholz, H. (2014). *Facts about immigration and the US economy.* Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from http://www.epi.org/

Cotterrell, R. (2013). *Law, culture and society: Legal ideas in the mirror of social theory*. Aldershot, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Cotterrell, R. (2013). Rethinking embeddedness: Law, economy, and community. *Journal of Law and Society*, *40*(1), 49-67. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6478.2013.00612.x

Cramm, J. M., Van Dijk, H. M., & Nieboer, A. P. (2013). The importance of neighborhood social cohesion and social capital for the well being of older adults in the community. *The Gerontologist*, *53*(1), 142-152. doi: 10.1093/geront/gns052

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review*, *38*(1), 49-69. doi: 10.5465/amr.2011.0145

Crane, J. A. (2013). *The evaluation of social policies*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business. doi: 10.5465/amr.2011.0145

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crichlow, W. (2013). *Race, identity, and representation in education* (2nd ed.). New

York, NY: Routledge.

Crowley, M., Lichter, D. T., & Qian, Z. (2006). Beyond gateway cities: Economic restructuring and poverty among Mexican immigrant families and children. *Family Relations*, *55*(3), 345-360. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2006.00407.x

Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Larson, R. (2014). Validity and reliability of the experience sampling method. In M. Csikszentmihalyi & R. Larson (Eds.), *Flow and the foundations of positive psychology* (pp. 35-54). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-94-017-9088-8_3

Current Population Reports. (2012). *The supplemental poverty measure: 2011*. Washington, DC: US census Bureau. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/JHyvsW

Czaika, M., & De Haas, H. (2013). The effectiveness of immigration policies. *Population and Development Review, 39*(3), 487-508. doi: 10.1111/j.1728-4457.2013.00613.x

Czaika, M., & Vothknecht, M. (2014). Migration and aspirations are migrants trapped on a hedonic treadmill? *IZA Journal of Migration*, *3*(1), 1-21. doi: 10.1186/2193-9039-3-1

Dalton, P. S., Ghosal, S., & Mani, A. (2014). Poverty and aspirations failure. *The Economic Journal*, *126*(590), 165-188. doi: 10.1111/ecoj.12210

Daniel, B. (2010). *Neighbor: Christian encounters with illegal immigration*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Danziger, S. (2001). Welfare reform policy from Nixon to Clinton: What role for social science. In D. L. Featherman & M. A. Vinovskis (Eds.), *Social science and policy-making: A search for relevance in the twentieth century* (pp. 137-64). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

Danziger, S. (2007). Fighting poverty revisited: What did researchers know 40 years ago? What do we know today? *Focus*, *25*(1), 3-11. Retrieved from http://irp.wisc.edu/publications/

Danziger, S., Chavez, K., & Cumberworth, E. (2012). *Poverty and the great recession*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/RzahG2

Darby, M. R. (1996). Facing and reducing poverty. In M. R. Darby (ed.), *Reducing poverty in America: Views and approaches*, 3-12. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dasgupta, P. (2013). Personal histories and poverty traps. In C. Sepulveda, A. Harrison, & J.Y. Lin (Eds.), *Development Challenges in a Post-crisis World: Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, 2011*(pp. 103-126). Washington, DC: World Bank.

Davenport, C. (2013). Blowing flames into the souls of black folk: Ollie Harrington and his bombs from Berlin to Harlem. In S. C. Howard & R. L. Jackson II (Eds.), *Black Comics: Politics of Race and Representation* (pp. 111-132). New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Davenport, T. H., & Beck, J. C. (2013). *The attention economy: Understanding the new currency of business*. Brighton, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Davidoff-Gore, A., Luke, N., & Wawire, S. (2011). Dimensions of poverty and inconsistent condom use among youth in urban Kenya. *AIDS care*, *23*(10), 1282-1290. doi: 10.1080/09540121.2011.555744

Davies, J. S. (2005). The social exclusion debate: Strategies, controversies and dilemmas.

*Policy Studies*, *26*(1), 3-27. doi: 10.1080/01442870500041561

De Nooy, W., Mrvar, A., & Batagelj, V. (2011). Exploratory social network analysis with Pajek. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Deaton, A. (2010). Price indexes, inequality, and the measurement of world poverty. *The American Economic Review*, *100*(1), i-34. doi: 10.1257/aer.100.1.5

Dede, C. (2009). Comments on Greenhow, Robelia, and Hughes: Technologies that facilitate generating knowledge and possibly wisdom. *Educational Researcher, 38*(4), 260-263. doi: 10.3102/0013189X09336672

DeNavas-Walt, C. (2010). *Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2005*. Collingdale, PA: Diane Publishing.

DeNavas-Walt, C., & Proctor, B. D. (2016). *Income and poverty in the United States, 2014*. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-252. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://www. Census/library/publications/

DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Smith, J. C. (2012). *Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2011.* U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-243. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p60-243.pdf

DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Smith, J. C. (2014). *Income and poverty in the United States: 2013*. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-243. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2eEZ8x

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The sage handbook of qualitative research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Dercon, S. (2009). Rural poverty: Old challenges in new contexts. *The World Bank Research Observer*, lkp003. doi: 10.1093/wbro/lkp003

Dercon, S., Hoddinott, J., & Woldehanna, T. (2012). Growth and chronic poverty: Evidence from rural communities in Ethiopia. *Journal of Development Studies, 48*(2), 238-253. doi: 10.1080/00220388.2011.625410

Desmond, M. (2016). *Evicted: Poverty and profit in the American city.* Danvers, MA: Crown Publishing Group.

Devereux, S., McGregor, J. A., & Sabates□Wheeler, R. (2011). Introduction: Social protection for social justice. *IDS Bulletin*, *42*(6), 1-9. doi: 10.1111/j.1759-5436.2011.00265.x

Devicienti, F., & Poggi, A. (2011). Poverty and social exclusion: Two sides of the same coin or dynamically interrelated processes? *Applied Economics*, *43*(25), 3549-3571. doi: 10.1080/00036841003670721

Diaz, P., Saenz, D. S., & Kwan, V. S. (2011). Economic dynamics and changes in attitudes toward undocumented Mexican immigrants in Arizona. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *11*(1), 300-313. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01255.x

Dillahunt, T. R. (2014, April). Fostering social capital in economically distressed communities. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 531-540). New York, NY: ACM.

doi:10.1145/2556288.2557123

Dixon, B. A. (2014). Learning to see food justice. *Agriculture and human values*, *31*(2), 175-184. doi: 10.1017/S1537592713002077

Dixon, J. (2010). Poverty: An existential humanist perspective. *Poverty & Public Policy*, *2*(4), 111-129. doi: 10.2202/1944-2858.1048

Dolgoff, R., & Feldstein, D. (2012). *Understanding social welfare: A search for social justice*. New York, NY: Pearson Higher Ed.

Donato, K. M., & Armenta, A. (2011). What we know about unauthorized migration. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *37*, 529-543. doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150216

Dougherty, J. E. (2010). Illegals: The imminent threat posed by our unsecured U.S.-Mexico border. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Inc.

Dousset, L. (2012). Horizontal and vertical skewing. In T. R. Trautmann & P. M. Whiteley (Eds.), *Crow-Omaha: New light on a classic problem of kinship analysis*, 261. Tucson, AZ: University Of Arizona Press

Dowling, J., & Inda, J. (Eds.). (2013). *Governing immigration through crime: A reader*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Drachman, E. (2006). Access to higher education for undocumented students. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, *18*(1), 91-100. doi: 10.1080/10402650500511

Drainville, A. C. (2008). Present in the world economy: The coalition of Immokalee workers (1996–2007). *Globalizations*, *5*(3), 357-377. doi: 10.1080/14747730802252495

Drainville, A. C. (2012). Present in the world economy. In K. Z. Dellacioppa & C. Weber (Eds.), *Cultural Politics and Resistance in the 21st Century* (pp. 145-176). New

York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9781137012968_9

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

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

Dreher, A., Méon, P. G., & Schneider, F. (2014). The devil is in the shadow. Do institutions affect income and productivity or only official income and official productivity? *Public Choice, 158*(1-2), 121-141. doi: 10.1007/s11127-012-9954-8

Duflo, E. (2012). Hope as capability. In E. Duflo (Ed.), *Tanner lectures on human values and the design of the fight against poverty* (pp. 28-52). Stanford, CA: Stanford Law School.

Durkheim, E. (2014). The division of labor in society. New York City, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Dwoskin, E. (2011). *Why Americans won't do dirty jobs.* New York, NY: Bloomberg Businessweek.

Economic Policy Institute. (2013). *Immigration legislation would improve the labor market by protecting undocumented workers from employer retaliation*. Washington, DC: EPI Retrieved from http://www.epi.org/publications/

Edin, K., & Kissane, R. J. (2010). Poverty and the American family: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), 460-479. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-

3737.2010.00713.x

Edinger, S. (2012). Transferring social capital from individual to team: An examination of moderators and relationships to innovative performance. College Park, MD: University of Maryland. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1903/13072

Educational Testing Service. (2015). *A human capital concern: The literacy proficiency of United States immigrants*. Washington, DC: ETS Policy Information Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/K5bu1d

Eitzen, D. S., Zinn, M. B., & Smith, K. E. (2012). *Social problems*. Boston, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Ellis, L. M., & Chen, E. C. (2013). Negotiating identity development among undocumented immigrant college students: A grounded theory study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60*(2), 251. doi: 10.1037/a0031350

Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K., & Kyngäs, H. (2014). Qualitative content analysis. *Sage Open, 4*(1), 2158244014522633. doi: 10.1177/2158244014522633

Employee Benefits Security Administration. (2013). *US Labor Department initiative in Midwest college towns finds workers at Ann Arbor, Michigan, restaurants owed nearly $150K in back wages*. Washington, DC:BLD. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/agZU22

Englander, M. (2012). The interview: Data collection in descriptive phenomenological human scientific research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, *43*(1), 13-35. doi: 10.1163/156916212X632943

Englmaier, F., & Wambach, A. (2010). Optimal incentive contracts under inequity aversion. *Games and Economic Behavior*, *69*(2), 312-328. doi: 10.1016/j.geb.2009.12.007

Eusebio, C., & Mendoza, F. (2015). *The case for undocumented students in higher education*. San Francisco, CA: Educators for Fair Consideration. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Y7McAE

Facchini, G., Mayda, A. M., & Mendola, M. (2013). What drives individual attitudes towards immigration in South Africa? *Review of International Economics*, *21*(2), 326-341. doi: 10.1111/roie.12039

Fan, M., Gabbard, S., Pena, A. A., & Perloff, J. M. (2015). Why do fewer agricultural workers migrate now? *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, aau115. doi: 10.1093/ajae/aau115

Fan, M., Pena, A. A., & Perloff, J. M. (2016). Effects of the great recession on the U.S. agricultural labor market. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, aaw023. doi: 10.1093/ajae/aaw023

Fassa, A. G., Facchini, L. A., Dall'Agnol, M. M., & Christiani, D. C. (2013). Child labor and health: problems and perspectives. *International Journal of Occupational and Environmental Health*. doi: 10.1179/oeh.2000.6.1.55

Feagin, J., & Bennefield, Z. (2014). Systemic racism and U.S. health care. *Social Science & Medicine*, *103*, 7-14. Retrieved from www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed

Federation for American Immigration Reform. (2014). Out of the shadows (2013). Shining a light on immigration and the plight of the American worker. Washington, DC: FAIR. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Rnq8Uk

Ferragina, E. (2012). *Social capital in Europe: A comparative regional analysis*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ferreira, F. H., & Lugo, M. A. (2013). Multidimensional poverty analysis: Looking for a middle ground. *The World Bank Research Observer*, lks013. doi: 10.1093/wbro/lks013

Ferretti, C., & Molina, I. (2012). Fast EB method for estimating complex poverty indicators in large populations. *Journal of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, 66*, 105-120. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/WJzBJd

Fields, G. S. (2010). Does income mobility equalize longer-term incomes? New measures of an old concept. *The Journal of Economic Inequality, 8*(4), 409-427. doi: 10.1007/s10888-009-9115-6

Fischer, A. M. (2008). *Resolving the theoretical ambiguities of social exclusion with reference to polarization and conflict* (Working Paper Series). London, United Kingdom: Development Studies Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UXRMI0

Fisher, I. (1906). *The nature of capital and income*. New York, NY: The Macmillan Company.

Fisher, J. A., Patenaude, G., Meir, P., Nightingale, A. J., Rounsevell, M. D., Williams, M., & Woodhouse, I. H. (2013). Strengthening conceptual foundations: Analyzing frameworks for ecosystem services and poverty alleviation research. *Global Environmental Change*, *23*(5), 1098-1111. doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2013.04.002

Fitzpatrick, K., & LaGory, M. (2013). *Unhealthy cities: Poverty, race, and place in America*. New City, NY: Routledge.

Fix, M., Zimmermann, W., & Passel, J. S. (2001). *The integration of immigrant families in the United States*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute. Retrieved from http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED457291

Flechtner, S. (2014). Aspiration traps: When poverty stifles hope. *Inequality in Focus, 2*(4), 1-4. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Jiqb5w

Flood, A. (2010). Understanding phenomenology: Anne Flood looks at the theory and methods involved in phenomenological research. *Nurse researcher*, *17*(2), 7-15. doi: 10.7748/nr2010.01.17.2.7.c7457

Florida Advisory Committee (2007). *Migrant students' resources for migrant children similar to other students but achievement still lag* (Report 2007). Tallahassee, FL: Florida Advisory Committee. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/IrmHaL

Florida Department of Economic Opportunity. (2014). Annual report FY 2013-2014. Retrieved from http://floridajobs.org/docs/default-source/communicationsfiles/

Flynn, M. A., Eggerth, D. E., & Jeffrey, J. C. (2015). Undocumented status as a social determinant of occupational safety and health: The workers' perspective. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine, 58*(11), 1127–1137. doi:10.1002/ajim.22531

Foged, M., & Peri, G. (2013). *Immigrants and native workers: New analysis using longitudinal employer employee data*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Forst, R. (2012). The justification of human rights and the basic right to justification. A reflexive approach. In C. Corradetti (Ed.), *Philosophical dimensions of human rights* (pp. 81-106). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-2376-4_5

Fox, C. (2012). *Three worlds of relief: Race, immigration, and the American welfare state from the progressive era to the new deal*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fraser, M., & Dutta, S. (2010). *Throwing sheep in the boardroom: How online social networking will transform your life, work and world*. Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons.

Friedberg, M. W., Safran, D. G., Coltin, K., Dresser, M., & Schneider, E. C. (2010). Paying for performance in primary care: Potential impact on practices and disparities. *Health Affairs*, *29*(5), 926-932. doi: 10.1377/hlthaff.2009.0985

Friedberg, R. M., & Hunt, J. (1995). The impact of immigrants on host country wages, employment and growth. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *9*(2), 23-44. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2138165

Fugard, A. J., & Potts, H. W. (2015). Supporting thinking on sample sizes for thematic analyses: A quantitative tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 18*(6), 669-684. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2015.1005453

Gabbidon, S. L., & Greene, H. T. (2012). *Race and crime*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gabbidon, S. L., & Greene, H. T. (2013). *Race, crime, and justice: A reader*. New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group.

Galarneau, C. (2011). Still missing: Undocumented immigrants in health care reform. *Journal of health care for the poor and underserved*, *22*(2), 422-428. Retrieved from http://repository.wellesley.edu/scholarship

Gans, H. J. (1995). *The war against the poor: The underclass and antipoverty policy*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gans, J., Replogle, E. M., & Tichenor, D. J. (Eds.). (2012). *Debates on U.S. immigration*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Garcia, L. D., & Tierney, W. G. (2011). Undocumented immigrants in higher education: A preliminary analysis. *Teachers College Record*, *113*(12), 2739-2776. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/XDvvrT

Gardner, M., Johnson, S., & Wiehe, M. (2015). *Undocumented immigrants' state and local tax contributions*. Washington, DC: Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ViOaxV

Garland, D. (2012). *Punishment and modern society: A study in social theory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Garrard, G. (2010). Ecocriticism. *The Year's Work in Critical and Cultural Theory*, mbq005. doi: 10.1093/ywcct/mbq005

Genicot, G., & Ray, D. (2014). *Aspirations and inequality* (No. w19976). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. doi: 10.3386/w19976.

Gentilini, U. (2007). *Cash and food transfers: A primer*. Rome, Italy: United Nations World Food Program.

Geys, B., & Murdoch, Z. (2010). Measuring the bridging versus bonding nature of social networks: a proposal for integrating existing measures. *Sociology*, *44*(3), 523-540. doi: 10.1177/0038038510362474

Ghosh, K. (2013). Prioritization of individual success indicators for managerial success.

*International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, *21*(3), 260-287.doi: 10.1108/IJOA-Nov-2010-0462

Giagnoni, S. (2011). *Fields of resistance: The struggle of Florida's farmworkers for justice*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Gilbert, D. (2014). *The American class structure in an age of growing inequality.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Giordano, G. N., Björk, J., & Lindström, M. (2012). Social capital and self-rated health–a study of temporal (causal) relationships. *Social science & medicine*, *75*(2), 340-348. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.03.011

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Glassner, B. (2010). *The culture of fear: Why Americans are afraid of the wrong things: Crime, drugs, minorities, teen moms, killer kids, mutant microbes, plane crashes, road rage, & so much more*. New York, NY: Basic books.

Gleeson, S. (2009). From rights to claims: The role of civil society in making rights real for vulnerable workers. *Law & Society Review*, *43*(3), 669-700. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5893.2009.00385.x

Gleeson, S. (2010). Labor rights for all? The role of undocumented immigrant status for worker claims is making. *Law & Social Inquiry*, *35*(3), 561-602. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.2010.01196.x

Goldsmith, W., & Blakely, E. (2010). *Separate societies: Poverty and inequality in US cities*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Gonzales, R. G. (2011). Learning to be illegal undocumented youth and shifting legal contexts in the transition to adulthood. *American Sociological Review*, *76*(4), 602-619. doi: 10.1177/0003122411411901

Goodman, D. J. (2011). *Promoting diversity and social justice: Educating people from privileged groups* (2nd ed). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gorard, S. (2012). Querying the causal role of attitudes in educational attainment. *International Scholarly Research Network, 2012*( 501589) , 13. doi:10.5402/2012/501589

Gordon, D., & Nandy, S. (2012). Measurement and methodologies measuring child poverty and deprivation. In A. Minujin & S. Nandy (Eds.), *Global child poverty and well-being measurement, concepts, policy and action*. (pp. 57-101). Chicago, IL: Policy Press.

Gorski, P. C. (2015). *Reaching and teaching students in poverty: Strategies for erasing the opportunity gap*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Goulbourne, H., Reynolds, T., Solomos, J., &Zontini, E. (2010). *Transnational families: Ethnicities, identities and social capital*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gould, C. C. (2008). Recognition in redistribution: Care and diversity in global justice. *The Southern Journal of Philosophy*, *46*(S1), 91-103. doi: 10.1111/j.2041-6962.2008.tb00156.x

Graham, J. W. (2009). Missing data analysis: Making it work in the real world. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *60*, 549-76. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.58.110405.085530

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of

embeddedness. *American journal of sociology*, *91*(3), 481-510. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/VxBuRT

Gray, M. (2013). Farmworkers on smaller farms. In M. Rawlinson & C. Ward (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Food Ethics* (pp. 344). New York, NY: Routledge.

Grbich, C. (2012). *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Green, D. (2012). From poverty to power: How active citizens and effective states can change the world (2nd ed.). Rugby, United Kingdom: Practical Action Publishing.

Green, J., & Thorogood, N. (2013). *Qualitative methods for health research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Grindle, M. (2012). Good governance: The inflation of an idea. In B. Sanyal, L. J. Vale, & C. D. Rosan (Eds.), Planning *ideas that matter: Livability, territoriality, governance, and reflective practice*, (pp. 259-282). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Groody, D. G., & Campese, G. (Eds.). (2008). *A promised land, a perilous journey: Theological perspectives on migration.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Gross, R. (2012). *Psychology: The science of mind and behavior* (6th ed.). London, UK: Hachette.

Grusec, J. E., & Lytton, H. (2012). *Social development: History, theory, and research*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Guerrant, R. L., Walker, D. H., & Weller, P. F. (2011). *Tropical infectious diseases: Principles, pathogens and practice*. Philadelphia, PA: Elsevier Health Sciences.

Guest, G., Namey, E. E., & Mitchell, M. L. (2012). *Collecting qualitative data: A field*

*manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Guion, L. A., Diehl, D. C., & McDonald, D. (2011). Triangulation: Establishing the validity of qualitative studies. Tallahassee, Florida: University of Florida. Retrieved from https://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/pdffiles/FY/FY39400.pdf

Gupta, A. (2012). *Red tape: Bureaucracy, structural violence, and poverty in India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Güven, A. B. (2012). The IMF, the World Bank, and the global economic crisis: Exploring paradigm continuity. *Development and Change*, *43*(4), 869-898. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01781.x

Hacker, K., Anies, M., Folb, B. L., & Zallman, L. (2015). Barriers to health care for undocumented immigrants: A literature review. *Risk management and healthcare policy*, *8*, 175. doi: 10.2147/RMHP.S70173

Hagan, J. M., Rodriguez, N., & Castro, B. (2011). Social effects of mass deportations by the United States government, 2000–2010. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(8), 1374-1391. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.575233

Hagenaars, A. J. (2014). *The perception of poverty*. Philadelphia, PA: Elsevier.

Hall, E. (2010). Spaces of social inclusion and belonging for people with intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, *54*(1), 48-57. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2788.2009.01237.x

Hall, P. A., & Lamont, M. (2009). *Successful societies: How institutions and culture affect health.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Handler, J. F., & Hasenfeld, Y. (1991). *The moral construction of poverty: Welfare*

*reform in America* (Vol. 144). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hanifan, L. J. (1916). The rural school community center. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *67*, 130-138. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/MRqxyG

Hansen, K. A., & Faber, C. S. (1997). The foreign-born population: 1996. *Current Population Reports, Series P-20: Population Characteristics* (No. 494). Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Ks93H6

Hanson, G. H. (2010). The governance of migration policy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, *11*(2), 185-207. doi: 10.1080/19452821003677368

Hanson, G. H. (2012). Immigration and economic growth. *Cato Journal*, *32*(1). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2WPJF4

Harding, D., Lamont, M., & Small, M. L. (2010). *Reconsidering culture and poverty* (Vol. 629). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hardy, L. J., Getrich, C. M., Quezada, J. C., Guay, A., Michalowski, R. J., & Henley, E. (2012). A call for further research on the impact of state level immigration policies on public health. *American journal of public health*, *102*(7), 1250-1253. doi: 0.2105/AJPH.2011.300541

Hargreaves, J. R., Morison, L. A., Gear, J. S., Makhubele, M. B., Porter, J. D., Busza, J., ... & Pronyk, P. M. (2007). Hearing the voices of the poor: assigning poverty lines on the basis of local perceptions of poverty. A quantitative analysis of qualitative data from participatory wealth ranking in rural South Africa. *World Development*, *35*(2), 212-229. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.10.021

Harkness, S., Gregg, P., & MacMillan, L. (2012). *Poverty: the role of institutions, behaviors and culture*. London, United Kingdom: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Retrieved from http://opus.bath.ac.uk/37347/

Harrison, J. L., & Lloyd, S. E. (2013). New Jobs, new workers, and new inequalities: explaining employers' roles in occupational segregation by nativity and race. *Social Problems*, *60*(3), 281-301. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/HflxIn

Hassan, R., & Birungi, P. (2011). Social capital and poverty in Uganda. *Development Southern Africa*, *28*(1), 19-37.doi: 10.1080/0376835X.2011.545168

Hastie, R., & Dawes, R. M. (Eds.). (2010). *Rational choice in an uncertain world: The psychology of judgment and decision making*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.

Hatch, M. J., & Cunliffe, A. L. (2012). *Organization theory: Modern, symbolic and postmodern perspectives*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Phelan, J. C., & Link, B. G. (2013). Stigma as a fundamental cause of population health inequalities. *American Journal of Public Health*, *103*(5), 813-821. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2012.301069

Häuberer, J. (2014). Social capital in voluntary associations: Localizing social resources. *European Societies*, *16*(4), 570-593. doi: 10.1080/14616696.2014.880497

Hawley, G. (2011). Political threat and immigration: Party identification, demographic context, and immigration policy preference. *Social Science Quarterly*, *92*(2), 404-422. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00775.x

Haymes, S., Vidal de Haymes, M., & Miller, R. (2015). *The Routledge handbook of poverty in the United States.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Healey, J. F., & O'Brien, E. (2014). *Race, ethnicity, gender, and class: The sociology of group conflict and change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Heckman, J. J. (2013). *Giving kids a fair chance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Heeren, G. (2012). Persons who are not the people: The changing rights of immigrants in the United States. *Colum. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.*, *44*, 367. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/5hv6S5

Heidbrink, L. (2014). *Migrant youth, transnational families, and the state: Care and contested interests*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Henry, A. D., Lubell, M., & McCoy, M. (2011). Belief systems and social capital as drivers of policy network structure: The case of California regional planning. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *21*(3), 419-444. doi: 10.1093/jopart/muq042

Hernandez, D. J., Takanishi, R., & Marotz, K. G. (2009). Life circumstances and public policies for young children in immigrant families. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *24*(4), 487-501. doi: 10.1016/j.ecresq.2009.09.003

Hildebrandt, E., & Stevens, P. (2009). Impoverished women with children and no welfare benefits: The urgency of researching failures of the temporary assistance for needy families program. *American Journal of Public Health*, *99*(5), 793-801.doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2006.106211

Hill, L. E., & Johnson, H. P. (2011). *Unauthorized immigrants in California: Estimates for counties*. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California. Retrieved from http://www.davisvanguard.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/R_711LHR.pdf

Hill, M., & Varone, F. (2014). *The public policy process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Hinojosa-Ojeda, R. (2012). The economic benefits of comprehensive immigration reform. *Cato Journal*, *32*, 175. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Buhs9n

Hochschild, J. L., Weaver, V. M., & Burch, T. R. (2012). *Creating a new racial order: How immigration, multiracialism, genomics, and the young can remake race in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hoefer, M., Rytina, N., & Baker, B. C. (2011). *Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2011*. Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/s7f4aS

Hofer, M., & Aubert, V. (2013). Perceived bridging and bonding social capital on Twitter: Differentiating between followers and followees. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*(6), 2134-2142. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2013.04.038

Hollifield, J., Martin, P., & Orrenius, P. (2014). *Controlling immigration: A global perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hollyer, J. R., Rosendorff, B. P., & Vreeland, J. R. (2011). Democracy and transparency. *Journal of Politics*, *73*(4), 1191-1205. doi: 10.1017/S0022381611000880

Holmes, S. (2013). *Fresh fruit, broken bodies: Migrant farmworkers in the United States* (Vol. 27). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Holthaus, G. (2014). *From the farm to the table: What all Americans need to know about agriculture*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.

Holyfield, L. (2010). *Moving Up And Out: Poverty, Education & Single Parent Family*.

Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Houghton, C., Casey, D., Shaw, D., & Murphy. K. (2013). Rigor in qualitative case-study research. *Nurse Researcher, 20*(4), 12-17. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UNiEA6

Howell, E., Trenholm, C., Dubay, L., Hughes, D., & Hill, I. (2010). The impact of new health insurance coverage on undocumented and other low-income children: Lessons from three California counties. *Journal of Healthcare for the Poor and Underserved*, *21*(2), 109-124. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/SMFfct

Howlett, M., & Newman, J. (2010). Policy analysis and policy work in federal systems: Policy advice and its contribution to evidence-based policymaking in multilevel governance systems. *Policy and Society, 29*(2), 123-136. doi: 10.1016/j.polsoc.2010.03.004

Hoynes, H. W., Page, M. E., & Stevens, A. H. (2006). Poverty in America: Trends and explanations. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 47-68. doi: 10.1257/089530

Hughes, D. E., Le Bon, J., & Rapp, A. (2013). Gaining and leveraging customer-based competitive intelligence: the pivotal role of social capital and salesperson adaptive selling skills. *Journal of the Academy of marketing Science*, *41*(1), 91-110. doi: 10.1007/s11747-012-0311-8

Hulse, K., & Stone, W. (2007). Social cohesion, social capital, and social exclusion: A cross cultural comparison. *Policy Studies*, *28*(2), 109-128. doi: 10.1080/01442870701309049

Hundeide, K. (1999). Four different meanings of being poor. *Psychology & Developing Societies*, *11*(2), 143-155. doi: 10.1177/097133369901100202

Hunter, B., & Jordan, K. (2010). Explaining social exclusion: Towards social inclusion for indigenous Australians. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 45*(2), 243-265. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/tPvWG6

Hyett, N., Kenny, A., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2014). Methodology or method? A critical review of qualitative case study reports. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, *9*. doi: 10.3402/qhw.v9.23606

Hymes, J. D. (2013). *Welfare reform: How states are faring in getting people off welfare to work under federal policy of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) Program* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/KdNPhb

Ibrahim, S. (2011). *Poverty, aspirations, and well-being: Afraid to aspire and unable to reach a better life – voices from Egypt* (Working Paper No. 141). Manchester, United Kingdom: BWPI. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/wdrrhd

Iceland, J. (2013). *Poverty in America: A handbook*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Iceland, J., Sharp, G., & Timberlake, J. M. (2013). Sunbelt rising: Regional population change and the decline in black residential segregation, 1970–2009. *Demography*, *50*(1), 97-123. doi: 10.1007/s13524-012-0136-6

Ignatow, G., & Williams, A. T. (2011). New media and the anchor baby boom. *Journal of Computer□Mediated Communication*, *17*(1), 60-76. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2011.01557.x

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), Public Law 104-208, 104th Cong. 1st sess. (September 30, 1996).

Institute for Research on Poverty. (2013). *Who is poor in the United States and across nations, how poor, and what are the trends?* Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UTxcHk

Institute of Internal Auditors. (2011). *The internal auditor*. Lake Mary, FL: Institute of Internal Auditors. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/prlpU5

Institute of Medicine of the National Academies. (2009). *America's uninsured crisis: Consequences for health and health care*. Washington, DC: Board on Health Care Services, National Academies Press.

Institute for Research on Poverty. (2012). *What are poverty thresholds and poverty guidelines?* Madison, WI: IRP. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/fzwi7

Institute for Research on Poverty. (2014). *Poverty-related issues in the news*. Madison, WI: IRP. Retrieved from http://www.irp.wisc.edu/research/wipoverty.htm

Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). (2006). Education, science, and technology. In IDB (ed.), *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Statistical Compendium of Indicators*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank

Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). (2007). *Outsiders? The changing patterns of exclusion in Latin America and the Caribbean: Economic and statistics yearbook*. Washington, DC: IMF.

International Monetary Fund (IMF). (2001). *Government finance statistics Yearbook.* Washington, DC: IMF.

Irwin, A. (2013). *Sociology and the environment: A critical introduction to society, nature and knowledge*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Irwin, S., & Elley, S. (2011). Concerted cultivation? Parenting values, education and

class diversity. *Sociology*, *45*(3), 480-495. doi: 10.1177/0038038511399618

Irwin, S., & Elley, S. (2013). Parents' hopes and expectations for their children's future occupations. *The Sociological Review*, *61*(1), 111-130. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02139.x

Isacson, A., & Meyer, M. (2012). *Beyond the border buildup: Security and migrants along the U.S.-Mexico border*. Washington, DC: Office on Latin America.

Ivanic, M., Martin, W., & Zaman, H. (2012). Estimating the short-run poverty impacts of the 2010–11 surge in food prices. *World Development*, *40*(11), 2302-2317. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.03.024

Ivļevs, A. (2012). Ageing, local birth rates and attitudes towards immigration: Evidence from a transition economy. *Regional Studies*, *46*(7), 947-959. doi: 10.1080/00343404.2010.546779

Iwase, T., Suzuki, E., Fujiwara, T., Takao, S., Doi, H., & Kawachi, I. (2012). Do bonding and bridging social capital have differential effects on self-rated health? A community based study in Japan. *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, *66*(6), 557-562. doi:10.1136/jech.2010.115592

Jenkins, R. (2005). Globalization, corporate social responsibility and poverty. *International Affairs*, *81*(3), 525-540. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2005.00467.x

Jensen, L., Goetz, S. J., & Swaminathan, H. (2006). Changing fortunes. In W. A. Kandel & D. L. Brown (Eds.), *Population change and rural society* (pp. 131-152). New York, NY: Springer Publishing.

Jentoft, S., & Midré, G. (2011). The meaning of poverty: Conceptual issues in small-

scale fisheries research. In S. Jentoft & A. Eide (Eds.), *Poverty mosaics: Realities and prospects in small-scale fisheries* (pp. 43-68). New York, NY: Springer.

Johannesson, P., & Perjons, E. (2014). Evaluate artefact. In P. Johannesson & E. Perjons (Eds.), *An introduction to design science* (pp. 137-149). New York, NY: Springer International Publishing. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-10632-8_9

Johnson, H. P., & Hill, L. (2006). *Illegal immigration*. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California.

Johnston, H. (2013). *Social movements and culture* (Vol. 4). New York, NY: Routledge.

Jones, C., & Novak, T. (2012). *Poverty, welfare and the disciplinary state*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Jordan, B. (2012). Making sense of the big society: Social work and the moral order. *Journal of Social Work*, *12*(6), 630-646. doi: 10.1177/1468017310394241

Jordan, B. (Ed.). (2010). *Why the third way failed: Economics, morality and the origins of the Big Society*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.

Jurecska, D. E., Chang, K. B., Peterson, M. A., Lee-Zorn, C. E., Merrick, J., & Sequeira, E. (2012). The poverty puzzle: The surprising difference between wealthy and poor students for self-efficacy and academic achievement. *De Druyter Open, 24*(4), 355–362. doi:10.1515/ijamh.2012.052

Kadushin, C. (2012). *Understanding social networks: Theories, concepts, and findings.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kalleberg, A. L. (2012). Job quality and precarious work clarifications, controversies, and challenges. *Work and Occupations*, *39*(4), 427-448. doi:

10.1177/0730888412460533

Kanbur, R., & Sumner, A. (2012). Poor countries or poor people? Development assistance and the new geography of global poverty. *Journal of International Development*, *24*(6), 686-695. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/unJ4cU

Kantardzic, M. (2011). *Data mining: Concepts, models, methods, and algorithms*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Kaplinsky, R. (2013). *Globalization, poverty and inequality: Between a rock and a hard place*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Karahanna, E. & Preston, D. (2013) The effect of social capital of the relationship between the cio and top management team on firm performance. *Journal of Management Information Systems, 30* (1),15-55. doi: 10.2753/mis0742-1222300101

Karnani, A. (2011). Doing well by doing good: The grand illusion. *California Management Review*, *53*(2), 69-86. doi: 10.1525/cmr.2011.53.2.69

Karnani, A. (2011). Romanticizing the poor. In A. Karnani (Ed.), *Fighting poverty together* (pp. 85-109). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230120235_4

Katz, M. B. (2013). *The undeserving poor: America's enduring confrontation with poverty. Fully Updated and Revised*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kearney, M. S., Harris, B. H., Jácome, E., & Parker, L. (2014). Ten economic facts about crime and incarceration in the United States. *The Hamilton Project, May.* Retrieved from https://goo.gl/cBE5yy

Kearney, M., & Harris, B. (Eds.). (2014). *Policies to address poverty in America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kefela, G. T. (2010). Knowledge-based economy and society has become a vital commodity to countries. *International NGO Journal*, *5*(7), 160-166. Retrieved from http:// www.academicjournals.org/INGOJ

Kelly, N. J., & Enns, P. K. (2010). Inequality and the dynamics of public opinion: The self□reinforcing link between economic inequality and mass preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*, *54*(4), 855-870. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00472.x

Kelly, S. (2010). The psychological consequences to adolescents of exposure to gang violence in the community: An integrated review of the literature. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, *23*(2), 61-73. doi: 10.1111/j.1744-6171.2010.00225.x

Kenis, P., & Provan, K. G. (2009). Towards an exogenous theory of public network performance. *Public Administration*, *87*(3), 440-456. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.2009.01775.x

Kerr, S. P., & Kerr, W. R. (2011). *Economic impacts of immigration: A survey* (No. w16736). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. doi: 10.3386/w16736

Kersting, N., & Vetter, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Reforming local government in Europe: Closing the gap between democracy and efficiency, 4*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Kindle, P. A., & Caplan, M. A. (2015). Understanding fringe economic behavior: A Bourdieusian-informed meta-ethnography. *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare*, *42*, 49. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/OiDftx

Kirchhoff, L. V. (2010). *Chagas disease (American Trypanosomiasis)*. eMedicine. Retrieved from http://emedicine.medscape.com/article/214581

Kirshner, J. (2013). *Globalization and national security*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Klasen, S., Lange, S., & Carmela Lo Bue, M. (2012). *New developments in national and international poverty measurement: Promise, limits, and applicability for different development actors*. Frankfurt, Germany: KFW-Development Research. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/4Zsuo8

Klein, C. (2013). Social capital or social cohesion: What matters for subjective well-being? *Social Indicators Research, 110*(3), 891-911. doi: 10.1007/s11205-011-9963-x

Knowles, B. E., & Kochanowski, P. (2011). Undocumented aliens and immigration reform: A law and economics analysis. *Southwestern Economic Review*, *36*, 17-56. doi: 10.1.1.502.1167

Kostandini, G., Mykerezi, E., & Escalante, C. (2014). The impact of immigration enforcement on the United States farming sector. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, *96*(1), 172-192. doi: 10.1093/ajae/aat081

Kowdley, K. V., Wang, C. C., Welch, S., Roberts, H., & Brosgart, C. L. (2012). Prevalence of chronic hepatitis B among foreign□born persons living in the United States by country of origin. *Hepatology*, *56*(2), 422-433. doi: 10.1002/hep.24804

Kraft, M. E., & Furlong, S. R. (2012). *Public policy: Politics, analysis, and alternatives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kraus, M. W., Piff, P. K., Mendoza-Denton, R., Rheinschmidt, M. L., & Keltner, D. (2012). Social class, solipsism, and contextualism: how the rich are different from the poor. *Psychological review*, *119*(3), 546. doi: 10.1037/a0028756

Kuhn, T. S. (2012). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago press.

Kurtz, D. V. (2014). Culture, poverty, politics: Cultural sociologists, Oscar Lewis, Antonio Gramsci. *Critique of Anthropology*, *34*(3), 327-345. doi: 10.1177/0308275X14530577

Kuyper, N. (2014). *The influence of schooling on the resilient behavior and academic performance of poverty-stricken adolescents in Gauteng schools*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10500/14303

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lacour, M., & Tissington, L. D. (2011). The effects of poverty on academic achievement. *Educational Research and Reviews*, *6*(7), 522-527. Retrieved from ttp://www.academicjournals.org/ERR

Lahav, G., & Courtemanche, M. (2012). The ideological effects of framing threat on immigration and civil liberties. *Political Behavior*, *34*(3), 477-505. doi:10.1007/s11109-011-9171-z

Lahman, M. K .E., Rodriguez, K. L, Richard, V. M., Geist, M. R., Schendel, R. K., &

Graglia, P. E. (2011). (Re)Forming research poetry. Qualitative Inquiry, 17(9), 886–896. doi: 10.1177/1077800411423219

Lammers, J., Galinsky, A. D., Gordijn, E. H., & Otten, S. (2012). Power increases social distance. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 3*(3), 282-290. doi: 10.1177/1948550611418679

Lamont, M., & Small, M. L. (2010). Cultural diversity and anti□poverty policy. *International social science journal*, *61*(199), 169-180. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2451.2010.01754.x

Laumann, E. O., & Pappi, F. U. (2013). *Networks of collective action: A perspective on community influence systems*. Atlanta, GA: Elsevier.

Laursen, K., Masciarelli, F., &Prencipe, A. (2012).Regions matter: How localized social capital affects innovation and external knowledge acquisition. *Organization Science*, *23*(1), 177-193. doi: 10.1287/orsc.1110.0650

Lawson, V. (2012). Decentring poverty studies: Middle class alliances and the social construction of poverty. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *33*(1), 1-19. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9493.2012.00443.x

Lawston, J. M., & Murillo, R. R. (2009). The discursive figuration of U.S. supremacy in narratives sympathetic to undocumented immigrants. *Social Justice*, 38-53. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/29768536

Leavy, P. (Ed.). (2014). *The oxford handbook of qualitative research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (2012). *Analysis and interpretation of ethnographic*

*data: A mixed methods approach* (Vol. 5). Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (2012). *Analysis and interpretation of ethnographic data: A mixed methods approach* (Vol. 5). Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

Legrain, P. (2014). *Immigrants: Your country needs them*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lerong, Y. (2014). Growth, inequality and poverty reduction in rural china. *International Journal of Agricultural Extension*, 49-56. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/BRYBCb

Leung, L. (2015). Validity, reliability, and generalizability in qualitative research. *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care, 4*(3), 324. doi: 10.4103/2249-4863.161306

Levitas, R., Pantazis, C., Fahmy, E., Gordon, D., Lloyd, E., & Patsios, D. (2007). *The multi-dimensional analysis of social exclusion. Project Report*. Bristol, United Kingdom: University of Bristol. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10552/1781

Levy, B. S., & Sidel, V. W. (2013). *Social injustice and public health*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Li, B. (2012). Social welfare and protection for economic growth and social stability — China's experience. In B. Li (Ed.), *A changing China: Emerging governance, economic and social trends*. Civil Service College, Singapore, pp. 39-60. Retrieved from http://www.cscollege.gov.sg/cgl/index.htm#top

Lichter, D.T., Johnston, G.M., & McLaughlin, D. K. (2010). Changing linkages between work and poverty in rural America. *Rural Sociology, 59*(3), 395–415. doi:10.1111/j.1549-0831.1994.tb00539.x

Lichtman, M. (2013). *Qualitative research for the social sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA:

Sage Publications.

Lieberman, A. (2013). From disease to pandemic. *World Policy Journal*, *30*(3), 78-87. doi: 10.1177/0740277513506384

Lin, N. (2008). A network theory of social capital. *The Handbook of Social Capital*, 50, 69. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UlDmMQ

Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences revisited. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 97-128). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Lindborg, N. (2014). *To end extreme poverty, tackle fragility*. Washington, DC: U.S. Agency for International Development.

Liu, Y., Weinberg, M. S., Ortega, L. S., Painter, J. A., & Maloney, S. A. (2009). Overseas screening for tuberculosis in U.S. bound immigrants and refugees. *New England Journal of Medicine, 360*(23), 2406-2415. doi: 10.1056/NEJMoa0809497

Lomasky, L. E., & Tesón, F. R. (2015). *Justice at a distance*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Lönnroth, K., Migliori, G. B., Abubakar, I., D'Ambrosio, L., De Vries, G., Diel, R. ... & Ochoa, E. R. G. (2015). Towards tuberculosis elimination: An action framework for low-incidence countries. *European Respiratory Journal*, *45*(4), 928-952. doi: 10.1183/09031936.00214014

Ludwig, J., Kling, J. R., & Mullainathan, S. (2011). Mechanism experiments and policy evaluations. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *25*(3), 17-38. doi:

10.1257/jep.25.3.17

Lund, C., Breen, A., Flisher, A. J., Kakuma, R., Corrigall, J., Joska, J. A., & Patel, V. (2010). Poverty and common mental disorders in low and middle income countries: A systematic review. *Social Science & Medicine*, *71*(3), 517-528. doi. 10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.04.027

Lustig, N. (2011). Multidimensional indices of achievements and poverty: What do we gain and what do we lose? An introduction to JOEI Forum on multidimensional poverty. *Journal of Economic Inequality*, *9*(2), 227-234. doi: 10.1007/s10888-011-9186-z

Lynch, R., & Oakford, P. (2013). *The economic effects of granting legal status and citizenship to undocumented immigrants.* Washington, DC: Center for American Progress. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/SmvABu

MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T., & Blackman, S. (2013). *Young people, class and place*. Florence, KY: Taylor & Francis Group LLC**.**

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods: A data collector's field guide*. Family Health International. North Carolina, Retrieved from http://www.popline.org/node/27709.

Mackey, T. K., Liang, B. A., Cuomo, R., Hafen, R., Brouwer, K. C., & Lee, D. E. (2014). Emerging and reemerging neglected tropical diseases: A review of key characteristics, risk factors, and the policy and innovation environment. *Clinical Microbiology Reviews*, *27*(4), 949-979. doi: 10.1128/CMR.00045-14

Macmillan, R. (2011). The big society and participation failure. *People, Place & Policy Online*, *5*(2), 107-114. doi: 10.3351/ppp.0005.0002.0006

Magaña, M. R. (2010). Analyzing the meshwork as an emerging social movement formation: An ethnographic account of the popular assembly of the peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). *Journal of Contemporary Anthropology*, *1*(1), 5. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/C3MBqs

Mahalingam, R. (2013). *Cultural psychology of immigrants*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Mahoney, J., & Goertz, G. (2006). A tale of two cultures: Contrasting quantitative and qualitative research. *Political Analysis*, *14*(3), 227-249. doi:10.1093/pan/mpj017

Malhotra, N., Margalit, Y., & Mo, C. H. (2013). Economic explanations for opposition to immigration: Distinguishing between prevalence and conditional impact. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*(2), 391-410. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12012

Mallett, R., Hagen-Zanker, J., Slater, R., & Duvendack, M. (2012). The benefits and challenges of using systematic reviews in international development research. *Journal of development effectiveness, 4*(3), 445-455. doi: 10.1080/19439342.2012.711342

Malm, H. (2015). Immigration justice and the grounds for mandatory vaccinations. *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*, *25*(2), 133-147.doi: 10.1353/ken.2015.0013

Marquardt, M., Steigenga, T., Williams, P., & Vasquez, M. (2013). *Living illegal: The human face of unauthorized immigration*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/0Y1iz9

Martin, C. (2010). Policy review: National action plans for combating poverty and social exclusion–from 1997 to the present. *Irish Journal of Public Policy*, *2*(1).

Retrieved from http://publish.ucc.ie/ijpp/2010/01/martin/06/en

Martin, P. L. (2014). *Importing poverty: Immigration and the changing face of rural America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Martinez, D., & Slack, J. (2013). What part of "illegal" don't you understand? The social consequences of criminalizing unauthorized Mexican migrants in the United States. *Social & Legal Studies*, 096466391xx. doi: 10.1177/0964663913484638

Martinez, S. (2010). *Local food systems; concepts, impacts, and issues.* Collingdale, PA: Diane Publishing.

Marx, I., & Van Rie, T. (2014). The policy response to inequality: Redistributing income. In W. Salverda, B. Nolan, D. Checchi, I. Marx, A. McKnight, I. G.Tóth (Eds.), *Changing inequalities in rich countries: Analytical and comparative perspectives*, 239-264. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Mascia, J. (2011, June 15th). *Everything you ever wanted to know about Immokalee, Florida.* New York, NY: New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com.

Mason, M. (2010, August). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. In M. Mason (Ed.), *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 11*(3). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Xu0zek

Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McCabe, K., & Meissner, D. (2010). *Immigration and the United States: Recession affects flows, prospects for reform*. Washington DC: Migration Information. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/hWUnUQ

McCarroll, J. (2009). Analysis of an undocumented Latina immigrant. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, *14*(3), 225-236. doi:10.1057/pcs.2009.11

McClure, K. (2008). Deconcentrating poverty with housing programs. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *74*(1), 90-99. doi: 10.1080/01944360701730165

McCreesh, N., Frost, S., Seeley, J., Katongole, J., Tarsh, M. N., Ndunguse, R., & Sonnenberg, P. (2012). Evaluation of respondent-driven sampling. *Epidemiology, 23*(1), 138. doi: 10.1097/EDE.0b013e31823ac17c

McDaniel, E. L., Nooruddin, I., & Shortle, A. F. (2010). Divine boundaries: How religion shapes citizens' attitudes toward immigrants. *American Politics Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McGinnis, M. (2010). Child Farm Labor Under the Fair Labor Standards Act. *Kansas Journal of Law & Public Policy*, *20*, 155. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/CcnHMH

McKernan, S. M., & Ratcliffe, C. (2005). Events that trigger poverty entries and exits. *Social Science Quarterly*, *86*(1), 1146-1169. doi:10.1111/j.00384941.2005.00340

McLaughlin, D. K., & Coleman-Jensen, A. J. (2008). Nonstandard employment in the nonmetropolitan United States. *Rural Sociology, 73*(4), 631–659. doi: 10.1526/003601108786471558

McMichael, P. (2016). *Development and social change: A global perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mead, L.M. (1992). *The new politics of poverty: The nonworking poor in America*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishing.

Meadowcroft, J. (2011). Engaging with the politics of sustainability transitions.

*Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, *1*(1), 70-75. doi: 10.1016/j.eist.2011.02.003

Meissner, D., Kerwin, D. M., Chishti, M., & Bergeron, C. (2013). *Immigration enforcement in the United States: The rise of a formidable machinery*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/vjDqX

Menjívar, C., & Abrego, L. (2012). Legal violence: Immigration law and the lives of Central American immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*(5), 1380-1421. doi: 10.1086/663575

Merolla, J., Ramakrishnan, S. K., & Haynes, C. (2013). Illegal, undocumented, or unauthorized: Equivalency frames, issue frames, and public opinion on immigration. *Perspectives on Politics*, *11*(03), 789-807. doi: 10.1017/S1537592713002077

Merriam, S. B., Caffarella, R. S., & Baumgartner, L. M. (2012). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Merry, M. S. (2012). Equality, self□respect and voluntary separation. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, *15*(1), 79-100. doi: 10.1080/13698230.2010.528239

Mertens, D. M. (2014). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Meyer, B. D., & Sullivan, J. X. (2011). Consumption and income poverty over the business cycle. *National Bureau of Economic Research*. doi: 10.3386/w16751

Meyer, B. D., & Sullivan, J. X. (2012). Identifying the disadvantaged: Official poverty,

consumption poverty, and the new supplemental poverty measure. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives,* 111-135. doi:10.1257/jep.26.3.111

Miciukiewicz, K., & Vigar, G. (2012). Mobility and social cohesion in the splintered city: Challenging techno-centric transport research and policy-making practices. *Urban Studies, 49*(9), 1941-1957. doi: 10.1177/0042098012444886.

Migration Policy Institute. (2014). *Give me your wired and your highly skilled: Measuring the impact of immigration policy on employers and shareholders*. Washington, DC:MPI. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/hQ1fZx

Milana, E. & Maldaon, I. (2014). Social capital: A comprehensive overview at organizational context. *Periodica Polytechnica Social and Management Sciences*. Online First (2015) paper 7763. doi: 10.3311/PPso.7763

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Miller, M. E. (2012). Historical background of the child labor regulations: strengths and limitations of the agricultural hazardous occupations orders. *Journal of agromedicine*, *17*(2), 163-185. doi: 10.1080/1059924X.2012.660434

Milner, H. R. (2013). Analyzing poverty, learning, and teaching through a critical race theory lens. *Review of Research in Education*, *37*(1), 1-53. doi: 10.3102/0091732X12459720

Mishra, R. (2014). *Welfare state capitalist society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Misturelli, F., & Heffernan, C. (2012). The shape of change: A memetic analysis of the definitions of poverty from the 1970s to the 2000s. *Journal of International*

*Development*, *24*(S1), S3-S18. doi: 10.1002/jid.1770

Misztal, B. (2013). *Trust in modern societies: The search for the bases of social order*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Mittler, P. (2012). *Working towards inclusive education: Social contexts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Routledge.

Mize, R. L., & Swords, A. C. (2010). *Consuming Mexican labor: From the Bracero Program to North American Free Trade Agreement*. Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Mohan, B. (2011). *Development, poverty of culture, and social policy*. New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1057/9780230117655

Monea, E., & Sawhill, I. ( 2011). *An update to simulating the effect of the great recession on poverty.* New York, NY: The Brookings Institution.

Monette, D., Sullivan, T., & DeJong, C. (2013). *Applied social research: A tool for the human services*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Cengage Learning.

Mooney, L., Knox, D., & Schacht, C. (2014). *Understanding social problems*. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.

Moore, R. (2012). Definitions of fuel poverty: Implications for policy. *Energy Policy*, *49*, 19-26. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2012.01.057

Moore, S. (2012). Now instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves. *The Guardian*, *16*, 10. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2K9WE8

Moretti, E. (2012). *The new geography of jobs*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Moretti, F., Van Vliet, L., Bensing, J., Deledda, G., Mazzi, M., Rimondini, M., &

Fletcher, I. (2011). A standardized approach to qualitative content analysis of focus group discussions from different countries. *Patient Education and Counseling, 82*(3), 420-428. Retrieved from http://www.pec-journal.com/

Motel, S. & Patten, E. (2013). *Statistical portrait of the foreign-born population in the United States*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/01/29/

Muccio, L. S., Reybold, L. E., & Kidd, J. (2014). Researcher-portraitists: An exploration of aesthetics and research quality. *International Journal of Education & the Arts, 16*(1). Retrieved from http://www.ijea.org/v16n1/

Mullen, C. A., & Kealy, W. A. (2013). Poverty in school communities. *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, *49*(2), 70-77. doi: 10.1080/00228958.2013.786593

Murray, W. R. (2010). The Florida migrant education program: An analysis of programmatic and expenditure practices (Doctoral Thesis). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ZxBB1P

Murrow, E. R. (1960). *Harvest of shame*. CBS News. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com.

Nadadur, R. (2009). Illegal immigration: A positive economic contribution to the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(6), 1037-1052. doi: 10.1080/13691830902957775

National Assessment of Educational Progress. (2012). *New Americans in postsecondary education a profile of immigrant and second-generation American undergraduates*. Washington, DC: Department of Education. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/9Wtk1m

National Center for Biotechnology Information. (2014). Undocumented migration and the residential segregation of Mexicans in new destinations. *Social Science Research*, *47*, 61–78. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.03.009

National Center for Education Statistics. (2011). *Status and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ni8ZWy

National Center for Farmworker Health. (2012). *Facts on farm workers in the United States*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Nelson, R. H. (2014). *Economics as religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and beyond*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

Ness, I. (2010). *Immigrants unions & the new U.S. labor market*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Newman, B., & Newman, P. (2014). *Development through life: A psychosocial approach*. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.

Ngai, M. M. (2014). *Impossible subjects: Illegal aliens and the making of modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nicholls, W. (2013). *The dreamers: How the undocumented youth movement transformed the immigrant rights debate*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Nicholls, W. J. (2013). Making undocumented immigrants into a legitimate political subject: Theoretical observations from the United States and France. *Theory, Culture & Society, 30*(3), 82-107. doi: 10.1177/0263276412455953

Nilsson, J., Svendsen, G. L., & Svendsen, G. T. (2012). Are large and complex

agricultural cooperatives losing their social capital? *Agribusiness*, *28*(2), 187-204. doi: 10.1002/agr.21285

Norman-Major, K. A., & Gooden, S. T. (Eds.). (2012). *Cultural competency for public administrators*. Armonk, New York: ME Sharpe.

Norton, A., & de Haan, A. (2013). Social cohesion: Theoretical debates and practical applications with respect to jobs. *Background paper for the WDR*. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTNWDR2013/Resources/8258024-

Nowrasteh, A. (2012). The economic case against Arizona's immigration laws. *Cato Institute Policy Analysis*, 709. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/R6V0xk

Nunes, M. C. P., Dones, W., Morillo, C. A., & Encina, J. J. (2013). Chagas disease: An overview of clinical and epidemiological aspects. *Journal of the American College of Cardiology*, *62*(9), 767-776. doi:10.1016/j.jacc.2013.05.046

O'Connor, A. (2009). *Poverty knowledge: Social science, social policy, and the poor in twentieth-century U.S. history*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

O'Reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2012). Unsatisfactory saturation: A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research Journal, 1(*8). doi: 10.1177/1468794112446106

Oakes, J., Lipton, M., Anderson, L., & Stillman, J. (2015). *Teaching to change the world*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Obama, B. (2008). Tackling poverty and inequality in America. *Pathways*, 14–16. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/F2MNqk

Offer, S. (2012). The burden of reciprocity: Processes of exclusion and withdrawal from

personal networks among low-income families. *Current Sociology*, 0011392112454754. doi: 10.1177/0011392112454754

Oliveira, J. F. (2013). The influence of the social capital on business performance: An analysis in the context of horizontal business networks. *Ram, Rev. Adm. Mackenzie, 14* (3), 209-235. doi: 10.1590/s1678-69712013000300009

Olson, M. (2009). *The logic of collective action* (Vol. 124). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Önel, G., & Goodwin, B. K. (2015). Real options approach to inter-sectoral migration of U.S. farm labor. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 97*(5), 1520-1520. doi: 10.1093/ajae/aau004

Orellana, M. F., & Johnson, S. J. (2011). *Anchor babies and dreams deferred: Public discourse about immigrant children and implications for civic and educational rights.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA International Institute.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2013). *Development co-operation report 2013: Ending poverty*. Washington, DC: OECD Publishing. doi: 10.1787/dcr-2013-en

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015). *Income of immigrant households. Indicators of Immigrant Integration.* Washington, DC: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/

Orshansky, M. (1969). How poverty is measured. *Monthly Labor Review, 92*(2), 37–41.

Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41837556

Ortiz, I., Fajth, G., Yablonski, J., & Rabi, A. (2010). *Social protection: Accelerating the MDGs with equity*. New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/pCbGRv

Ötsch, W. O., & Kapeller, J. (2010). Perpetuating the failure: Economic education and the current crisis. *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education*, *9*(2). doi: 10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v9-i2-1119

Pachauri, S., & Spreng, D. (2011). Measuring and monitoring energy poverty. *Energy policy*, *39*(12), 7497-7504. doi: 10.1016/j.enpol.2011.07.008

Palmer, G., MacInnes, T., & Kenway, P. (2005). *Monitoring poverty and social exclusion 2005*. York, United Kingdom: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Papastergiadis, N. (2013). *The turbulence of migration: Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Papastergiadis, N., McQuire, S., Gu, X., Barikin, A., Gibson, R., Yue, A., & Jones, M. (2013). Mega screens for mega cities. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 0263276413503691. doi: 10.1177/0263276413503691

Passel, J. & Cohn, D. (2012). *Unauthorized Immigrants: 11.1 Million in 2011.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/tUFA8

Passel, J. S., & Cohn, D. (2010). *U.S. unauthorized immigration flows are down sharply since mid-decade.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2010/09/01/appendix-c-methodology/

Passel, J. S., & Cohn, D. (2011). *Unauthorized immigrant population: National and state trends, 2010*. Washington, DC: PHC. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/6NZQa

Passel, J. S., & Taylor, P. (2010). *Unauthorized immigrants and their U.S.-born children.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/kEvhvZ

Passel, J. S., Cohn, D., & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2013). *Population decline of unauthorized immigrants' stalls may have reversed.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 38. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/tUFA8

Passel, J. S., Cohn, D., Krogstad, J. M., & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2014). *As growth stalls, unauthorized immigrant population becomes more settled*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/JPw5U6

Passel, J., Cohn, D., & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2013). *Net migration from Mexico falls to zero and perhaps less*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/v-mexico-by-the-numbers/

Pateman, T. (2011). Rural and urban areas: Comparing lives using rural/urban classifications. *Regional Trends*, *43*(1), 11-86. doi:10.1057/rt.2011.2

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice* (4th ed.). Saint Paul, MN: Sage Publications, Inc.

Payne, M. (2014). *Modern social work theory*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Payne, S. M. (2014). *Neighborhoods, social capital and economic success.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.18297/etd/1105

Peña, A. A. (2010). Poverty, legal status, and pay basis: The case of U.S. agriculture. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, 49*(3), 429-456. doi:10.1111/j.1468-232X.2010.00608.x

Peter H., Dugan, R. E., & Schwartz, C. (2013). *Higher education outcomes assessment*

*for the twenty-first century*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Peters, B. G. (2012). *American public policy: Promise and performance*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Peters, D. J. (2012). Income inequality across micro and meso geographic scales in the Midwestern United States, 1979–2009. *Rural Sociology, 77*(2), 171-202. doi: 10.1111/j.1549-0831.2012.00077.x

Petersen, M. B. (2013). Moralization as protection against exploitation: Do individuals without allies moralize more? *Evolution and Human Behavior, 34*(2), 78-85. doi: 10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2012.09.006

Pettit, J. (2012). *Empowerment and participation: Bridging the gap between understanding and practice*. New York, NY: United Nations Headquarters.

Pew Hispanic Center. (2012). *Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/z6uPoQ

Pew Research Center. (2011). *Unauthorized immigrant population: National and state trends, 2010*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/6NZQa

Pew Research Center. (2014). *Unauthorized immigrant totals rise in 7 states, fall in 14: Decline in those from Mexico fuels most state decreases*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/gJezCs

Pew Research Center. (2015). *15 striking findings from 2015*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ay0e2C

Peyton, K., & Belasen, A. R. (2012). Corruption in emerging and developing economies:

Evidence from a pooled cross-section. *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade*, *48*(2), 29-43. doi: 10.2753/REE1540-496X480202

Phillips, D. L. (2014). *Toward a just social order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (2011). *The experience economy*. Brighton, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2012). *Resource manual for nursing research. Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice*. New York, NY: Wolters Kluwer Health.

Poortinga, W. (2012). Community resilience and health: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital. *Health & place*, *18*(2), 286-95. doi: 10.1016/j.healthplace.2011.09.017

Portes, A. (2014). Downsides of social capital. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *111*(52), 18407-18408. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1421888112

Portes, A., & Rivas, A. (2011). The adaptation of migrant children. *The future of children*, *21*(1), 219-246. doi: 10.1353/foc.2011.0004

Post, J., & Preston, L. (2012). *Private management and public policy: The principle of public responsibility*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Poteete, A. R., Janssen, M. A., & Ostrom, E. (2010). *Working together: Collective action, the commons, and multiple methods in practice.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Potochnick, S. R., & Perreira, K. M. (2010). Depression and anxiety among first-generation immigrant Latino youth: key correlates and implications for future

research. *The Journal of nervous and mental disease*, *198*(7), 470. doi: 10.1097/NMD.0b013e3181e4ce24

Pourat, N., Wallace, S. P., Hadler, M. W., & Ponce, N. (2014). Assessing health care services used by California's undocumented immigrant population in 2010. *Health Affairs*, *33*(5), 840-847. doi: 10.1377/hlthaff.2013.0615

Pradhan, M., & Ravallion, M. (2011). *Measuring poverty using qualitative perceptions of welfare*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/UfTnsp

Preparata, G. G. (2013). Suburbia's crime experts: The neo-conservatism of control theory and the ethos of crime. *Critical criminology*, *21*(1), 73-86. doi:10.1007/s10612-012-9168-x

Pridemore, W. A. (2011). Poverty matters: A reassessment of the inequality–homicide relationship in cross-national studies. *British journal of criminology*, *51*(5), 739-772. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azr019

Prilleltensky, I. (2012). Wellness as fairness. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 49*(1-2), 1-21. doi: 10.1007/s10464-011-9448-8

Productions, P., & Weber, K. (2014). *Food inc.: A participant guide: How industrial food is making us sicker, fatter, and poorer-and what you can do about it*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.

Pryke, S. (2012). *Social network analysis in construction*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, *6* (1): 65–78. doi:10.1353/jod.1995.0002

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*.

New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1993). *Making democracy work*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Rainford, W. (2015). Worlds' apart: Why poverty persists in rural America. Cynthia Duncan. Reviewed by William Rainford, University of California, Berkely. *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *27*(3), 12. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/H4k51H

Ransom, E., Bailey, C., & Jensen, L. (2014). *Rural America in a globalizing world: Problems and prospects for the 2010s*. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.

Rao, V., & Walton, M. (2004). Conclusion: Implications of a cultural lens for public policy and development thought. *Culture and Public Action*, 359-372. Retrieved from http://vijayendrarao.org/papers/ConclusionFinalFinal.pdf

Raphael, D. (2011). *Poverty in Canada: Implications for health and quality of life*. Ontario, CA: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Raphael, S., & Smolensky, E. (2009). Immigration and poverty in the United States. *American Economic Review, 99*(2), 41- 44. doi:10.1257/aer.99.2.41

Rassi, A. Rassi, A., & Marin-Neto, J. A. (2010). Chagas disease. *Lancet, 375*(9723), 1388–1402. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(10)60061-X

Rassi, A., & de Rezende, J. M. (2012). American trypanosomiasis (Chagas disease). *Infectious Disease Clinics of North America*, *26*(2), 275-291. doi: 10.1016/j.idc.2012.03.002

Ravallion, M. (2010). *Poverty lines across the world* (Working Paper Series). World

Bank Policy Research, Washington, DC. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/6VCu0m

Ravallion, M. (2011). On multidimensional indices of poverty. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, *9*(2), 235-248. doi: 10.1007/s10888-011-9173-4

Ravallion, M. (2012). Poor or just feeling poor? On using subjective data in measuring poverty. In *Using Subjective Data in Measuring Poverty* (February 1, 2012). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, (5968). Retrieved from https://ssrn.com/abstract=2004930

Ravallion, M., & Chen, S. (2011). Weakly relative poverty. *Review of Economics and Statistics, 93*(4), 1251-1261. doi: 10.1162/REST_a_00127

Raven, J., Achterberg, P., Van der Veen, R., & Yerkes, M. (2011). An institutional embeddedness of welfare opinions? The link between public opinion and social policy in the Netherlands (1970–2004). *Journal of Social Policy*, *40*(2), 369-386. doi: 10.1017/S0047279410000577

Ravitch, S. M., & Riggan, J. M. (2012). *Reason and rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research*. Philadelphia, PA: Sage Publications.

Rawls, P. (2011). *Illegal immigrant bill causing problems in Alabama*. Associated Press. Retrieved from http://www.ap.org/

Rector, R., & Sheffield, R. (2014). The war on poverty after 50 years. *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, 2955. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/cOMIPm

Renshon, S. A. (2014). Psychoanalytic theories. In R. A. W. Rhodes & P. Hart (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of political. Leadership*, 132. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Reyes, B. I., Johnson, H. P., & Van Swearingen, R. (2002). *Holding the line: The effect of the recent border build-up on unauthorized immigration* (p. v). San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California.

Riecken, H. W., & Boruch, R. F. (Eds.). (2013). *Social experimentation: A method for planning and evaluating social intervention*. Philadelphia, PA: Elsevier.

Riley, E. D., Moore, K., Sorensen, J. L., Tulsky, J. P., Bangsberg, D. R., & Neilands, T. B. (2011). Basic subsistence needs and overall health among human immunodeficiency virus-infected homeless and unstably housed women. *American Journal of Epidemiology, 174*(5), 515-522. doi: 10.1093/aje/kwr209

Rios, K. (2011). *After long fight, farmworkers in Florida win an increase in pay*. New York, NY: The New York Times.

Rivas, C. (2012). Coding and analyzing qualitative data. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Researching society and culture.* New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Roberts, H. (2012). *What works in reducing inequalities in child health?* Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.

Robinson, G. (2011). The contradictions of caring: Social workers, teachers, and attributions for poverty and welfare reform. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*(10), 2374-2404. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00825.x

Robinson, J., & Godbey, G. (2010). *Time for life: The surprising ways Americans use their time*. Philadelphia, PA: Penn State Press.

Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in interview-based qualitative research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *11*(1), 25-41. doi:

10.1080/14780887.2013.801543

Rodger, J. (2012). *Criminalizing social policy: Anti-social behavior and welfare in a de-civilized society*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Rodgers, D. T. (2014). *The work ethic in industrial America 1850-1920*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Rodriguez, S., & Sider, R. (2013). *Christians at the border: Immigration, the church, and the bible*. Grand Rapid, MI: Brazos Press.

Roemer, M., & Gugerty, M. K. (1997). Does economic growth reduce poverty? *Consulting Assistance on Economic Reform II, 499*. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/mLeqMf

Rojek, C. (2012). *Social Work & Received Ideas*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Romero, M. (2008). Crossing the immigration and race border: A critical race theory approach to immigration studies. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *11*(1), 23-37. doi: 10.1080/10282580701850371

Roscigno C. I, Savage T. A, Kavanaugh K, Moro T. T, Kilpatrick S. J, Strassner H. T, et al. (2012). Divergent views of hope influencing communications between parents and hospital providers. *Qualitative Health Research, 22*(9):1232–1246. doi: 10.1177/1049732312449210

Rosenfeld, J. (2010). The meaning of poverty and contemporary quantitative poverty research. *The British Journal of Sociology, 61*(1), 103–110. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01267.x

Rossman, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2011). *Learning in the field: An introduction to*

*qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Ruark, E. A., & Moinuddin, A. (2011). *Illegal immigration and agribusiness: The effect on the agriculture industry of converting to a legal workforce*. Washington, DC: Federation for American Immigration Reform. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/5sZV1c

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2011). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. E., & Maddox, R. (2010). Is public housing the cause of poor health or a safety net for the unhealthy poor? *Journal of Urban Health*, *87*(5), 827-838. doi:10.1007/s11524-010-9484-y

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994, December). Origins and destinies: Immigration to the United States since World War II. In R.G. Rumbaut (Ed.), *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 583-621). Kluwer Academic Publishers. doi:10.1007/BF01466304

Rumbaut, R. G. (2008, August). Undocumented immigration and rates of crime and imprisonment: Popular myths and empirical realities. In R. G. Rumbaut (Ed.), *Invited Address to the Immigration Enforcement and Civil Liberties: The Role of Local Police's National Conference.* Washington, DC: Police Foundation. Retrieved from https://ssrn.com/abstract=1877365

Russell, J., & Batalova, J. (2012). *European immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/WVWZif

Rutten, R., Westlund, H., & Boekema, F. (2010). The spatial dimension of social capital. *European Planning Studies*, *18*(6), 863-871. doi: 10.1080/09654311003701381

Rynell, A. (2008). *Causes of poverty: Findings from recent research*. Retrieved from

https://goo.gl/JQ4KE7

Rytina, N. (2012). *Estimates of the legal permanent resident population in 2011.* Washington, DC: DHS. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/dEfOmv

Sachs, C. E. (2014). *Women working in the environment: Resourceful natures*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (2014). *Wealth inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from capitalized income tax data* (No. w20625). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Safeharbor Employer Services v. Velazquez 860 S.O.2d 984 (Fla. App. Ct. 2003).

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (No. 14). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sallee, M. W., & Flood, J. T. (2012). Using qualitative research to bridge research, policy, and practice. *Theory into Practice, 151*(2), 137-144. doi:10.1080/00405841.2012.662873

Sanchez, R. E. C., & So, M. L. (2015). UC Berkeley's undocumented student program: Holistic strategies for undocumented student equitable success across higher education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(3), 464-477. doi: 10.17763/0017-8055.85.3.464

Sanchez-Martinez, M., & Davis, P. (2014). *A review of the economic theories of poverty* (No. 435). National Institute of Economic and Social Research. Retrieved from http://www.niesr.ac.uk/sites/default/files/publications/dp435_0.pdf

Sanjari, M., Bahramnezhad, F., Fomani, F. K., Shoghi, M., & Cheraghi, M. A. (2014).

Ethical challenges of researchers in qualitative studies: The necessity to develop a specific guideline. *Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine,* 7. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4263394/

Sargeant, J. (2012). Qualitative research part II: participants, analysis, and quality assurance. *Journal of Graduate Medical Education, 4*(1), 1-3. doi:10.4300/JGME-D-11-00307.1

Saunders, M. N., Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2011). *Research methods for business students* (5th ed.*)*. Harlow, United Kingdom: Prentice Hall.

Savickas, M. L., & Porfeli, E. J. (2012). Career adapt-abilities scale: Construction, reliability, and measurement equivalence across 13 countries. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80*(3), 661-673. doi: 10.1016/j.jvb.2012.01.011

Savulescu, J., & Persson, I. (2012). Moral enhancement, freedom and the God machine. *The Monist, 95*(3), 399. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/vOkRet

Sawhill, I. V. (1988). Poverty in the United States: Why is it so persistent? *Journal of Economic Literature, 26*(3), 1073–1119. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/IWLZXF

Scharf, T., & Keating, N. (2012). Social exclusion in later life: A global challenge. From exclusion to inclusion in old age. *A global challenge* (pp.1-16). Chicago, IL: Policy Press.

Scharf, T., & Keating, N. C. (2012). *From exclusion to inclusion in old age: A global challenge*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.

Scharlach, A. E., & Lehning, A. J. (2013). Ageing-friendly communities and social inclusion in the United States of America. *Ageing and Society*, *33*(01), 110-136.doi:

10.1017/S0144686X12000578

Scheingold, S. A. (2010). *The political novel: Re-imagining the twentieth century*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Scheingold, S. A. (2010). *The politics of rights: Lawyers, public policy, and political change*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Schell, L. M., & Gallo, M. V. (2012). Overweight and obesity among North American Indian infants, children, and youth. *American Journal of Human Biology*, *24*(3), 302-313. doi: 10.1002/ajhb.22257

Schmidt, E. (2009). *The dream fields of Florida: Mexican farmworkers and the myth of belonging*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Schmidt, F. L., & Hunter, J. E. (2014). *Methods of meta-analysis: Correcting error and bias in research findings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Schmunis, G. A., & Yadon, Z. E. (2010). Chagas disease: A Latin American health problem becoming a world health problem. *Acta Tropical, 115*(1), 14-21. doi: 10.1016/j.actatropica.2009.11.003

Schneider, F., Kallis, G., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2010). Crisis or opportunity? Economic degrowth for social equity and ecological sustainability. Introduction to this special issue. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *18*(6), 511-518. doi: 10.1016/j.jclepro.2010.01.014

Schreier, M. (2012). *Qualitative content analysis in practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scott, J. (2012). *Social network analysis*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 5*(4), 465-478. doi:

10.1177/107780049900500402

Segal, E. (2012). *The promise of welfare reform: Political rhetoric and the reality of poverty in the twenty-first century*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Seligman, M. E., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2014). *Positive psychology: An introduction* (pp. 279-298). New York, NY: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-94-017-9088-8_18

Sen, A. (1981). *Poverty and famines: an essay on entitlement and deprivation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (1984). Rights and capabilities. *In Resources, values and development, chapter 13*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (1985). A sociological approach to the measurement of poverty: A reply to Professor Peter Townsend. *Oxford Economic Papers*, *37*(4), 669-676. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2663049

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality reexamined*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (2001). Health equity: Perspectives, measurability, and criteria. *Challenging Inequities in Health: From Ethics to Action* (pp. 69-75). New York, NY: Oxford University Press

Sen, A. (2002). Goals, commitment, and identity. In *Rationality and freedom, chapter 5.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (2003). Concepts of poverty. *Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/nlcKj3

Sen, A. (2011). *Peace and democratic society*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers.

Sen, A. (2014). Development as freedom (1999). In J. T. Roberts, A. B. Hite, & N. Chorev (Eds.), *The globalization and development reader: Perspectives on development and global change*, (pp. 525). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Shapiro, C., & Varian, H. R. (2013). *Information rules: A strategic guide to the network economy*. Brighton, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Shapiro, S. P. (1987). The social control of impersonal trust. *American journal of Sociology, 93*(3), 623-658. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780293

Shapiro, T., Meschede, T., & Osoro, S. (2013). *The roots of the widening racial wealth gap: Explaining the Black-White economic divide*. Research and Policy Brief. Institute on Assets and Social Policy. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/5tKRBC

Sheppard, M. (2012). *Social work and social exclusion: The idea of practice*. Farnham, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Sherman, A. (2011). *Despite deep recession and high unemployment, government efforts—including the Recovery Act—prevented poverty from rising in 2009, new Census data show*. Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/x4Fkwa

Sherman, A., & Shapiro, I. (2005). Social Security lifts 13 million seniors above the poverty line: a state-by-state analysis. *Montana*, *50*(78), 55-000. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/L4HlVZ

Sherman, J. (2005). *Men without sawmills: Masculinity, rural poverty, and family stability*. Columbia, MO: RPRC Retrieved from http://www.rprconline.org/

Sherraden, S. & Barrera, R. E. (2015). Poverty, family support, and well-being of infants: Mexican immigrant women and child bearing. *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 23*(2), 3. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/MezOSV

Shildrick, T., & MacDonald, R. (2013). Poverty talk: How people experiencing poverty deny their poverty and why they blame the poor. *The Sociological Review*, *61*(2), 285-303. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12018

Shilling, C. (2012). *The body and social theory*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Publications.

Shipman, M. D. (2014). *The limitations of social research*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Short, K. (2011). The research supplemental poverty measure: 2010. *Current Population Reports*, (P60-241). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ACw5df

Short, K. (2011). The research supplemental poverty measure: 2010. *Current Population Reports,* (P60-241). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/IO0a6Q

Short, K. (2012). The research supplemental poverty measure: 2011. *Current Population Reports*. P60-244. http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p60-244.pdf

Shucksmith, M., & Brown, D. L. (2016). Routledge international handbook of rural studies. In C. Bailey, L. Jensen, & E. Ransom (Eds.), *Rural America in a globalizing: Gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexuality in Rural America*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Silber, J., & Verme, P. (2012). Relative deprivation, reference groups and the assessment of standard of living. *Economic Systems, 36*(1), 31-45. doi: 10.1016/j.ecosys.2011.04.006

Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms. *International Labor Review, 133*(5-6), 531-578. doi: 10.1016/j.ecosys.2011.04.006

Silverman, D. (2010). *Qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Silverman, D. (Ed.). (2011). *Qualitative research: Issues of theory, method and practice* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Skeldon, R. (2014). *Migration and development: A global perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2014). Children of guest workers and immigrants: Linguistic and educational issues. In J. Edwards (Ed.), *Linguistic minorities, policies and pluralism: Applied language studies* (pp. 17). Salt Lake, UT: Academic Press.

Small, M. L., Harding, D. J., & Lamont, M. (2010). Reconsidering culture and poverty. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science, 629*(1), 6-27. doi: 10.1177/0002716210362077

Smeeding, T. M. (2010). Asset-based measurement of poverty. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *29*(2), 267-284. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2OJrDA

Smeeding, T. M., & Waldfogel, J. (2010). Fighting poverty: Attentive policy can make a huge difference. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *29*(2), 401-407. doi: 10.1002/pam.20498

Smeeding, T. M., Isaacs, J. B., & Thornton, K. (2014). *Wisconsin poverty report: Jobs recover to help reduce poverty in 2012*. The Sixth Annual Report of the Wisconsin

Poverty Project. Madison, WI: IRP. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/nokEJt

Smith, H. J., Pettigrew, T. F., Pippin, G. M., & Bialosiewicz, S. (2012). Relative deprivation a theoretical and meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16*(3), 203-232. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/nokEJt

Smith, J. A. (Ed.). (2015). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Smith, L. (2010). *Psychology, poverty, and the end of social exclusion: Putting our practice to work* (Vol. 7). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Smith, R., & Ruckelshaus, C. (2006). Solutions, not scapegoats: Abating sweatshop conditions for all low-wage workers as a centerpiece of immigration reform. *York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*, *10*, 555. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Gs37n1

Snell, C., & Thomson, H. (2013). Reconciling fuel poverty and climate change policy under the Coalition government: Green deal or no deal. In G. Ramia, K. Farnsworth, & Z. M. Irving (Eds.), *Social Policy Review 25* (pp. 23-45). Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.

Social Security Administration (Ed.). (2013). S*ocial security programs throughout the world: Asia and the pacific* (Vol. 13, No. 11802). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Southern Poverty Center. (2012). Encyclopedia of American Civil Liberties. New York, NY: Routledge.

Spears, D. (2011). Economic decision-making in poverty depletes behavioral control. *The*

*B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, *11*(1), 72. doi: 10.2202/1935-1682.2973

Spears, D. E. (2010). *Economic decision-making in poverty depletes behavioral control*. Princeton, NJ: Center for Economic Policy Studies, Princeton University. doi:10.2202/1935-1682.2973

Stake, R. E. (2013). *Multiple case study analysis*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Stone, C., Trisi, D., Sherman, A., & DeBot, B. (2012). *A guide to statistics on historical trends in income inequality*. Washington, DC: Center on Budget and policy priorities. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/kiEUtc

Streich, G. W., & Lewandowski, J. D. (Eds.). (2012). *Urban Social Capital: Civil Society and City Life*. Farnham, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd..

Stricker, F. (2011). *Why America lost the war on poverty and how to win it*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press Books.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2011). *Children of immigration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2012). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Sullivan, G. M. (2011). A primer on the validity of assessment instruments. *Journal Of Graduate Medical Education, 3*(2), 119-120. doi: 10.4300/JGME-D-11-00075.1

Sullivan, S. (2009). Green capitalism and the cultural poverty of constructing nature as service-provider. *Radical Anthropology*, *3*, 18-27. Retrieved from http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/6016/

Sumner, A. (2012). The new face of poverty: How has the composition of poverty in low income and lower middle-income countries (excluding China) changed since the 1990s? *Institute for Development Studies*, 6-7. doi: 10.1111/j.2040-0209.2012.00408.x

Swaminathan, H., & Findeis, J. (2004). Policy intervention and poverty in rural America. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 86*(5), 1289–1296. doi:10.1111/j.0002-9092.2004.00679.x

Swidler, A. (2013). *Talk of love: How culture matters*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.

Taket, A. R., Crisp, B., Nevill, A., Lamaro, G. Graham, M., & Barter-Godfrey, S. (2009). *Theorizing social exclusion*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Tattevin, P., Chapplain, J.-M., & Arvieux, C. (2005). What does culture of life mean for an undocumented immigrant? *Clinical Infectious Diseases, 41*(8), 1212-1213. doi: 10.1086/444568

Tavernise, S., & Gebeloff, R. (2011). New way to tally poor recasts view of poverty. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/HBmz6j

Tay, L., & Diener, E. (2011). Needs and subjective well-being around the world. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *101*(2), 354. doi: 10.1037/a0023779

The Research Supplemental Poverty Measure. (2014). Current population reports P60-254, September 2014. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/RIECLq

Therborn, G. (2014). *The killing fields of inequality*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Thernstrom, S. (2009). *Poverty and progress: Social mobility in a nineteenth century city*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thomas, D. C., & Peterson, M. F. (2014). *Cross-cultural management: Essential concepts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Thompson, G. (2011). *Working in the shadows: A year of doing the jobs (most) Americans won't do*. New York, NY: Nation Books.

Thomson, H., & Snell, C. (2013). Quantifying the prevalence of fuel poverty across the European Union. *Energy Policy*, *52*, 563-572. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2012.10.009

Tienda, M., & Haskins, R. (2011). Immigrant children: Introducing the issue. *The Future of Children*, *21*(1), 3-18.doi: 10.1353/foc.2011.0010

Torres, J. M., & Wallace, S. P. (2013). Migration circumstances, psychological distress, and self-rated physical health for Latino immigrants in the United States. *American journal of public health*, *103*(9), 1619-1627. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2012.301195

Townsend, P. (2010). The meaning of poverty. *The British journal of sociology*, *61*(s1), 85-102. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01241.x

Townsend, P. (2014). *International analysis poverty*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Tracy, S. J. (2012). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Treeck, T. (2014). Did inequality cause the US financial crisis? *Journal of Economic Surveys*, *28*(3), 421-448. doi: 10.1111/joes.12028

Trochim, W., Donnelly, J. P., & Arora, K. (2015). *Research methods: The essential*

*knowledge base*. Toronto, ON: Nelson Education.

Turner, L. J., Danziger, S., & Seefeldt, K. S. (2006). Failing the transition from welfare to work: Women chronically disconnected from employment and cash welfare. *Social Science Quarterly*, *87*(2), 227-249. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6237.2006.00378.x

Tzanakis, M. (2013). Social capital in Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's theory: Empirical evidence and emergent measurement issues. *Educate*, *13*(2), 2-23. Retrieved from http://educatejournal.org/index.php/educate/article/

U. S. Census Bureau. (2012). *Alternative methods for valuing selected in-kind transfer benefits and measuring their effect on poverty*. T. M. Smeeding (Ed.). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/xPwEa8

U. S. Census Bureau. (2013). *Statistical abstract of the United States, 2012*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/R5F73V

U. S. Department of Homeland Security. (2012). *Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2011*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/qyLVzeU. S. Department of Homeland Security. (2012). *U.S. Department of Homeland Security annual financial report FY 2011.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/

U.S. Census Bureau (2013). *Alternative poverty estimates in the United States. P60–227*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/MIQvD7

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *Characteristics of the population below the poverty level:*

*2011.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/K9uczu

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *Household income rises, poverty rate declines, number of uninsured up*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from www.census.gov/prod/2

U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *Poverty thresholds for 2014 by size of family and number of related children under 18 years, released in September 2015*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Vv0cvs

U.S. Department of Education (2015). *Resource guide: Supporting undocumented youth.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2n4AFr

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2011). *Immigration enforcement actions: 2011.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/wbr4gp

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2013). *U.S. Department of Homeland Security federal program inventory*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://www.dhs.gov/budget-performance.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2014). *Yearbook of immigration statistics: 2014. Lawful permanent residents*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/eqlea9

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2015). *DHS releases end of fiscal year 2015 statisti*cs. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/8Ptz4U

U.S. Department of Labor. (2012). *Bureau of labor statistics. Hours and earnings,*

*February1951, Industry Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/ces/

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2011). *Civil immigration enforcement: Priorities for the apprehension, detention, and removal of aliens*. Washington, DC: ICE. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/s6Ythf

Ulimwengu, J. M., & Kraybill, D. S. (2004). Poverty over time and location: An examination of metro non-metro differences. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 86*(5), 1282–1288. doi:10.1111/j.0002-9092.2004.00678.x

Unicef. (2011). *The state of the world's children 2011-executive summary: Adolescence an age of opportunity*. Washington, DC: UNICEF

United Nations Development Program (2012). *Poverty in focus. What is poverty? Concepts and measures.* Washington, DC: IPC. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/8bI6A6

United Nations Development Program. (2010). *The real wealth of nations: Pathways to human development*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

United States v. Portillo-Muñoz, 643 F.3d 437, 442 (5th Cir. 2011).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948). Approved and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948, as resolution 217 A (III). Retrieved from www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

Urban Institute. (2011). *Children of undocumented immigrants*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute. Retrieved from: http://www.urban.org/publications/900955.html.

Vaisey, S. (2010). What people want: Rethinking poverty, culture, and educational attainment. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social*

*Science*, *629*(1), 75-101. doi: 10.1177/0002716209357146

Van Dijk, J. (2012). *The network society*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Van Hook, J., & Bean, F. D. (2009). Explaining Mexican-immigrant welfare behaviors: The importance of employment-related cultural repertoires. *American Sociological Review*, *74*(3), 423-444. doi: 10.1177/000312240907400305

Van Hook, J., & Fix, M. (2000). A profile of the immigrant student population. In J. Ruiz De Velasco, M. Fix, & T. Clewell. (Eds.), *Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant children in U.S. secondary schools*, 9-33. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/vjLJNu

Van Hook, J., Brown, S. I., & Kwenda, M. N. (2004). A decomaosition of trends in poverty among children of immigrants. *Demography*, *41*(4), 649-670. doi:10.1353/dem.2004.0038

Vargas, J. (2011). My life as an undocumented immigrant. *New York Times Magazine*, *22*. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/zp3jYW

Varley, M. C., Fairweather, I. H., & Aughey1, 2, R. J. (2012). Validity and reliability of GPS for measuring instantaneous velocity during acceleration, deceleration, and constant motion. *Journal of Sports Sciences, 30*(2), 121-127. doi: 10.1080/02640414.2011.627941

Varsanyi, M. W. (2011). Neoliberalism and nativism: Local anti□immigrant policy activism and an emerging politics of scale. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *35*(2), 295-311. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00958.x

Vasta, E. (2013). Do we need social cohesion in the 21st century? Multiple languages of belonging in the metropolis. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *34*(2), 196-213. doi:

10.1080/07256868.2013.781983

Velazquez, A. M., & Kempf-Leonard, K. (2010). Mexican immigration: Insiders' views on crime, risks, and victimization. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *8*(2), 127-149. doi: 10.1080/15377931003761045

Vergolini, L., & Zanini, N. (2012). How does aid matter? The effect of financial aid on university enrolment decisions. *Documents de Treball IEB*, (7), 1-30. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/aYoabZ

Vergolini, L., & Zanini, N. (2013). Designing effective educational policies: What can we learn from an Italian case study? *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *19*(5), 426-441. doi: 10.1080/13803611.2013.790317

Villarreal, L. S., Cox, T., & Alvarez, M. (2016). *School social work: National perspectives on practice in schools*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Voss, K., & Bloemraad, I. (2011). *Rallying for immigrant rights: The fight for inclusion in 21st century America*. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press.

Vu, L., & Baulch, B. (2011). Assessing alternative poverty proxy methods in rural Vietnam. *Oxford Development Studies*, *39*(3), 339-367. doi: 10.1080/13600818.2011.599207

Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple inequalities in social theory. *Sociology*, 0038038511416164. doi: 10.1177/0038038511416164

Wald, S. D. (2011). Visible farmers/invisible workers: Locating immigrant labor in food studies. *Food, Culture & Society, 14*(4), 567-586. doi: 10.2752/175174411X13046092851479

Walker, G., & Day, R. (2012). Fuel poverty as injustice: Integrating distribution,

recognition, and procedure in the struggle for affordable warmth. *Energy Policy, 49*, 69-75. doi: 10.1016/j.enpol.2012.01.044

Walker, J. L. (2012). The use of saturation in qualitative research. *Canadian Journal of Cardiovascular Nursing, 22*(2), 37-46. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/dA0hn2

Walker, R., & Bantebya-Kyomuhendo, G. (2014). *The shame of poverty*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, USA.

Walker, R., Kyomuhendo, G. B., Chase, E., Choudhry, S., Gubrium, E. K., Nicola, J. Y. & Ming, Y. (2013). Poverty in global perspective: Is shame a common denominator? *Journal of Social Policy*, *42*(02), 215-233. doi: 10.1017/S0047279412000979

Walklate, S., Hope, T., & Sparks, R. (2012). Trust and the problem of community in the inner city. In T. Hope & R. Sparks (Eds.), *Crime risk and insecurity: Law and order in everyday life and political discourse* (pp. 50–64). New York, NY: Routledge.

Walter, A. (2016). Immokalee wouldn't exist without fast food: The relational spatial politics of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, *12*(2), 380-406. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/W1f3Om

Walter, N. D., Painter, J., Parker, M., Lowenthal, P., Flood, J., Fu, Y. ... & Reves, R. (2014). Persistent latent tuberculosis reactivation risk in United States immigrants. *American Journal of Respiratory and Critical Care Medicine, 189*(1), 88-95. doi: 10.1164/rccm.201308-1480OC

Warren, R. & Warren, J. R. (2013). Unauthorized immigration to the United States: Annual estimates and components of change, by State, 1990 to 2010. *International Migration Review, 47*(2), 296-329. doi: 10.1111/imre.12022

Waters, M. C. (2015). Human rights for undocumented students and their families. *Harvard Educational Review, 85*, 305-309. doi: 10.17763/0017-8055.85.3.305

Watkins, J. P. (2014). Quantitative easing as a means of reducing unemployment: A new version of trickle-down economics. *Journal of Economic Issues, 48*(2), 431-440. doi: 10.2753/JEI0021-3624480217

White, D. E., Oelke, N. D., & Friesen, S. (2012). Management of a large qualitative data set: Establishing trustworthiness of the data. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 11*(3), 244-258. doi: 10.1177/160940691201100305

White, R. (2014). *Probing understanding*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Whitley, B. E., Kite, M. E., & Adams, H. L. (2012). *Principles of research in behavioral science*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Whittaker, A. (2012). *Research skills for social work*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Wickes, R., Hipp, J. R., Zahnow, R., & Mazerolle, L. (2013). Seeing minorities and perceptions of disorder: Explicating the mediating and moderating mechanisms of social cohesion. *Criminology, 51*(3), 519-560. doi: 10.1111/1745-9125.12011

Widén-Wulff, G. (2014). *The challenges of knowledge sharing in practice: A social approach*. Atlanta, GA: Elsevier.

Wight, V. R., Chau, M., & Aratani, Y. (2010). *Who are America's poor children? The official story*. New York, NY: National Center for Children in Poverty. Retrieved from http://nccp.org/publications/pdf/text_1001.pdf

Wilhite, A. W., & Fong, E. A. (2012). Coercive citation in academic publishing. *Science*, *335*(6068), 542-543. doi: 10.1126/science.1212540

Wilkinson, N., & Klaes, M. (2012). *An introduction to behavioral economics*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Williams, D. R., Mohammed, S. A., Leavell, J., & Collins, C. (2010). Race, socioeconomic status, and health: Complexities, ongoing challenges, and research opportunities. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *1186*(1), 69-101. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-6632.2009.05339.x

Williams, G. (2013). Sharing responsibility and holding responsible. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, *30*(4), 351-364. doi: 10.1111/japp.12019

Wilson, W. J. (2011). Being poor, black, and American: The impact of political, economic, and cultural forces. *American Educator*, *35*(1), 10. Retrieved from http://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ920512

Wilson, W. J. (2012). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

World Bank Group (Ed.). (2012). *World development indicators 2012*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/c9XRi

World Bank. (2011). *World development report 2011: Conflict, security, and development*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wunder, C., & Riphahn, R. T. (2014). The dynamics of welfare entry and exit among natives and immigrants. *Oxford Economic Papers, 66*(2), 580–604. doi: 10.1093/oep/gpt025

Yerkes, M., & van der Veen, R. (2011). Crisis and welfare state change in the Netherlands. *Social Policy & Administration*, *45*(4), 430-444. doi:

10.1111/j.1467-9515.2011.00783.x

Yin, R. K. (2010). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. New York, NY: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2015). *Applications of case study research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

York, J. (2012). Life in the spirit of Christ. *Leaven, 3*(1), 4. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/GQ8U0h

Zacharias, A., Masterson, T., & Kim, K. (2014). *Can child-care subsidies reduce poverty? Assessing the Korean experience using the Levy Institute Measure of Time and Income Poverty* (No. ppb_136). Levy Economics Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/0CGjQg

Zahariadis, N. (2014). Ambiguity and multiple streams. In P. A. Sabatier & C. Weible (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process* (pp. 25-58). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Zatz, M. S., & Smith, H. (2012). Immigration, crime, and victimization: Rhetoric and reality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *8*, 141-159. Retrieved from doi: 10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102811-173923

Zedner, L. (2013). Is the criminal law only for citizens? A problem at the borders of punishment. In K. F. Aas & M. Bosworth (Eds.), *The Borders of Punishment: Criminal Justice, Citizenship and Social Exclusion* (pp. 40-57). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Zehrer, A., Raich, F., Siller, H., &Tschiderer, F. (2014). Leadership networks in destinations. *Tourism Review*, *69*(1), 59-73. doi: 10.1108/TR-06-2013-0037

Zimmerman, C. (2011). Undocumented immigrants, left out of health reform, likely to

continue to grow as a share of the uninsured. *Findings brief: Health care financing & organization*, *14*(9), 1-3. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/LmHUFX

Zimmerman, C., Kiss, L., & Hossain, M. (2011). Migration and health: A framework for 21st century policymaking. *PLoS Med*, *8*(5), e1001034. doi: 10.1371/journal.pmed.1001034

Zuckerman, S., Waidmann, T. A., & Lawton, E. (2011). Undocumented immigrants, left out of health reform, likely to continue to grow as share of the uninsured. *Health Affairs*, *30*(10), 1997-2004. doi: 10.1377/hlthaff.2011.0604

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Participant Number: _____

Male ☐ Female ☐

Screening and Descriptive questions:

1. Where are you from and how old are you?

R.-

2. What is your level of education?

R.-

3. Do you have kids? If yes, how many?

R.-

4. Did they come with you or were they born in the United States?

R.-

5. How long have you been living in the U.S.?

R.-

**Interview Questions**

Q1. - Do you have work visa, work permit, or permanent residence?

R.-

Q2. - Why and how did you come to the United State?

R.-

Q3. - Did you come straight to Immokalee, upon entering the country?

R.-

Q4. - How long have you been living in Immokalee?

R.-

Q5. - Why did you choose Immokalee?

R. -

Q6. – How many other people do support financially?

R.-

Q7. - Do you think you are living in poverty?

R.-

Q8. - Do you consider yourself poor?

R.-

Q9. - Do they live with you here in Immokalee?

R.-

Q10. - How easy is it (or was it) for you to find work in Immokalee?

R.-

Q11. - What type of work do you do?

R.-

Q12. - How much money do you make per hour, week, or month?

R.-

Q13. - Are you happy with the amount of money you are making?

R.-

Q14. - Do you think you are living in poverty?

R.-

Q15. - Are you making enough money to take care of your family?

R.-

Q16. - Have you been able to save some of this money for emergency?

R.-

Q17. - What are the reasons that keep you in the United States?

R.-

Q17. - Did you come straight to Immokalee, Florida upon entering the U.S?

R.-

Q18. - Do you feel any different from friends of yours who have papers?

R.-

Q19. - Do you have other relatives in the United States? If yes are they legal?

R.-

Q20. - Has it been easy for you to find work in Immokalee?

R.-

Q21. - Why do you choose this community?

R.-

Q22. - If you were to leave where would you go?

R.-

Q23. - How do local immigration agents treat you in Immokalee?

R.-

Q24. - Do the immigration agents follow you or do they ignore you?

R.-

Q25. - What do you do when you are not working?

R.-

Q26. - Have you had any problem with immigration officials in Immokalee?

R.-

What would you like me to know about you that I have not asked during this interview?

Appendix B: IRB Guidance Communication

From: IRB <IRB@waldenu.edu>

Date: Thu, Jan 15, 2015 at 4:25 PM

Subject: RE: Interviewing Research Participants of Protected Status

To: Julio Loiseau <julio.loiseau@waldenu.edu>

Cc: IRB <IRB@waldenu.edu>

Hi Julio,

Yes, previous students have conducted interviews with undocumented immigrants with no problems. We recommend that you not ask for their full name at any point. Please explore alternative options for documenting consent (such as audio recording the consent process of you explaining the study and them agreeing, and then later transcribing and then destroying the original recording). There is no reason for you to obtain a full name or signature. We can provide more feedback once you complete the IRB application—full board review is not required if your data collection is anonymous and if their participation is discreet (i.e., not easily observed by others).

Sincerely,

Libby

Research Ethics Support Specialist

Office of Research Ethics and Compliance

Walden University

100 Washington Avenue South, Suite 900

Minneapolis, MN 55401

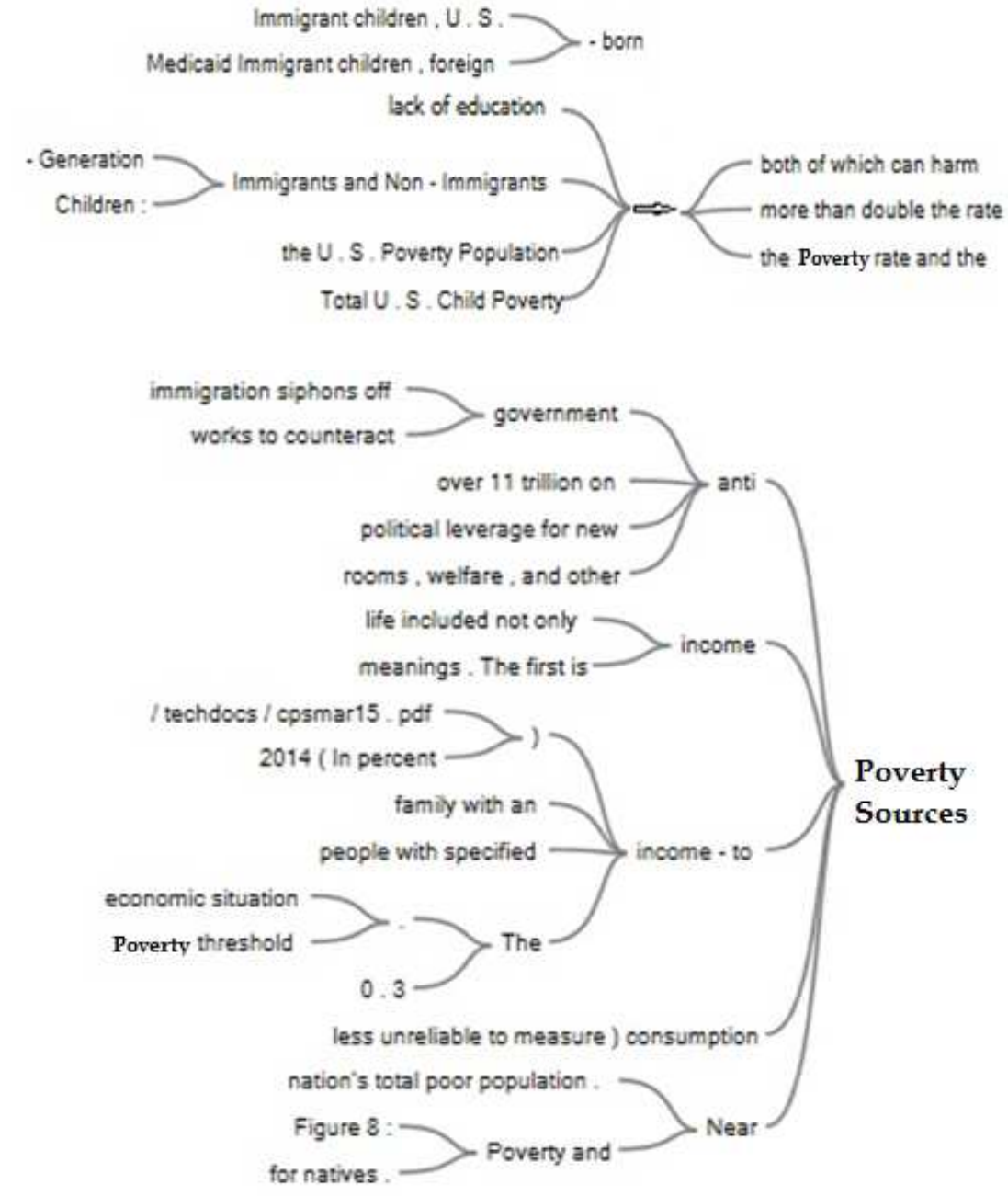
(612) 312-1283

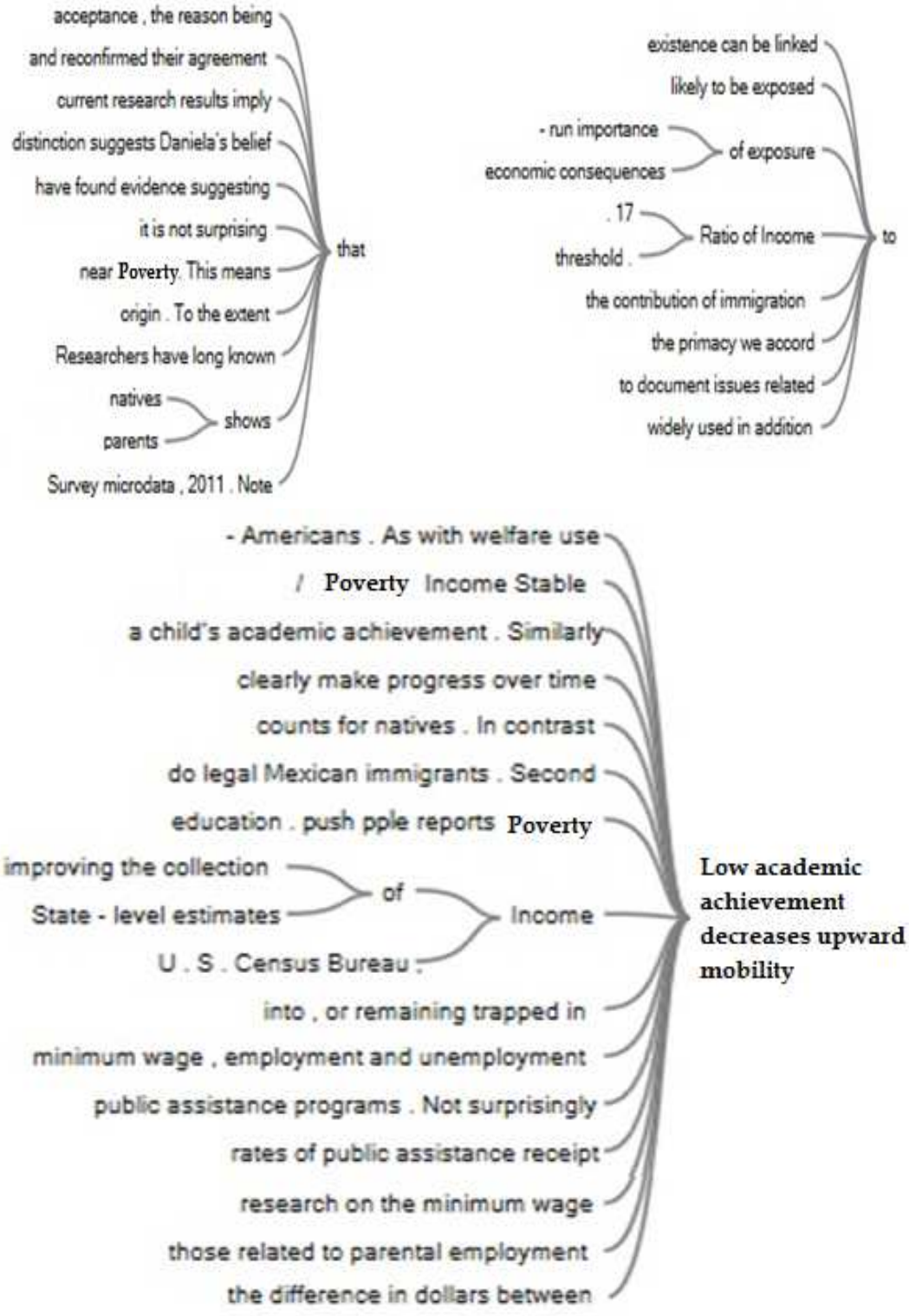
Information about the Walden University Institutional Review Board, including instructions for application, may be found at this link:

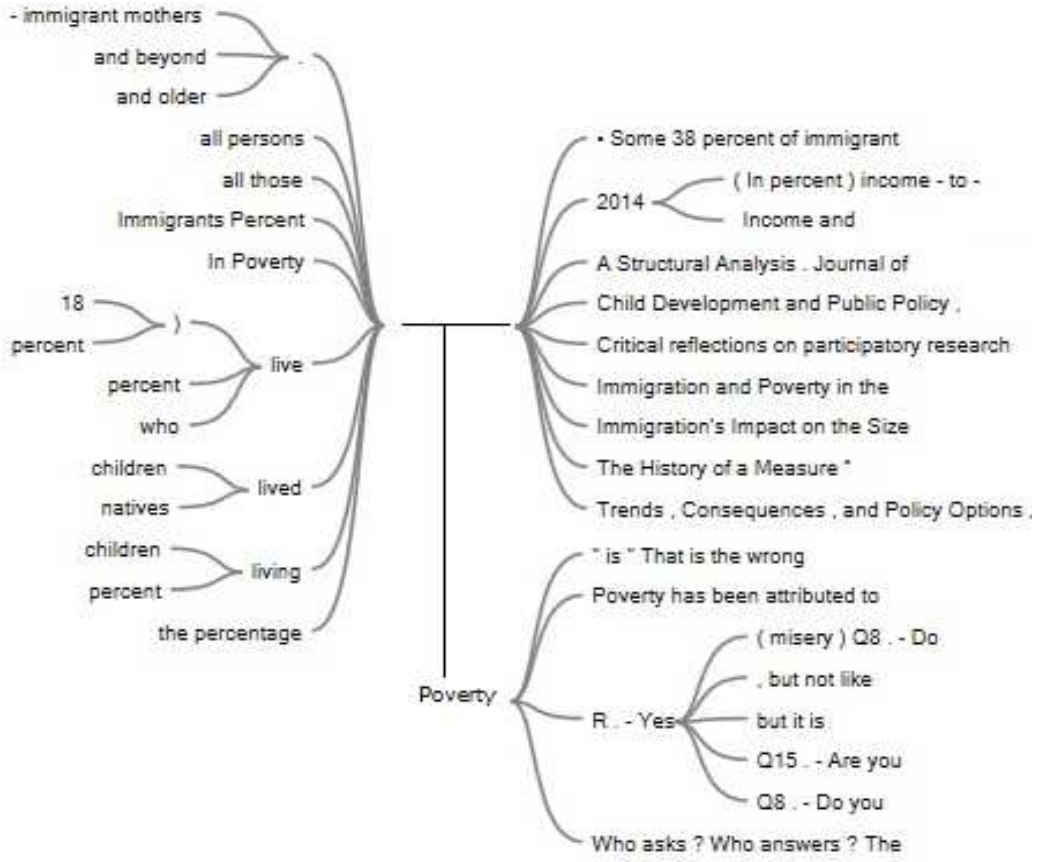
http://academicguides.waldenu.edu/researchcenter/orec

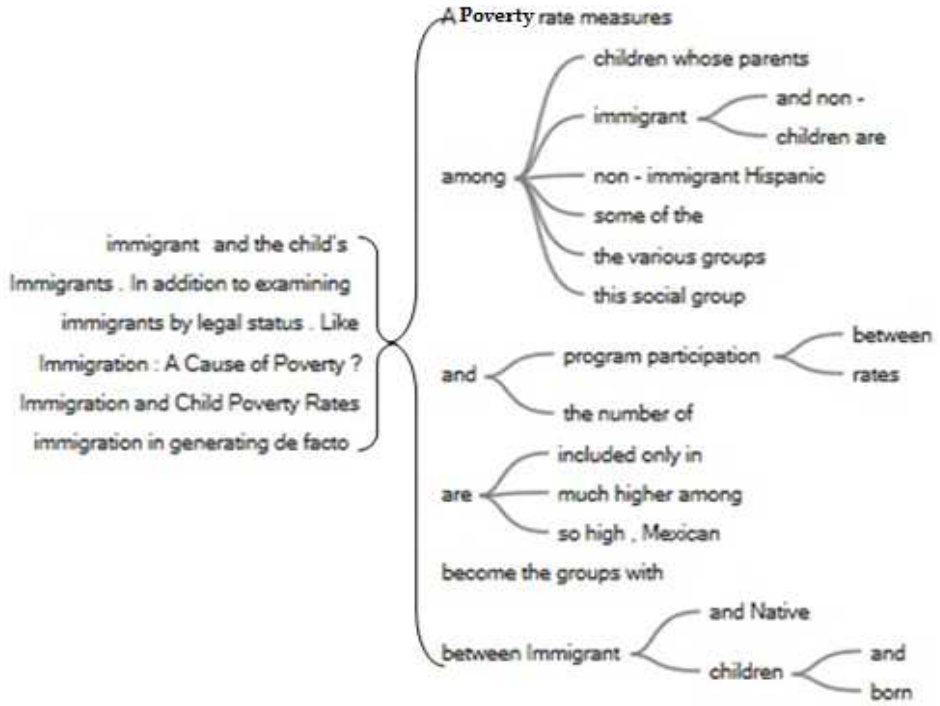
Appendix C: Nvivo Word Tree

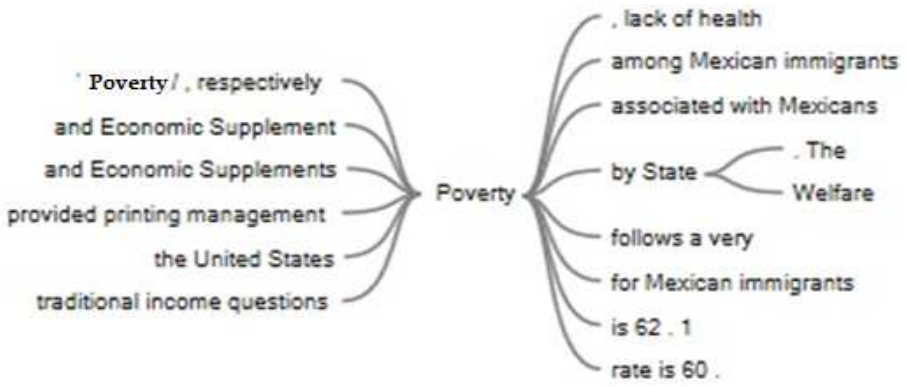
A thorough analysis of the available data conducted shows the disproportion that certainly leads to economic disparity and downward mobility which eventually affect the American society.




acceptance , the reason being
and reconfirmed their agreement
current research results imply
distinction suggests Daniela's belief
have found evidence suggesting
it is not surprising
near Poverty. This means
origin . To the extent
Researchers have long known
natives
parents
shows
Survey microdata , 2011 . Note
that
existence can be linked
likely to be exposed
- run importance
economic consequences
of exposure
. 17
threshold .
Ratio of Income
to
the contribution of immigration
the primacy we accord
to document issues related
widely used in addition
- Americans . As with welfare use
/ Poverty Income Stable
a child"s academic achievement . Similarly
clearly make progress over time
counts for natives . In contrast
do legal Mexican immigrants . Second
education . push pple reports Poverty
improving the collection
State - level estimates
of
U . S . Census Bureau ;
Income
into , or remaining trapped in
minimum wage , employment and unemployment
public assistance programs . Not surprisingly
rates of public assistance receipt
research on the minimum wage
those related to parental employment
the difference in dollars between
Low academic achievement decreases upward mobility


- immigrant mothers
and beyond
and older
all persons
all those
Immigrants Percent
In Poverty
18
percent
percent
who
live
children
natives
lived
children
percent
living
the percentage
• Some 38 percent of immigrant
2014
( In percent ) income - to -
Income and
A Structural Analysis . Journal of
Child Development and Public Policy ,
Critical reflections on participatory research
Immigration and Poverty in the
Immigration's Impact on the Size
The History of a Measure "
Trends , Consequences , and Policy Options ,
Poverty
" is " That is the wrong
Poverty has been attributed to
R . - Yes
( misery ) Q8 . - Do
, but not like
but it is
Q15 . - Are you
Q8 . - Do you
Who asks ? Who answers ? The


immigrant and the child's
Immigrants . In addition to examining
immigrants by legal status . Like
Immigration : A Cause of Poverty ?
Immigration and Child Poverty Rates
immigration in generating de facto
A Poverty rate measures
among
children whose parents
immigrant
and non -
children are
non - immigrant Hispanic
some of the
the various groups
this social group
and
program participation
between
rates
the number of
are
included only in
much higher among
so high , Mexican
become the groups with
between Immigrant
and Native
children
and
born




*Note*. This word tree shows that the decrease of social benefits, discrimination, or action taken to restrict an individual development will have the highest impact considering that childhood poverty will eventually breed poor adult.