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The Constantly Contingent Sense of Belonging of the 1.5 Generation Undocumented Youth: An Everyday Perspective

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THE CONSTANTLY CONTINGENT SENSE OF BELONGING OF THE 1.5 GENERATION UNDOCUMENTED YOUTH AN EVERYDAY PERSPECTIVE

PhD Series 21-2016

Elizabeth Benedict Christensen

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AN EVERYDAY PERSPECTIVE

The PhD School of LIMAC

PhD Series 21.2016

CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

The Constantly Contingent Sense of Belonging of the 1.5 Generation Undocumented Youth

An Everyday Perspective

Elizabeth Benedict Christensen

Supervisors:
Maribel Blasco
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PhD School LIMAC
Copenhagen Business School

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I qualitatively explore the everyday lived experiences of thirty-three 1.5 generation undocumented youth (1.5GUY) in the United States. Specifically, I examine how 1.5GUY experience and cope with sense of belonging (SofB) in their everyday lives in relation to their undocumented legal status (ULS).

These youth, who have migrated at or before the age of twelve, have grown up and been socialized in the United States. Due to the Supreme Court Case, *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), primary and secondary (K-12) educational access has been extended to all children, regardless of legal immigration status. Because the 1.5GUY have the opportunity to participate in everyday social, educational, and cultural life even despite their ULS, their experiences of belonging are relatively privileged in relation to their second generation undocumented contemporaries. However, their opportunity for participation parity is temporary, decreasing, and comes to an abrupt end during their transitions to adulthood, when the need for legal status becomes increasingly more salient in everyday life.

In my exploratory and phenomenological study, I analyze narratives constructed through semi-structured interviews with 1.5GUY and supplement this material with data from participant observation. In my examination, I focus on the relationship between ULS and SofB in everyday life, and especially the relationship between emotions, experiences, and performances. I analyze empirical material for the presence of emotions and experiences related to SofB, for example attachment, comfort, inclusion, participation, identification, safety, and community and conversely, insecurity, instability, uncertainty, doubt, compromised identity, and exclusion that may influence SofB. I am interested in the banalities of everyday scenarios—actions, interactions, and locations—that shape the 1.5GUY's SofB. To capture the dynamics and diversity of experiences, emotions, and coping strategies related to SofB, I incorporate theories of identity, recognition, and citizenship, and related concepts such as the right to the city, participation parity, and coming out.

My findings illustrate that ULS clearly influences SofB in everyday life, but ULS alone cannot explain youth's experiences of SofB. While ULS remains constant, SofB constantly changes. It is precisely through educational participation that even 1.5GUY who knew their ULS growing up can experience an illusory SofB. Knowledge of ULS alone does not necessarily negate SofB and thus, knowledge of

ULS is not the same as living ULS. At the same time, various empirical examples from the familial, educational, and public spheres illustrate early effects of ULS on SofB. Youth's childhood memories reveal how parents influence 1.5GUY's SofB growing up, including how parents approach discussions and disclosure of ULS, condition expectations, or take purposeful actions to condition everyday activities. Youth's narratives reveal a range of intersectional influences on SofB, for example race, ethnicity, culture, language, physical appearance, etc. To mitigate or avoid negative experiences and feelings in relation to ULS, the 1.5GUY undertake a number of coping strategies to navigate everyday life, including purposeful action or conversely, avoidance of thoughts, actions, and locations. That youth purposely undertake these actions or avoidance strategies illustrates that they are active agents constructing their SofB, but also makes evident that ULS necessitates these actions. As such, the everyday is anything but banal, relaxed, or routine for 1.5GUY operating within the limitations of ULS.

With this empirical material, I make a number of theoretical contributions. Conceptually, SofB is often formulated on binaries. For example, one either experiences SofB or "non-belonging," but my findings demonstrate that emotions, experiences, and performances are contradictory and complex. By focusing on the details of everyday life, I find that youth's SofB is multidimensional, dynamic, and constantly contingent; the 1.5GUY represented here constantly come in and out of SofB. Their SofB is multilayered and multi-dynamic; even within the same context, minute thematic or linguistic changes can influence SofB. That some 1.5GUY initially experience challenges to their SofB, then construct their SofB in relation to their American peers, and then encounter challenges to SofB illustrates that SofB is neither unidirectional nor cumulative. While experiences of inclusion and participation allow 1.5GUY to experience SofB, they do not guarantee SofB; as such, these concepts should not be used interchangeably. My findings reveal that at times, 1.5GUY's SofB may be influenced by trade-offs between two non-preferred experiences or choices. Furthermore, my findings demonstrate an intense desire for feelings and experiences of normalcy, as well as the comfort that comes from anonymity and non-recognition. Though ULS presents various challenges to the 1.5GUY's everyday SofB, concluding that they do not experience SofB is too simplistic. My findings illustrate that 1.5GUY can experience albeit a precarious SofB in everyday life, including through social movement participation. However, youth's narratives filled with stress and anxiety associated with the constant uncertainty ULS brings now and into the future, reveal that the 1.5GUY are unable to control every facet of their

everyday lives. As such, the SofB that can be achieved through situational experiences is not an alternative to the ultimate SofB that recognition and legalization might provide.

Resumé

I denne afhandling foretager jeg en kvalitativ undersøgelse af de erfaringer som 33 1.5-generations udokumenterede unge indvandrere (1.5GUY) i USA lever med i hverdagen med henblik på at afdække, hvordan 1.5GUY både oplever og håndterer tilhørsforhold (SofB) i deres hverdag, specielt i relation til deres status som ULS.

Jeg undersøger unge, der er migreret enten før eller omkring tolv-års alderen, og som er vokset op og socialiseret i USA. Takket være en højesteretssag, *Plyler mod Doe* (1982), har alle børn og unge uanset om de har opholdstilladelse eller ej, ret til undervisning på folkeskole- og gymnasieniveau (K-12), og 1.5GUY har på den måde øget adgang til at deltage i hverdagen fra starten af deres liv i USA. 1.5GUY er derfor inkorporeret i både den uddannelsesmæssige, kulturelle og sociale struktur af nationen, trods deres status som udokumenterede (ULS) og deres erfaringer med tilhørsforhold er relativt privilegeret i forhold til anden generations udokumenterede indvandrere. Muligheden for at deltage på lige fod med andre er dog kun midlertidig, og kommer til en brat ende ved overgangen til voksenalderen, når behovet for juridisk status og dermed lovligt ophold bliver stadig mere nødvendigt.

I min fænomenologiske undersøgelse analyserer jeg 33 fortællinger fra 1.5GUY, som jeg har indsamlet gennem semistrukturerede interviews og deltagerobservationer. Jeg undersøger specifikt forholdet mellem ULS og SofB i de unges hverdagsliv, og især spillet mellem følelser, oplevelser og adfærd. Jeg analyserer det empiriske materiale for følelser og oplevelser i forbindelse med SofB, såsom tilhørsforhold, inklusion, deltagelse, identifikation, og sikkerhed, men omvendt også i forbindelse med det modsatte, nemlig eksklusion, tvivl, instabilitet, usikkerhed, og udstødelse, der kan udfordre SofB. Jeg fokuserer på hverdags-banaliteter, f.eks rutiner, interaktioner og steder som påvirker 1.5GUYs SofB. For at redegøre for de unges (1.5GUYs) dynamiske og forskelligartede følelser, oplevelser og tilpasningsstrategier i forhold til SofB, anvender jeg teorier såsom identitet, anerkendelse og statsborgerskab, samt relaterede begreber som “the right to the city,” “participation parity” og “coming out.”

Resultaterne af mine empiriske undersøgelser viser, at de unge’s status som ULS tydeligvis påvirker deres SofB i hverdagen, men også at den gør det på forskellige måder og ikke i sig selv kan forklare deres SofB. ULS er konstant, men SofB er hele tiden underlagt forandring. Bevidstheden om ULS alene umuliggør ikke nødvendigvis SofB; bevidstheden om ULS er ikke det samme som at leve med

ULS. Det er netop deltagelse i uddannelsessystemet i hverdagen, som gør det muligt for 1.5GUY at opnå en form for SofB. Samtidig ses der forskellige empiriske eksempler på, hvordan ULS påvirker SofB i familielivet, uddannelsen og offentlige rum. De unges tidlige barndomserindringer viser forældrenes indflydelse på deres barns SofB, f.eks i forhold til hvordan de afslører børnenes ULS, håndterer diskussioner omkring ULS eller bevidst forsøger at forberede deres barns aktiviteter i dagligdagen. Nogle fortællinger afslører derudover en række tværsektorielle indflydelser på SofB, f.eks race, etnicitet, kultur, sprog, fysisk udseende osv. For at afbøde eller undgå negative erfaringer og følelser i forbindelse med ULS, benytter 1.5GUY en række strategier til at navigere i hverdagen, herunder målrettet handling eller omvendt undgåelse af tanker, handlinger og lokaliteter. At unge med vilje foretager sådanne handlinger eller undvigelser illustrerer tydeligt, at de er aktive aktører i selv at skabe deres SofB, men gør det også klart, at ULS nødvendiggør disse strategier. Inden for disse rammer er hverdagen alt andet end banal, afslappet eller rutinemæssig for 1.5GUY.

Med dette empiriske materiale bidrager jeg på flere måder til teorien om SofB. Begrebsmæssigt forstås SofB ofte som en binær opposition mellem Belonging og Not-Belonging. Mine empiriske resultater viser imidlertid, at der kan være meget forskelligartede følelser på samme tid og at de faktisk kan være indbyrdes modstridende. Ved at fokusere på detaljerne i hverdagen, viser jeg, at SofB er multidimensional, dynamisk og under konstant forandring afhængig af situationen. Selv inden for samme situation kan små ændringer som ændringer i sprog eller samtaleemne destabilisere eller udfordre SofB. Endvidere er SofB hverken unidirektionel eller kumulativ: nogle 1.5GUY overvinder de første udfordringer og følelsen af at være anderledes og kan i sidste ende se sig selv og deres handlinger i forhold til deres amerikanske jævnaldrende, men oplever alligevel sidenhen konstant at blive udfordret i hverdagen. Dette viser tydeligvis, at SofB ikke automatisk stiger over tid.

Mens erfaringerne med inklusion og deltagelse tillader de unge at opnå SofB, garanterer de ikke SofB; disse begreber bør derfor ikke blandes sammen. Mine resultater viser også, at unge kan være nødsaget til at vælge mellem to negative følelser i deres bestræbelser på at opnå mest mulig SofB i hverdagen. Selvom ULS er en udfordring for 1.5GUYs SofB i det daglige, ville det være for forenklet at konkludere, at der ikke er nogen SofB eller et sted at høre til. Mine resultater illustrerer, at 1.5GUY faktisk kan opnå SofB gennem "social movement participation." Man skal dog holde sig for øje, at

deltagelse inden for en organisatorisk ramme såsom ”social movement participation” ikke er et alternativ til den ultimative SofB, som en legalisering kan give.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Everyday Sense of Belonging & 1.5 Generation Undocumented Youth

Achieving a sense of belonging by experiencing attachments to, identification with, or acceptance in relation to peoples, places, and modes-of-being has been argued to be a human desire and necessity (e.g. Anthias, 2006; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Psychologists have emphasized that belonging is a fundamental human need which shapes interactions and is crucial for living a meaningful and grounded life (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Beatley, 2004; Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier, 1992; Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996; Lambert, Stillman, Hicks, Kamble, Baumeister, & Fincham, 2013). Psychologists have further asserted that experiencing belonging is almost as compelling a need as food, that humans are fundamentally and pervasively conditioned to desire and seek belonging via enduring interpersonal attachments, and that lacking a sense of belonging (SofB)¹ causes deprivation to mental and physical health and well-being (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Hagerty et al., 1996; Lambert et al., 2013). Yet while experiencing SofB is an everyday need, individuals may not reflect upon its importance or presence until they realize these emotions, attachments, and relations are compromised or absent (Anthias, 2006). Furthermore, it has been argued that attaining SofB is increasingly complex due to globalization, immigration, and multiculturalism, yet also increasingly salient: “one of the greatest democratic challenges today is associated with migration and inclusion of ethnic minorities, but also because the question of belonging and unbelonging has become a dominant discourse in the public debate” (Christensen, 2009, p. 22).

This question of belonging and unbelonging is not only relevant, but also particularly interesting in relation to the approximately 2.1 million undocumented² youth³ living in the United States, and

¹ In this dissertation, I shorten “sense of belonging” to SofB.

² I consciously use the term “undocumented” to describe the legal status of these individuals. Terms such as “irregular,” “unauthorized,” or “illegal” appear in this dissertation as a reflection of the way alternative terms are used in scholarly literature and across geographic contexts. I personally do not use the term “illegal,” as this against the wishes of many 1.5GUY whose narratives are explored in later sections, as well as the concept that “no human being is illegal.”

³ Undocumented youth constitute about 19% of the total population of 11.7 million undocumented immigrants (Passel et al 2014). Undocumented immigrants come from countries around the world: 81% from Latin America (of which 58% come from Mexico), 11% from Asia, 4% from Europe or Canada, and 4% from other regions (Wasem 2012:6). Some enter the U.S. without inspection, crossing the U.S. border alone or with the assistance of a coyote, or human smuggler, while

especially those of the 1.5 generation⁴ who have migrated at or before the age of twelve. Their in-between immigration cohort (1.5 generation), current life stage (youth), and legal status (undocumented)⁵ make the circumstances conditioning their experiences unique. They were born abroad, may remember their homelands, and still hold on to past modes-of-being. Yet their young age at arrival, combined with the right to education established by *Plyler v. Doe* (1982),⁶ means that the 1.5 generation undocumented youth⁷ have not only grown up in the United States, but that they have been included in everyday life in ways unknown to their undocumented adult contemporaries. Thus, in relation to the second generation, the 1.5GUY occupy a relatively privileged position, which has been described to be “a more stable point of entry into American society” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 9) that allows the 1.5GUY to construct their SofB through “deeper, more intimate” experiences (Gonzales, 2015, p. xxi). In their early lives, the illusory social, cultural, and educational belonging youth experience renders their ULS less salient. It has therefore been concluded that the 1.5GUY “enjoy spaces of belonging that supersede legal citizenship” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 5). Processes of educational inclusion extend the right to participate in everyday life on a par with peers, not only educating and socializing these youth, but also recognizing and legitimizing them as members of society.

However, the very individuals recognized as rights-bearers in need of special protection, granted the right to education, and validated as members through legal protection and educational participation are no longer validated and recognized as everyday adults. It has been argued that as these youth approach adulthood, “these young people who migrate with their parents at early ages, and grow up in the United States, move through confusing and contradictory experiences of belonging and rejection as they make critical transitions to adolescence and adulthood” (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013, p. 1175). The challenges and barriers facing the 1.5GUY as they attempt to partake in typical American teenage rites of passage such as obtaining driver’s licenses, voting, applying for and attending university, or obtaining a job or career are well documented (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011;

approximately 40% enter legally with short term business, work, or tourist visas (Murray 2013); when their visa expires, so does their legal stay.

⁴ I examine the existing definitions and research on the 1.5 generation in greater depth in Chapter Two.

⁵ Throughout this dissertation, I shorten “undocumented legal status” to ULS. When “status” appears in quotations from youth, this also refers to ULS.

⁶ I elaborate on this Supreme Court case in Chapter Two.

⁷ I often shorten “1.5 generation undocumented youth” to “1.5GUY,” but also use “youth” to refer to the 1.5 generation undocumented youth’s experiences represented in this dissertation.

Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013).

Scholars have also described the poverty, frustration, and disenfranchisement facing undocumented youth as their ULS challenges or prevents their social mobility in ways unknown to legal immigrants in the past (Abrego, 2006; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010).

Though the 1.5GUY have grown up in the United States, these long-term, non-legal residents are currently without a pathway to citizenship, an easy way—or perhaps any way—to regularize ULS, and the right to stay and continue their adult lives in what many consider “their” country. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, or “DREAM Act,” was initially proposed in 2001 to establish a pathway to citizenship for approximately 2.1 million undocumented youth who are under age sixteen, have lived in the United States for at least five years, are of good “moral” standing, and have a high school degree or equivalent (see e.g. American Immigration Council, 2011; DREAM Act Portal). Critically, however, it has never passed, leaving no other pathway to citizenship or legal status for millions of 1.5GUY. Through Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA),⁸ some 1.5GUY have been eligible for a two-year legal stay, including authorization for state-based driver’s licenses and employment (e.g. USCIS, 2016). However, this is not a pathway to citizenship or long-term legal status. Scholars have therefore argued that the 1.5GUY experience life “both inside and outside the circle of belonging” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 16), that youth are “simultaneously included and excluded from U.S. society” (Abrego, 2008, p. 714), and that “these contradictions open up spaces for” youth “to stake their sense of belonging in the United States” (Abrego, 2008, p. 731). If 1.5GUY simultaneously experience inclusion and exclusion, and furthermore progressively move through confusing and contradictory experiences into adulthood, what happens to their SofB and how can these contradictions shed light on the concept of SofB?

Researchers in the field of undocumented immigration have suggested that focusing on the 1.5GUY’s everyday experiences in relation to SofB can illuminate important yet understudied phenomena (e.g. Abrego, 2011; Buff, 2008; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013; Nicholls, 2013). It has also argued that while we know ULS affects individuals and interactions, we still do not know much qualitatively about how ULS structures the everyday lives of the heterogeneous undocumented population (Menjívar, 2006). Several scholars have noted the particular

⁸ I discuss DACA in more detail in Chapter Two.

paucity of qualitative understanding about the 1.5GUY's everyday lived experiences (e.g. Abrego, 2008; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011; Perez, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011). Overall, “we have not uncovered the diverse sets of undocumented experiences” (Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012, p. 3), including “how prolonged exclusion from legal status shapes one’s sense of belonging in society” (Cebulko, 2014, p. 161).

1.2 Exploring the 1.5 Generation Undocumented Youth’s Everyday SofB

With the aim to qualitatively capture a diversity of experiences, a flexible research methodology and epistemology is necessary. I therefore undertake an exploratory and purposely non hypothesis-driven study to capture a range of emotions and experiences. Within the field of undocumented immigration, scholars have made various suggestions for future research. I am particularly inspired by the following four themes: the subjective understanding of living an abject life (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012); everyday modes-of-being (Willen, 2007); how prolonged legal exclusion shapes SofB (Cebulko, 2014); and the socio-emotional implications of ULS (Gonzales et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). From these themes and research gaps, I derive my focus on exploring how the 1.5GUY intersubjectively experience everyday SofB. Theoretically, I estimate SofB to be a useful conceptual point of departure through which to examine the socio-emotional implications of ULS in everyday life in the past, present, and future.

Such a focus can reveal how immigration policy is experienced from below, as policies structure the everyday lives and SofB of individuals living within the confines of the nation, but outside legal belonging. Exploring how this “condition of illegality” (e.g. de Genova, 2002, 2004) is experienced from below requires qualitative data generated in direct collaboration with 1.5GUY. In turn, qualitative data, such as narratives, can “sensitize policymakers, politicians, and potentially even broader public audiences to the challenging, often deeply anxiety-producing, at times terrifying consequences” (Willen, 2007, p. 28) of immigration laws and policies. An empirical study can contribute knowledge about SofB at the local and national levels, including if and how 1.5GUY experience SofB in everyday life despite lack of legal belonging. Narratives can also reveal emerging forms of quasi citizenship, as well as the everyday importance of possessing a legal identity in one’s country of residency. Further, narratives can contribute to the growing, but not-yet saturated field linking immigration policy to 1.5GUY’s identity formation processes (e.g. Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales &

Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013; Yoshikawa, 2011). Particularly, narratives of sense of self and identity—as related to SofB—can capture emotional and mental well-being issues, a field in which a “dearth of empirical knowledge leaves many questions” (Gonzales et al., 2013, p. 1176; see also Gonzales, 2015). Finally, as existing research on the 1.5GUY points to dissonance between cultural, legal, social, and educational belonging, narratives can likely contribute to what scholars have argued is an “under-theorized” concept of SofB (Anthias, 2006; Miller, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

1.3 Research Question

With inspiration from the themes and gaps mentioned above, the question I qualitatively explore is:

1. How do 1.5 generation undocumented youth experience and cope with sense of belonging in their everyday lives?

Additionally, I aim to use empirical insights to engage in a conceptual development of SofB.

1.4 Structuring the Dissertation

Before addressing my research question, I examine existing scholarship related to the experiences of the 1.5GUY, including research on immigration cohort and ULS (Chapter Two). I continue by discussing the current state of the theory of SofB, the concept of the everyday, and relevant theories such social identity, recognition, and citizenship (Chapter Three). I then establish qualitative research methodology, epistemology, and other methodological considerations (Chapter Four). I explore empirical material in three chapters. In the first (Chapter Five), I focus on early childhood experiences of immigration and growing up in the United States, primarily focusing on familial and educational experiences. In the second (Chapter Six), I build upon existing research in relation to adolescent blocked rites of passage by exploring everyday impacts to SofB and youth’s related coping strategies. In the third, (Chapter Seven), I examine how common, everyday scenarios challenge SofB in the recent past and into the future, including the coping strategies 1.5GUY undertake to manage these omnipresent challenges. Finally, I discuss empirical and theoretical findings (Chapter Eight), before drawing general conclusions and making suggestions for future research (Chapter Nine).

2 Examining Existing Research on the Everyday Belonging of 1.5GUY

Exploring the relationship between SofB and ULS in everyday life can lead to a greater understanding of how 1.5GUY experience the contradictions that shape their daily lives, and especially how immigration policy is experienced from below. Of the 1.5GUY, Gonzales (2015) has contended that “it is imperative that researchers develop a better understanding of how this group negotiates liminal lives between belonging and exclusion” (p. 28). However, the exploration of how 1.5GUY in the United States experience and cope with SofB in their everyday lives is largely underexplored by scholars (for exceptions see Benedict Christensen, 2014, 2015; Gonzales, 2015). As such, we have yet to qualitatively uncover the diversity of the 1.5GUY’s lived experiences, and in particular, the way they navigate the micro-dynamics and contradictions of everyday life with and despite ULS. Beyond contributing empirically, the strength of investigating the relation between ULS, SofB, and everyday life is that “an examination of an extended marginal legality can lay bare crucial aspects of immigrant life essential for theorizing about immigrant incorporation, exclusion, citizenship, and belonging that lie at the core of varied forms of assimilation” (Menjívar, 2006, p. 1007). In this chapter, I explore existing research closely related to the 1.5GUY’s belonging and SofB, establish qualitative research gaps, and turn to research which is relevant for exploring how the 1.5GUY’s SofB is constructed and managed in everyday life, such as existing research on the 1.5 generation, the school system, families, and undocumented immigration.

Scholars concerned with belonging and sense of belonging have asserted that the concept is particularly salient within immigration studies and studying everyday lives, but also that the concept of “belonging” is overused, undertheorized, rarely defined, and contested (e.g. Ahmed, 2011; Anthias, 2006; Christensen, 2009; Christensen & Jensen, 2011; Probyn, 2006; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006). In relation to research on the 1.5GUY, belonging and sense of belonging are often used interchangeably, without clear definition, in conjunction with, or even conflated with other concepts. For example, scholars have asked “how does everyday reality inform a sense of identity, belonging, and citizenship” (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012, p. 257) and used the concept of abjectivity to capture the subjective experiences. The concepts of belonging and sense of belonging have been used in relation with scholarship on identity and claims for inclusion (Abrego, 2011); as

processes of minimizing stigma and increasing social standing (Abrego, 2011, p. 359); the politics of in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants as “issues of citizenship and belonging” (Buff, 2008, p. 309); and an issue of social and structural exclusion (Cebulko, 2014, p. 144, 155). Belonging has also been used in reference to the desire to be “recognized as a human being” (Nicholls, 2013, p. 1) or “considered ‘an actual person’” (Cebulko, 2014, p. 158).

Experiences of belonging have been contrasted to those of exclusion, e.g. as 1.5GUY move from “spaces of belonging to spaces of exclusion” and thus acceptance to rejection, over time and as they exit the educational system (Gonzales, 2015, p. 33). In an examination of experiences of inclusion and exclusion, scholars found that the internalization of stigmas and discrimination associated with ULS has consequences on identity, relationships, and mental health (Gonzales et al., 2013, p. 1185); these consequences are so far ranging that the authors concluded these youth have “no place to belong” (Gonzales et al., 2013, p. 1185) and entitled their article accordingly. Undocumented youth have also been characterized as “not belonging in any particular space or place” (Corrunker, 2012, p. 151). That there is “no place” for the 1.5GUY to belong suggests that SofB can be absolutely qualified—it either exists or is absent. Overall, researchers examining the 1.5GUY’s experiences have often used SofB as an accessory to other concepts. As SofB receives little explicit theoretical attention (for an exception, see Gonzales, 2015), the diversity of everyday experiences of SofB is yet to be uncovered.

Studying the 1.5GUY’s narratives and everyday experiences through the conceptual lens of SofB and in relation to ULS can reveal the “double-edged nature of citizenship” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 7; see also Gonzales, 2011). In this regard, SofB can be achieved even by those individuals without citizenship status, yet simultaneously, citizenship status is no guarantee for SofB. While studying undocumented youth and their experiences through other conceptual framework or foci, scholars have documented this phenomenon. For example, Nicholls (2013) focused on the undocumented youth-led social movement and found that youth have a “strong sense of belonging to the United States” (p. 2, 47) despite their non-legal residency and their absent legal belonging. In her Californian study, Abrego (2006) concluded that “socially, undocumented youth are indisputably full-fledged members of US society” (p. 227). However, across the nation in Massachusetts, Cebulko (2014) documented in her work with 1.5 generation Brazilian youth of various non-legal statuses that lack of legal belonging is preventing American identification, even when youth feel “Americanized.” She also found that the generational

status of Brazilian 1.5GUY can “exacerbate” their “legal uncertainty...as they often have few memories of the birth country to which they could be deported” (2014, p. 145) and has therefore specifically called for researchers to examine how long-term legal exclusion shapes undocumented youth’s SofB. By explicitly focusing on everyday experiences and strategies related to SofB, we can better understand how the 1.5GUY live and react to the contradictions of ULS in their daily lives.

2.1 Research Gaps

2.1.1 Lack of Qualitative Understanding

Scholars have documented the general lack of qualitative understanding about the lived experiences of immigrant children and youth, and especially those with ULS. While Rumbaut (2004, 2005) has quantitatively contributed with knowledge about this population, he asked of the 1.5 generation: “what about their sense of identity, of belonging, and ethnic loyalty?” (2005, p. 117). Immigration scholars have acknowledged the lack of attention to children and youth, and have argued that aside from bilingual education, most research focuses on immigrant adults to the detriment of children and youth (e.g. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Zhou (1997a) wrote that this is “to the neglect of child immigrants and immigrant offspring, creating a profound gap between the strategic importance of these children and the knowledge about their conditions” (p. 64; see also Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Applied Linguist Talmy (2004) argued of the 1.5 generation—including those with legal status—that because studies have focused mostly on macro-level processes, they offer “little insight into the ways that social actors negotiate the complex, dynamic, and often-contradictory conditions of everyday life” (p. 151; see also Benesch, 2008). Across contexts, scholars have observed a lack of qualitative knowledge about how citizenship is experienced from below (e.g. Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Lister, Smith, Middleton, & Cox 2003; Miller-Idriss, 2006; Nordberg, 2006); while 1.5GUY are neither citizens nor legal residents, examining their experience can contribute qualitative understanding to how citizenship—or lack therefore—is lived in everyday life, in a modern democracy.

When ULS is added to the research equation, the knowledge gap widens. Scholars have emphasized the profound lack of research on undocumented youth in contrast to first generation adults and their second generation children (e.g. Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009); have claimed “there are significant lacunae in what is known beyond brute numbers” (Suárez-Orozco, 2011, p. 439); and have asserted that social research rarely examines the particular lives and experiences of

undocumented youth (Abrego, 2008). Furthermore, it has been acknowledged (Abrego, 2008) that ULS is often not taken into account by large-scale studies (e.g. Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Finally, Willen (2007) stressed that not all people experience ULS in a similar or even negative manner asserting that “it is precisely this variation that highlights the need for greater comparative investigation of how the abject condition of ‘illegality’ shapes migrants’ subjective lived experience in diverse migration settings” (2007, p. 10-11). Uncovering the diversity of lived experiences is crucial to overall understanding.

Researchers have exclusively focused on the 1.5GUY in the United States (e.g. Abrego, 2008; Benedict Christensen, 2014, 2015; Cebulko, 2014; Enriquez, 2015; Gonzales, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales, 2008, 2010, 2011), though have also examined the 1.5GUY alongside documented peers or other immigration cohorts.⁹ Scholars have remarked that the 1.5GUY are an “understudied group” (Cebulko, 2014) and there is “scant existing research” on this particular population (Gonzales, 2011). Enriquez (2015) asserted that thus far, the majority of research on the 1.5GUY has focused on issues accessing higher education (see e.g. Abrego, 2006; Enriquez, 2011; Flores, 2010; Gonzales, 2012), and emphasized that while immigration laws and policies shape everyday lives, their everyday influences are particularly underexplored. Overall, “relatively little is known about this vulnerable population of young people, and their unique circumstances challenge assumptions about the incorporation patterns of the children of immigrants and their transitions to adolescence and adulthood” (Gonzales, 2011, p. 602-603) and there “there is still a lot we do not know about how unauthorized status affects developmental outcomes across domains, life stages, and contexts” (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, p. 463). While the 1.5GUY have been described as vulnerable, worthy of attention, and having unique circumstances, scholars have yet to uncover the effects of ULS on their everyday lives, especially as they transition to adulthood (Gonzales, 2011).

⁹ Abrego compares 1.5GUY with documented youth (2006), and examines legal consciousness, stigma, and fear of first and 1.5 generation Latinos (2011). Abrego & Gonzales (2010) study youth with and without legal status. Chavez (2013) focuses on undocumented migrant workers, but mentions youth. Gleeson and Gonzales (2012) conclude employment and educational setting differently shape incorporation and integration processes, sense of belonging, and assertion of rights for undocumented workers and 1.5 generation students. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco examine the children of immigrants and immigrant children with documented and ULS (2001). Suárez-Orozco et al (2011) examine developmental challenges in families, where children, adolescents, or adults may lack legal status.

2.1.1.1 Geographic Context

A notable trend in research on ULS is the overwhelming focus on California.¹⁰ Due to geographic location and demographics, the state is an important location in which to explore the experiences of undocumented immigrants, especially as the state is home to over one quarter of the nation's 11.7 million undocumented immigrants—the largest concentration in the United States (Wasem, 2012). However, California is an exception not only due to concentration of the undocumented population, but also because the state has some of the most inclusive educational policies for undocumented youth (e.g. Abrego, 2008). Further, undocumented immigrants from countries around the world reside across the United States (Immigration Policy Center, 2012). It has been asserted that “we are short on theory and data on the material and nonmaterial consequences of variations in legal status among 1.5-generation immigrants who are not of Spanish-speaking Latin-American origin and do not live in California” (Cebulko, 2014, p. 145). To uncover the diversity of the 1.5GUY's lived experiences, and acknowledge the reality that individuals may indeed move within the U.S. for work, school, relationships, and other pursuits, qualitative researchers need to explore experiences in other states.

2.1.2 Immigrant Cohort & Generation

While there are indeed existing research gaps related to the 1.5GUY's everyday SoFB, there is also relevant research through which to structure such an exploration, including knowledge about the 1.5 generation. Scholars have contended that individuals who migrate at young ages neatly resemble neither the first nor second generation in their educational, social, and cultural experiences (e.g. Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2015; Park, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Rumbaut, 1976, 1994, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Zhou, 1997a). Typically in the United States context, “first generation” describes individuals born and socialized in one country who immigrate as adults, whereas “second generation” describes individuals born and socialized in the U.S. to immigrant parents (Rumbaut, 2004).¹¹ Immigration scholar Rumbaut (2004) stressed that none of the “conventional

¹⁰ Empirical studies on undocumented youth in California include: Abrego 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales 2010; Gonzales 2008, 2010, 2011, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez 2012; Gonzales & Gleeson 2012. Cebulko (2014) takes her departure in Massachusetts; Corruner (2012) in Michigan; Silver (2012) in North Carolina; and Benedict Christensen (2014, 2015) in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Rumbaut (2005) takes his departure in Southern California and Florida and focuses generally on immigrant youth, not just 1.5GUY.

¹¹ While terms are seemingly precise, there is no consensus on their meaning or usage (see e.g. Oropesa & Landale 1997). Zhou (1997a) argues that scholars frequently discuss U.S.-born children and immigrant children together, referencing Gans (1992) and Portes (1996). Rumbaut (2004) observes that immigration scholars often and imprecisely discuss foreign-born

usages” of first nor second generation “accurately captures the experience of youths who fall in the interstices between these groupings nor, among those born abroad, takes into account their different ages and life stages at the time of migration” (p. 1165-1166). He therefore coined the term “1.5 generation” (1976, 1994, 2004) to describe individuals who immigrate at or before the age of twelve.¹²

Anthropologist Park (1999) wrote that “although biologically the notion of a ‘1.5’ generation is absurd, the sociocultural characteristics and psychological experiences of the pre-adult immigrant are distinct from those of either the first or second generation ethnic American” (p. 140). Rumbaut (2004) has further clarified that there are “fundamental differences in the pace and mode of adaptation between persons who immigrate as adults and those who do so as children” (p. 1166); he also wrote:

Differences in nativity (of self and parents) and in age and life stage at arrival...are known to affect significantly the modes of acculturation of adults and children in immigrant families, especially with regard to language and accent, educational attainment and patterns of social mobility, outlook and frames of reference, ethnic identity and even their propensity to sustain transnational attachments over time (2004, p. 1166).

In his research on first-generation Italian Americans, Rumbaut (2005) wrote that “as the boundaries of those identities become fuzzier and less salient, less relevant to everyday social life, the sense of belonging and connection to an ancestral past faded ‘into the twilight of ethnicity’” (p. 119; see also Alba, 1985). Elsewhere, scholars have described the processes of “becoming American” for second generation children to be a complicated negotiation of multiple, if not competing, loyalties, attachments, and cultural norms, the classifications of which are made by peers, local communities, and society at large (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Sociologist Waters (1994, 1999) cautioned that “becoming American” in an increasingly pluralistic society can be multiple, dynamic, and contradictory instead of being linear (see also Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Waters (1994, 1999) found in her research on second generation West Indians in the United States that youth can choose to assert their identities as

individuals who migrate as children alongside U.S.-born children with one foreign-born parent and one U.S.-born parent, treating them as a “de facto second generation” (see also Kebede 2010; Park 1999).

¹² There is no exact age range, however. Some researchers use the term to describe individuals who immigrate between ages six and thirteen (e.g. Zhou 1997a), or extend the age limit to fifteen (see e.g. Cebulko 2014; Gonzales & Chavez 2012; Rumbaut et al 2006). For the purpose of this study, I use the term to refer to youth arriving at or before the age of twelve, in accordance with my respondent age demographics.

black Americans, maintain the ethnic identities of their parents, or emphasize their immigrant background, capturing the fluid nature of identities and how individuals can emphasize particular traits in their navigation of everyday life. Finally, scholars of transnational immigration have recognized that immigrants can settle in their new countries while simultaneously maintaining connections to their homelands (e.g. Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Morawska, 2004). Of the second and transnational generation, Sociologist Levitt wrote that “the lines between the home and the host country and between the first and the second generation blur, making them one interconnected social experience” (2009, p. 1226). Research which documents the multiple and complex experiences, attachments, and allegiances of the first and second generation inspires questions as to how multiple reference points shape the 1.5GUY’s everyday SofB, including the ways in which youth choose to emphasize particular characteristics to manage their SofB.

2.2 Born Abroad, Growing up in America

2.2.1 The Educational Inclusion of 1.5GUY

While there is evidence that the age and life stage at immigration shape trajectories, scholars have emphasized that not all members of an age-related cohort react similarly. For example, scholars have claimed that generational experiences are historically and contextually grounded (e.g. Eckstein & Barberia, 2002) and further, that not all immigrant groups or individuals within the same group are affected uniformly (e.g. Menjívar, 2006). This argument makes all the more pertinent the need to qualitatively explore the emotions and experiences of 1.5GUY and uncover the diversity of their experiences, rather than homogenize them. However, there is one critical, overarching difference which shapes the everyday lives of the undocumented 1.5 generation differently than the second: the everyday opportunity to participate in society as students versus being located on the margins as undocumented workers. The ruling from the 1982 Supreme Court case, *Plyler v Doe*, has extended a basic kindergarten through high school (K-12) education to all children and youth, regardless of immigration status (Olivas, 2005). In theory, immigration status cannot be checked for enrollment purposes, nor used to prevent enrollment. Under the 14th Amendment, undocumented children are deemed persons worthy of protection, as the alternative—educational exclusion—would set them on a pathway to a lifetime of hardship in a permanent underclass (Olivas, 2005).

The systematic opportunity to participate in education shapes the experiences of the 1.5GUY vastly differently than undocumented adults (e.g. Bean, Telles, & Lowell, 1987; Chavez, 1991, 1998; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011, 2015). Scholars have explained that the 1.5GUY's lives and experiences are created in the context of educational, rather than immigration laws; schools do not stratify students by legal status and as such, ULS "does not explicitly contextualize their daily experiences during their tenure as students" (Abrego, 2011, p. 352). Scholars have also claimed that student status is more socially acceptable than status as an undocumented worker (Abrego, 2006, 2011; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2007, 2011). Scholars have also conceptualized schools as safe places which protect undocumented children, especially as schools are less targeted by immigration officials (Abrego, 2006, 2011; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2007, 2011; Seif, 2011).

Because youth can escape the constraints that face undocumented adults, several scholars have concluded that childhood is a period where ULS presents little difference, impact, or obstacles in daily life (e.g. Abrego, 2008, 2011; Corruner, 2012; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Gonzales (2011) described the protection, inclusion, and de facto legality provided by the school system as "suspended illegality," where children and adolescents experience a "buffer stage wherein they were legally integrated and immigration status rarely limited activities" (p. 608). Due to their educational participation, some 1.5GUY may not know of their ULS; even those who do know are likely unaware of the obstacles awaiting them in adult life due to educational inclusion (e.g. Benedict Christensen, 2015; Corruner, 2012)

Across geographies and legal statuses, various scholars have acknowledged the importance of the educational setting on children. Delanty (2003) has argued that in addition to "the informal structures of everyday life" (p. 600), learning and socialization processes occur through the formal structures of the school. Lopez (2003) has described the school to be crucial in developing children's social norms and identity. Scholars have documented schools to be "where immigrant children first come into systematic contact with the new culture" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 3) and shape their social, cultural, educational, and psychological development (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 2009). If education plays a critical role in the identity formation process (e.g. Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2008), and if undocumented youth's "primary identification is affected by experiences of growing up as Americans" (Gonzales 2007, p. 2; see also Gonzales, 2015), education likely has a role

in constructing SofB. Indeed, scholars have claimed that “schools facilitate qualitatively different experiences of undocumented status that hold consequences for integration, the assertion of rights, and a sense of belonging” (Gleeson & Gonzales 2012, p. 2), but did not systematically explore SofB in the process.

Schools teach children what is required to be “American” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008), whereby legitimizing and socializing the 1.5GUY (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2011). The 1.5GUY are given the opportunity to become legitimized members, participate in education, speak English, and internalize American values (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). As such, scholars have contended that due to the young age at arrival and educational inclusion, the 1.5GUY are not easily distinguishable from documented and citizen peers as they have absorbed—if not internalized—customs, values, expectations, and meritocratic world views (Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). Some scholars have gone as far as asserting that the youth “grow up” or declare themselves “American” (e.g. Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2007, 2008, 2010; Perez, 2009). Abrego concluded that “because they share the same neighborhoods and schools, their socialization processes are almost identical” (2008, p. 714) and furthermore, that “there is little difference between undocumented youth and their documented peers” (2011, p. 352). It has also been suggested that the 1.5GUY “have the advantage that they have been raised and socialized in the United States. Along with the sense of stigma, they have internalized many U.S. social norms and can use their socialization to fit in” (Abrego, 2011, p. 358), including potentially manipulating social assumptions to fit in and avoid questions about their ULS (Abrego, 2006). This inspires questions as to how the 1.5GUY maneuver social assumptions, including if and how they embrace aspects of “American” culture for the purposes of managing SofB in everyday life.

From her research in California, Abrego (2011) documented that due to socialization processes, 1.5GUY “are able to develop a much stronger sense of belonging than their first-generation counterparts,” especially as a result of “being a legitimized member of such an important social institution as school” (p. 354). While Abrego did not explicitly employ the theoretical lens of SofB in this scholarship, her research makes salient the importance of exploring experience of socialization, legitimization, and membership in relation to SofB. From the research on educational inclusion, I am particularly inspired to explore how educational inclusion, participation, and socialization processes

influences SofB in everyday life, including how the everyday routines and memories of these routines shape current and future expectations of SofB.

2.2.2 Equal Participation, Unequal Participants

In addition to conceptualizations of spaces of support, protection, and safety for undocumented children, scholars have documented that schools are also places of struggle and discrimination for children, regardless of immigrant cohort and legal status. For example, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) researched the experiences, reactions, and barriers facing children from various immigration cohorts, and found that many children do not believe Americans welcome them, but rather deem them “undeserving” of participating in the search for the American dream. Other researchers (e.g. Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Suárez-Orozco, 1991; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) have documented the psycho-social impact of negative school experiences, further finding that children can develop an “oppositional culture” due to perceived oppression, exclusion, discrimination, frustration, or isolation. Whether conceived of as “reactive ethnicity” (e.g. Rumbaut, 2008) or “oppositional culture” (e.g. Suárez-Orozco, 2002), personal reactions are perceived to result from structural inequality or exclusion which, in the long-run, can lead to consequences such as resentment, anger, mistrust, rebellion against, or rejection of host country culture. Scholars have also argued that “identifying wholeheartedly with a culture that rejects you has its psychological costs, usually paid with the currency of shame, doubt, and even self-hatred” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 158).

While the scholars did not explicitly explore ULS in relation to these experiences, this research no less documents ways in which educational participation is neither always nor necessarily a positive experience due to race, ethnicity, class, etc. These findings reinforce the notion that negative interpersonal experiences can have intrapersonal consequences, furthermore making salient the need to explore if and how SofB is achieved or contested in everyday school participation. As these findings appear to be in tension with the conceptualization of schools as “zones of safety” for 1.5GUY (e.g. Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2007; 2011), education is a key sphere in to explore the 1.5GUY’s everyday SofB.

2.3 The Role of the Family

Outside of education, the family sphere has been found to be the most important institution for socialization and adaptation processes (Zhou, 1997). As such, it is also a key sphere in which SofB can

be shaped and experienced and thus one that needs to be explored in this study. The relationship between a parent and child has been documented to be one of the most intimate and influential in the life course and as such, decisions, opinions, and practices of parents affect their children, both good and bad (e.g. Elder, 1995, 1998). In the context of immigration, scholars have documented the positive role that families play in shaping children's associations with their cultures and identities of both home and host societies (e.g. Rumbaut, 1994, 1995; Portes 1995). Families and close kinship units have also been found to positively influence the psychological development, educational achievement, and aspirations of the children of immigration (e.g. Portes, 1995, 1996; Rumbaut, 1994; Suárez-Orozco, 1989).

Regardless of immigration status, migration has also been found to add new challenges to family dynamics, for example by reversing the parent-child roles, placing additional burdens on children, and causing stress (Orellana, 2009) or challenging traditional gender and parental roles, norms, and obligations (Kibria, 1993). Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) have documented that parents who work long hours to make ends meet spend less time with their children or leave them unattended, which causes children to lack important parental contact and, in turn, develop anxiety or depression. Yoshikawa (2011) found that the U.S.-born, citizen children of undocumented adults perform less well in early learning and cognitive skills, and face greater developmental challenges. He further concluded that while these children have the right to social and welfare programs, their undocumented parents fear interaction with governmental authorities and therefore avoid accessing these services, whereby impacting social, health, and educational development. Abrego (2011) documented that while undocumented adults are plagued by fear, undocumented youth's experiences are characterized by stigma. However, Corrunker (2012) found that "the stigma and fear associated with being undocumented is often instilled in undocumented youth at a young age by their parents" (p. 158) who tell their children not to divulge ULS. If and how this fear permeates 1.5GUY's everyday life is important in relation to exploring their SofB.

Enriquez (2015) described the consequences that U.S. citizen children of 1.5 generation undocumented youth face as "multigenerational punishment" in mixed status families, finds that parental status affects citizen children, and calls for future studies to examine the role of families and social ties to more fully understand the social implications of ULS. Finally, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) argued

that the “legal status of an immigrant child influences—perhaps more so than the national origins and socioeconomic background of the parents—his or her experiences and life chances” (p. 33). Together, this research reinforces the need to explore the 1.5GUY’s experiences of SofB in relation to the family, as it is a key sphere of everyday life. This includes exploring if and how parental approaches shape everyday SofB for their undocumented children.

2.4 Blocked Rites of Passage

While only a few years ago there was “scant literature” (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010, p. 145) on the barriers facing undocumented youth during their transitions into adulthood, and further, Gonzales (2011) contended that scholars have yet to systematically examine the effects of ULS as the 1.5GUY transition into adulthood, the field is burgeoning. Nonetheless, exploring the 1.5GUY’s experiences during this transition, which scholars have stressed accompanies a “transition to *illegality*,” is both “important and timely” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 11, 10).

While Gonzales (2011) acknowledged that the five milestones for normalized rites of passage on the life course into adulthood (see e.g. Elder, 1995, 1998; Rindfuss, 1991)—completing school, moving into one’s own home, starting a job or career, getting married, or having children—take longer now than with previous generations, he has also observed that these are transitions that official Americans will likely complete; in contrast, the 1.5GUY are left in a “developmental limbo.” Scholars have also documented that 1.5GUY face particular challenges in participating in normative, American teenage rites of passage such as obtaining a driver’s license, getting a job, and applying for and attending university (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Coutin, 2007, 2008; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). These blocked rites of passage can serve as vehicles through which some 1.5GUY learn of their ULS; when youth fill out applications for summer jobs, internships, or college, their parents are forced to divulge their children’s ULS (e.g. Abrego, 2011). Scholars have stressed that learning about ULS can be a difficult experience (e.g. Abrego, 2011; Gonzales, 2011; Madera, 2008) and Madera (2008) captured one youth’s reaction to finding out her ULS during her teenage years: “it was very hard to realize that even though I felt like a young American and had been educated entirely in this nation, my immigration status limited my options and ultimately how I could live my life” (p. 42-43).

A particular and well-documented challenge facing the 1.5GUY is the issue assessing tertiary education. For example, scholars have found that ULS depresses higher education aspirations (Abrego, 2008) and many do not get the proper guidance about pursuing higher education (Gonzales, 2010). Some 1.5GUY must contribute financially to their families and can therefore not afford education (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). Because undocumented youth are ineligible for federal financial aid (Abrego, 2006; Gonzales, 2010), attending university is prohibitively expensive for undocumented youth (Abrego, 2006, 2008; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). While scholars have contended that 1.5GUY residing in states¹³ that allow eligible undocumented residents to pay reduced, in-state tuition rates fare better than peers where in-state tuition is not extended (e.g. Flores, 2010; Flores & Horn, 2009), overall, only a small fraction of 1.5GUY graduate high school and attend university (Gonzales, 2010). Youth may put off university until their ULS changes (e.g. Cebulko, 2014) or lose educational motivation, become disillusioned, and even drop out of high school as a result (Abrego, 2006; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). Instead of acknowledging immigration policies for restrictions, youth erroneously blame themselves (Abrego, 2006). Though researchers have documented that American-raised and educated youth do not want the manual and low-paying jobs their parents have (e.g. Abrego, 2006; Gans, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001), some will lack the qualifications to do better. As such, lack of educational access provides long-term consequences for social mobility and employment (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012).

2.4.1 “Awakening to a Nightmare”

Abrego and Gonzales (2010) have described the “blocked paths” that the 1.5GUY encounter as crucial transitions, where youth begin to realize the limitations their ULS will bring into adulthood. Gonzales (2011) has explored the 1.5GUY’s incomplete transitions into adulthood and separated their experiences into three stages: youth “discover” that their undocumented adult lives will be filled with more barriers than their undocumented childhoods (ages 16 to 18); they “learn to be illegal” when they are confronted with higher educational and work barriers (ages 18 to 24); and they “cope” as they come to terms with the dissonance between previous life aspirations and actual barriers, as well as understand these challenges are permanent, not temporary (ages 25 to 29).

¹³ Gonzales (2015) writes that as of 2015, eighteen states allow undocumented immigrants to pay in-state tuition rates.

These “jolting shifts” in youth’s experiences from childhood to adulthood (Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012) have been described as defining moments where youth “awaken to a nightmare” (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Gonzales and Chavez (2012) claimed that experiences of exclusion challenge youth’s “taken-for-granted identity and sense of belonging” (p. 262), though they did not explicitly study SofB in the process. Though the 1.5GUY have been taught to dream big regardless of ULS, expect rewards for their hard work and achievements, and have a sense of entitlement for their futures in the U.S. (Abrego, 2006; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Cebulko, 2014; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), scholars have concluded that youth often find themselves frustrated, disappointed, and in the same situation as undocumented adults as they transition into adulthood (e.g. Abrego, 2006; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2006, 2011). In the process, the 1.5GUY “come face-to-face with illegality, a condition that they had been partially protected from by their age and by their parents;” as they become “aware of their lack of legal residency, they felt cast out, forced to live in the world as illegal subjects” (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012, p. 262, 267). Gonzales and Chavez (2012) wrote of one undocumented female: “much of her life had been spent trying to understand the confusing and contradictory experience of growing up in the United States but not being able to take part in important and defining aspects of being American” (p. 255).

Furthermore, once the 1.5GUY leave the “protection of school,” they are forced to identify with the immigrant experience, quite in contrast to their experiences growing up (e.g. Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). As such, the 1.5GUY’s experiences have been conceptualized as binary opposites, for example youth move from the protection of school to non-protection, inclusion to exclusion, and from de facto legal to “illegal” (Gonzales, 2011, 2015). Scholars drew attention to the harsh reality facing the 1.5GUY: “these youth who are American in spirit, schooling, and life experiences are nonetheless illegal in the eyes of the law” (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, p. 439). Gonzales (2011) has claimed that “all undocumented youth unable to regularize their immigration status complete the transition to illegality” into adulthood, which places them “in jeopardy of becoming a disenfranchised underclass” (p. 616). These findings of frustration, disappointment, and confusion resulting from challenged transitions into adulthood and “illegality” suggests an influence 1.5GUY’s everyday SofB. However, only recently have scholars (e.g. Benedict Christensen, 2014, 2015; Gonzales, 2015) begun to explicitly explore these transitions through the theoretical lens of belonging or SofB. More research is therefore

needed to understand the relationship between 1.5GUY's ULS, SofB, and everyday life, including their everyday coping strategies.

2.5 Producing & Practicing Belonging: Legal Statuses in Everyday Life

2.5.1 Lived Citizenship

An individual's official recognition and citizenship status in a nation state is not just a symbolic or legal matter, but also one that influences everyday lives. For example, Menjivar (2006) has claimed that legal status—or lack thereof—shapes who a person is, their relationships with others, how they participate in their communities, and how they relate to their homelands. Scholars have emphasized the multiple dimensions of citizenship, for example, citizenship as legal status, rights, activity, and sentiment, each of which influences one another (e.g. Bauböck, 2001; Bosniak, 2000; Carens, 2000; Kostakopoulou, 2003). Furthermore, several scholars studying citizenship have claimed that in addition to the nation state, citizenship is experienced and expressed at the local level through everyday practices (e.g. Bauböck, 2003; Bhimji, 2014; Dikeç & Gilbert, 2002; Fenster, 2005; Hopkins & Blackwood, 2001; Isin, 1999; Purcell, 2002, 2003, 2007; Varsanyi, 2006). For example, in her study of how undocumented adults enact “urban citizenship” in Los Angeles, Bhimji found that “everyday performances become significant since immigrants without legal status either have to demonstrate their sense of inclusion, degree of vulnerability or abilities in order to negotiate with hegemonic institutions” (2014, p. 22). The concept of everyday, lived citizenship can bring to the fore the challenges associated with ULS in everyday life, including the effects on SofB.

Various citizenship scholars (e.g. Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Lister, et al., 2003; Miller-Idriss, 2006) have asserted that citizenship scholars have focused on how citizenship is produced from above via structures, institutions, and policies to the detriment of understanding how citizenship is lived and experienced from below. As a result, a consequence, “of the emphasis on legal and institutional aspects is that we have come to think of citizenship as a fairly unified and static concept” (Miller-Idriss 2006, p. 541), yet citizenship status is not experienced uniformly. Scholars have also argued that due to the void of empirical studies, “we know very little about what it means to individuals to be citizens or how their identities as citizens influence their everyday lives” (Lister et al., 2003, p. 543). Scholars have therefore urged researchers to move “out of the laboratory to explore the everyday interactions that citizenship research increasingly directs us to” (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011, p. 218). Though the

1.5GUY are not citizens, focusing on how they experience life because of and despite their ULS can reveal how the immigration policies that are produced from above are experienced from below during the practice of everyday life.

2.5.2 The “Condition of Illegality”

Scholars have emphasized that a fundamental difference between citizens and non-citizens is the former’s deportability—precisely the reason they have also argued that studying deportation alongside the boundaries of belonging is both interesting and valuable within contemporary citizenship studies (Anderson, Gibney, & Paoletti, 2011). The phenomenon of deportability has been described as the “condition of illegality,” which has been coined to emphasize that ULS is a socio-political condition:

In addition to simply designating a juridical status in relation to the US nation-state and its laws of immigration, naturalization, and citizenship, migrant ‘illegality’ signals a specifically spatialized socio-political condition. ‘Illegality’ is lived through a palpable sense of deportability – the possibility of deportation, which is to say, the possibility of being removed from the space of the US nation-state (de Genova, 2004, p. 161).

As such, de Genova (2002, 2004) has argued that it is the constant threat of being deported, rather than deportation itself, which instills constant insecurity, surveillance, and repression in the everyday lives of undocumented individuals (see also Kanstroom, 2010).

Additionally, scholars have documented that long-term ULS instills fear, insecurity, and uncertainty that permeates various spheres of undocumented adults’ daily lives in various geographic contexts (e.g. Coutin, 2000a, 2000b, 2002; de Genova, 2002, 2004; Menjívar, 2006; Ngai, 2004; Willen, 2007). For example, Willen (2007) found that undocumented adults in Tel Aviv, Israel experience fear, anxiety, frustration, and suffering during potential or actual interactions with authorities in daily life. In the U.S., Abrego (2006) argued that fear infiltrates the everyday lives of undocumented adults. Enriquez (2015) claimed that undocumented adults with U.S.-born children are particularly fearful of deportation and concluded that parental fear conditions these citizen children’s lives. Scholars have also argued that the threat of deportation prevents undocumented adults from making long-term and future plans (e.g. Coutin, 1993; Chavez, 1992; Hagan, 1994). The prevalence of undocumented adult’s fear in

association with ULS makes salient to the need to explore if and how fear permeates 1.5GUY's everyday lives, especially in relation to SofB.

2.5.3 Liminal Legality

In her research on Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants with Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in the United States,¹⁴ Menjívar (2006) described the legality of these adults neither as undocumented nor undocumented, but rather “liminally legal.” Menjívar (2006) created the term to describe the uncertain, ambiguous, and in-between spaces that the illegal-legal binary could not capture:

It is not simply an undocumented status that matters theoretically and analytically, but the long-term uncertainty inherent in these immigrants' legal status. This uncertain status—not fully documented or undocumented but often straddling both—has gone on for years and permeates many aspects of the immigrants' lives and delimits their range of action in different spheres, from job market opportunities and housing, to family and kinship, from the place of the church in their lives and their various transnational activities, to artistic expressions (p. 1001).

Menjívar (2006) added that immigration laws ensure “vulnerability and precariousness by blurring the boundaries of legality and illegality to create gray areas of incertitude, with the potential to affect broader issues of citizenship and belonging (p. 1002). The documented impact of long-term, constant uncertainty in various everyday life actions and interactions is important to keep in mind when exploring the 1.5GUY's everyday experiences, especially due to their long-term ULS and also because there is no pathway to legality or citizenship.

Exploring the 1.5GUY's everyday SofB can illustrate how legal uncertainty conditions the experiences of millions of United States residents, as well as how a quasi-form of citizenship is underway for individuals who straddle legal categories, recognition, inclusion and exclusion. This is precisely why Cebulko (2014) has called for researchers to examine the link between ULS and SofB. Furthermore, Cebulko (2014) documented that legal status is not only ambiguous, partial, or temporary, but also dynamic. Amongst 1.5 generation Brazilian youth of varying legal statuses in Massachusetts, she

¹⁴ TPS does not lead to permanent legal residence; temporarily gives individuals the right to remain lawfully in the U.S., albeit with restrictions; and can be renewed or revoked due to varying circumstances. See USCIS for more information.

found that youth rank four distinct categories of legal status: undocumented, liminally legal, lawful permanent residency, and citizens. Cebulko argued that ULS is the lowest, and furthermore, that individuals can move up or down the legal hierarchy due to visa expirations, failure to renew or successfully renew a residence permit, or new policy changes. As non-citizens can slide up and down the hierarchy, they do not always benefit from a change in legal status.

2.5.4 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals & the Passage of (Temporal) Rights

Researchers have begun to extend the concept of liminal legality to youth whose undocumented status straddles the legal/”illegal” binary (e.g. Abrego, 2008, 2011; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2006, 2011, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011), and especially in relation to Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). President Obama announced DACA as an Executive Order, which came into effect in August 2012. DACA offers eligible 1.5GUY temporal reprieve from deportation, and it is estimated that approximately 1.7 of the total 4.4 million undocumented youth aged thirty or under are potentially eligible (Passel & Lopez, 2012, p. 3). Criteria¹⁵ are similar to the D.R.E.A.M. Act (e.g. Corruner, 2012; United We Dream; USCIS, 2016), but significantly, like TPS, DACA is a two year legal stay with no pathway to citizenship; legal protection and recognition are temporary.

Scholars have explained that 1.5GUY with DACA—“DACAmended” youth—experience fewer social and economic challenges, especially as youth can obtain identification and a work permit despite their ULS (e.g. Gonzales, Terriquez, & Ruszczyk, 2014; Martinez, 2014). However, the benefits of DACA are limited, which is both acknowledged and lamented by 1.5GUY (Gonzales et al., 2014; Martinez, 2014). Cebulko (2014) argued that while 1.5GUY possess a valid governmental identification, DACA is not enough to confer full identity, identification, or rights to the 1.5GUY; they are still denied the guarantees and rights that lawful permanent residency or citizenship status confer. Similarly, Martinez (2014) concluded that “the absence of a permanent mechanism virtually guarantees they will remain in an ambiguous space between legality and illegality (p. 1886). Further, DACAmended youth still

¹⁵ Eligibility criteria are as follows: 1). Age on June 15, 2012 is 31 or less; 2). Came to the U.S. before age 16; 3). Continual residence in the U.S. since June 15, 2007; 4). Physical presence in the U.S. at time of application; 5). Entered the U.S. either without inspection before June 15, 2012 or legal residence in the U.S. expired as of that date; 6). Are currently in school, graduated or obtained the formal equivalent of graduation from high school, or are an honorably discharged veteran of the U.S. Coast Guard or Armed Forces; and 7). Have not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, three or more other misdemeanors, and do not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety. For more information on Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, see Homeland Security (n.d.)

experience stigma, precariousness, and insecurity (Cebulko, 2014). One youth explained of DACA: “I paid all these fines and I’m no longer quote unquote undocumented. *But* I’m still not anything else” (Cebulko, 2014, p. 152). Yet another proclaimed that DACA “isn’t legal status. It’s not citizenship. I don’t know when it might end. I might get my hopes up and then I’m back where I was before. This is so tiring” (Gonzales 2015, p. 4). Together, the uncertainty of ULS and DACA suggest implications for everyday life.

2.6 Coping Strategies

2.6.1 Social Movement Participation

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the unique circumstances facing the 1.5GUY have been found to influence their legal consciousness and the way they position themselves in relation to their claims on rights, including the right for legal recognition in the United States. Abrego (2011) described the distinction between the claims of the 1.5 generation and the second generation:

Because their legal consciousness is more powerfully infused by stigma, undocumented youth have more possibilities than undocumented workers of overcoming barriers to make claims in the United States. For example, undocumented youth try to justify their presence in the country by distancing themselves from negative connotations of illegality. In doing so, they underscore that their liminal status differs from the marginalized and criminalized status of their first-generation counterparts. Most notably, they defend themselves by emphasizing that they did not actively choose to come to the United States (p. 358).

These youth have been described as “tired of waiting, tired of living in fear, and tired of the challenges they face due to their status” (Corrunker, 2012, p. 151). As such, they have begun to employ various methods in their fight for recognition, such as sending emails to politicians, signing petitions, stopping deportations, participating in acts of civil disobedience, and conducting sit-ins at political officials’ offices (Corrunker, 2012).

Initially, the 1.5GUY and their advocates played upon connotations and images of innocence and deservingness as they attempted to gain public support for immigration reform, mobilize for change, and engage in social movements. For example, Nicholls (2013) documented the ways that DREAMers—potential beneficiaries of the DREAM Act—organize, strategize, and make their claims

for recognition as human beings, as well as the right to belong in the United States. Nicholls (2013) found that 1.5GUY emphasize their unique positions as long-term, culturally integrated residents who are “American” in identities and values. The 1.5GUY use a similar rationale in their “Education Not Deportation” (END) campaigns, which posits undocumented youth as “cultural Americans” (Corrunker, 2012, p. 157). Corrunker (2012) argued that “one of the reasons why END cases have been successful is because undocumented immigrants brought to the United States as children tend to be viewed more sympathetically in the eyes of the public compared to other undocumented immigrants” (p. 157); youth use this to their advantage. However, Gonzales (2015) has explained that the portrayal of 1.5GUY as model citizens and top students created a divide not only between the 1.5GUY and their “lawbreaking” parents, but also amongst the 1.5GUY whose academic criteria was then used to suggest who was deserving versus undeserving within the population.

2.6.2 “Coming out of the Shadows”

In relation to social movement participation, scholars have referred to how youth “come out of the shadows” about their ULS (e.g. Corrunker, 2012; Nicholls, 2013; Seif, 2011, 2014). Seif (2011) found that while some youth are fearful of revealing their ULS, some of the “most creative, courageous, and effective organizing in the contemporary United States” (p. 69) comes from undocumented youth. Corrunker (2012) examined how youth in Michigan share their ULS to give voice to the undocumented community, to demonstrate that ULS is nothing to be ashamed about, and to raise awareness of rights issues. Corrunker (2012) found that by sharing ULS publically or on social media, youth transition from fear, invisibility, shame, and isolation to power, pride, support, and empowerment in the process. Gonzales (2015) found that sharing ULS involves a negotiation of risks and reward and that in certain situations, the 1.5GUY may share their ULS to teachers or counselors to gain support, assistance, and access to resources. The 1.5GUY’s decisions about disclosure of ULS should continue to be explored in relation to everyday life interactions and relationships, including the relation to SofB.

While scholars have referred to “coming out” about ULS in relation to activism (e.g. Corrunker, 2012; de Genova, 2010; Nicholls, 2013), examining these processes explicitly through the theoretical lenses of coming out and SofB is underexplored. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) scholars have contended that coming out about sexual orientation is a dynamic, fluid, non-linear, multi-dimensional process of constant identity management (e.g. Hill, 2009; McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997;

Mosher, 2001). Incorporating LGBT literature can help conceptualize and capture how the processes of coming out undocumented are navigated, and more specifically, how this relates to the experience or management of SofB in everyday life.

Since LGBT scholars have asserted that the processes of coming out can include “returns to the closet,” e.g. where individuals who were once out purposely avoid divulging their sexual orientation to others (e.g. Connell, 2012; McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004), this notion can help conceptualize the converse experiences of remaining “in the shadows” about ULS. However, not much is known about how or why individuals conceal their ULS. Scholars (e.g. Chavez, 2008; de Genova, 2002) have found that undocumented adults are more hesitant to stand up for themselves, their rights, and share their ULS. Cebulko (2014) and Gonzales (2011) have provided rare, but brief, examples of how 1.5GUY are reluctant to disclose their ULS due to fear of judgment friendship loss. Sigona (2012) found in his research on individuals with undocumented and other non-legal statuses in the United Kingdom that individuals must decide to divulge, conceal, or lie about their non-legal statuses, which creates discomfort, shame, and guilt in everyday interactions. Only recently has Gonzales (2015) explored the 1.5GUY’s concealment strategies, finding that youth keep ULS a secret to most relations, if not adopt “lying as a daily survival strategy” (p. 109) to explain their sudden absence from educational or social spheres. The scant attention to the concealment processes for 1.5GUY in the U.S., coupled with the pervasive burden of needing secrets and lies in everyday relationships (Sigona 2012) inspires me to explore the concealment of ULS in everyday life, including how this approach relates to the experiences and management of SofB in everyday life.

2.7 Chapter Summary

Gonzales (2015) described the 1.5GUY as facing “competing messages about (social and cultural) belonging and (political and legal) exclusion” (p.8) and that “their experiences of belonging are far more complex than indicated by political or academic discourse” (p. 4). Thus, further research is needed to uncover the complexities of these experiences of belonging, and in particular, everyday experiences of SofB. Scholarship documenting the unique circumstances surrounding the 1.5GUY’s lives—experiences of inclusion, protection, and de facto legality in relation to early childhood experiences particularly in the educational sphere, which are followed by experiences of exclusion and the transition to “illegality” into adulthood—make salient the need to more fully explore how youth

experience and cope with these contradictions. As a conceptual tool, SofB is potentially useful in exploring the emotional consequences for the range of contradictory experiences that have been documented in relation to this population. Furthermore, the concept is conceivably well-suited to capture the everyday intersubjective, lived, socio-emotional experiences of the 1.5GUY—themes which scholars have argued need more attention.

3 Exploring the Theoretical Boundaries of “Belonging”

Introduction: Outlining Sense of Belonging in Everyday Life

Scholars have observed that “belonging” is a theme often prevalent within migration studies and immigration discourse (e.g. Ahmed, 2011; Christensen, 2009; Marsh, Bradley, Love, & Norham, 2007; Tamang, 2010). The current debates about immigration, borders, security, and social cohesion continue to reinforce the salience of examining experiences of belonging in individual’s everyday lives (e.g. Anthias, 2006; Christensen, 2009; Fenster, 2005; Kraus, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Yuval-Davis et al., 2005). Because belonging can demonstrate who is included or excluded, and because the need to belong becomes especially salient when it is threatened or absent (e.g. Anthias, 2006; Christensen, 2009, Yuval-Davis, 2006), “belonging” is argued to be a particularly useful conceptual tool with which to explore the experiences of immigration (Anthias, 2006).

“Belonging” has been defined as a “state of being from which wellbeing is derived; a relation that makes us feel good about our being-in-the-world; a relation that is fitting, right, or correct” (Miller, 2003, p.219). While writing of belonging, Sociologist Anthias (2006) has captured the relationship between experiences and feelings, inclusion and exclusion, the individual and the social:

There is the dimension of how we feel about our location in the social world. This is generated partly through experiences of exclusion rather than being about inclusion, per se; a sense of, or concern with, belonging becomes most strongly activated when there is a sense of exclusion. The relational nature of belonging is important here. Belonging in this sense is about both formal and informal *experiences* of belonging (p. 21).

Thus experiences of belonging entail emotional and social experiences. Anthias’ (2006) dissection of dimensions of belonging inspires an important distinction in terminology. I acknowledge the difference between “belonging” and “sense of belonging,” but also the influence that experiences of “belonging,” e.g. inclusion, have on constructing one’s SofB. When I write “SofB,” I refer to the inextricable connection between emotion, experience, and performance—a point I develop throughout this dissertation.

In general, emotions are relational and (re)actional (Ahmed, 2014), require social bonds and ties (Anthias, 2006), and include how individuals view themselves in relation to the world (Ahmed, 2011).

A SofB can be achieved through informal, everyday social experiences, as well as formal experiences tied to citizenship and nationality (e.g. Anthias, 2006). While acknowledging that SofB is indeed a social experience, psychologists have particularly argued that SofB is a vital human need that is crucial for survival, living a grounded and meaningful life, and overall emotional and mental well-being (e.g. Ainsworth, 1989; Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Beatley, 2004; Hagerty et al., 1996; Hagerty et al., 1992; Lambert et al., 2013; Maslow, 1968). Conversely, scholars have documented the mental and physical consequences of failure to establish SofB, for example stress, reduced sense of self-worth, depression, and suicidal tendency (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Mascaro & Rosen, 2005). Psychologists have contended that SofB is a “useful concept pertinent to exploration of both social and psychological functioning” (Hagerty et al., 1996, p. 243). Hagerty et al (1992) have additionally argued that SofB is useful in capturing “a person’s experience of being valued or important to an external referent and experiencing a fit between self and that referent” (p. 174). As such, SofB can capture the intersubjective nature of 1.5GUY’s everyday life, including their emotional perceptions of these social and relational experiences.

Yet while Psychologists have observed the relevance and pertinence of the concept of SofB, they have also acknowledged that SofB has “received little systematic attention” (Hagerty et al., 1996, 236), there are a “dearth of measures capturing the subjective experience of belonging” (Lambert et al., 2013), and of the “scant literature” which address SofB, much “is narrative rather than empirical” (Hagerty et al., 1992:173). Philosopher Miller (2003) has similarly observed that “despite the extraordinary investment made in the notion of belonging and its prevalence in popular, academic and politic discourses, there is very little attention paid to explicating or theorising the concept itself” (p. 215), and concluded that there is an “absence of a conceptual apparatus by which ‘belonging’ itself and thus ‘true belonging’ might be grasped” (p. 216-217). Immigration scholars have claimed that “belonging” is a contested concept (Christensen & Jensen, 2011); is often used and rarely defined (Ahmed, 2011); and is “overused and under-theorized in the context of population movements” (Anthias, 2006, p.19). Amit and Bar-Lev (2014) wrote that “identity, sense of belonging, and feeling ‘at home’ are concepts used interchangeably” (p. 948). Indeed, scholars often use “sense of belonging” and “belonging” interchangeably, and additionally, slide between “sense of belonging,” “belonging,” and a range of

other interrelated concepts such as inclusion, exclusion, membership, and citizenship in theorizations and empirical analysis.

Even in this brief theoretical introduction, SofB simultaneously appears to be an important framework through which to explore the 1.5GUY's emotional, intersubjective, and everyday lived experiences, but also a concept that can benefit from development. This development is possible through empirical research, as well as the integration of relevant theoretical framework. In the remainder of this chapter, I delve further into existing research on SofB to establish the various and related emotions and experiences. Additionally, I integrate theories which can elucidate the emotional reactions to everyday experiences, including how these experiences are performed, negotiated, and negated in everyday life. In doing so, I refer to concepts such as the everyday, the right to the city, social identity, recognition, and citizenship, as well as related sub-concepts.

3.1 Constructing SofB in Everyday Life

3.1.1 The Concept of the "Everyday"

Fundamentally, SofB is a sentiment that grows, is established, and is contested through the circumstances of everyday life (e.g. Christensen & Jensen, 2011; de Certeau, 1984; Probyn, 1996). Christensen (2009) and Christensen and Jensen (2011) have differentiated experiences of belonging into three analytical levels: macro belonging to a national or imagined community; meso belonging, for example to political organizations or social movements; and micro belonging that is constructed at the local and community level through everyday life. I acknowledge the interplay between the various levels, but focus most intensely on the micro level SofB which results from practices, actions, and interactions in everyday life.

Thus, attention to the concept of the everyday is important—though often overlooked and unquestioned. Indeed, Lefebvre (1984) has argued that because the everyday is omnipresent, it is often taken to be “(apparently) insignificant” (p. 24) and “taken for granted” (p. 24). Lefebvre (1984) has written that “the quotidian is what is humble and solid” and further that everyday activities “follow each other in such a regular, unvarying succession that those concerned have no call to question their sequence” (p. 24). Both Lefebvre (1984) and de Certeau (1984) have cited tasks such as commuting to work, paying bills, working, talking, reading, moving, cooking, and shopping as common everyday

tasks that are undertaken with such frequency that they often become engrained, un-reflected everyday routines. Yet as SofB is constructed through everyday life, it is precisely these activities which are crucial to the exploration of how 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB is everyday life.

Lefebvre (1984) has written that everyday life is a dialectic between what is real and possible: the everyday captures “the essence and existence, the real or imaginary possibilities, the potentialities and limitations of mankind” (p. 12). Yet as de Certeau (1984) has stipulated, even mundane activities such as reading, shopping, and talking must be manipulated in order to be turned into opportunities. Notably, de Certeau (1984) has acknowledged that the dialectics of everyday life are different for immigrants, as he argued that immigrants do “not have the same critical or creative elbow-room as the average citizen” (p. xvii); choices are not limitless. To demonstrate this point, de Certeau has used the example of a North African living in France who:

Insinuates *into* the system imposed on him...he superimposes them and, by that combination, creates for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place or of the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down the law for him, he establishes within it a degree of *plurality* and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws the unexpected results from the situation” (p. 30).

As such, immigrants’ everyday lives include impositions and superimpositions: individuals create their lives by actively and creatively navigating between and through the structures and limitations imposed upon them. Butler (1993) has claimed that for everyone—not just immigrants— everyday actions are not always in compliance with laws. Instead, actions result from a combination of need, opportunity, and subversion: there “will be a set of actions mobilized by the law, the citational accumulation and dissimulation of the law that produces material effects, the lived necessity of those effects as well as the lived contestation of that necessity” (Butler, 1993, p. 12).

Scholars have suggested that a focus on everyday banalities can reveal how individuals employ tactics, cunningness, tricks, maneuvers, and skill (de Certeau, 1984), further demonstrating how undocumented individuals are adaptive agents who overcome challenges (e.g. Das, 2006; Gombert-Muñoz, 2010; Sigona, 2012). Focusing on the 1.5GUY’s everyday life can reveal how otherwise common scenarios

become significant for individuals with ULS. Through inspiration from de Certeau's (1984) and Lefebvre's (1984) conceptualization of the everyday, such scenarios could include everyday mobility, shopping, errands, conversing, maintaining friendships and other relationships, education, employment, and even food and clothing choices. These banalities can reveal where and how SofB is challenged in everyday life, but also how the 1.5GUY participate and contribute to everyday life while actively navigating the limitations of ULS in relation to maintaining SofB.

3.1.1.1 Agency

The mention of "agents" requires attention to the concept of "agency," which Emirbayer and Mische (1998) have acknowledged is a contested term and one that has been associated with a range of experiences and concepts, for example motivation, will, purposiveness, intentionality, choice, initiative, freedom, selfhood, and creativity. Notably, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) emphasized that structural contexts are inseparable from human agency: "structural environments of action are both dynamically sustained by and also altered through human agency—by actors capable of formulating projects for the future and realizing them, even if only in small part, and with unforeseen outcomes, in the present" (p. 964). In this regard, one is an agent, but one within a system structured by possibilities and restraints. Life course scholar Elder (1995, 1997, 1998) has also claimed that individuals are agents, but that choices are neither limitless nor made in a social vacuum; personal developments, experiences, and life trajectories will be influenced by external factors, social pathways, and historical contexts. Kraus (2006) has similarly described the balance between possibilities and restraints in his discussions of belonging, which he argued is "a question of choice, which must be answered by the individual" (p. 108), but also that "people do not simply choose affiliations, they have to negotiate them with others and are positioned within them" (p. 109). Hopkins and Blackwood (2001) have also acknowledged that having one's choices limited by willingness versus discrimination are two different phenomena. Thus, explorations of everyday SofB should include deliberations about choice and necessity, freedom and imposition.

3.1.1.2 Cognitive Dissonance

The concept of "cognitive dissonance" can potentially shed light on the emotional reactions of the structural limitations and contradictions in everyday life. Festinger (1957) has defined the term to capture the psychological discomfort which results from inconsistent, non-fitting, or contradictory

experiences, thoughts, opinions, or beliefs. In his scholarship, Festinger (1957) has acknowledged that while humans are naturally motivated to avoid, mitigate, or reduce dissonance, beliefs do not always reflect actions and personal and external influences may impede consonance. Notably, Festinger (1957) has also claimed that “the existence of dissonance is undoubtedly an everyday condition. Very few things are all black or all white; very few situations are clear-cut enough so that opinions or behaviors are not to some extent a mixture of contradictions” (p. 5). As a conceptual tool, cognitive dissonance can likely capture the complexities of everyday life for the 1.5GUY, including the dissonance between desires and actions related to ULS and SofB.

3.1.2 SofB as Safety, Comfort & Control

Scholars studying belonging have identified a range of emotions and related social experiences that result in SofB. In her empirical discussion of the gendered experiences in public and private spaces, Fenster (2005) attributed experiences and feelings of knowledge, control, organization, access, and freedom to SofB. Similarly, scholars have cited feelings and experiences of safety (Ignatieff, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 2006) and the feelings of comfort this safety brings (Block, 2009) in relation to SofB. Scholars have also defined SofB and comfort in relation to feelings, constructions, and experiences of “home” both mentally and physically (e.g. Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014; Yuval-Davis, 2006). This scholarship suggests that feelings of comfort, control, safety, and home are important facets of SofB in everyday life and thus should be taken into consideration empirically and theoretically.

3.1.2.1 *The Right to the City*

The concepts of the “right to the city” and “citadenship” (Lefebvre, 1984) can assist in examining experiences of safety, comfort, and control, including how 1.5GUY are exposed to, restricted by, and navigate the opportunities and limitations of everyday life. Lefebvre (1984) has claimed that through inhabitation and participation, individuals earn a legitimate right to life in the city. This localized citadenship has been conceptualized to include concrete and practical rights to difference, information, access to services, sharing of ideas, and using public space for all inhabitants, not just those with citizenship status (Lefebvre, 1984). A number of scholars (e.g. Dikeç & Gilbert, 2002; Fenster, 2005; Purcell, 2002, 2003, 2007) have since been inspired by Lefebvre (1984) and have used right to the city to capture how individuals live, go about their daily lives, use and produce local space, and undertake everyday routines locally—including how these activities are prohibited.

Geographers are particularly attuned to how the right to the city is connected to experiences of belonging and SofB in a way that illustrates the connection between emotions and the spaces of everyday life. For example, Fenster (2005) wrote “the right to use the city and the right to belong are mixed up. In fact, the possibilities of daily use of urban spaces are what create a sense of belonging to the city” (p. 222). Painter and Philo (1995) asserted that “if citizenship is to mean anything in an everyday sense it should mean the ability of individuals to occupy public spaces in a manner that does not compromise their self-identity, let alone obstruct, threaten or even harm them” (p. 115). Socio-cultural Geographers Dikeç and Gilbert (2002) claimed that the right to the city can “be read as a recognition of the urban as a new spatial scale where the practice or performance of citizenship unfolds through local affiliations, in contradistinction to a notion of citizenship conceived merely at an abstract and national level” (p. 63). Social psychologists have argued that everyday interactions are both the materialization and denial of citizenship (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011), reinforcing the need to focus on the banal. I acknowledge that the macro-level context of citizenship can influence everyday SofB, but delay these discussions until later in this chapter.

In particular, the concept of the right to the city inspires empirical investigations about how everyday life, actions, and interactions in the public sphere influence SofB. Painter and Philo (1995) have maintained that the right to the city is manifested and denied through material spaces, as well as the immaterial spaces of the mind, capturing the link between the physical and the emotional while stipulating that assumptions, fears, and prejudices condition practices. This scholarship suggests that both actual and perceived barriers and threats could influence SofB, and thus inspires empirical exploration of the challenges and obstructions to movements, usage, actions, and interactions in the public sphere. Furthermore, Painter and Philo (1995) wrote that the inability to be present in public areas such as parks, cinemas, stores, churches, town halls, streets, etc. without feeling discomfort, victimization, or out-of-place raises suggests that the right to the city is compromised. Fenster (2005) has linked the right to the city to emotions or experiences such as control, freedom, having one’s own space, connections, knowing people, getting and doing what one needs, attachment, safety, and having the power to choose. Conversely, Fenster (2005) has associated a compromised right to the city with feelings and experiences of discomfort, restriction, fear, exclusion, harassment, insecurity, and being trapped.

Of the right to the city, Purcell (2003) has argued that while the concept is fruitful to research, it is underexplored: “very little...work has fully appreciated the profoundly revolutionary principles of Lefebvre’s idea or the extent to which citizenship based on the right to the city radically challenges and reimagines the capitalistic world order” (p. 578). The concept can be used as a framework through which to explore how 1.5GUY assert their rights, participate in their communities, and form local attachments, whereby achieving SofB in everyday life despite their ULS. It can likely capture the lived consequences of ULS, including the everyday scenarios and locations where 1.5GUY’s SofB is challenged, and make salient the importance of legal status in everyday life.

3.1.2.2 Lived & Cultural Citizenship

The phenomena of how individuals actively use, claim, and occupy public spaces in their communities; participate in everyday life; struggle for a space to express themselves; and make claims has also been conceptualized as “cultural citizenship” (e.g. Flores, 2003) or “lived citizenship,” e.g. how an individual contributes to society as something other than a citizen of that state (e.g. Coutin, 1999). Scholars have used lived citizenship much like the concept of the right to the city: to re-focus the lens of citizenship to everyday life, including the ways individuals participate and experience barriers to participation (e.g. Bauböck, 2003; Bhimji, 2014; Bosniak, 2000; Fenster, 2005; Flores, 2003; Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Lister, 2007; Purcell, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Varsanyi, 2006). Much like the right to the city, these concepts can capture the spatialized dimension of everyday rights, practices, and interactions.

There are, however, particular nuances within the concept that are worthy of mention, as they deviate from conceptualizations of the right to the city. For example, in his conceptualization of cultural citizenship, Delanty (2002, 2003) has linked identity, the subjective feeling of belonging, and identification and in doing so, has emphasized “learning as a key dimension of citizenship” (2003, p. 605). Delanty (2003) has also argued that citizenship is an unending social and cultural process that arises “out of quite ordinary life experiences” (p. 602). In her work on children’s citizenship, Warming (2011) has made reference to Delanty’s ideas, and herself claimed that “children’s (as well as other people’s) citizen identity is a continuous learning process rooted in participation in the social practices of a given community” (n.p.). In particular, Warming (2011) has acknowledged the importance of the school system in constructing these processes, though has also observed that children’s participation in

educational is not unproblematic. Nonetheless, this scholarship reinforces the notion of SofB as a socially constructed and ongoing process rather than an absolute or final experience. Furthermore, it suggests SofB is learning-based—especially in childhood—and as such, learning in relation to the 1.5GUY's SofB should also be considered.

3.2 Socially Constructing SofB through Social Relatedness

3.2.1 SofB as Experiences of & Desire for Attachments, Commonality & Community

SofB is not an isolated or individual affair, but rather an experience combining emotional and social dimensions of a socially constructed process (e.g. Fortier, 2000; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 1996; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2004). Psychologists, for example, have claimed that SofB is a subjective experience (Lambert et al., 2013) and entails important dimensions of social relatedness as “an important element in developing and managing one’s relationship with others” (Hagerty et al., 1996:236). While social interactions can lead to SofB for individuals away from their homes (e.g. Ahmed, 2011), SofB can also be negatively influenced if encounters are affected by prejudices based on race, class, or ethnicity (Christensen & Jensen, 2011; Dench, Gavron & Young, 2006; Gullestad, 2006).

While discussing the difference between identity and belonging, Probyn (1996) has called attention to the human desire for attachment to peoples, places, and modes-of-being, in turn highlighting that experiences of attachment are fundamental to SofB. She wrote:

I slide from ‘identity’ to ‘belonging,’ in part because I think that the latter term captures more accurately the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fueled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as a stable state (p. 19).

With the understanding that humans are driven to form attachments and that these experiences influence SofB, I explore social identities and identifications to further develop how SofB is constructed and contested in everyday social encounters.

3.2.2 Social Identity

In writing about identity and belonging, Miller (2003) explained that belonging entails “something much deeper than that which pure emotion can guarantee; it has to be something rather more ontological—something more fundamental to who and what we are (p. 217), yet stressed that belonging and identity are not the same. Scholars studying belonging have often referred to experiences of “identity,” but have also asserted that “belonging” more adequately captures the emotional aspects of identities in social life, including the desire for attachments to peoples, places, and modes-of-being (e.g. Anthias, 2002, 2006; Miller, 2010; Probyn, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010).

Rather than undertake an exhaustive examination of the theory of identity—and scholars have noted that theories abound (e.g. Anthias, 2002; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Jenkins, 2014; Yuval-Davis, 2010)—I focus on how identity can assist with our understanding of how individuals experience and negotiate SofB to and with individuals and groups. To this extent, the concept of “social identity” is useful. Social identity scholar Jenkins (2014) wrote: “identity is the human capacity—rooted in language—to know ‘who’s who’ (and hence ‘what’s what’). This involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, then knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on (p. 6). Thus, at the most basic level, social identity allows us to sort people individually and collectively and in turn, potentially evaluate or establish relationships which can create SofB.

3.2.2.1 SofB as Commonality

SofB is not only about social identity and involvement, but also about experiencing “terrains of commonality” and perceptions of “fitting in” in relation to groups (Fortier, 1999). Psychologists have argued that SofB “encompasses the attribute of fit, sharing similar or complementary characteristics that allows the individual to feel a part of a group, system, or environment” (Hagerty et al., 1996:237). To better understand the experiences of commonality and fit, scholarship which defines social identity on the basis of similarities and differences is useful. For example, Jenkins (2014) explained: “to identify something as an A is to assert that it has certain properties in common with all other As, and that it differs from Bs, Cs, and so on” (p. 22). Thus, social identity is relational and comparative; by knowing who one is or is not, one can identify to whom or where one belongs—or does not. Jenkins continued:

Knowing who's who involves processes of classification and signification that necessarily invoke criteria of similarity and difference...the above criticisms converge in a recognition that foregrounding difference underestimates the reality and significance of human collectivity. Whatever else might be involved in knowing who's who, it is undeniably a matter of similarity and solidarity (p. 24).

Because SofB has been conceptualized as feelings of commonality resulting from the experience of fitting in, examining the social and relational aspects of identity via experiences of similarity and difference, inclusion and exclusion can likely capture how SofB is socially constructed or challenged.

3.2.2.1.1 Ascribed Identity

Notably, the social identity process can be flawed; knowledge versus perceptions of who we are can erroneously structure social identities, potentially influencing SofB in the process. Thus, the question of who is defining an identity is important. While it is human nature to speculate about an individual's identity—even without knowing that individual—what we think we know of that individual's identity is not necessarily a reflection of their own construction of their identities (Jenkins, 2014). The distinction between ascribed and achieved identity is important to acknowledge, as the former entails imposition by outsiders, whereas the latter is selected and constructed by oneself (e.g. Huddy, 2001; Jenkins, 2014; Taylor, 1989). Self perceptions and choice matter when constructing social identities, and suggest that the same may pertain to SofB.

3.2.2.2 *Boundaries of Belonging: SofB as Group Membership*

Scholars have acknowledged that individuals can enact their identities to symbolize association with or belonging to groups or cultures. In this regard, SofB is linked to social connectedness. This nuance of SofB entails feelings of attachment (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Lambert et al., 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2006), a sense of community (Anthias, 2006; Christensen & Jensen, 2011), a sense of intimacy with the world (Boym, 2001), and attraction and social cohesion (Marshall, 2002). For example, Anthias (2006) has written that belonging entails “feelings of being part of a larger whole,” which includes “emotional and social bonds” (p. 21). Scholars additionally stipulate that belonging and SofB entail desire for such attachments (Marshall, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2006) and the longing to belong to peoples, places, and modes-of-being (Kumsa, 2006; Probyn, 1996). Yuval-Davis (2006) has argued that the desire to

belong and achieve SofB is so pervasive that fear of separation or exclusion is a major motivating factor for group membership or conformity.

Because the human desire to achieve SofB is in part driven by experiences and perceptions of attachments to peoples and communities attention to the concept of the “group” is important. In turn, this can capture how SofB is constructed through social connections. Scholars have observed the relationship between group identities and SofB, for example, Jenkins (2014) wrote that social identity is about “belonging and community, of ‘us’ and ‘we’ (p. 24). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) noted that experiencing collective identity often entails the “emotionally laden sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity or oneness with fellow group members and a felt difference from or even antipathy to specified outsider” (p. 19). These conceptualizations involve an in-group experience resulting in SofB via feelings of similarity, community, and inclusion in contradistinction to non-members. However, Jenkins (2014) has also acknowledged that the concept of a “group” does not necessarily indicate definitive boundaries or homogeneity.

3.2.2.2.1 Overlapping Boundaries

Instead, numerous scholars have asserted that “boundaries” not only denote separation and exclusion, but also areas and conditions for communication, exchange, negotiation, bridging, and inclusion (e.g. Bowker & Star, 1999; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Rosaldo, 1989; Thelen, 1999). Thus, experiences of inclusion and exclusion and membership and non-membership likely relate to constructions of SofB. However, the mere observation of differences does not necessarily indicate exclusion, nor capture how these distinctions are experienced. SofB is integral to capturing the social phenomenon of everyday life, social identities, and group interactions. As boundaries of group “belonging” and membership have been conceptualized as complex, blurred, overlapping, and even contradictory, these conceptualizations suggest that SofB may also be more dynamic than current binary constructions suggests.

3.2.2.2.2 Fluidity & Dynamism

One argument against conceptualizing groups as neatly bounded relates to the notion of fluid and dynamic individual identities, as well as the argument that neither social identities nor groups should be solely characterized by difference. It has been argued, for example, that difference alone does not establish who one is, and furthermore, that tolerance, recognition, and encouragement of differences

are crucial to modern-day democracies (e.g. Anthias, 1998; Butler, 1990; Jenkins, 2014; Kabeer, 2005; Modood, 2005; Taylor, 1994). Experiences of similarity, commonality, and cohesion are thus seemingly in tension with celebrations and encouragement of difference and diversity. Jenkins (2014) has maintained that it is impossible for individuals to exhaustively assert all possible differences without also noting similarities. Additionally, social identity has been argued to be fluid and contingent (Butler, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2006); continually negotiated, temporal, and complex (Wenger, 1998); never a finished product, metonymic, and hybrid (Bhabha, 1994); multiple, overlapping, and potentially contradictory (Christensen, 2009); and dependent upon context, situation, and meaning (Anthias, 2006). If social identity scholars have contended that identities are ongoing, fluid, contingent, relational, and contextual, these arguments suggest that SofB should not be examined or defined in definitive, fixed, stable, or absolute terms.

3.2.2.2.3 Liminality

Another tool which allows scholars to capture ambiguous boundaries of belonging is the concept of “liminality.” Suárez-Orozco et al (2011) used the term in their study on undocumented immigrants, and wrote that “liminality has been theorized as the transitional moment between spheres of belonging when social actors no longer belong to the group they are leaving behind and do not yet fully belong in their new social sphere” (p. 444). Liminality can thus be used to capture in-between experiences. Suárez-Orozco et al (2011) have used the term to capture the blocked rites of passage that 1.5GUY encounter as “a labyrinth of liminality that complicates the normative stages of development in multiple ways” (p. 443), becoming an “interminable” state. While Suárez-Orozco et al (2011) have not studied these transitions or experiences through the lens of SofB, they have nonetheless found that 1.5GUY experience uncertainty and stress, suggesting negative influences to SofB worthy of further attention.

Life course scholars (e.g. van Genneep, 1960, 2011; Turner, 1987, 2002) have used liminality to capture the ambiguity that occurs when individuals transition from one life stage to another, for example from childhood to adulthood, engagement to marriage, pregnancy to childbirth. Turner (1987) and van Genneep (2011) have categorized three stages in this process:¹⁶ separation, where an individual or group

¹⁶ Typical examples are funerals (separation); pregnancy or engagement (transition); and childbirth or marriage (incorporation) (e.g. Turner 1987; van Genneep 2011)

is detached from previous ways of being; transition, a liminal stage where practices are ambiguous and neither neatly reflect past nor coming stages; and incorporation, a stable, consummated, and clearly defined stage. These same scholars have argued that while rites of passage include ambiguous periods, they are visibly and measurably completed. Liminality is a temporary, rather than permanent state and when transitions are completed, for example in birth, puberty, marriage, and death (e.g. van Gennep 2011), there are usually cultural celebrations.

3.2.2.2.4 In-betweenness: Hybridity vs. Partiality

Post-colonial scholar Bhabha's (1994) conceptualization of hybridity and the "third space" further explains how neither boundaries nor identities are clearly defined, but rather multiple, fluid, and overlapping. Bhabha explained the third space as "continually, contingently, 'opening out,' remaking the boundaries, exposing the limits of any claim to a singular or autonomous sign of difference—be it class, gender or race" (p. 313). Thus, processes of social identity are interminably ongoing. He further contended that the resulting "difference is neither One nor the Other but something else besides, in-between" (p. 313). In an interview, Bhabha stated "all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity but for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211). Notably, this notion of the third space is less concerned with definitively targeting origins and causes, and instead captures the ongoing proliferation of identities.

Bhabha considered the third space to be innovative and hybridity a sign of dynamism. As such, hybridity and the third space capture richness, rather than ambiguity; cultural differences and the subsequent social identities are conceptualized as positive, rather than liminal, negative, or lacking:

What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative signs of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2).

Because social identities are intrinsically related to the hybrid third space, and because SofB is constructed through social processes, including those of identification, this conceptualization suggests that 1.5GUY's SofB could be hybrid as well, especially as 1.5GUY have two or more cultural and identificational reference points.

The in-betweenness that Bhabha has celebrated in his concept of the third space is not always how real life is experienced. For example, Kebede (2010) researched 1.5 generation, Ethiopian-North American asylum seekers in Canada and found that these youth experience unique challenges to their SofB due to both their in-between immigration cohort and legal status. As asylum seekers, they are neither legal nor undocumented. Due to their asylum status, they cannot return home even if they so desire. Kebede (2010) argued that the SofB "the 1.5-generation might have felt before leaving their country of origin is irreversible because they cannot simply return to where they originally came from and feel that they belong in the way that those who never left can" (p. 6). Kebede (2010) concluded that due to these particularities, these "young people of the 1.5-generation will go through a period (or periods) of immense struggle to 'belong'" (p. 6). Though asylum seeking status and ULS are not the same, individuals with either status cannot simply return to their homelands without consequences. If Kebede (2010) has found that SofB is challenged particularly due to immigration cohort and the inability to return to one's home, the 1.5GUY's SofB may be similarly be in-between or similarly challenged.

In another geographic, legal, and institutional context, Applied Linguist Benesch (2008) has observed that in the majority of English language learning literature on 1.5 generation immigrants—regardless of legal status—individuals are often described as being in-between. However, this in-betweenness is conceptualized as incompleteness or partiality, not hybridity. Benesch (2008) has argued that scholars often posit the 1.5 generation as "perpetually partial" individuals who are "positioned as nonnative (Them) but on the way to becoming native (Us)" (p. 298). These individuals, their identities, and their linguistic practices do not quite resemble those of the majority. Benesch (2008) has furthermore contended that the "the dichotomous construction of first-and second-generation immigrants with its modernist notion of fixed native and non-native cultures allows for this demographic partiality, of being neither first nor second, neither 'newcomer' nor 'U.S.-born'" (p. 298). This observation serves as a caution against similarly positing the 1.5GUY as perpetually partial individuals. The research on hybridity, the third space, partiality, and in-betweenness inspire questions as to how the in-betweenness

of 1.5GUY's immigration cohort, life stage, and ULS influence SofB, including in partial or hybrid manners.

3.2.3 Achieving SofB through Performances & Identifications

3.2.3.1 Purposeful Action & Performativity

Belonging has been conceptualized as a question of choice, albeit one that must be tested, negotiated, confirmed, rejected, and qualified in relation to possibilities and limitations (Kraus, 2006). A number of scholars (e.g. Bell, 1999; Butler, 1990, 1993; Fortier, 1999; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 1996) have argued that belonging does not simply occur, but rather requires conscious awareness and appropriate, purposeful action to signify identity and achieve. For example, Butler (1999) has stressed that one neither simply nor ontologically belongs to the world or any group, as “belonging is an achievement at several levels of abstraction” (p. 2). With inspiration from Butler's (1990, 1997) concept of performativity, Bell (1999) has emphasized not only how performances create identity, but also belonging. For example, Bell (1999) has written that “more than ever, one needs to question how identities continue to be produced, embodied, and performed” (p. 2). SofB likely requires similar, purposeful efforts to be achieved.

Bell (1999) has furthermore cited a connection between performativity, community, and belonging: “the performativity of belonging ‘cites’ the norms that constitute or make present the ‘community’ or groups as such,” and the repetition of “these normalized codes makes material the belongings they purport to simply describe” (p. 3). Ritual theorist Marshall (2002) has argued that practices turn knowledge into belief, and membership into belonging: “the role of rituals in the creation of belonging is suggested by the fact that social integration and a sense of unity are among the most noted outcomes and functions of ritual” (p. 360). Practices are therefore important ways through which individuals produce SofB. Through repeated actions, codes become normalized. Individuals undertaking these performances—whether conceived of as actions, rites, or rituals—not only enact their identity, but also enact their belonging through purposeful action. To develop this point, I explore how performances have been conceptualized to create social identities, as these concepts may help capture the dynamic aspects of the production of SofB.

3.2.3.1.1 Coming Out

“Coming out” is conceptualized as a performance of one’s lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) identity; this performance is thus an identification with a particular sexual orientation and group. LGBT scholars have conceptualized of coming out as a process where individuals explore and disclose sexual orientation (Hill, 2009); intricately explore and develop their identities (Rosario, Hunter, Maguen, Gwadz, & Smith, 2001); and a self-discover, shed a false heterosexual identity, and correctly identify with one’s true homosexual “essence” (Rust, 1993, p. 53). Coming out is argued to be more complicated than realizing one’s sexual orientation, acknowledging this fact to oneself, and divulging this information to others (e.g. Coleman, 1982; McLean, 2007). Early models conceived of coming out as a single event (e.g. Dank, 1971; Hooker, 1967), but were followed by a linear and multi-step process (e.g. Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982). More recently, scholars have conceived coming out to be a dynamic, fluid, non-linear, multi-dimensional process of constant identity negotiation (e.g. McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001). As an ongoing performance of identity management, coming out requires constant assessment of risks based on situation, relation, location, and context (e.g. Rasmussen, 2004). In turn, coming out requires decisions about disclosure each time an individual encounters new people, settings, and situations. Coming out scholarship provides conceptual inspiration for the exploration of if and how 1.5GUY divulge their ULS—an otherwise invisible status just like LGBT orientation—in relation to the performance and management of SofB in everyday social life.

Scholars have argued that coming out is a difficult process (Solomon, McAbee, Åsberg, & McGee, 2015) and one with advantages and disadvantages (McCann, 2010). Some scholars have claimed that coming out is important for positive identity development; crucial for living one’s life fully, openly, and honestly; and that coming out can positively influence well-being, reduce stress, and improve relationships (e.g. Berzon, 2001; Coleman, 1982; Solomon et al., 2015; Vargo, 1998). Conversely, some scholars have argued that being “closeted,”¹⁷ or not divulging LGBT orientation, can negatively influence identity development, sacrifice integrity, and damage one’s sense of self (e.g. Mosher, 2001; Vargo, 1998). At the same time, individuals may fear loss of relationships during processes of disclosure (e.g. Grov, Bimbi, Nanín, & Parsons, 2006). Further, the stigmas related to LGBT status

¹⁷ While some researchers (e.g. Phelan 1993; Seidman 2004) have argued against the “closeted metaphor” for non-disclosure, as they argue this presents identity based on problematic binaries and essentialisms, it is still widely used.

have been observed to cause depression and suicidal tendencies (e.g. Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, & Krowinski, 2003). Due to the complexity of this ongoing, intersubjective process in which individuals go through various stages of self-discovery, self-doubt, and internal struggles, scholarship on coming out processes is ripe with emotions such as feelings of doubt, confusion, bewilderment, difference, fear, shame, stigmatization (e.g. Carrion & Lock, 1997; Connell, 2012; McLean, 2007; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004; Rhoads, 1995). As a concept that has been used to capture the emotional, processual, and purposeful ways identities are managed in everyday life, coming out can likely shed empirical or theoretical light on the 1.5GUY's experiences and performances related to SofB, ULS, and everyday life.

McLean (2007) has claimed that there is an “idealization of coming out” which “positions coming out as ‘good,’ as it enables the healthy development of sexual identity, and positions non-disclosure as ‘bad’” (p. 154). Rasmussen (2004) has similarly argued that individuals who “fail in their duty to come out may be marked as lacking, while those who do come out may be celebrated as role models promoting tolerance and inclusivity, empowering themselves and others” (p. 145). As such, coming out is not always motivated by personal choice, but also the dominant discourse of LGBT politics, which offers no other alternative but to come out (e.g. Rasmussen, 2004). While it has been documented that a positive organizational environment can empower LGBT teachers to come out (Connell, 2012), notably, not everyone wishes to come out in all aspects of their lives (Rasmussen, 2004). Further, individuals may return to the so-called “closet,” whereby purposely deciding not to divulge their LGBT orientation to others depending upon context, situation, and temporality (e.g. Connell, 2012; McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004). The concept of returns to the closet demonstrates that coming out is a multi-linear and dynamic, rather than a uni-directional or definitively completed process and as such, can potentially help capture the a potential multi-dimensional or multi-linear processes of SofB in everyday life.

3.2.3.2 Identification

By undertaking purposeful action, individuals can enact ways of identification to particular peoples, places, and modes-of-being. In turn, these purposeful actions can manage and achieve a SofB accordingly. “Identification” has been defined as a process and action derived from a verb—a process which furthermore requires specification of who is doing the identifying (Jenkins, 2014). Levitt and

Glick Schiller's (2004) discussion about "ways of being" and "ways of belonging" further illustrates the difference between identity as a noun and "identify" as a verb:

Ways of being refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions...Individuals can be embedded in a social field but not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field. They have the potential to act or identify at a particular time because they live within the social field, but not all choose to do so (1010).

Thus, physical presence in a particular location does not mean an individual identifies with that place nor the associated peoples or practices. While an individual has the potential to identify, choice and desire are key, which again calls attention to the element of desire related to SofB. The differentiation between identity and identification reminds us that while 1.5GUY are resident in the United States, their physical presence does not define nor necessarily coincide with their emotional experiences. For example, scholars have documented how undocumented immigrants participate in their communities by going to school, volunteering, or working (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2011; Cebulko, 2014; Coutin, 1999; Gonzales, 2007, 2008, 2011a; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). However, presence and action alone do not necessarily indicate if and how the 1.5GUY desire attachments to the peoples, places, and modes-of-being in the United States—a phenomenon which SofB can help capture.

Levitt and Glick Schiller's (2004) definition of "ways of belonging" can help potentially shed light on how 1.5GUY's conscious actions are meant to manage SofB in everyday life:

Ways of belonging refer to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark belonging such as wearing a Christian cross or Jewish star, flying a flag, or choosing a particular cuisine. Ways of belonging combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies (p. 1010-1011).

In this regard, is it not just physical presence, but rather purposeful and conscious action that enacts identity and furthermore, illustrates the desire for identification with or belonging to a group, place, or

culture. As the scholars have suggested, ways of belonging combine action and awareness through visible performances; Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) have stipulated that even seemingly mundane choices related to food or clothing may indeed be significant symbols to enact belonging. If these banal choices require conscious efforts, there may be a tension with the conceptualization of the everyday as rote routine presented earlier; this potential tension suggests a need to examine if and how everyday choices are conscious or un-reflected in relation to 1.5GUY's everyday SofB.

3.2.3.2.1 Simultaneity

As transnational migration scholars, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) have also examined how ways of belonging can be multiple and overlapping. They, like other transnational migration scholars (e.g. Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Glick Schiller, 1999; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) have claimed that individuals can undertake activities, routines, and traditions that signify attachments to both home and host countries. Of the second and transnational generation, Levitt (2009) wrote that “rather than being caught between the pressure both to Americanise and to preserve homeland traditions, the children of immigrants create a complex set of practices of their own” (p. 1239). Conceptually, simultaneity does not entail deciding between options, but rather creating complex practices. This particular scholarship reminds us that practices and identifications can be simultaneously multiple and overlapping, which in turn suggests that a practice or choice in one situation does not necessarily translate to another. Furthermore, the concept of simultaneity suggests a possibility that SofB can entail simultaneous emotions, belongings, and practices instead of either/or experiences. Finally, simultaneity inspires questions about whether 1.5GUY simultaneously have positive and negative experiences and what this does to their SofB.

3.2.3.2.2 Assimilation

The notion of simultaneity is in contrast to notions that immigrants can only belong to one culture, nationality, or citizenship. Yuval-Davis (2011) described a “cricket test” once used by British politicians to gauge SofB via emotional attachment. The rationale was that if an individual watching a cricket game between Britain and their ancestral homeland cheered for the latter, they did not truly “belong” to Britain, even regardless of their citizenship status. In this regard, the cricket test is more closely related to the concept of assimilation,¹⁸ which in American Sociology is traditionally posited as

¹⁸ The terms incorporation and integration are frequently used to describe similar processes (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2008).

a linear process through which individuals give up languages, identities, cultural practices, and loyalties in their process of becoming American (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2008; see also Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945). Individuals increasingly and cumulatively become “American” as they decreasingly identify with their native cultures.

Aleinikoff and Rumbaut (1998) have used the classical assimilation model to argue that the longer the period of time, the greater the sense of assimilation and identification:

As one becomes increasingly distant from the original immigration experience and its ethos, one moves towards a greater identificational ‘Americanization,’ which is accompanied by upward socio-economic mobility, increasing acculturation and linguistic assimilation, and decreasing experiences and expectations of discrimination (p. 17).

Aleinikoff and Rumbaut (1998) have considered assimilation to be a “narrative of social belonging,” where processes of adaptation and integration are typically uni-linear and completed within two or three generations. If assimilation is argued to increase cumulatively and uni-directionality, and if assimilation is related to social belonging, this raises questions as to if, over time, SofB is similarly uni-linear and cumulative for 1.5GUY, which includes reduced experiences or expectations of discrimination over time.

Scholars have since introduced the concept of “segmented assimilation” to acknowledge that external hierarchies influence opportunities for integration and that increasing upward mobility is no longer necessarily a feature of assimilation (e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2006, Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1999b). Nonetheless, assimilation still entails processes of individuals giving up past ways of identification and belonging as they become more “American.” Chavez (2008) wrote: “incorporating immigrants into society entails a transformation from ‘other’ to ‘us.’ However, becoming part of the ‘us,’ or to be included as part of the ‘we,’ as in ‘we the people,’ is a contested process partly because it is not clear what this process entails” (p. 11). I do not aim to define “American,” as this is outside the purview of this dissertation; instead, I let the 1.5GUY create these definitions and identification in relation to how they experience and manage SofB in everyday life.

3.3 Experiences of Acceptance & Recognition

3.3.1 Achieving SofB through Value & Acceptance

Having one's identity evaluated in social interactions is not only a question of social or group identity, but also a question of validation and acceptance. For example, scholars have noted that SofB entails individual's perceptions of their social interactions and relations (Hagerty et al., 1992) and that feelings of acceptance and value are often associated with SofB (Anant, 1966; Anthias, 2006; Hagerty et al., 1992, 1996; Lambert et al., 2013, Sarason et al., 1990). Psychologists Hagerty et al (1992) have written that SofB entails two key experiences: "a person's experience of being valued or important to an external referent and experiencing a fit between self and that referent" (p. 174). As such, the feelings of value, importance, and acceptance result from social experiences through which intersubjective evaluations are positively made. Lambert et al (2013) have stipulated that "it is possible to have positive relationships, thereby satisfying the need to belong in a general sense, yet still not feel that one is fully accepted" (2013:1). Thus, while having relationships and experiences of social relatedness and membership are important to SofB, they alone do not indicate or guarantee the achievement of SofB. To understand how feelings of value, importance, and acceptance are achieved in everyday life, I turn to concepts that capture how individuals are judged in everyday interactions, including concepts of social locations, intersectionality, and recognition.

3.3.1.1 Hierarchal Valuations & Social Locations

Anthias (2006) has argued that SofB entails the valuations of our positions in the social world and scholars (e.g. Anthias 2006; Kraus 2006; Yuval-Davis 2006) have additionally claimed that social identities are located in hierarchies of difference. For example, Kraus (2006) has explained that social identities are created in hierarchies of differences based on sex, gender, nation, etc. To understand how SofB is achieved and constructed in everyday social life, one must look not only at performances, or social interactions, but also how hierarchical structures influence SofB. Furthermore, acknowledging that individuals are positioned in society within socially constructed power axes can capture the relation between agency and structure (e.g. Anthias, 2002).

Yuval-Davis' (2006, 2011) concept of "social location" helps capture how social identities are constructed in hierarchies of differences, whereby certain identity categories or traits are prioritized over others:

When it is said that people belong to a particular sex, race, class or nation, that they belong to a particular age group, kinship group or a certain profession, we are talking about people's social and economic locations, which at each historical moment would tend to carry with them particular weights in the grids of power relations operating in their society (p. 12-13).

Yuval-Davis (2006) has not only acknowledged the varying grids of power, but also the contextual, historical, and situational influences on these structures of power and thus, how identities are valued. For example, Yuval-Davis (2006) has written that being a woman or man, black or white, European or African, working or middle class, etc. will not carry the same meaning or experience across different social, geographic, and historical contexts. As such, the concept of social location can capture the dynamic way that 1.5GUY's SofB is experience, including how these experiences shift due to context and changes in evaluations of one's social identity.

3.3.1.1.1 Temporal Dimensions

Yuval-Davis' (2006) acknowledgement that social locations are historical brings up an important, but often underemphasized point within SofB scholarship: temporality. Though rare, some scholars studying SofB and experiences of belonging have indicated the temporal nature of SofB. For example, Game (2001) has argued that feelings of being or coming home can refer to childhood memories, even more so than one's current and physical place. Anthias (2006) has written that SofB entails feelings and experiences of community in the present, as well as envisioning oneself in one's community into the future. Fortier (1999) has alluded to the importance of the past in creating current memories in her discussions about how repetitive actions become grounds for remembrances. Fenster (2005) has claimed that experiences of belonging and attachment are the result of accumulated knowledge, memories, and experiences. While together, this scholarship suggests potential temporal dimensions in relation to the construction of SofB, time is a generally underemphasized influence, but one that should be explored in relation to 1.5GUY's SofB.

3.3.1.1.1.1 *Multidimensional Intersectionality & Translocational Positionality*

Social locations are not just contextual, temporal, and relational; they are also multidimensional. For example, Yuval-Davis (2006) has written that social locations "are virtually never constructed along one power axis of difference" (p. 200) and for this reason, Crenshaw (1989) developed the concept of

intersectionality to capture “the multidimensionality of marginalized subject’s lived experiences” (p. 139). Scholars studying experiences of belonging (e.g. Anthias 2002, 2006; Christensen, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2007, 2011) have further argued for an intersectional approach when studying SofB, as they have acknowledged that the way individual and collective identities are judged cannot be understood in isolation of only one identity category.

Similarly, Anthias (2002, 2006) has argued that “translocational positionality” is necessary to capture the ways in which individuals are located in socially constructed axes of power and power differences, in turn influencing how individuals experience life. Quite similarly to the concepts of social locations and intersectionality, Anthias (2002) has conceptualized translocational positionality to be the recognition “that issues of exclusion, political mobilization on the basis of collective identity and narrations of belonging and otherness cannot be addressed adequately unless they are located within other constructions of difference and identity” (p. 502; see also Anthias, 2001). Whether called social location, translocational positionality, or intersectionality, the collective points these scholars make is that individuals and their identities are judged as a result of a diversity and hierarchy of socially constructed values that are contextual, temporal, relational, and situational. As an individual’s experiences and opportunities are conditioned by these valuations, these will also likely influence SofB.

Yuval-Davis (2006) has furthermore emphasized that “intersecting social divisions cannot be analysed as items that are added up but, rather, as constituting each other...there is no separate concrete meaning of any social division” (p. 200). Thus, my research on the everyday experiences of SofB in relation to ULS can likely not only be explained as a result of one factor, e.g. ULS, but rather a range of intersectional and inseparable characteristics such as race, age, gender, ethnicity, socio economic status, etc. that, depending upon context, can be prioritized, stigmatized, subordinated, or stereotyped. In one situation, a particular characteristic—ascribed or achieved—may play the overarching role, whereas in another, a combination of factors may structure SofB.

Of experiences of belonging and social locations, Yuval-Davis (2011) has furthermore written:

There is no direct causal relationship between the situatedness of people’s gaze and their cognitive, emotional and moral perspectives on life. People born into the same families

and/or the same time and social environments can have different identifications and political views. For this reason alone it is not enough to construct inter-categorical tabulations in order to predict and, even more so, to understand people's positions and attitudes to life (7).

Scholarship on social location, intersectionality, and translocational positionality are important reminders that how identities are evaluated in social interactions is based on a diversity of influences that are constitutive, additive, and inseparable. In turn, this suggests not only a challenge of pinpointing an exact cause for any particular emotion or experience related to SofB, but also that causal relationships are secondary to the experiences of SofB itself. I therefore acknowledge that not all 1.5GUY will have the same experiences related to SofB, regardless of whether they share the same age, immigration cohort, nationality, ULS, geographic location, gender, race, ethnicity, educational status, etc. focus on the experiences of SofB, rather than the cause/effect relationships.

3.3.1.2 Experiences of Non-Belonging

Discussions of how individuals experience SofB also inspire me to explore what SofB does not look or feel like, for example what emotions or experiences are not indicative of SofB, but instead reveal a challenged or absent SofB. To a large extent, however, existing scholarship associates SofB with positive emotions such as comfort, value, acceptance, safety, and commonality, and the related socially constructed experiences such as social relatedness, cohesion, fitting in, membership, and participation. Anthias (2006) and Yuval-Davis (2006) have claimed that the desire for SofB becomes most strongly activated when threatened, also suggesting a need to think about experiences that are not indicative of SofB. Anthias (2006) wrote:

It is precisely when we feel destabilised, when we seek for answers to the quandaries of uncertainty, disconnection, alienation and invisibility that we become more obsessed with finding, even fixing, a social place that we feel at home in, or at least more at home with; where we seek for our imagined roots, for the secure haven of our group, our family, our nation writ large (p. 21).

This notion of “destabilization” can potentially capture what happens to 1.5GUY’s SofB when they encounter negative experiences such as, but not limited to, uncertainty, disconnect, alienation, or invisibility.

A challenged or absent SofB is undertheorized in the literature, which requires an examination of empirical discussions to elucidate the experiences and emotions not normally associated with SofB. Fenster (2005) linked emotions such as fear, discomfort, harassment, and insecurity to “disbelonging” in her study on women’s experiences in the public and private spheres. Plumwood (2002) has called “disbelonging” the inability to remain in one’s home or place of attachment. Anthias (2002) found that British-born youth of Greek Cypriot heritage experience racism, discomfort, the inability to fit in, strong feelings of difference, and categorization as others, and described these experiences as not belonging. Christensen (2009) conceptualized “unbelonging” as the symbolic mark of difference, distinction, and exclusion, whether by imposition or choice. Notably, if feelings of discomfort or difference denote unbelonging, disbelonging, or non-belonging, then the opposite feelings—comfort and similarity—should also likely be added to those accompanied with SofB.

In their study of immigrants living in Aalborg East, Denmark, Christensen and Jensen (2011) discovered feelings of anger and hurt and concluded that the reality for these individuals is “non-belonging” at the national level. Christensen and Jensen (2011) cited Simmel’s (1998) concepts of the stranger and wanderer in relation to experiences of belonging. According to Simmel (1998), a stranger comes today and stays tomorrow, whereas the wanderer comes and leaves. Christensen and Jensen (2011) argued that a stranger is simultaneously close and far, inside and outside membership, and experiences belonging and non-belonging. While the scholars posited experiences of belonging as binaries—one either belongs or does not—their finding of simultaneous experiences related to belonging suggests that SofB may not always be neatly measurable. Whether termed non-belonging, unbelonging, or disbelonging, feelings and experiences of fear, discomfort, harassment, insecurity, racism, difference, anger, hurt, harm, and the inability to fit in are likely indicative of a challenged or absent SofB and thus should be considered in empirical investigations (Figure 1).

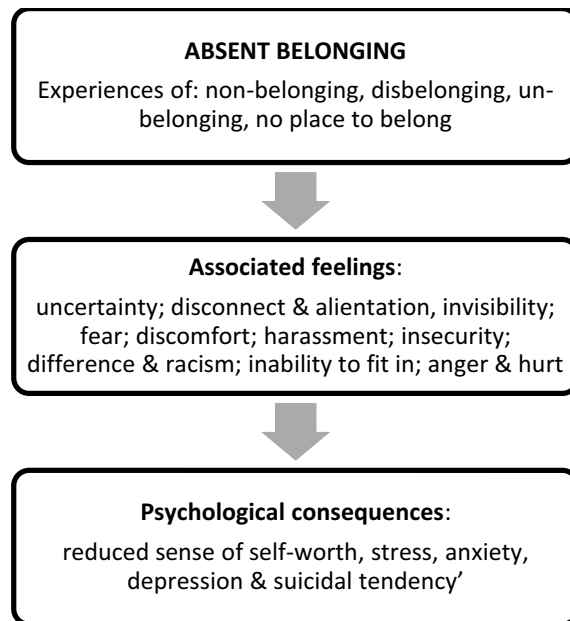


Figure 1 Experiences of absent or “non-belonging”

In contrast to Christensen and Jensen’s (2011) findings of simultaneous belonging and non-belonging, Colombo, Leonini, and Rebughini (2009) findings suggests that non-belonging can be concurrently experienced in relation to two places, e.g. one neither belongs here, nor there. Colombo et al (2009) presented empirical data from research with second generation immigrant youth¹⁹ in Italy and linked feelings of being a “stranger” to having a confused SofB. For example, the scholars quoted a youth who said: “I now feel as if I don’t have a nationality...I don’t feel I belong to either...I mean, you know that you are a stranger, that you’ve come here to start again...so, sometimes I’m a bit confused” (Colombo et al., 2009, p. 45-46). Whether the 1.5 neither feel attached to the peoples, places, or modes-of-being in the United States nor their homelands remains to be discovered, including the impact this has on their everyday SofB.

Cebulko’s (2014) research on 1.5 generation Brazilian immigrants in the U.S. with varying legal statuses—legal, liminally legal, undocumented, and naturalized citizens—found that youth feel “simultaneously a part of, but not a full member of, Brazil or the United States. They are nostalgic for Brazil, but their networks and futures are rooted in the United States” (p. 159). This finding of

¹⁹ Colombo et al (2009) used “second generation,” but noted that their respondents include individuals who came to Italy as early as age seven, which is similar to my usage of the 1.5 generation, rather than the second.

incomplete belonging, in combination with Colombo et al.'s (2009) study suggests that confusing experiences of belonging could lead to an ambiguous SofB. However, the emotions and experiences related to SofB are often captured through binary and dichotomous terms, for example: security/insecurity, acceptance/non-acceptance, comfort/discomfort, home/displacement, similar/different, etc. These findings inspire empirical exploration of the presence of negative experiences or emotions in relation to the concept of SofB. This scholarship particularly raises questions about how individuals actively or purposefully navigate these experiences of "non-belonging," including how they regain or attempt to regain SofB in the process. Because some scholars (e.g. Kumsa, 2006; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006) have argued that belonging entails desires for belonging and the longing to belong, examining the active coping strategies that 1.5GUY employ to regain SofB are not only important elements of this study, but also phenomenon that can potentially contribute to the existing understanding of the production of SofB in everyday life.

3.3.2 Recognition Theory

Scholars studying recognition have argued that like SofB, the intersubjective recognition of one's identity is a precondition for living a good life; recognition is not just a courtesy, but a vital human need (Honneth, 1995; Nicholson, 1996; Renault, 2007; Taylor, 1994). To further unpack how SofB is constructed through hierarchies, evaluations, and intersubjective experiences, I turn to the concept of recognition, which can help capture how emotions of acceptance, importance, and value are socially constructed. Hopkins and Blackwood (2011) have connected experiences of recognition with emotion, and claimed that being recognized entails having one's sense of identity affirmed by other individuals. Recognition theorist Honneth (1995) has argued that if "one becomes a socially accepted member of one's community by learning to appropriate the social norms of the 'generalized other,' then it makes sense to use the concept of 'recognition' for this intersubjective relationship" (p. 78). Honneth's (1995) definition entails recognition as the acknowledgement of individuals who undertake appropriate social actions. This recognition results in social acceptance and validation and thus links action, intersubjective evaluation, and emotion. Honneth (1995) also wrote that being recognized "corresponds to a mode of practical relation-to-self in which one can be sure of the social value of one's identity" (p. 79), and further, that having a positive sense of self and self-worth is the opposite of disrespect. Thus, an individual's perceptions of experiences related to recognition entails feelings of

value, care, affirmation, love, approval, and appreciation—all emotions relevant to consider in relation to the 1.5GUY's everyday SofB.

3.3.2.1 *Mutual Recognition*

Scholars of recognition have developed various nuances which can potentially assist in pushing the theoretical boundaries of SofB. For example, in his translation of Honneth's theories, Anderson (1996) has written about the concept of "mutual recognition:"

The possibility for sensing, interpreting, and realizing one's needs and desires as a fully autonomous and individuated person—in short, the very possibility of identity-formation—depends crucially on the development of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem. These three modes of relating practically to oneself can only be acquired and maintained intersubjectively, through being granted recognition by others who one also recognizes. As a result, the conditions for self-realization turn out to be depending on the establishment of mutual recognition (p. xi).

Thus, mutual recognition captures the importance not only of being socially recognized, but being valued and accepted by those one also values and accepts. To achieve mutual recognition, one's construction of self needs to be mirrored back by those one also recognizes. This concept inspires questions about if and how a 1.5GUY's SofB is necessarily challenged by individuals whom they neither know nor mutually recognize.

3.3.2.2 *Reciprocal Recognition & Participation Parity*

While seemingly similar, the concept of "reciprocal recognition" differs from mutual recognition, as it has been defined as the capability "of participating on a par with one another in social life" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 29; see also Fraser, 2001). Fraser (2001) has developed the concept of "participation parity" to demonstrate the importance of having equal opportunities for participation in everyday life and has furthermore clarified that participation parity entails an objective and subjective condition. The objective condition requires material resources to be distributed equally, whereby guaranteeing an individual's independence and voice and eliminating inequality, dependence, deprivation, exploitation, and disparity. In this regard, the objective condition captures how external structures promote or

prohibit participation, such as policies or resources. The intersubjective condition necessitates equal respect to achieve equal opportunity and esteem—and thus incorporates the social sphere.

Fraser (2001) has argued that if individuals are depreciated, denied full partnership, ascribed with difference, denied acknowledgement of their uniqueness, or burdened, they do not achieve participation parity. Notably, Fraser (2001) has used the concept of participation parity to capture how the experiences of subordination are not the result of psychological issues or weakness, but rather the manifestation of social injustices created through institutionalized norms. The concept of participation parity can likely capture how structural limitations influence 1.5GUY's SofB in everyday life. For example, as the 1.5GUY are known to encounter challenges as they attempt to transition through rites of passage and into adulthood, and furthermore move from protection to non-protection, inclusion to exclusion, and de facto legality to "illegality," the concept can likely help capture the relationship between the structural limitations of ULS on SofB. In conjunction with the concept of social location, which can capture how social interactions influence SofB, the concept of participation parity can shed light on how external factors that promote or prohibit participation in everyday life influences the 1.5GUY's SofB.

3.3.2.2.1 Mis- & Non-Recognition

Fraser (2001) and Fraser and Honneth (2003) have claimed that if an individual does not experience participation parity, but rather the inability to participate equally due to structural impairment, "misrecognition" is the result. Fraser (2001) has defined misrecognition as the denial of full partnership and participation in social interactions as a result of institutionalized subordination, capturing both the structural and social. Fraser and Honneth (2003) have argued that misrecognition is the purposeful, institutionalized inferiority, exclusion, or subordination of individuals. Theorists have also taken care to conceptualize "non-recognition" as separate from misrecognition. For example, social psychologists Hopkins and Blackwood (2011) defined non-recognition as compromised or constrained sense of self due to social positioning, while social theorists Carleheden, Heidegren and Willig (2012) argued non-recognition is "to make people disappear by refusing to take notice of them, by demonstratively seeing through them" (p.1). Carleheden et al (2012) have added that non-recognition is worse than misrecognition and explained that non-recognition is "the horror of being socially invisible...if you can't love me, then at least detest and despise me" (p. 1). In this sense, non-

recognition is the purposeful and deliberate action to overlook, ignore, invalidate, or deny the existence of individuals, their rights, or their identities. Carleheden et al's (2012) discussion about misrecognition provides inspiration for the empirical exploration of experiences of invalidation, which could indicate places where 1.5GUY's SofB is challenged, if not negated.

Taylor (1994) has written about the consequences of both misrecognition and non-recognition, and claimed that these experiences "can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred" (p. 26). He continued that:

A person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people of society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being (p. 25).

From this conceptualization, there appears to be a strong link between experiences of recognition and SofB, especially as the consequences of both misrecognition and non-recognition suggest consequences similar to those that have been described to occur when SofB is absent. For example, various scholars (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Fraser, 2001; Renault, 2007; Smith, Allen & Danley, 2007; Taylor, 1994) have argued that lack of recognition results in physical and psychological ailments including diminished self-worth, anxiety, anger, desperation, stress, isolation, alienation, depression, and beyond. When studying the experiences of 1.5GUY, Cebulko (2014) found that youth began to internalize stigmatization from not being seen as "an actual person," but rather as "monsters," which suggests that there could be a link between experiences of non-recognition and negated SofB that are worthy of explicit exploration. These nuances of recognition theory can likely help capture the relationship between exclusion, non-protection, and "illegality" and SofB.

3.3.2.3 The Struggle for Recognition: Social Movements

Scholars have used the concept of "social movements" to capture how individuals take purposeful action to raise awareness of and redress social injustices, including those that are the result of social or structural non-recognition. While a number of social movement scholars have acknowledged that there is no universal definition or example of a social movement, they have nonetheless agreed to a basic framework that requires collective social actors with a similar or shared identity, a perceived injustice,

the will to right a particular wrong, and the goal to enact change (e.g. Diani, 1992, 2003; Escobar, 2008; Johnston & Klandermans, 1995; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald; 1996; Tilly, 1998). For example, McAdam et al (1996) have written that at a minimum, individuals “need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem” (p. 5). Goldstone and Tilly (2001) claimed that social movement participation requires a calculation of opportunities—hope, belief in change, and probability assessment of success—versus threat, which goes before mere costs and risks. Aminzade and McAdam (2002) and Tilly (1998) have observed that a sense of solidarity, shared identities, “weness” and mobilization of emotion are critical. In this regard, the concept can potentially help capture the intersection between 1.5GUY’s shared identities, grievances, and performances.

Social movement scholars (e.g. McAdam, 2003; McAdam et al., 1996; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Tarrow, 2001) have observed the importance of sentiments in their social movement research, but have also argued that scholarship has focused on external mobilizing structures and framing processes instead of personal, social, and psychological processes. While my aim is not to contribute to social movement research, I note the relatively underexplored relationship between emotions and movement participation, especially in relation to how the 1.5GUY’s social movement participation influences everyday SofB (for an exception, see Benedict Christensen 2015).

3.4 Legal Recognition & Citizenship

Christensen and Siim (2010) have argued that there is a “need to situate citizenship in relation to contemporary politics and feelings of belonging” (p. 10) and furthermore wrote that citizenship entails who is included and who is excluded in the national communities. In doing so, the scholars have referenced Yuval-Davis’ (2006, 2011) concept of the “politics of belonging” as the ways in which people are included and excluded by social, economic, and political projects. Though my overarching focus is on everyday SofB, I acknowledge the link between macro, meso, and micro levels of belonging (e.g. Christensen & Jensen, 2011; Christensen & Siim, 2010; Siim, 2009) in that macro-level belonging through citizenship is part of the national and political construction of belonging, but one that also has everyday implications.

To understand how the politics of belonging influence 1.5GUY’s SofB, and especially explore how individuals without citizenship status experience everyday life, I turn to conceptualizations of

citizenship to understand how legal recognition and validation is produced from above. Even though the 1.5GUY are neither legal residents nor citizens, examining their everyday experiences as non-citizens can contribute to empirical understanding of how the politics of “illegality” are experienced from below, reinforce the importance of legal recognition in one’s country of residency, and contribute to the conceptualization of SofB. This point is furthermore supported by Menjívar (2006), who has claimed that “an examination of the lives of individuals who are ambiguously situated legally can lead to fruitful theorizing about incorporation, assimilation, citizenship, belonging, and exclusion” (p. 1003).

3.4.1 Theories of Citizenship

T.H. Marshall (1950) is often cited as laying the foundations for modern citizenship studies, though his definitions do not go uncontested (e.g. Tilly, 1995; Turner 1990). Marshall’s (1950, 1992) theory of citizenship concerned the vertical relation between an individual and a governing body—though not a necessarily a state—and the three domains from which rights and obligations proceeded: civic, political, and social. Marshall (1992) claimed that civil rights entail liberty of the person; freedom of speech, thoughts, and faith; and the right to justice and to own property. He explained that political rights enable individuals to participate and exercise political power in local governments and that social rights encompass welfare, security, sharing in society, and living a civilized life in accordance with the prevalent norms and standards of society.

Since Marshall’s conceptualization, citizenship theory has developed. A number of scholars (e.g. Bosniak, 2000, 2006; Lister, 2007; Kivisto & Faist, 2009; Purcell, 2003; Shklar, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2006) have acknowledged the multitude of definitions, applications, and contestations of citizenship. Purcell (2003) has observed that due to globalization and migration, a comprehensive definition is increasingly difficult to pin down and a number of scholars (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2011; Delanty, 2003; Joppke, 1999) have also claimed that both immigration and globalization fundamentally challenge the classic, nation-state based citizenship model. Yuval-Davis (2006) has written that “there has never been a complete overlap between the boundaries of the national community and the boundaries of the population that lives in a particular state” (p. 207) and Varsanyi (2005) has furthermore acknowledged that undocumented immigration is becoming more prominent

precisely due to globalization. Thus, explicitly defining “citizenship” theoretically is difficult precisely because the lived realities are constantly changing.

3.4.1.1 Dimensions of Citizenship

Though there is no consensus, Sklar (1991) has claimed that “there is no notion more central in politics than citizenship” (p.1). What is generally accepted in international law is that citizenship entails a relationship between an individual and the nation-state, and the rights and responsibilities resulting from this relationship (e.g. Bauböck, 2010; Marshall, 1992; Tilly, 1995, Turner, 1993; Vink & Bauböck, 2013). However, various citizenship scholars have observed that the legal aspect is only one dimension of citizenship. For example, Carens (2000) claimed that citizenship entails the legal, political, and psychological. Vink and Bauböck (2013) described citizenship as the three dimensional combination of membership status; rights and duties; and active civic, social, and political participation. Coutin (1999) argued that citizenship entails the formal legal relationship between an individual and the state, the active engagement of an individual in community life, the collective identity to a nation, or a matter of individual rights and justice. Bosniak (2000) wrote that “in an effort to bring order to what is otherwise a very chaotic field, several analysts have proposed organizing schema” (p. 455), which includes citizenship as: legal status, rights, political activity, and collective identity or sentiment. While relatively new, this sentimental aspect of citizenship is gaining traction in scholarship, and scholars increasingly argue that how individuals feel about their place in their societies is just as important as their citizenship-as-legal identity (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2008; Kostakopoulou, 2003). In fact, Delanty (2003) argued that the “cognitive dimension” of citizenship, e.g. how people make sense of and perceive their places in society, as well as undertake actions, is one of the most important dimensions of citizenship and furthermore suggested the need for more knowledge and theoretical framework to understand these processes.

Rather than arriving at a precise definition, what is important in this context is to acknowledge that there are various facets of citizenship that go beyond legal status. Notably, as Bosniak (2000) has emphasized, the various dimensions of citizenship influence each other; the way individuals feel about and experience citizenship is a combination of political, legal, and social worlds. This idea is reinforced by Marshall’s (1992) observation that citizenship status does not eliminate inequalities. Human rights scholar Bhabha (2009, 2011) has argued that while citizenship status is no guarantee for

the attainment of a good life, both Bhabha (2009, 2011) and Blitz (2011) have also argued that lack of legal recognition affects the enjoyment of civil and political rights; lives outside of legality are precarious. Bhabha (2011) wrote: “despite the optimistic rhetoric of universal rights proclaimed in international legal instruments...claims for the enjoyment of human citizenship and its associated benefits are increasingly mediated by proof of legal identity, nationality, or immigration status” (p. 13). The relationship between the legal and sentimental dimensions of citizenship appears to be a complicated one, which is why an exploration of the relationship between ULS and SofB in everyday life can lead to greater understanding of the need for legal status in everyday life.

Furthermore, citizenship status is no guarantee that individuals are committed to or attached to their nations. For example, Aleinikoff and Rumbaut (1998) have claimed that “people who are formally and legally recognized as members may not perceive themselves as full members...and persons formally excluded from membership may feel and act as if they are full members” (p. 14-15). Similarly, Yuval-Davis (2006) has also found that belonging does not necessarily nor always constitute a feature of citizenship. This scholarship points to the duality of citizenship: citizenship as legal status to a nation-state does not guarantee SofB to that particular nation-state, yet to achieve a SofB to the peoples, places, and nation, legal or citizenship status, recognition, or validation is not necessarily required. Together, this scholarship on citizenship demonstrates the complexity of citizenship’s interrelated dimensions. It furthermore suggests that the 1.5GUY can achieve SofB despite their ULS, as the way that legal recognition is produced from above is not necessarily how belonging is practiced in everyday life. An exploration of individuals living outside the legal boundaries of citizenship can potentially shed light on conceptual framework through which to understand these processes, including how non-citizens experiences this emotional dimensions.

3.4.1.2 The Right to Stay

3.4.1.2.1 Expanding the Boundaries of Citizenship

Scholars have begun to question the boundaries of nation-state based citizenship. For example, Bosniak (2000) and Coutin (1999) have both asked if citizenship is necessarily bound to the nation-state, especially as existing immigration policies do not adequately address the lived realities of individuals living between the contradictions of residency and ULS. While discussing the expanding boundaries of citizenship, scholars have discussed the right to stay (e.g. Carens 2010), as well as made

arguments for the legal recognition for undocumented immigrants. Coutin (1999) has argued that “unauthorized immigrants who demonstrate civic involvement, social deservedness, and national loyalty can argue that they merit legal residency” (p. 587; see also Coutin, 2002) due to their social participation such as going to school, building a family, establishing a residency, and working. Brubaker (2010) has also argued that “the longer the period of settlement without citizenship, and the more integrated such resident non-members...the stronger is their case for full membership” (p. 72). Notably, the traditional framework of citizenship no longer captures the lived realities of individuals living within the confines of a nation-state, but outside the borders of legal recognition. It is precisely due to these contradictions that studying the everyday SofB for the youth who live these contradictions is both empirically and theoretically interesting.

3.4.1.2.2 Spatial Rights

In discussions of how belonging is experienced and negotiated, Yuval-Davis (2006) has pointed to “spatial rights” which result from citizenship status, for example the right to enter a state, territory, or political community; the right to remain once one has entered; the right to migrate; the right of abode; the right to work; and the right to plan a future when one lives. The right to mobility and residency has been furthermore established in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which established that “everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” (Article 13:1,2). The reality, however, is that not everyone has the right to indefinite stay within their current place of residency—a fundamental right which comes from citizenship status. Bhabha (1999) has conceptualized the capacity to be expelled from a nation as “a critical signifier of non-belonging” (p. 19) and argued that the “the right to unqualified indefinite residence is a key attribute of nationality” (p. 19). Bhabha (1999) has further observed that while non-legal individuals may “live permanently and feel they ‘belong’” (p. 12), long-term residency alone cannot guarantee the right to stay: “place itself is not a sufficient criterion of qualification” (p. 12). The same notion extends to 1.5GUY: though they are long-term residents, they are not shielded from the possibilities of displacement, which likely has an impact on their everyday SofB.

3.4.1.2.3 Disbelonging

The potential for displacement from one’s place of residency has been conceptualized by Australian Ecofeminist and Philosopher Plumwood (2002) to be “disbelonging.” Though this concept has been

used in a different geographic, cultural, and legal context to capture aboriginal rights, the concept can nonetheless shed light on the emotional impact of the inability to be spatially secure. Plumwood (2002) wrote that “those who are most vulnerable and powerless are most at risk of losing control over their ability to remain in a home place or place of attachment” (2002:362). Plumwood (2002) has furthermore argued that disbelonging is not a passive state, but rather an active process of denial or rejection of ties, origins, or attachments. Due to the conscious and purposeful denial, the concept of disbelonging is reminiscent of non-recognition. Together, both concepts can potentially help capture the emotional reactions related to perceived social injustices in everyday life as experienced by 1.5GUY, including the relationship between ULS and SofB.

3.4.1.2.4 The “Condition of Illegality”

Scholars studying undocumented immigration in the United States have conceptualized the ability to be displaced due to lack of legal or citizenship status as the “condition of illegality” (de Genova 1998, 2002; de Genova & Peutz 2010; Kanstroom 2010, 2012). Anthropologist de Genova (2002) has explained this to be a “spatialized social condition,” which “reproduces the physical borders of nation-states in the everyday life of innumerable places throughout the interiors of the migrant-receiving states” (p. 439), including racializing immigrants as ““illegal aliens”” (p. 439). Some scholars (e.g. Coutin, 2005; de Genova, 2002) have argued that the constant repression and surveillance leads to vulnerability in everyday life. In her research on undocumented immigrants in Israel, Willen (2007) conceptualized the threat of deportation as “abjectivity,” or the potential to be cast away or expelled. Willen (2007) found that legal abjectivity has “profound impact on undocumented migrants’ modes of being-in-the-world” (p. 27; see also Gonzales & Chavez, 2012), including consequences which manifests themselves through somatic symptoms. However, Coutin (2003), Delgado (1993), Willen (2007) and Zolniski (2006) have, in various social, geographic, and historical contexts, also found that lack of legal status does not necessarily nor always influence undocumented people’s everyday lives. More research is required to understand how ULS does and does not impact everyday lives, including how the “condition of illegality” influences SofB for 1.5GUY.

3.4.1.2.5 Liminal Legality

Another legal nuance that could influence the everyday lives of 1.5GUY and is related to legal recognition is the concept of “liminal legality.” Menjívar (2006) originally applied the term to capture

the movement between legal and non-legal statuses, as well as the extended indefiniteness, instability, and ambiguity that results from various temporary legal statuses for undocumented adults in the United States. As previously noted (section 2.5.4) some 1.5GUY are potentially eligible for a temporary, two-year legal stay through DACA, which in theory mitigates their vulnerability to deportation. Due to the temporary protections that DACA provides, Cebulko (2014) used the term in reference to the 1.5GUY who have no long-term legal status, as well as youth whose legal statuses can change between undocumented, DACAmented, and other short term legal statuses. Bloemraad (2013) has found that legal statuses marked by fluidity can offer both hope to individuals awaiting legalization, but can also reinforce ambiguity precariousness. Purcell (2007) has argued that it is critical for governments to provide stability when enforcing the law in liberal democracies. Because DACA is temporary and unstable, this scholarship together suggests that temporary legal recognition has implications for social injustices, including experiences of non-recognition that shape SofB. Further, discussions about this non-binary concept inspire questions about if SofB is liminal or ambiguous, rather than binary—questions that an empirical exploration can answer.

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have delved into the exploration of the concept of sense of belonging. In doing so, I have documented that scholars have argued that the concept is useful for studying experiences of everyday life and in particular, experiences of immigration. As a conceptual tool, SofB can help capture how individuals feel about their experiences and interactions in the social world. However, many of the same scholars who have argued that SofB is a fruitful concept have also acknowledged that SofB is generally overused, under-defined, and undertheorized. In acknowledgement of this argument, I have integrated concepts which can potentially help develop our understanding of the experience and production of everyday SofB, including the concepts of the everyday, social identity, recognition, and citizenship, as well as sub-theories such as the right to the city and participation parity. These theories can also likely help capture the relationship between ULS and SofB that emerges from empirical material.

Within the existing literature, SofB is often linked to positive emotions such as safety, comfort, acceptance, attachment, value, and fitting in (Figure 2). Conversely, scholars have associated feelings and experiences of uncertainty, alienation, invisibility, fear, discomfort, difference harassment,

insecurity, difference, racism, anger, hurt, or the inability to fit in as “non-belonging,” “unbelonging,” or “disbelonging” (Figure 1). The presence of these emotions likely demonstrates the absence of SofB, especially as experiences of belonging have often been conceptualized in binary terms: one either belongs or one does not. I have particularly integrated concepts such as transnational simultaneity, the third space, coming out, cognitive dissonance, and intersectionality, as scholars have used these concepts to capture overlapping, contradictory, hybrid, ambiguous, non-linear, and dynamic processes. My estimation is that these concepts can help push the binary boundaries of SofB, especially in conjunction with empirical material.



Figure 2 Existing conceptualizations of experiences related to belonging

Within scholarship, there is also a tendency to alternate between SofB and belonging. It is especially through Lambert et al’s (2013) discovery that it is possible to have positive relationships and thus belong, but not feel accepted that I pay careful attention to the distinction between the two terms. My use of “sense of belonging” precisely aims to capture the emotional responses to everyday experiences;

whether experiences of belonging necessarily lead to SofB remains to be uncovered throughout the remains of this dissertation. I have also observed that scholars often link experiences of membership, inclusion, exclusion, and participation, to belonging. Scholars have argued that the 1.5GUY are first included and then excluded, straddle legal categories, and spheres of belonging in everyday life (see Chapter Two); I acknowledge that these experience likely influence SofB and thus should be taken into account, but their relationship remains to be explored in relation to how the 1.5GUY not only experience, but also cope with SofB in everyday life.

The right to the city, in conjunction with citizenship and its various dimensions, has inspired me to ask questions about if and how the 1.5GUY experience SofB in everyday life despite their ULS. Such a focus includes how they navigate choices and limitations, agency and constraint. The concepts of social location, translocational positionality, and intersectionality serve as particular reminders as to a range of other interconnected influences on SofB, as well as the contextual, relational, and temporal influences to SofB. To help capture the dynamic and active ways that 1.5GUY cope with SofB in everyday life, I have purposely incorporated theories such as identification and performativity. Especially because SofB is argued not only to come as the result of attachments or identifications, but also the desire for these connections, examining youth's purposeful actions can capture the performative ways 1.5GUY construct their everyday SofB. Such a focus includes how they navigate the limitations of ULS, as well as cope with the experiences of "nonbelonging" that it might produce. In order to explore how 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB in their everyday lives, a qualitative approach is necessary; I now turn my attention to methodological considerations through which such an exploration is possible.

4 Research Design, Methods & Methodology

In this chapter, I reflect upon choices made and methods employed to access and obtain qualitative data, so as to delve into the diversity of 1.5GUY's experiences of everyday SofB. I take my departure from the methodological, theoretical, and empirical gaps established in Chapter Two to rationalize choices. In order to explore the everyday lived experiences of 1.5GUY; to contribute to established research gaps; and with the goal of conceptually developing SofB, I conducted an exploratory study via semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Here, I integrate scholarship while discussing my research design; phenomenological epistemology; interviewee recruitment, demographics, and vulnerability; data collection methods and processes; research ethics; qualitative content analysis; and research limitations, validity, and representativeness.

4.1 Thematizing

4.1.1 Establishing Qualitative Needs

As outlined in Chapter Two, a number of scholars have documented the need to study the lived experiences of the 1.5GUY via qualitative methods. Researchers have called for qualitative methods in researching the children of immigration (e.g. Gonzales, 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Zhou, 1997a); the 1.5 generation (e.g. Benesch, 2008; Kebede, 2010; Kim, 2003; Park, 1999; Talmy, 2004); what citizenship and legal status means for individuals (e.g. Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Lister et al., 2003; Miller-Idriss, 2006); undocumented immigrant youth (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008; Cebulko, 2014; de Genova, 2002; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales, 2011a; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Willen, 2007); and the effects of ULS on the everyday experiences of immigrants (e.g. Cebulko, 2014; Coutin, 2002b; de Genova, 2002; Gonzales, 2007, 2011a; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Menjivar, 2006; Ngai, 2004; Willen, 2007), particularly on the socio-emotional level (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). De Genova (2002) summarized research on undocumented immigrants in the United States:

Remarkably little of this vast scholarship deploys ethnographic methods or other qualitative research techniques to elicit the perspectives and experiences of undocumented migrants themselves, or to evoke the kinds of densely descriptive and textured interpretive representations of everyday life that socio cultural anthropologists tend to relish (p. 421).

Though scholars have since begun to incorporate qualitative methods in their research, there is still room for intersubjective perspectives and those particularly elucidated via qualitative methods.

4.1.2 Thematizing Research Purpose

To understand these perspectives and experiences, firsthand accounts are critical: “qualitative research interviews give voice to people in expressing their opinions, hopes, and worries in their own words” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 311) and “if we want to know the unique experience and perspective of an individual, there is no better way to get this than in the person’s own voice” (Atkinson, 1998, p. 5). Thomsen (2012) wrote in her research on undocumented immigrants that it is imperative “to give the migrants themselves a voice so that their experiences of the migration process are exposed, and their narrations used as valid empirical data for understanding and conceptualizing irregular migration” (p. 101). These statements reflect considerations about both the purpose and the means of research, while simultaneously emphasizing that an individual’s voice must be present if the goal is to learn about their experiences. In order to formulate the purpose of a study—what Kvale (1996) has called “thematizing”—we must gather pre-knowledge of relevant information and consider how future data will be gathered. Before entering the empirical field, I conducted desk research in Denmark to obtain fore-understanding, including poring over articles to find topics and phenomena that had and had not already been covered, were interesting, and relevant. I then formulated the general empirical question of how 1.5GUY navigate their everyday lives with their ULS, including the challenges, hopes, and barriers they face in particular areas: education, employment, family, and social spheres.

In addition to the established research gaps (Chapter Two), several scholars have made a pointed call for a shift away from reifying “illegality” and undocumented peoples towards focusing on the conditions and experiences of “illegality” (e.g. Coutin, 2003; de Genova, 2002; Ngai, 2004; Willen, 2007). Willen (2007), for example, has emphasized that “a serious lacuna nonetheless persists within current anthropological scholarship on migrant ‘illegality’” (p. 10). Willen (2007) acknowledged the importance of studying “illegality” as a juridical status and socio-political condition, and stressed “that a third, crucial dimension remains palpably missing from this model: the impact of ‘illegality’ on migrants’ everyday, embodied experiences of being-in-the-world,” precisely as the condition of “illegality” can profoundly shape everyday “experiences of time, space, embodiment, sociality, and self” (p. 10). Sigona (2012) has contended that studying narratives of undocumented immigrants can

reveal how individuals experience “illegality” in their everyday lives, including the ways in which individuals navigate and shape routines, mundane interactions, and other banalities. Furthermore, Cebulko (2014) has called for future research on 1.5GUY to examine how extended exclusion from legal status shapes experiences of belonging. Finally, Coutin (2000) indicated that while “illegality may be irrelevant to most of their activities” in certain circumstances, suddenly “legal reality is superimposed on daily life” (p. 40). Thus, the interesting facets of everyday life are the sites and circumstances where ULS presents challenges to what are otherwise dormant, routine, or taken for granted activities. My goal to explore the 1.5GUY’s everyday SofB in relation to ULS reflects various calls within the field and requires an appropriate epistemological approach.

4.1.3 Epistemological Approach: Phenomenology

Several scholars have asserted that a phenomenological approach is best for studying the conditions and experiences of “illegality” via the perspectives of undocumented immigrants (e.g. de Genova, 2002; Chavez, 2013; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Willen, 2007). Willen (2007) wrote that “the power of this ethnographic prism” is to “unpack, to thickly describe, and to humanize” (p. 13) the conditions that shape undocumented immigrant’s status and modes-of-being. A phenomenological approach is also beneficial to an exploratory study seeking to understand how 1.5GUY experience and cope with the phenomenon of everyday SofB.

Phenomenology is the study of lived experiences or life worlds (van Manen, 1997); addresses people’s perceptions of the world (Langdrige, 2007); focuses on the everyday being and connections between the subject and his surrounding world (Dahlberg & Dahlberg, 2010); and studies phenomenon from the way individuals experience them (von Eckartsberg, 1998). Additionally, phenomenology is descriptive (Kvale, 1996); generally qualitative (Sloan & Bowe, 2013); and subjective (Eberle, 2012; Velmans, 2007). Phenomenology entails firsthand accounts where interviewees describe their experiences related to the topic being investigated (Lavery, 2003); requires a researcher to identify a phenomenon as an “object” of the human experience” and give voice to it (Cresswell, 2007); and its goal is to describe subjective orientations in the life or lived world via subjective consciousness (Luckmann, 1973). With the initial goal of empirically understanding how 1.5GUY experience and navigate everyday life with their ULS, I needed qualitative, in-depth, subjective accounts of perceptions and

experiences from the very individuals who lived and experienced them, all of which requires a relevant project design.

4.2 Project Design

4.2.1 Flexible & Exploratory Approaches

Kvale (1996) has suggested that designing research projects “consists of the overall planning and preparing of the methodological procedures for obtaining the intended knowledge” (p. 98), including details about time management, interviewees, and data collection. To obtain qualitative data about the everyday experiences of the 1.5GUY, methods that are in line with epistemology, goals, and research gaps are required. My exploratory approach reflects these traditions, limits, and aims and I do not aim to make generalized comparisons or conclusions. According to Stebbins (2013), “exploratory research” entails examining a phenomenon; is well-suited to the social and psychological sciences; is broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, and pre-arranged; and allows the development of theory from data. This approach is also in line with what scholars consider “collective case study research,” in which researchers explore and describe a complex phenomenon through a variety of examples (e.g. Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2013). In the case of this dissertation, 1.5GUY’s narratives describing an event or interaction make up part of their individual experience, and each individual experience provides a diverse and dynamic understanding to a shared phenomenon: everyday SofB.

Stebbins (2013) has emphasized that an effective exploration of any phenomenon requires “two special orientations: flexibility in looking for data and open-mindedness about where to find them” (p. 6). He also wrote “exploration is the preferred methodological approach...when a group, process, activity, or situation has received little or no systematic empirical scrutiny” (p. 9). Finally, Stebbins argued that the purpose of an exploratory study is “the production of inductively derived generalizations about the group, process, activity, or situation under study” (p. 6). All of these recommendations influence how a researcher approaches the field, a research question, and interviewees. While the 1.5GUY and their experiences have been studied, the general lack of qualitative understanding surrounding their everyday experiences, and in particular SofB suggests that an exploratory approach would generate valuable data for analysis. An initial concern I had related to immigration reform: what influence would legislation have on my research? My research question, interviewee recruitment, and theoretical angle needed to

be flexible to allow for exogenous changes, including political or legislative ones. Accordingly, I neither entered the field with a particular theoretical angle, nor a hypothesis to test (e.g. Atkinson, 1998). I was aware of challenges, but uncertain as to how they would factor into my study. Additionally, I was uncertain about the theoretical angle I would eventually take to explore this phenomenon. I acknowledge, however, that flexibility and open-mindedness should not be confused with “objectivity.” No matter how open or flexible one attempts to be, even the best researcher cannot remain entirely uninfluenced or unprejudiced by past experiences in current research (Mosse, 2006).

4.2.2 Pre-Planning Fieldwork

When I began my Ph.D. in September 2011, my first priority was to contact individuals and organizations in the U.S. to cultivate relationships and pre-plan fieldwork with key gatekeepers who could assist in accessing interviewees. Through oral and written communication, I discussed research goals, my background, and answered any questions gatekeepers or potential interviewees before entering the field. Having my primary research location in Denmark while researching 1.5GUY in the U.S. does present challenges, but with consideration of limits, planning, and efficiency, these challenges can be mitigated. Further, I understand that “the ideal site for investigation of the research problem is not always accessible. In that event, the researcher accepts and notes the limitations of the study from the onset” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 32). Thus, I acknowledge the challenges and limitations of my research within the next few sub-sections.

With a research base in one continent and the field in another, processes of entering and exiting the field are distinct temporal and physical processes that do not easily allow for re-access if sufficient data is not collected. I needed to plan ahead and focus on recruitment. Further, I did not want to rigidly limit myself to particular demographics to the detriment of sample size and saturation. I initially planned a pilot project from February – March 2012 mainly to connect with organizations and establish contacts, whereby laying the foundation for a longer, more extensive visit the following fall. However, I managed to conduct eighteen interviews during this time and conducted a second round of fieldwork during September – December 2012.

4.2.3 Geographic Location

Based on my analysis of existing research on the 1.5GUY, I observed the particular geographic gap in research outside the state of California. The geographic and ethnic diversity gap within research has also been recognized by Cebulko (2014), who wrote “in sum, we are short on theory and data on the material and nonmaterial consequences of...1.5-generation immigrants who are not of Spanish-speaking Latin-American origin and do not live in California” (p. 145). Due to the documented geographic gap, I focused my efforts mainly in the Northeast in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, but also conducted fieldwork in Texas due to access through a contact. I aimed to conduct fieldwork in a variety of geographic contexts to uncover a diversity of experiences—also a documented gap. I am originally from the Northeast, so the geographic focus also fulfilled a personal interest. When discussing research location with friends, family, and colleagues, I was often confronted with surprise; the response was often “are there really illegal immigrants in [northeast state]?” The public gap in knowledge of undocumented immigration in these areas helped fuel personal and academic interests.

While it is important to outline some state dynamics and demographics, I emphasize that neither making a cross-geographical comparison nor in-depth context of reception analysis are the focus of this dissertation. States are diverse in a number of ways: the concentration of the undocumented population; growth or decrease of undocumented populations in recent years; in-state and non-instate tuition for higher education; and in country of origin. Three of these states are amongst the most highly populated by the undocumented population in 2012: Connecticut (3,5%, 14th greatest share); New Jersey (5,8%, 4th greatest share); and Texas (6,3%, 3rd greatest share) (PEW Research Center, 2014). The top five countries of origin for undocumented populations are also diverse in each state.²⁰ While the undocumented population grew in Pennsylvania between 2009 to 2012, it decreased in Massachusetts and New York (PEW Research Center, 2014). Half of these states allow undocumented residents to pay in-state tuition rates at public universities with proof of residency: Connecticut (since 2011), New York (since 2002), and Texas (since 2001) (NCSL, 2014). I initially anticipated focusing on experiences related to higher education, hence the attention to equality amongst in-state tuition

²⁰ Data from Migration Policy Institute (2013).

policies. However, I decided against this focus, particularly as these challenges are amongst some of the most documented.

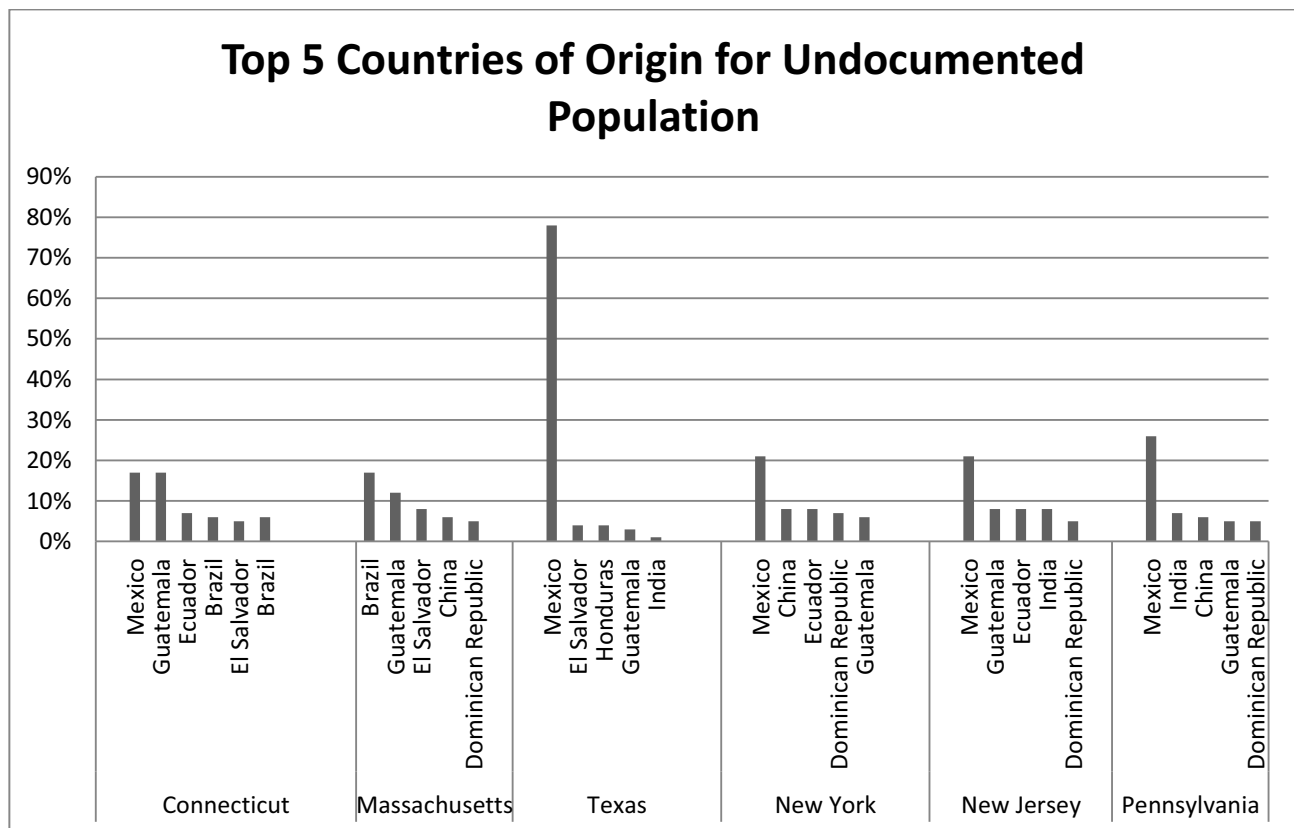


Figure 3 Top 5 countries of origin in each state where fieldwork was conducted²¹

²¹ Source: Migration Policy Institute (2013).

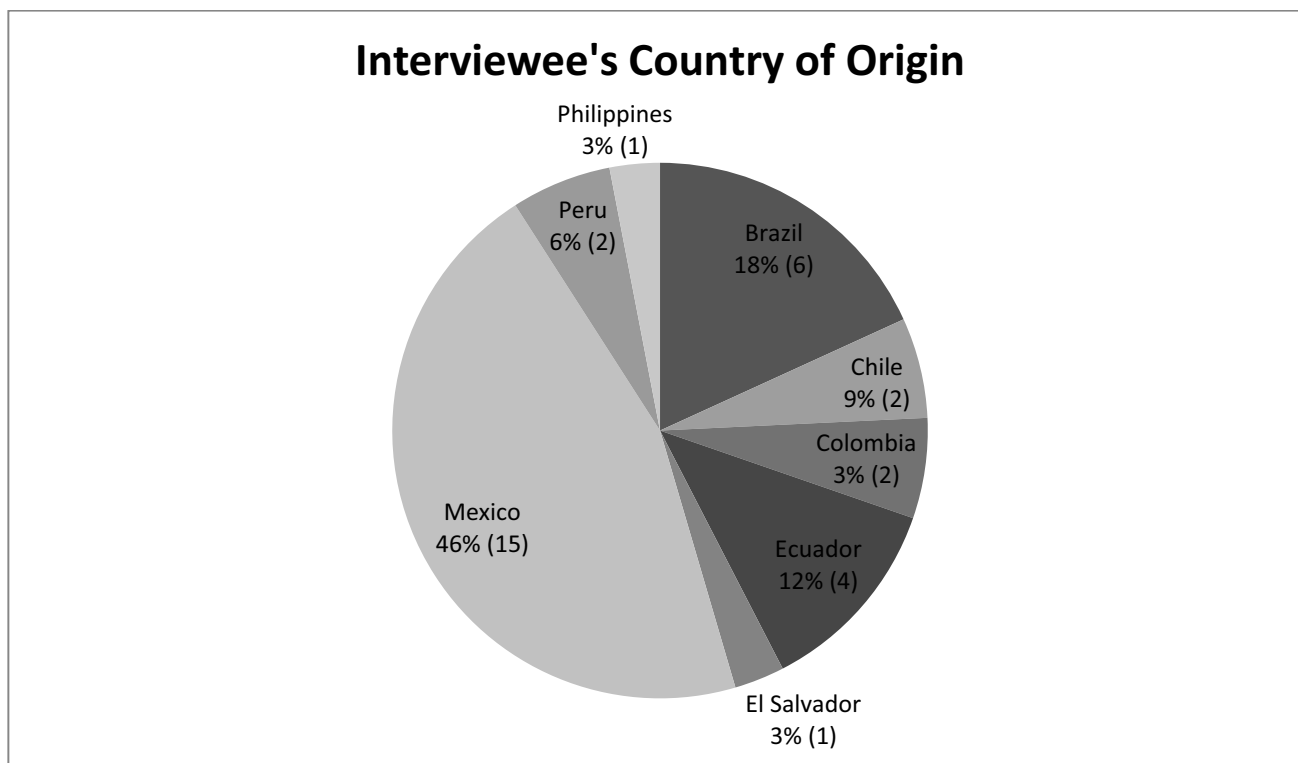


Figure 4 Interviewee's Country of Origin

While I attempted to have equal representation from each state, this was not always possible. Furthermore, migration is rarely a completed act—a point made evident by the fact that many of the youth I interviewed have internally migrated within the United States. This is particularly the case amongst 1.5GUY who have moved across state borders, if not across the country, to attend a four year private university. Thus, locations indicate residency at the time of the interview. I acknowledge that contexts influence experiences, but as my aim is not to draw cause-effect conclusions, I maintain that the limitations presented by geographic selections are within the aims and methods of my research.

4.2.4 Accessing “Hard-to-Reach” & “Vulnerable” Populations

There are a number of stigmas associated with undocumented immigration, (e.g. Abrego, 2011; Cebulko, 2014; Chavez, 2008; Coutin, 2005; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011) and researchers have conceptualized undocumented individuals—and especially children or youth—as vulnerable (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Buff, 2008; Bhabha, 2011; Capps, Fix, Ost,

Reardon-Anderson, & Passel, 2004; Carens, 2010; de Genova, 2004; Gonzales, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Olivas, 2009; Perez, 2009; Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009; Seif, 2011; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Thomsen, 2012). These stigmas and vulnerabilities present additional challenges for researchers, including time and cost (Gonzales 2011). Gonzales (2011) has argued that “today’s anti-immigrant climate and localized immigration enforcement present challenges to finding respondents” and that “until very recently, it has been difficult to study undocumented young adults...their numbers have been prohibitively small” (p. 606).

In other fields, researchers have paid special attention to the concept of “vulnerability.” In a study on crowding and population, Loo (1982) wrote that relative to the majority, vulnerable people “have less power, opportunity, and freedom to determine outcomes in their lives or to make decisions that affect their situation due to their age, physical or mental condition, race, economic, or political position, or a captive status” (p. 105). In a study on nurses and illnesses, Moore and Miller (1999) argued that vulnerable individuals “are those who lack the ability to make personal life choices, to make personal decisions, to maintain independence, and to self-determine” (p. 1034). Legal scholar Fineman (2012) defined vulnerable peoples as individuals who lack autonomy and independence; who are likely to be monitored, disciplined, and supervised due to external perceptions that they are deviant, dangerous, at risk, or in need of control; and who are designated as vulnerable due to poor choices made in the past or those likely to be made in the future. These statements raise, but do not necessarily answer, questions as to how vulnerable populations navigate being approached for qualitative research, including their ability to say no to such research.

Various scholars have suggested that “gatekeepers often heighten their vigilance” (Moore & Miller, 1999, p. 1036; see also Berg, 2004; Feldman, Bell, & Berger, 2004; Wanat, 2008) when protecting research access, settings, and potential interviewees from within vulnerable populations. Going into the field, I was optimistic, but realistic about these challenges. I encountered the greatest roadblocks in communication with adult gatekeepers; in cases where an adult university administrator was in charge of an organization at a university, my access to potential interviewees was completely blocked. I was told that students’ personal information could not be shared due to university protection policies, nor that my details could be forwarded. I understand the legal limits and desire to protect individuals, but wish to problematize this protection and outsider’s perceptions of vulnerability. I agree that 1.5GUY

can be potentially hard-to-reach and vulnerable, but not all youth are in hiding, afraid of discussing their ULS and the challenges it brings, or wish to remain hidden or anonymous. That I found some 1.5GUY via newspaper articles prominently featuring their names, faces, or stories at length illustrates some 1.5GUY's desire to raise awareness and share their struggles, rather than remain hidden. In turn, this raises questions about the value and validity of gatekeeper protection without consent.

Fineman (2012) explained "we are born, live, and die within a fragile materiality that renders all of us constantly susceptible to destructive external forces and internal disintegration" (p. 119). She (2013) later wrote "we will be dependent, weak, in need, as well as empowered and strong at different developmental stages in our lives" (p. 120). Vulnerability is universal, though experiences are unique. The relation between vulnerability and access undoubtedly affects the aforementioned lack of qualitative understanding. However, if we are to have access to, expose, and raise awareness of vulnerable populations and their circumstances, we must have access to individuals who are able and willing to share their stories. Treating all individuals as potentially vulnerable, but not incapable of making decisions includes letting them decide if and what to share.

4.2.5 Interviewee Diversity in an Exploratory Study

Knowing about the challenges of accessing vulnerable populations ahead of time, I used a "big net" approach, "mixing and mingling with everyone at first" to ensure "a wide-angle view of events before the microscopic study of specific interactions begins" (Fetterman, 1998, p. 32, 31). Qualitative researchers "typically use an informal strategy to begin fieldwork, such as starting wherever they can slip a foot in the door" (Fetterman, 1998, p. 35) and my approach attempted to balance between diversity, flexibility, and access. In communication with gatekeepers and potential interviewees, I stressed the three criteria guiding my study: ULS; arrival in the U.S. at age twelve or earlier, so as to focus explicitly on the 1.5 generation; and a current age of sixteen to twenty-five, so as to focus on youth, rather than fully transitioned adults. I made no further stipulations in terms of country of origin, current location, ethnicity, educational status etc., as I did not want to make accessing a hard-to-reach, stigmatized, and vulnerable population from abroad even more difficult, thus reducing my opportunities for data collection. I did not ask about ULS until I met with an interviewee in-person, discussed the interview process, and obtained informed consent. Thus, out of thirty-eight total youth, thirty-two are undocumented; two are "allies" or U.S. citizens sympathetic to and engaged in

immigration reform; two have Temporary Protected Status; and two have other forms of legality, one of whom is on a temporary student visa and the other is a youth who had been undocumented for most of her life, but now has legal residency. The narratives represented in this dissertation come from thirty three of these individuals: the thirty two 1.5GUY, and the one who was undocumented most of her life.

My recruitment and interviewee demographics are in accordance with an exploratory and phenomenological study. Stebbins (2013) suggested that the “most efficacious approach is to search for...understanding wherever it may be found, using any ethical method that would appear to bear fruit” (p. 6). Furthermore, Lavery (2003) wrote that the aim “is to select participants who have lived experience that is the focus of the study, who are willing to talk about their experience, and who are diverse enough from one another to enhance possibilities of rich and unique stories of the particular experience” (p. 29; see also van Manen, 1997). Gonzales and Gleeson (2012) stressed we “have not uncovered the diverse sets of undocumented experiences” (p. 3): my aim was diversity. My expectation was that the more diverse the interviewees and the contexts, the greater the potential for diversity of perspectives, experiences, and coping strategies. I recognize that differences in nationality, ethnicity, race, contexts of origin, context of reception, religion, sex, gender orientation, socio economic status, etc. influence experiences. I acknowledge that restricting interviewees to particular characteristics could have allowed for a different focus, if not research outcome, including an in-depth contextual analysis. While context likely shapes experiences, I wanted to explore these experiences, rather than attribute them to a particular cause.

4.3 Interviewee Recruitment, Access & Trust

When searching for and communicating with individuals, I was attentive to my discourse for two reasons. Searches for “DREAM Act,” “dreamer,” or “undocumented” were fruitful, but rarely was “illegal.” In interpersonal communication, I always used “undocumented” rather than “illegal” even if the youth themselves used the term. I was aware that some individuals perceive the term to be dehumanizing, and I used undocumented to show—and hopefully earn—respect and access. My impression is that to some extent, I achieved this goal. One youth remarked “you speak our language” in response to my usage of words like “out,” “ally,” “shadows,” and “Dreamer.” Others mentioned my “professional” approach and praised me for using “undocumented.” I surmise that had I used “illegal,” I would have gained less access, respect, and failed to build rapport with youth.

One youth told me “we are tired of being treated like lab rats by researchers.” This reflects the growing interest in researching undocumented populations and still limited access; organizations are frequently used as gateways to interviewees. This comment is an example of “research fatigue” (e.g. Moore, 1996) that can occur when groups are frequently tapped into for research—especially amongst marginalized populations. Further, some youth feel as if they receive nothing in return. I explained I could not pay youth, but I could offer a coffee and a copy of the transcript. However, many youth told me they agreed to an interview because it allowed them to share and raise awareness about their struggles. Like Boccagni (2011), I acknowledge that “the return for my informants was at most symbolic and immaterial. It was contingent on my attempts to make their lifestyles and conditions more visible, or easier to be understood in non-stereotyped terms” (p. 741). I mentioned with optimistic reserve, my hope that my research could somehow contribute to greater understanding of the everyday needs and issues facing 1.5GUY.

I was clear about this hope from the start, and made explicit my support of the DREAM Act or other comprehensive immigration reform as a means to gain genuine access via trust. I did not want any interviewee worrying that I might be anti-immigrant to the detriment of the interview or well-being of the individual. Trust is an important component of qualitative research, and especially with undocumented individuals (e.g. Duvell, Triandafyllidou, & Vollmer, 2008). Trust “is central to the ways in which undocumented migrants develop and establish their social networks” (Sigona, 2012, p. 54); individuals must negotiate between the fear, risk, and benefits of disclosing ULS. Due to fear of detection, individuals with ULS may distrust unknown outsiders, including researchers, while others may be far less concerned and simply trust the researcher (Duvell et al., 2008). Before I entered the field, I was unsure as to which scenario(s) I would encounter. I therefore initially and purposely recruited individuals I perceived to be least afraid due to their public presence, e.g. individuals who had come out as undocumented via the internet, news, journalism, or other social media, as my hope was they would be more willing to meet with me.

I employed four methods to recruit interviewees and gain trust: 1) Contacting organizations working with and for (undocumented) immigrants and their rights; 2) Searching the internet for articles, groups, or blogs written by or about 1.5GUY; 3) My personal network of former classmates and colleagues

working within education; and 4) Purposive sampling via snowball recruitment. I examine these processes in further detail in the following sub-sections.

4.3.1 Youth-Run Organizations

I obtained the greatest access to interviewees via youth-led organizations, as I was in direct contact with 1.5GUY who could decide if they wanted to participate or forward my request to their peers. Because I grew up in and went through the university system in the U.S., studied Higher Education Management, and have worked at U.S. universities, I have firsthand experience about “student life” in American universities, e.g. the way extra-curricular organizations, clubs, etc. exist and function, which made navigation easier. I contacted organizations working with Latino and Hispanic culture, immigration, educational access, human rights, the DREAM Act, etc. as well as similar local, grass-roots, non-profit organizations not attached to universities.

4.3.2 Internet Information & Journalism

As part of pre-planning and fore-understanding, I kept up-to-date with information and journalism about immigration policy, reform, and debates at both national and state-levels, including human interest stories. I found articles written by or about 1.5GUY, which at times included personal or organizational contact information. In such cases, I was often able to contact the individual directly or indirectly through their organization and ask if they would be willing to be interviewed. In these situations, I knew an individual’s ULS, as well as some other personal information in advance; regardless, I always conducted a full interview.

4.3.3 Personal Network

As individuals in my network already had my trust and could assist with recruitment, coordination, and obtaining consent, I navigated my personal network to arrange for two site visits to high schools in Dallas, Texas and New York City, New York as some scholars have suggested (e.g. Duvell et al., 2008). Before I met with interviewees and obtained informed consent, I limited personal questions; ethically, I did not want to start an inquiry before individuals had been thoroughly informed about my research, given consent, and had the chance to ask me questions.

The visits to Dallas and New York City meant contact with several high school students, which gave educational diversity amongst interviewees. Instead of reflecting upon the transition out of high

school, individuals were living through changes, barriers, and uncertainties. Because I gained access through a gatekeeper, this meant that youth were “out” about their ULS in some regard. I did, however, learn that many youth had not yet participated in any sort of organization or social movement for immigration reform and most had not shared their ULS with anyone beyond their everyday peers. However, some interviewees were currently in university; while they were out about ULS in their high schools, which illuminated an interesting dynamic about the contexts and complexities of coming out, which I will examine in further detail in my findings. Due to my research methods and sample size, I cannot conclude with certainty about the particular institutional or geographic contexts, but acknowledge that these contexts may matter and represent areas for future investigation and comparison.

4.3.4 Snowball Sampling

As fieldwork progressed and I made connections, I used “snowball sampling” to recruit youth. With snowball sampling, researchers tap into the social networks of interviewees to gain access, trust, rapport, and legitimacy, all of which are particularly useful when dealing with sensitive topics or hard-to-reach populations; trust can be gained through trusted peer referrals (e.g. Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Brackertz, 2007; Browne, 2005; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011; Magnani, Sabin, Saidel, & Heckathorn, 2005). Browne (2005) wrote: “networks in these instances included word of mouth assurances which are significant when the research is of a sensitive nature” (p. 50). However, Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008) acknowledged both ambivalence and difficulty in accessing additional interviewees through key interviewees in their study on undocumented immigrants in Norway. In my case, however, snowball sampling was critical for access to less open and otherwise out-of-reach individuals who may never participate in a research project otherwise.

4.4 Representativeness, Sample Size & Reliability

4.4.1 Representativeness & Generalizability

Due to recruitment methods and because 1.5GUY are a so-called “hard-to-reach” population, attention to representativeness is merited. Thomsen (2012) has observed in her research on undocumented immigrants in Denmark that “there is no reliable sampling frame or route for contacting informants,” which has consequences for research design, methods, representativeness, and limitations (p. 102). Yoshikawa (2012) argued that many undocumented individuals avoid interaction with organizations

and authorities due to fear of detection and deportation, and Gonzales (2011a) acknowledged that this daily fear poses various and significant challenges to random sampling. My sample is neither random nor representative. As my recruitment depended upon access, I have not reached the most vulnerable individuals. Further, thirty-three 1.5GUY do not represent 11.7 million undocumented immigrants.

Magnani et al (2005) wrote “individuals who have the wherewithal to obtain services, particularly in societies in which their behaviors are stigmatized, will be different from group members who do not seek and obtain these services” (p. 69) and Kvale (1996) emphasized that findings from self-selected samples cannot be generalized to the greater population. Because access required youth to be open about ULS or attached to an organization, and furthermore willing to participate, they likely constitute a more open sub-group. That youth met with me means that they do not purposely avoid all exposure and interaction with authorities or researchers. Thus, these 1.5GUY do not constitute the most vulnerable group within this hard-to-reach population. Further, going through gatekeepers meant that while I stressed basic criteria—current age, age at arrival, and ULS—part of the access process was negotiated by teachers or counselors who suggested interviewees. Again, my aim was to explore, rather than explain or create generalizable findings. Forman and Damschroder (2008) have written that “the goal of all qualitative inquiry is to understand a phenomenon, rather than to make generalizations from the study sample to the population based on statistical inference” (p. 41). I thus maintain that my recruitment methods are in accordance with the research purpose of exploring how 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB in everyday life.

Due to recruitment methods, I was concerned interviewees would constitute only fearless activists and there would be little diversity amongst interviewees in terms of daily life navigation, openness of ULS, and reflexivity about how ULS shapes life; my worries soon dissipated. Firstly, several youth told me less than five individuals know their ULS. Secondly, though some clubs are organized specifically around undocumented rights, not all members divulge their ULS. Thirdly, some “members” did not participate; when asked about their involvement in the club, some youth indicated they were only on the email list, and even a few added “no one there is undocumented.” While this last statement is not accurate, it speaks to the nature of secrecy, trust, and non-disclosure even amongst pro-immigrant individuals in pro-immigrant organizations. Fourthly, snowball sampling allowed me to target newcomers who were not as open or experienced in sharing their immigration stories and fifthly, my

network allowed me to reach youth with neither attachment to organizations or reform activities; both approaches increased interviewee diversity.

4.4.2 Quantitative Quality: Sample Size & Saturation

In terms of interviewees sample size, “individuals designing research—lay and experts alike—need to know how many interviews they should budget for and write into their protocol, before they enter the field” (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006, p. 60). However, what this means in qualitative research praxis is less defined, if established at all (Guest et al., 2006). Bernard (2000) suggested most ethnographic research has thirty-six interviewees; Bertraux (1981) stipulated a minimum of fifteen; Morse (1995) specified that phenomenological research has at least six interviewees, but grounded theory and ethnographies thirty five; Creswell (2007) suggested a range of five to twenty five for phenomenology; Stebbins (2001) asserted that exploratory research has a minimum of thirty. From the onset and in accordance with exploratory research, I estimated thirty to forty interviews “to allow for the emergence of important categories and subcategories that will inevitably occur during the study” (Stebbins, 2001, p. 14).

Due to my two-phases of fieldwork, I entered the field, gathered data, exited, began initial analysis, explored for categories and repeated. After the first round, I was better-positioned to assess saturation, which Glaser and Strauss (1967) have defined to be when “no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated” (p. 61). The authors continued that though “the researcher’s judgment about saturation is never precise,” decisions about sample size are possible to undertake when “the researcher’s judgment becomes confidently clear only toward the close of his joint collection and analysis, when considerable saturation of categories in many groups to the limits of his data has occurred” (p. 64). Unlike statistical sampling, theoretical sampling is conducted with the purpose of discovering categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which means that as I was able to systematically categorize data into themes, experiences, or theories, I became confident that I had reached saturation. However, Guest et al (2006) have argued:

Without a doubt, anyone can find, literally, an infinite number of ways to parse up and interpret even the smallest of qualitative data sets. At the other extreme, an analyst could

gloss over a large data set and find nothing of interest. In this respect, saturation is reliant on researcher qualities and has no boundaries (p. 77).

Thus, different researchers who are presented with precisely the same topic or even qualitative material may employ different epistemological, empirical, or theoretical approaches

4.4.3 Reliability & Validity

Validity and reliability are important to the research process. For data to be considered reliable, future researchers studying the same phenomenon should acquire the same or similar data using the same methods (e.g. Hammersley, 1987; Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Validity entails if an accurate impression of a process, phenomenon, or group has been obtained (Stebbins, 2013), which further requires a researcher to question results to be sure that they are measuring what they purport to study (Hammersley, 1987; Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). While this seems straightforward, it is difficult to measure in praxis. Kvale (1996) explained “although a single interview can hardly be replicated, different interviews may, when following similar procedures in a common interview guide, come up with closely similar interviews from their subjects” (p. 65). However, Bush (2002) suggested that the flexibility of semi-structured interviews, which treat each individual as unique, makes it more difficult to ensure reliability as compared to surveys or quantitative methods. Further, Madill, Jordan, and Shirley (2000) wrote “qualitative approaches can be criticized for the space they afford the subjectivity of the researcher” (p. 1).

Thus, due to researcher subjectivity, interest, and foci, findings will likely vary. Kvale (1996) linked objectivity with validity: “objectivity as *freedom from bias* refers to reliable knowledge, checked and controlled, undistorted by personal bias and prejudice” (p. 64). However, Larkin, Watts, and Clifton (2006) wrote “the analytic process cannot ever achieve a genuinely first-person account—the account is always constructed by the participant *and* researcher” (p. 104). Finally, Dahlberg and Dahlberg (2010) explained that while the phenomenological approach is a rich way to study lived experiences, we all experience the same world very differently: “all of a sudden, for example, it becomes obvious that two persons listening to the same words one says, understand the said completely differently” (p. 35). I aim to produce a detailed, informed, and exploratory rather than explanatory account which is as close to the interviewee’s perspectives as possible. I acknowledge that as the author of this

dissertation, I am responsible for selecting the narratives which best demonstrate particular points. Wherever possible, I include direct quotations alongside interpretations of experiences to allow youth's own words to remain in focus. In short, qualitative researchers have many responsibilities to balance: "a responsibility to hear what informants are saying about their lives and the meaning of their experiences," "a responsibility to construct interpretations that may or may not conform to what informants have told us," and "an obligation to surround their words with analyses for which we are the authors" (Tappan, 1997, p. 651).

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have written "if subjects frequently change their statements about their attitudes...this is not necessarily due to an unreliable or invalid interview technique, but may in contrast testify to the sensitivity of the interview technique in capturing multiple nuances and the fluidity of social sciences" (p. 252). During my interviews, individuals may have appeared to contradict themselves, but I always asked follow-up questions. One area where this frequently occurred was when I inquired about how they define citizenship, how they define American, and if they consider themselves American and/or citizens. Other times, when I asked individuals if they were fearful, many replied "no," only to later recount a story where fear was either implicit or explicit. As I took notes during interviews, I was able to ask about these nuances and let youth know what they had replied earlier; sometimes they were surprised to hear what they had said, but took the opportunity to reflect. Some maintained that both answers were correct and provided a more nuanced account, all of which validate Kvale and Brinkmann's statement. I consider youth's statements to be their "truths." As Kvale (1996) has argued, "reality" is their perception. Each individual experience in the various narratives illustrates the ways, temporalities, and contexts in which *SofB* is created, challenged, and coped with and therefore valid.

4.5 Data Collection

I used two methods for data collection: semi-structured interviews and participant observation. As interviews are my primary source, I examine them first, including ethics and consent. Qualitative scholars have maintained that interviews are particularly relevant for gaining insight. Interviews allow us to document lives and experiences (Denzin, 1989); are particularly well-suited "for studying people's understandings of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world" (Kvale &

Brinkmann, 2009, p. 116). Specifically in relation to undocumented populations, Gonzales (2011a) that qualitative interviews permit an in-depth “examination of the unique ways in which undocumented status is experienced” (p. 606). Therefore, interviews are often used when studying undocumented populations (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012).

4.5.1 Semi-Structured, Exploratory Interviews

I conducted semi-structured, exploratory interviews that lasted between one-and-a-half and three hours. Kvale (1996) explained that in exploratory interviews, the researcher introduces an issue or area to be uncovered, follows up on the interviewee’s answers, and continues to seek new information on the topic. As such, I always began with the same open-ended, introductory question: “tell me your immigration story.” Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) observed that “such opening questions may yield spontaneous, rich descriptions where the subjects provide what they have experienced as the main aspects of the phenomena investigated” (p. 135). This approach allowed youth to specifically mention points they found worthy, relevant, and within their comfort level. As such, I additionally suggest that this is a particularly valuable way to start an interview on a sensitive subject. Individuals are given the opportunity to influence the starting themes and point to topics they feel comfortable discussing before being asked pointed questions by the interviewer. That some 1.5GUY shared very factual information about dates and locations without much detail, whereas others delved straight into the intimate and personal details of their family’s immigration story and struggles, seems to suggest this approach is flexible and can work well for various personality types and comfort levels. Further, in phenomenological studies, questions are generally very open-ended and the process allows for interviewees influence, so as to capture the lived experience as much as possible (e.g. Lavery, 2003; Koch, 1996).

Kvale (1996) explained that in semi-structured interviews, there is “a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subjects” (p. 124). I followed, but did not strictly adhere to an interview guide,²² as I preferred that

²² See Appendix 1 for interview guide. Readers may observe that questions about DACA do not appear in the interview guide. This is because DACA was introduced after I had begun fieldwork and had already interviewed some youth. In all

questions followed the course of the conversation, rather than the guide. If an interviewee's statement was interesting, unclear, or used normative language, I asked a follow-up question. For example, youth often cited their desire to be a "normal person," which required delving into what "normal" means to understand and validate data.

A "researcher must be a sensitive, willing listener to obtain input from members of vulnerable populations" (Anderson & Hatton, 2000, p. 247), which suggests that appearing too rigid, constantly changing the subject of discussion, or redirecting youth could have harmed the rapport-building process. Additionally, I stressed that there was no "right" or "wrong" answer, as my task was not to determine what is "real" or not, but rather gather the intersubjective perceptions of these experiences (Denzin, 1989). I gathered data about past, present, and future challenges, barriers, and aspirations, which included everyday life struggles, as well as major life turning points. Denzin (1989) observed that narratives likely refer to anecdotal, everyday, commonplace experiences, but these everyday banalities are precisely what are relevant to this study.

Kvale (1996) explained that "knowledge is created inter the points of views of the interviewer and the interviewee" (p. 124); both parties construct, interpret, and shape the interview process, socially constructing and co-producing data. Kvale (1996) also emphasizes that in exploratory interviews:

The conversations with the subjects may extend and alter the researcher's understandings of the phenomenon investigated. The interviewees bring forth new and unexpected aspects of the phenomena studied; and during analysis of the transcribed interviews new distinctions may be discovered. One of the main purposes of an exploratory study is the discovery of new dimensions of the subject matter (p. 100).

Based on my aforementioned desk research, I had themes and issues to explore and was ready to guide the interview, but also left myself open for inspiration from the field. One interesting and underexplored area in scholarship on 1.5GUY that emerged from my interviews was the negotiation of "coming out" as undocumented—of divulging of or hiding one's ULS—to peers, teachers, friends, etc.

subsequent interviews, I asked questions about DACA and if and when the opportunity was there, I followed up with youth I interviewed before DACA. This example illustrates one way external changes can influence the research process and precisely the importance of treating an interview "guide" as a process.

In relation to this theme, I asked youth when and how they found out they are undocumented; how many people know their status; how they decide to share status; and if they have told other people, if and what positive or negative consequences ensued.

Finally, I let youth choose where we met, as I wanted them to be comfortable. Duvell et al (2008) observed in their article on ethical issues related to researching undocumented immigration that the interview setting may include public areas such as a park, café, shelter, or NGO, as well as the home of the interviewee or interviewer. Duvell et al (2008) have suggested that meeting in a private setting has advantages, as an intimate and familiar atmosphere may allow for the interviewee to feel more comfortable and thus more prone to share. However, the authors have also stressed that this has disadvantages for the interviewees, as the individual cannot leave the interview setting and return to full anonymity. Finally, they argued that interviewee's willingness to meet in their private homes denotes an extreme amount of trust on the part of the interviewees, and responsibility on the part of the researcher, who should avoid, ignore, or delete surplus information that could compromise anonymity. I met youth in cafes, public and university buildings, private homes and residences, and organization's offices. Whenever an individual suggested a public place, I always stressed that I wanted them to consider the setting in relation to their comfort in discussing ULS at length. Sometimes interviewees suggested a change, while others remained adamant that this was fine, indicating a variation in comfort level. Some youth are in fact so open that not only are they fine with discussing ULS in public, they even dressed the occasion. More than one youth came to an interview dressed in a t-shirt with "undocumented, unafraid, unapologetic" emblazoned across the chest; such phenomena added to data collection.

4.5.2 Ethics, Informed Consent & Emotions

While some 1.5GUY are no longer afraid to share their stories with a researcher or their ULS with the public, attention to research ethics and informed, voluntary consent is necessary. Of undocumented research, Duvell et al (2008) have argued that "a researcher should seek informed consent where possible to secure the trust and confidence of those involved and make sure they have understood the nature of the research" (p. 18). However, these processes are neither straightforward in principal, nor in practice (e.g. Richardson & McMullen, 2007; Sin, 2005; Wiles, Heath, Crow & Charles, 2005), as it is nearly impossible to communicate all potentially relevant information to an individual (O'Neill,

2006). Further, my research base in Denmark and my research site in the U.S. alerted me to a challenge many scholars likely face in international research: which consent process to I follow?

Unlike the U.S., there is no Institutional Review Board in Denmark and I was advised by my university there was no standardized consent form. I have followed the ethical rules of my university and country of residency and employment, but nonetheless took caution. As argued by Kvale (1996), “even when not a formal requirement, the advance preparation of an ethical protocol will allow the investigator to consider ethical and moral issues, and to have them in mind during the designing of the study” (p. 112). Accordingly, I tailor-made a seven-page “cooperative agreement,”²³ entitled to emphasize the cooperative dimension of the interview process. The form outlined in detail how the interview would proceed, what types of questions I would ask, that an individual could decline any question at any time, how I would deal with anonymity and confidentiality, and that participation was voluntary.

At every interview except two,²⁴ I personally and verbally went over the form in detail, allowing youth to ask questions along the way. Instead of reading word-for-word, I pointed to each topic as I interjected information, gave examples, and shared my personal experience. The purposes of the cooperative agreement were to address ethical issues, as well as practicalities youth may have been curious about, but perhaps not have asked about due to lack of experience with interviews or discomfort. The cooperative agreement also allowed me to set the tone of the interview and self-disclose information about my background and immigration story for the purposes of building rapport. As long as there were no objections, individuals signed the last two pages of the form denoting their voluntary participation, whether I could tape the conversation for the purposes of transcription, if they wanted a copy of the transcript, and if I could contact them in the future—though they were under no obligation. I told youth they could sign, initial, or mark an X on the line; I did not need their full or even real name, but rather an action that indicated their acknowledgement of the voluntary nature of the interview and their willingness to participate. For the few individuals under age eighteen, I obtained

²³ See Appendix 2 for Cooperative Agreement

²⁴One interview was conducted with four individuals who were given the form in advance by their teacher, who went over it; before beginning, I asked if there were any questions. Another interviewee preferred to read the form herself.

both parental and interviewee consent. I signed the form to signify I am a Ph.D. researcher and intend to uphold my considerations. Finally, both the interviewee and interviewer kept a signed original.²⁵

4.5.2.1 *Transcribing Coproduction*

All youth agreed to let me record the interview for the purposes of transcription; all audio files have since been deleted. I view transcripts, like interviews, as co-productions: “the interviewee’s statements are not collected—they are coauthored by the interviewer” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:192).

Accordingly, I let youth know that they could request a copy of the transcript and further, that they could add, change, or delete information as they felt necessary. Half of the thirty-eight interviewees requested a copy and a few asked me to omit certain details, to which I obliged. For example, one youth stressed the importance of keeping the university name out of her narrative. I view this as one illustration of the fear that conditions youth’s lives, including those who were open enough to meet with me, but still very secretive about particular ULS. This furthermore indicates that not all youth represented in this dissertation are the most open, daring, or outgoing. While transcripts are written documentation of a particular in-person, oral interaction, they are also living conversations—hybrids between a face-to-face, lived experience and written texts, and the means through which to interpret statements in an interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). To supplement my audio recording, I wrote field notes on non-verbal cues, for example if an individual was laughing, sighing, pausing, etc. or if we were interrupted; when I transcribed word-for-word, I was able to add these details to the text to help add the emotional context as well. I have returned to both my notes and transcriptions multiple times over the last few years while in the field and after, before and after deciding upon my theoretical perspective, and after deciding on my research question. The written texts are dynamic and have helped illuminate different points of interest, perspective, and analysis.

4.5.2.2 *Anonymity & Confidentiality*

Some interviewees said that I could use their real names, as they have already been identified as undocumented locally or nationally. However, I maintained that I would always use pseudonyms and may alter minor details to protect anonymity and confidentiality. Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008)

²⁵ On the form is also a space for individuals to indicate if they would like their name to appear in the acknowledgement section of my dissertation. After careful consideration, I have decided not to include names in partial or full. While this is regrettable, I believe it is in the best interests of the individuals, especially as there still have been no positive, fundamental changes in immigration policy since our interviews in 2012.

argued that “ensuring anonymity goes beyond mere names or details, and can sometimes be less straightforward” (p. 31). Richardson and McMullen (2007) stressed that “the meaning and significance of information depends on what is already known by those receiving it. This should ring alarm bells for researchers who believe that data can be rendered anonymous simply by removing or changing name” (p. 1117). O’Neill’s (2006) lecture on informed consent illustrates this point. She referred to a priest celebrating the 50th anniversary of his ordination amongst friends. In his speech, he reflects upon his journey and the difficult start he had: his first confession was a murder, to which he did not know how to react. Shortly after, a friend arrives late, apologizes, and introduces himself as the priest’s first confession. Translating this to my research reveals a particular paradox: I obtained rich details about individuals, their families, immigration stories, and everyday lives, which speaks to the level of openness, if not rapport and trust, I have established in albeit brief encounters I had with youth. At the same time, I acknowledge that including particular details about individuals and their circumstances, such as the city or country of origin, current city, age at migration, current age, school or university name, or method of entry may expose their identity and therefore compromise anonymity. Thus, I seek to strike a balance between necessary and interesting information, and considerations of anonymity and confidentiality. Due to my exploratory, rather than comparative approach, I have at times made small alterations to details such as current age, age at migration, length of residency, or country of origin with the intent to protect interviewees.

4.5.2.3 *Researching Emotions*

Another balance that is at times difficult to maintain occurs when researching emotions, as Anderson and Hatton wrote (2000): “research questions often probe and bring up emotionally laden memories,” some of which may have “long since been pushed to the recesses of the participant’s mind” (p. 247). The authors continued: “valuing the stories told by the participants interviewed and respect for the storytellers are important aspects of research with vulnerable populations” and further asserted that it is important that interviewees can “express their own perceptions of their life experiences in a context where those perceptions could be validated” (p. 247). In order to foster validation, I tried to convey my genuine interest and was conscious of interrupting, cutting off, or redirecting an individual. While this is my subjective perception of a nuance of validation, I tried to supplement this by being attentive to an individual’s non-verbal cues to gauge comfort. For example, one youth became teary-eyed; I asked if

she was okay and wanted to take a break, which she declined. However, I decided to pause briefly so as to relieve some of the intensity.

When communicating with organizations for potential access, I included a one-page abstract²⁶ about my research plan, as well as some brief and personal information about myself, including personal interests. I did this in anticipation of questions, but also as a means of establishing trust via information given beforehand (e.g. Thomsen, 2012). To transition out of the interview, I asked interviewees if they had additional comments, suggestions, questions for me, and why they agreed to meet with me—an unknown Ph.D. student in Denmark researching undocumented immigration. One youth replied, referencing the abstract: “well, I read it and all of your interests and everything. You connect with people like that.” This statement validated my aim to gain access and rapport through self-disclosure. Other youth mentioned they wanted to share their story, raise awareness, add to research, and that the process helped them. A youth said it is “so refreshing to be able to talk to someone who does have an idea of what is going on who is not in my family, or close to my family. It is therapeutic for me even, you know?” Another echoed this sentiment: “It does two things. It makes my story known...and sharing my story, it relieved some stress, some pain. It just took some weight off my shoulders, because I can say it out loud.” A third stated tearfully: “it helps me because I don’t really talk to people about ULS. How can I explain this perfectly? The questions you ask me are not the questions a friend would ask me. It’s helpful, because you get to talk about it.”

While seemingly positive, these points also raise ethical concerns about sensitivity amongst vulnerable populations. While some scholars have advised against researching potentially “traumatized” individuals and causing further distress (e.g. Hundeide, 1995; Knudsen, 1992), others have contended that being the focus of interest and being taken seriously can be a positive, therapeutic, enriching, and empowering experience (e.g. Dyregrov & Dyregrov, 1999; Dyregrov, Dyregrov, & Raundalen, 2000; Hawton, Appleby, Platt, Foster, Cooper, Malmberg, & Simkin, 1998). I neither directly nor indirectly asked or began discussions about mental health issues, but there were times when youth brought up feelings of anxiety, depression, or suicidal thoughts on their own. For youth who mentioned being depressed, but did not explicitly say they had or were receiving help, I inquired if they had sought

²⁶ See Appendix 3 for 1 page abstract.

professional assistance and/or still had these thoughts. For youth who had not sought professional help, they assured me that they no longer felt this way due to various circumstances in their lives, especially due to their social movement participation which had replaced feelings of loneliness or depression with solidarity and empowerment.

That youth brought these issues up on their own illustrates the inextricable connection between ULS and mental health issues. I am not a mental health professional and neither can nor did attempt to make psychological assessments. While I took caution, at times suggested interview pauses, inquired if an experience was too painful to discuss, and asked if a youth was still experiencing negative feelings, just as any other non-professional, I could not leave the interview with a guarantee that youth were not still psychologically affected. The current understanding and advice regarding research ethics in a field where researchers can and often do encounter highly sensitive information—including mental health issues even when not specifically researching these topics—needs to be advanced to address current realities, and likely requires interdisciplinary approaches from researchers across disciplinary fields.

4.5.3 Observation & Participant Observation

To supplement interviews, I conducted participant observation, as other researchers within undocumented immigration have done (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011). Though there are debates about the benefits and drawbacks of overt versus covert research (e.g. Lauder, 2003; Litcherman, 2002; McCurdy & Uldam, 2014), I always disclosed the fact I was a researcher interested in undocumented immigration, would not reveal names or other personal information, and sought permission before attending any type of organizational meeting. As scholars have advised, I used participant observation to build rapport with potential interviewees (e.g. Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011a), as I wanted to validate myself as a researcher, a person who believed in immigration reform, and someone who could be trusted.

I agree that data is ideally collected via a mixture of participant observation and interviews (e.g. Maggs-Rapport, 2000), so as to cross-reference data (e.g. Adler & Adler, 1994). Furthermore, interviews and observations are interactive, allow for inspiration, leads, and suggestions for follow-up (e.g. Tjora, 2006). While interviews give researchers the first insight into the realities of the interviewee, observations allow researchers to experience the language and actions that have

constructed these realities (e.g. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). As I subscribe to these scholars' ideas due to past research experience, I conducted participant observation to supplement interviews, develop my interview guide, compare interviewee's words with actions, and get inspiration from the field for further themes of research and analysis.

Being an outside participant observer allows for the exposure of potential blind spots—otherwise taken for granted information, actions, or beliefs that interviewees are so accustomed to that they do not reflect upon until questioned (e.g. McCurdy & Uldam, 2014; Plows, 2008). Further, what one says one does is not always what they do: “over behavior is *inconsistent* with what one thinks, feels or otherwise experiences” (Velmans, 2007, p. 224). Wolfinger (2002) has advocated for “letting one's experiences in the field guide a study's focus” (p. 87), which is in-line with my exploratory research. There are various ways my field experience inspired my research, focus, and themes, and I will address two.

I interviewed one youth in a space where his peers could not see he was in the middle of an interview, but could easily reach him during our interview; as it was over a weekend, his friends were especially keen to get in touch with him for social purposes. When the third friend contacted him, I asked “what are you going to tell your friends you were doing?” to which he explained he was so used to coming up with stories in association with his ULS that he would just think of something, as he always does; this seemed quite “normal” to him.

During another interview, I spent several hours talking with a youth, learning intimate details about her life. As I did with everyone, I asked how many people knew about her ULS, to which she specifically mentioned the few people who knew. When she later introduced me to an individual who did not know her ULS, I was surprised. When we were alone again, I asked her what she was going to tell him about me and what we were doing together. She replied that she would tell the friend that she was talking with someone interested in an organization she participated in—neither totally accurate, nor inaccurate. We then proceeded to walk across her university campus together, during which her peers greeted her by name. That she was so well-recognized, but kept a major part of her identity a secret was not lost on me. These two examples illustrate the power of combining observations and interviews. Furthermore, they illustrate that inspiration I obtained to examine how some 1.5GUY manage their identities, decide

to divulge or hide ULS, and the excuses they create to avoid divulgence, all of which become foci in this study.

4.5.4 Positionality

I subscribe to the notion that “a central aim of social science is to contribute knowledge to ameliorate the human condition and enhance human dignity” (Kvale, 1996, p. 109). I therefore cautiously hope that my research can help—whether it is the interview process, my findings, or something else. As part of the interview process, to build rapport, and to gain access to thoughts, emotions, and experiences, I disclosed personal information. McCurdy and Uldam (2014) have explained that “gaining physical and emotional access to the field and its members can prove challenging for an outsider...Barriers can be lowered if researchers share political sympathies and/or previous experience with research subjects” (p. 42). For example, I mentioned that I am an immigrant, involved with immigration and integration in Denmark, and volunteer in an organization fighting human trafficking. I also stated that I welcome clarifying questions, personal questions, and corrections; several youth asked about my personal immigration experience, which further lead to valuable insight about their experiences. I was upfront that I supported immigration reform; both as a belief and a statement, this no doubt shapes my data. However, I surmise that letting youth wonder about my views, including if I were anti-immigrant would have been far more negatively influential. With all self-disclosure, the purpose was to decrease perceived distance, create a positive atmosphere, and elicit valuable information; the richness of my empirical data, suggests this approach generally worked. One may be skeptical of the limits of employing one-off semi-structured interviews to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding about the lived experiences of individuals, and especially “vulnerable” ones. The intimate and often sensitive nature of discussions—as is evident in narratives revealed in empirical chapters—illustrates that I was able to accomplish my goals through this method.

My position as an American citizen living abroad doing research in the U.S. presented challenges and benefits; as the challenges have been mentioned previously, I now focus on the benefits. Since I grew up in the U.S., I have first-hand knowledge about culture, society, educational systems, and normalized rites of passage. As an immigrant, I am personally familiar with the challenges, benefits, frustrations, and rewards of immigration, including periods of legal liminality or uncertainty—albeit for far shorter periods. Living abroad and returning to the U.S. for research has allowed me to view my homeland

through a lens shaped by the society I currently live in. By no means is my position as a legal immigrant of the racial majority in Denmark the same as an undocumented immigrant in the U.S. However, my positionality is important to mention as it certainly shapes my perceptions, interests, and interpretations. I hope my insider/outsider position has afforded me insight, empathy, and access, but is removed enough so as to avoid the pitfalls of “going native” and interpreting only from interviewees’ perspectives (e.g. Kvale, 1996, p. 118).

4.6 Qualitative Content Analysis & Coding

Here, I detail how I have analyzed and coded my empirical material to prepare to report my findings; my analysis began in the field and continued long after. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) wrote that analysis of empirical data “is interspersed between the initial story told by the interviewee to the researcher and the final story told by the researcher to an audience. To analyze means to separate something into parts of elements” (p. 193; see also Denzin, 1989). While my empirical goal was to collect—or rather, coproduce—stores of how 1.5GUY navigate their daily lives, my analytical goal was to process these experiences into thematic categories individually and comparatively. To do so, I employed content analysis, a flexible method for organizing and analyzing qualitative data which comes from written, verbal, or visual communication (e.g. Cavanagh, 1997; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), and which is particularly useful when neither the literature nor existing theory explain a phenomenon (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The goal is to provide information and understanding of a particular phenomenon (Downe-Wambolt, 1992); to make replicable and valid inferences about data from their contexts and document knowledge or new insights (Krippendorff, 1980); subjectively interpret the content of data through a systematic process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005); and to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have suggested that it is ideal to begin analysis in the interview setting; during interviews, I took field notes about things I was uncertain or curious about or interested in, as well questions or concepts to explore within the interview or later in the analysis process. When transcribing, I continued my analysis. During re-readings of the transcripts, I employed open coding (e.g. Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), whereby writing notes and questions in the margins and highlighting interesting concepts or themes that in later steps give way to coding (Figure

5). During transcriptions, I wrote, for example, “human rights,” “educational access,” “citizenship,” “identity issues,” etc. as general and open concepts. I also highlighted emotions such as fear, loneliness, uncertainty, etc.

Interviewer: Ok. Can you... you said before that you knew all along. You always knew [about undocumented status]. Is it something that you talked about with your family growing up?	Analysis Notes
<p>Interviewee: Yes. I mean... I always have <u>problems with my identity</u>, saying “who am I?” I came to the country when I was 12. I was <i>very little</i> and I didn’t do all of my <i>growing up</i> in Chile, so I couldn’t define myself as a <u>Chilean</u> person, and then I came <i>here</i> and I couldn’t define myself as an <u>American</u> person because I had an <u>accent</u>, I was <u>different</u>, my <u>skin was darker</u>.... I came in <i>6th grade</i> and it was really <u>tough</u>. A lot of the kids are <u>discriminating</u> against you, they <u>bully</u> you. So, I mean, I always wanted to appear the “most American” that I could. I wanted to get rid of my accent, I didn’t want to speak Spanish, I didn’t want anyone to know I spoke Spanish. I just didn’t want anything to do with the Latino culture. <i>In my house</i>, I was very Chilean with my <i>family</i>, but <i>outside my house</i>, all I wanted was <i>white friends</i>. <i>Nothing Latino</i>. I have struggled with my <u>identity</u>. Plus, the fact that I am undocumented meant that if I accepted my Latino culture that meant that <u>people knew I was undocumented</u>. So I associated <i>being Latino</i> with <i>being undocumented</i>. It’s always been a <u>huge struggle</u> for me to know who I am really. So, ever since I got to [<i>organization</i>], I <u>started to feel comfortable</u> with the fact that I am a Latino woman, I am <u>proud</u> of where I come from, and, the fact that I am undocumented doesn’t mean that is going to be <i>forever</i>.</p>	<p>Always known; compromised identity Uncertainty</p> <p>Questions identity Where do I belong? Accent, race = differences, disbelonging Threats, bullying = unacceptance Desire to appear American, to belong Performance to promote belong Avoidance as coping mechanism Avoidance as coping mechanism; shame Public / private dichotomy; avoidance White (race) = norm Compromised identity Insecurity; Latino = undocumented; Reject culture to keep secret Compromised identity, unacceptance Comfort = acceptance, membership Temporary / temporal Pride = belonging, acceptance, pos. id.</p>
<p>Highlight = 1st order analysis, general & interesting themes <i>Italics</i>: Context: situational, relational, temporal <u>Underline</u> = emotions, experiences Bold = Coping Strategies</p>	

Figure 5 Early stages of the open-coding process

My coding was data-driven and inductive. I entered the field with neither a hypothesis to be tested, nor a theoretical framework, and did not have any pre-existing categories, but rather let themes and theories emerge from the data. This is in accordance with qualitative content analysis; scholars have explained that after the researcher has become familiarized with material, categories can emerge from the data (e.g. Burnard, 1991; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Kondracki & Wellman, 2002; Polit & Beck 2004). Elo and Kyngäs (2008) wrote “the aim is to become immersed in the data, which is why the written material is read through several times,” allowing for categories to be created inductively (p. 109; see also Kondracki & Wellman, 2002).

Dey (2003) stressed that categories are conceptually and empirically grounded. Next, I began to examine, analyze, and map specific situations, relationships, temporalities. For example did experiences take place before or after youth knew of their ULS? In a given situation, did the other people present know the interviewee was undocumented? How did the youth negotiate between telling other people their ULS and what was their rationale for concealing or divulging status? Is it a passive or active experience? A coping mechanism? My particular analysis and coding process was multi-step and may appear complex, however, content analysis is not linear, is complex, is flexible, and there is no one prescribed way to undertake analysis (e.g. Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Polit & Beck, 2004). I recall doubts, uncertainties, and questions, but these are likely the result of a method which can be chaotic or daunting at first (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) and one which requires an ability to tolerate uncertainty (Glaser, 1978).

Furthermore, Forman and Damschroder (2008) have explained that “qualitative content analysis stands in contrast to methods that, rather than focusing on the informational content of the data, bring to bear theoretical perspectives” (p. 40); theory is derived from the material, rather than decided beforehand. I did not enter the field with the explicit aim to study any iteration of belonging, but rather had related concepts such as identity, discrimination, or marginalization in the back of my head. While this dissertation is written as an organized project on the study of everyday experiences and coping strategies related to SofB, getting to this cohesive stage was certainly an arduous and messy process. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) have suggested that “many interesting points that are not related to the topic area under study often come when analysing the data. In that case, keeping the research question in mind is an essential aspect of content analysis (p. 113). In praxis, this means that the empirical

material I constructed with youth extends well beyond the scope of this dissertation, especially as not all material relates to the study of SofB. Furthermore, some of the original concepts and empirical examples I found interesting did not make their way into the dissertation after I decided on my specific research question.

4.7 Reporting

In order to explore this question, to present empirical data, and integrate theory, reporting or presentation of this material is the last step in the process—and formulates the crux of this dissertation. A qualitative content analysis method, combined with a phenomenological epistemology and exploratory approach all affect the ways in which data is presented. Firstly, phenomenology allows us to examine taken-for-granted experiences as we attempt to explore meanings and/or uncover new or forgotten meanings in the process (Laverly, 2003). While phenomenology describes and documents the lived experiences, it does not attempt to explain them (e.g. Willig, 2008). Secondly, content analysis scholars have pointed out that “authentic citations could also be used to increase the trustworthiness of the research and to point out to readers from where or what kinds of original data categories are formulated” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 12; see also Patton, 1990; Sandelowski, 1993). Elo and Kyngäs (2008) have emphasized that “if qualitative data are compressed too much, the very point of maintaining the integrity of the narrative becomes lost...If the conclusions are merely summarized without including numerous supporting excerpts, the richness of the original data disappears” (p. 113-114). However, of exploratory research, Stebbins (2013) suggested that long-winded, direct, accurate, and word-for-word quotations are not necessary, so long as the main concept is conveyed.

On this last point, I disagree. I view direct quotations—including sometimes lengthy excerpts—to be crucial in illustrating the 1.5GUY’s intersubjective experiences of everyday SofB. I view quotations to be fundamental aspects of both a phenomenological epistemology and qualitative content analysis, though this may appear to be in slight tension with an exploratory study. The power and purpose of phenomenology is to study and describe people’s perceptions of and experiences in the world from their viewpoints (Langdrige, 2007; Luckmann, 1973; van Manen, 1997; von, Eckartsberg 1998), which is why I include vibrant, direct, and at times lengthy quotations in my exploration and discussion. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have asserted that the “important parts of human living and experiencing are storied, which means that a narrative expression of these parts is needed in order to

capture their essential features” (p. 303). Further, narratives have been found to be powerful tools in describing and reporting about everyday lives, experiences, and stories (e.g. Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Denzin, 1989; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Smith, 2004; Velmans, 2007). Finally, and especially because of the established lack of qualitative material to explore, describe, and understand the everyday life worlds of undocumented immigrants (e.g. de Genova, 2002; Willen, 2007), I present empirical material in its original, word-for-word form as much as possible, as youth’s narratives explain their emotions and experience more powerfully than I can rephrase them. I extract the significance of quotations to demonstrate key points and make the first-level of analysis within the empirical chapters, making reference to various manifestations of or challenges to everyday SofB. The narratives, experiences, and categories represented by no means constitute an exhaustive list, but rather represent the categories that have emerged from my data after extensive analysis, coding, and attention to existing theory.

I present empirical material in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven on the basis of the theoretical considerations outlined in Chapter Three. Everyday practices, routines, actions, and interactions are important elements in how everyday SofB is experienced and produced, passively and actively in past, present, and future tenses. These experiences include a range of emotions, actions, and coping mechanisms which manage and challenge SofB. Empirically, I explore emotions and experiences related to SofB as outlined previously by research; this entails sentiments such as acceptance, desire, safety, inclusion, membership, attachment, community, and feelings of home, but I also look for experiences of exclusion, discrimination, insecurity, fear, and shame. Furthermore, as I am interested in coping strategies, I examine purposeful actions and performances meant to symbolize identification or promote SofB, as well as purposeful avoidance of interactions and locations. While I purposely integrate at least one experience or quotation from all youth I interviewed, rather than striving for equal representation within this dissertation, I select the best examples. Some quotations simply demonstrate points better than others and this is a combination of, for example, an individual’s experiences related to everyday SofB, the rapport built during the interview, my ability to elicit information, both an interviewee’s comfort and experience with being interviewed, and a youth’s willingness to divulge and expand upon personal experiences.

4.8 Chapter Summary

I have used the empirical, theoretical, and methodological gaps established in previous chapters as points of departure to outline, discuss, and argue for key methodological decisions in this chapter. In doing so, I have defined and described the need for in-depth, qualitative approaches in studying and understanding the phenomenon the relationship between ULS, SofB, and everyday life. Due to my focus on 1.5GUY's lived and subjective experiences, I have concluded a phenomenological epistemology is best, which allows me to collect data via semi-structured interviews and participant observation, and later analyze data via qualitative content analysis. I purposely framed my research as an exploratory study due to the currently underexplored phenomenon of everyday SofB, my aim to gather a diversity of experiences, and the documented challenges in accessing undocumented populations. My research design, question, recruitment methods, and analysis were purposely left open-ended to allow for flexibility, data and interviewee access, and inspiration from the field. Additionally, I have detailed the strengths of my approaches, as well as the limitations that have result due to recruitment methods, sample size, and interviewee demographics. Amongst this framework, I also mentioned the socially constructed, co-produced aspect of my empirical data and further acknowledge that my positionality, experiences, and perceptions influence my study, but do not necessarily make this research invalid. In the coming chapters, I explore and discuss in great detail how my interviewees view and perceive the world around them as related to everyday experiences of SofB.

In order to pursue the dual purposes of contributing qualitatively about the 1.5GUY's everyday experiences and strategies of SofB, as well as pushing the theoretical boundaries of SofB, appropriate empirical foci and theories are necessary. From existing research, the educational system and the family emerge as key settings through which to undertake empirical explorations. As "belonging" has frequently been used alongside or as an accessory to concepts such as inclusion, identity, recognition, citizenship, membership, I take these concepts to be valuable for both theoretical and empirical discussions. By exploring experiences of participation, inclusion, exclusion, stigma, membership, identification, recognition, de facto legality, and the "condition of illegality" over time, including in childhood and into adolescence, I aim to gain deeper understanding not only about how these experiences influence the 1.5GUY's SofB, but also how SofB changes over time and during transitions.

By focusing on SofB in everyday life, the aim is to gain knowledge about how the 1.5GUY experience SofB despite their ULS. Simultaneously, we can understand how the 1.5GUY actively shape their SofB through coping strategies. The focus on everyday interactions can illustrate areas where ULS limits or prohibits activities, the need for legal status in one's country of residency despite an increasingly global world, and the relationship between ULS and SofB. Furthermore, such a focus can contribute qualitatively to our understanding of how the 1.5GUY experience the "condition of illegality," particularly as they have experiences of legitimized membership before they transition to "illegality" and straddle spheres of belonging in everyday life. In order to undertake these pursuits, I turn my attention to theoretical knowledge which can help capture these experiences.

5 Early Childhood SofB: Memories of Everyday Life & Participation

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three in which I examine empirical material collected in conjunction with thirty three 1.5 GUY.²⁷ As in all empirical chapters, I examine youth's everyday experiences in relation to SofB, for example actions and interactions, as well as youth's emotional reactions to these situations and connections. Because SofB not only entails affective outcomes, but also the desire for experiences, relationships, attachments, and recognition that produce SofB, I also pay attention to the nuances of these contexts with the aim to explore a diversity of experiences. In this particular chapter, I am concerned with 1.5GUY's early intersubjective, lived experiences as they detach themselves from their homelands and undertake their new lives in the United States.

I begin by briefly examining memories of migration, where new and old ways of being and belonging meet, potentially influencing SofB. Due to the documented importance of the familial and educational spheres on adaptation and socialization processes, I pay close attention to both settings in relation to how 1.5GUY experience SofB in everyday life, but also acknowledge public spheres in the process. Empirically, I look for the presence of emotions and experiences related to SofB as outlined in Chapter Three, for example feelings of acceptance, value, safety, comfort, similarity, congruence, and experiences of recognition, connections, attachments, and home. Conversely, I include narratives where these emotions and experiences appear to be challenged or absent in everyday activities, for example when 1.5GUY cite fear, discomfort, difference, insecurity, or non-acceptance.

5.1 Born Abroad

5.1.1 Conditions of Migration & Detachment

Within this section, I examine some of the 1.5GUY's experiences in relation to migrating to the United States. In particular, I examine narratives which illustrate a collision between past ways of being and belonging and new ones. These narratives document how everyday cultures, languages, physical appearance, identities, and identifications relate to the experience of SofB. These early experiences are indeed part of the cumulative experience of SofB, and also illustrate the various influences and factors at play.

²⁷ Refer to Appendix 4 for interviewee demographics.

I begin by examining Pilar's immigration story, as she was quite reflective not only about how arduous the migration journey was, but also how difficult it was to leave behind the comforts of her home. Her migration story began in rural El Salvador when she was four, though she did not actually immigrate to the United States until age six; she first migrated internally to reside with her aunt. Though she did not cross international borders, she was still dismayed about leaving her local community, home, and way of life behind. She recalled: "I loved it there. I remember that day my mother told us we had to move to the city with my aunt. I remember I grabbed the fence and I wouldn't let go of the fence. They had to yank me away."

She resisted moving away so much that she had to be physically detached to the fence. Pilar's mother went to the United States to work, so Pilar, her three year old sister, and her six month old sister were taken to live with their aunt in the interim. Pilar explained: "my mother left one night. They all put us to sleep so we didn't see them leave, but I remember I was pretending to be asleep...she was crying, she kissed us all, and she left." For Pilar, migration began with both a destabilization of home and family life.

Pilar explained that three years passed and her aunt suddenly told her that she would join her mother in the United: "I remember my aunt told me to tell no one. So I couldn't tell my schoolmates. I didn't say goodbye to nobody." Not only was she about to lose the connections she had made in her new residence, but she was also not allowed to recognize those connections by saying farewell. Though at the time she had no idea why she could not tell anyone she was leaving nor say goodbye, this detail about leaving remained in her memory. As she abruptly left behind her schoolmates and her once-home, she was delivered to an unknown woman with only one bag of belongings in her possession. Thus began Pilar's two-month journey from house-to-house, person-to-person, from rural El Salvador to urban New Jersey via foot, car, and plane. Of the multiple month experience, Pilar remembers being left alone or only with other children in a house or hotel room, being told not to open the door to strangers, and being warned that there was a risk of abduction—or worse. Due to constant risks, the journey of leaving behind her homeland was anything but comfortable, familiar, or safe.

Pilar also explained that while they “didn’t legit go through the desert, we did cross a river, El Rio Grande,” where she almost lost her life. She described the experience and the river as “so scary, so dangerous” due to the heavy rain the previous night:

I was a very skinny girl, so I almost got washed away. This boy grabbed my arm and he saved my life. Ya, I mean, I never saw him again. I don’t know who he is. I don’t know where he might be in the world. I just remember his face. Every single time I think about these people I met along the way, I am wondering where they are, what have they become. It’s so strange...you get to the other side, you dry off, you put clothes on, and you go inside the town like you are normal, like you never crossed the river.

Pilar’s experience of almost being swept away and losing her life illustrates one of many perils along the precarious migration process. This is a scenario which constructs anything but SofB, yet at the same time, Pilar recognizes the importance of her involvement with the boy who saved her life. While she knows nothing about him or his whereabouts, she still recognizes his face and the importance of his actions, which allowed her to be where she is today. Additionally, Pilar’s statements acknowledge the dissonance between undertaking such an abnormal journey, only to act “normally” on the other side of the river.

However, the purposeful actions that she needed to undertake as she continued her journey alerted her to the fact that something was not quite normal. She explained: “it was as if the American was trying to cross the border. What they did was cover me up with sweaters and a hat, so that my hair could be hidden. I had to pretend to be asleep so they wouldn’t see my eyes.” Pilar was instructed by another woman assisting in her crossing to behave and appear in a certain way so as to reduce suspicion from the border authorities and mitigate possible questions. Pilar explained that this was the first situation where she became aware of her own physical appearance and the dissonance of outsider’s expectations—her green eyes, pale skin, and light hair matched more with stereotypical “American” traits, than those of a Salvadoran. She not only realized that her identity features were different, but also that they required special attention to disguise.

Finally, Pilar boarded a plane from the southwestern United States to New Jersey, where she was to reconnect with her mother and father after several years of separation. When she landed, however, she

encountered another uncertain situation. Neither having the experience of traveling on a plane, nor the ability to speak English, she remained on the plane while all the other passengers disembarked. The flight attendants approached her, but neither they nor Pilar knew what to do:

They were freaking out ‘cause they didn’t know what to do with me. They were like “we need to find her a pass to go back where she came from.” And then I was like “oh no! They are going to send me back.” I started crying. I was eight years old and so scared. I was like “my parents forgot me. They forgot to come and get me.” And I was so out of my mind.”

The uncertainty of what to do, the possibility that her own family had forgotten her, and the prospects of being sent back to her “home” caused emotional distress. While Pilar was concerned that her parents had forgotten her, she explained that she had also forgotten them: “I had already forgotten what my mother looked like. I had almost never met my father because he was always going back to the U.S. from El Salvador.” Time played a role in structuring Pilar’s ability to recognize even her most intimate attachments and family members, which made it difficult to find her parents in the airport. The flight attendants took her to the arrival hall, but warned Pilar that they “could not ask strangers if you are theirs because they are probably going to lie. They will kidnap you,” at which point Pilar explained “I gave up all hope.” Though she ended up being reunited with her family, which was “very emotional,” Pilar’s journey entailed various instances of discomfort, insecurity, and uncertainty along the way. Her narrative reminds us that life as an immigrant begins with processes of detachment from one’s existing attachments, modes-of-being, and identifications, and further, that SofB can be destabilized multiple times during the migration process.

Like Pilar, Diego also had an arduous journey between Mexico and Connecticut at the age of nine. Though he explained that he didn’t remember much, his narrative is still telling:

I don’t remember much, except when we were actually coming and when we were in the desert. I remember when we were walking... We ran out of food. We ran out of water. The sun was hitting us. I remember being weak. I remember having thoughts about giving up. But then, I remembered my parents and the decision they made to come and the reason. It was not only for them, but for me to have a better life, a better education... I just thought

about everything and I just told myself that if they did that for me and my brother, the least I could do was to continue. So I didn't give up. I remember that it was that day that I said "I will never give up. Not now. Not ever." That just kept me going.

With no food or water, the most fundamental of human needs were absent; Diego was physically weak, but only temporarily emotionally weak. His struggles, in relation to the sacrifices of his parents, served as an inspiration despite the adversity he was facing. I often encountered 1.5GUY who explained that the main reason for their migration was their parents' hope for a better life and a better education for their children. Diego recognized that sacrifice and uses it to structure his present day resilience: he will never give up, no matter the challenges.

Unlike Diego and Pilar, Daniel arrived from Mexico via visa at the age of twelve; he and his family settled with extended family members the southwestern United States. Upon being asked "can you tell me your story?" Daniel spent fifteen minutes intricately and intimately answering the question, detailing his personal, educational, economic, and educational challenges throughout his life. He took time to explain how his family's economic background structured his perception of immigration. He detailed that they migrated "not because of financial difficulties, as many migrants come. We were not rich over there, but we were not poor, either. We were just stable." He continued to explain his parents' choice to migrate:

What shocked my sister and I the most was the fact that as Mexicans, we had the perspective that only poor people migrated to the United States—only those that really needed it. Only those who didn't have a job, couldn't find a job migrated. For us as little kids, our perspective was "why are we doing this in the first place?" We were shocked.

For Daniel, the family's actions did not fit his perception of their identity or socio economic class; migration was therefore a decision that surprised him.

However, the decision to migrate was not shared by the family; while Daniel's mother was convinced of the "much better educational opportunities" in the United States, his father was reluctant to leave behind his close-knit family who had grown up together in one town in Mexico. Daniel was also reluctant for much the same reason. He acknowledged that "coming here was a serious challenge, just

like it is for any other migrant not knowing the language,” but also elaborated on the difficulties of leaving his attachments and modes-of-being behind:

It was hard for us to leave our whole family, leave our friends. Since I was in private school, I had known the same thirty kids from 1st grade to 6th grade, so I had grown up with those guys. All of a sudden, I had to leave...it was hard letting go of all of my cousins. I was really attached to my family. I would see them every single weekend. I had thirty cousins to hang out with every weekend.

Daniel was reflective of the emotional hardship associated with migration and in particular, leaving behind a close-knit community, family, and school. For him, it seemed abrupt to leave behind the long-term attachments and relations he had, especially as they played a major role in his everyday life at home. The difficulty and dismay present in Daniel’s narrative was one I frequently heard with other 1.5GUY, as many lamented leaving behind family and friends as a result of migration.

For example, Alvarez migrated when he was twelve when his family drove across the border; while his journey was not arduous, it was still a negative experience. While he did not recall anything significant about his migration process, he did explain that he was against the move: “I didn’t want to come here because I have all my friends there.” These stories illustrate how one’s SofB is interconnected with intimate attachments and relations, all of which are uprooted in the migration process. Another detail that stood out in Alvarez’s immigration story was his recollection that his parents told him they were “going on vacation,” rather than permanently moving to a new country. While Chilean-born Alejandra was not explicitly told by her mother that they were going on vacation, she recalled thinking that was the case: “I thought I was just coming on vacation, to see my mom or to pick up my mom, but we ended up staying.” Regardless, she was content: “I was really happy because I was with my mom...everything was just amazing because I was back with my mother.” Alejandra’s narrative suggests that knowing the explicit purpose of the trip was less important than being together again with her mother; relations can matter more than location or purpose. Brazilian-born Leonardo recalled that he was excited to immigrate to the United States because his experience was connected to a vacation: “we came with a tourist visa, and we came legally via the tourist route. We got to see the attractions such as Disney World, which is amazing for a nine year old to see!” Whether immigration experiences

are associated with positive or negative memories, these narratives illustrate the various modes through which parents condition the immigration experience for their children.

5.1.2 Conditioning Experiences of Attachment

5.1.2.1 Discomforts of Home

Though I asked youth about their personal experiences, their narratives often referred to parents, siblings, and extended family members who played a role in their migration or adaptation processes. Daniel, whom I introduced earlier, was one youth whose family experiences conditioned not only his process of detachment from Mexico, but also the establishment of a new chapter of his life in the United States. As part of his answer to my request to tell me about his immigration story, Daniel referred to the challenges of immigration, the burden of living with extended family members, and the economic pressure his family faced as his father was unable to secure a long-term job. For Daniel, the challenges associated with immigration were not those he faced during the physical journey, but during his life in his new home, illustrating that the challenges or consequences associated with immigration can be long-lasting. Daniel explained that five months after his family's arrival in the United States, his parents divorced and his father returned to his home in Mexico; at the time of our interview, Daniel had not seen his father in over 4 years and had infrequent communication with him. Of the overall experience, Daniel explained:

It was pretty tough. For my sister and I, we first left our family and then five months later, our dad basically left...in less than six months, we had basically lost our whole family...I was facing that emotional disturbance with my cousins. Then I lost my dad.

When Daniel left Mexico, the act of migration caused him to leave behind several close family and community relations, but he was together with his closest family members; however, the stresses of migration also caused instability within the most intimate family relations, and led his father to physically and emotionally distance himself from the family. Daniel's immigration experience entails two losses: first his family and then his father. While his story is more extreme than most, several 1.5GUY explained the familial disturbances that were caused by immigration, including enduring arguments between parents about migration and the divorces that came as a result.

As alluded to above, Daniel also faced an “emotional disturbance” with his cousins, which Daniel considered “important to note” in relation to his immigration story. He detailed that he, his mother, and his sister lived with his mother’s extended family. However, there was a negative atmosphere at home, and Daniel’s perception was that his cousins purposely spoke English in front of him to exclude him:

[They] started talking in English right in front of us because they knew we would not understand it. They were the kind of tensions you would not expect from a family member. But even though we did not understand what they were saying, you could just feel that they were talking about us and saying bad stuff about us.

Though Daniel could not understand what was being said, he was conscious that he was the subject of the conversation with a negative connotation. For Daniel, physically being at “home” was not associated with emotional comfort, but rather interfamilial tension and purposeful exclusion which conditioned his everyday SofB during his early life in the United States. Overall, migration was not an individual experience, but rather one conditioned by various family members.

5.1.2.2 Parental Approaches to ULS

There are various other ways in which family members condition the everyday experiences of the 1.5GUY, including ways that influence their SofB in the process. One phenomenon that became salient during discussions with youth was how parental approaches to ULS shape the youth’s everyday lives. This included parents’ approaches to discussions about ULS, disclosure about ULS, and the particular instructions they gave their children as a result of ULS.

Alvarez recalled that he was told by his parents that he was going on vacation, but also that his mother told him: “not to do anything wrong. Not to say anything” about the immigration experience. However, when I asked if Alvarez understood why his mother had instructed him not to discuss his journey or to behave in a particular manner, Alvarez replied that he did not know what his mother meant, nor the rationale behind her instructions. Furthermore, though he recalled physically crossing the international border, he had no knowledge that his family crossed with false papers and furthermore, that this meant that he and his family would become undocumented.

Similarly, Mexican-born Cruz, who came at age ten, was also told to pay attention to the way he behaved, though unlike Alvarez, knew that he was undocumented from early on. He explained “my

mom told me the first time when I got here. She said ‘we don’t have papers, don’t do anything bad.’” However, though Cruz knew of his ULS, he admitted that he did not know what ULS entailed, nor the implications it would have later in life. Though Cruz and Alvarez were residents of diverse and immigrant-rich New York City, they were both instructed from young ages to pay attention to how they acted and furthermore, to behave in a certain way. Regardless of whether these men knew why their parents gave them these instructions, their narratives suggest that parents’ approaches condition some 1.5GUY’s everyday lives, experiences, and actions early on.

Lina, a Colombian-born 1.5GUY who came to the United States at age nine, reflected upon how her parents approached discussions about ULS. Lina told me that her father said that they were moving to the United States due to medical reasons and added that rationale was “always” what she was told by her parents, in turn legitimizing both the immigration process and continued residency in the United States. I asked Lina if she knew of her ULS growing up and she replied that she was never explicitly told by her parents, but added “I think I knew about my status before I officially found out...I had a close group of Peruvian, some Colombian friends. It was a mixed status group.” Lina’s knowledge about ULS is ambiguous, but is nonetheless shaped by her contexts and relations, not only because her friends had various legal and non-legal immigration statuses, but also because they came from various nationalities.

Alternatively, Brazilian-born Leonardo, who first came to Disney World before settling in Connecticut, was explicitly told by his parents he was undocumented. He said:

From the start I was told that I was undocumented and I couldn’t—there were certain limits, but when you are nine, you don’t really know. All my dad said was “don’t tell anyone about our situation.”

Though Leonardo’s immigration memory is positively connected to his vacation, the instructions from his parents indicate that there was something about the “situation” that could not be shared with others. He was instructed by his parents to keep things on the “hush-hush and not tell anyone about it.” I asked Leonardo if he discussed ULS with his family and he replied: “no, we really didn’t talk about it. It wasn’t really a concern until high school for me.” Thus, while Leonardo knew of his ULS growing

up, it was neither something he discussed with his family nor concerned him or his everyday life early on. Due to his age, he neither understood ULS, nor the limits it would bring.

Beyond being explicitly told by parents not to discuss ULS, some 1.5GUY revealed that their parents instructed them not to even discuss being an immigrant at all. For example, Adriana, who crossed the border at age of four from Mexico knew of her ULS growing up, but explained “I was not supposed to tell anyone that I wasn’t from here.” Sofia, a Mexican-born youth, explained that she was instructed to keep quiet about being an immigrant. She detailed that she was five when her family drove from Mexico to the United States and crossed with a tourist visa. She further explained that though she did not remember all of the details, she did remember that while her parents never told her about her ULS, they instructed her to tell anyone who asked that she was born in the United States:

For the longest time, my parents just told me to tell people I was born [in the U.S.]. They were like “Don’t tell anyone you are from Mexico. You are born in [here]. That is it.”

That was pretty much my story for everyone: I was born here, have been living here my whole life. No one questioned it, it was fine.

I asked Sofia if she knew why her parents directed her to respond in such a way, to which she replied:

I had no clue. Obviously I knew something was wrong, because your parents shouldn’t be telling you to lie. But, of course, I had no clue what it meant. I had no idea if I myself was doing something wrong, or if it was a bad thing to be from Mexico.

While Sofia was aware of the dissonance between the reality of her experiences and her parents’ directives, she neither questioned these instructions nor understood the motivation behind them until years later. Notably, Sofia knew that “something was wrong,” associated the instructions with negative perceptions, but was uncertain as to whether this was in relation to place of birth, ethnicity, her individual actions, or something else altogether. In retrospect, she suggested that her parents’ instructions were motivated by fear and the desire to protect her. Regardless of the explicit reasons for instructing her to handle questions about birthplace in a certain way, this example again illustrates that ULS is something that requires particular actions and that parents condition early experiences.

While these are just some examples, together they illustrate the prominence and diversity of parental approaches to discussions about ULS, including disclosure, secrecy, non-disclosure, and ambiguity. Parents' instructions to not disclose ULS to outsiders was a frequently encountered phenomenon and one that extended across all nationalities and methods of entry. Youth explained that they surmised that their parents' instructions were motivated by fear, desire to protect, shame, and stigma. Notably, parents' instructions to not disclose ULS, to behave in a certain way, or to pretend to be born in the United States illustrate not the youth's own coping strategies, but rather those of their parents, which in turn condition the 1.5GUY's everyday lives, experiences, and identities, and their overall SofB. That parents take these approaches indicate the negative and early influences of ULS on the lives and experiences of everyday SofB for 1.5GUY.

5.2 Growing up in the U.S.

5.2.1 Recognition of Differences

I frequently encountered feelings or experiences of “difference” in my discussions with youth. Often, these feelings were in relation to perceptions, experiences, and desires for “normalcy” in comparison to peers, friends, and classmates. Within this section, I continue to explore early experiences and interactions, but more explicitly focus on everyday experiences of difficulty, difference, and discrimination, as well as the desire for commonality, cohesion, and fitting in—all of which influence one's SofB. Whether youth know of their ULS or not, the experiences presented here illustrate how sense of self, identity, identification, social location, and social recognition collide as the 1.5GUY encounter new modes-of-being; SofB is often affected in the process.

One of the most salient differences between the 1.5GUY and their peers in their host country was linguistic; youth frequently cited their inability to communicate or understand English during their early lives in the United States not only as a challenge to their everyday life, but also one with emotional consequences. For example, Isabel recalled that the process of emigrating from Peru was easy, but the processes of adaptation, education, and socialization were not. She explained “I got picked on at school, because I didn't know English. Even by people who were Colombian. The other girl was Peruvian...I got pushed.” She described her early life in the United States as “awful.” While Isabel's narrative suggests that the physical and psychological bullying were the result of her linguistic inabilities—especially as no one knew of her ULS—these negative experiences indicate that her

everyday participation in the educational system was neither positive, nor lead to SofB. For some 1.5GUY, negative experiences are not necessarily or solely the result of ULS, but still negatively influence everyday SofB.

Sofia also recalled struggling in school, particularly during her first year, which she described as:

Literally the hardest year of my life. I didn't know the language. I didn't know what anyone was saying to me. In my first grade class, the teacher just spoke English. All of my classmates just spoke English. No one translated. She would literally just hand me assignments and I would cry. I had no idea what to do.

Sofia's lack of English linguistic skills—though not fault of her own—structured her early everyday life in the United States. Though she was included in the educational system, she was unable to understand what was going on. Sofia's linguistic exclusion was not just a difference, but also a distinction that mitigated her ability to participate, leading to further emotional consequences.

Diego, who entered the educational system at the age of ten, also explained his feelings and experiences of difference in his early life in the United States:

I remember going to school and the kids looking at me like they had never seen a person like me, I guess. I couldn't speak English. Every time they asked me something, I didn't respond. I was like "what are you talking about?" In Spanish of course. The teachers wanted to help me, but they didn't know how, since they didn't speak Spanish. I had only one good friend that I made from those people and he had to translate everything for me. I didn't even know how to say "where is the bathroom?" It was hard.

Diego's narrative illustrates that while he was included as a student in the educational system, the lack of a common language through which to communicate even the most basic of needs meant he was excluded from equal everyday participation. Even when the desire or intent to help was present, the inability to communicate led to feelings of difference and exclusion. If not for his one friend who translated, he would have been completely excluded.

However, Diego's experience goes beyond linguistic difference and exclusion. He also recalled the gaze of his peers, which he perceived to be the result of his physical appearance—a point made evident from his statement that the kids looked at him “like they had never seen a person” like him before. Diego was aware of outsider's recognition of his identity characteristics and physical differences. He explained that when he graduated from fifth to sixth grade, his English abilities had greatly improved, but added “people were still looking at me in a different way.” In general, his encounters with peers left him feeling different and “out of place,” which he described as being “tough.”

Like Isabel, Diego, and many of the other 1.5GUY I talked to, Daniel also encountered challenges with English, education, and feelings of difference. He recalled his early life in the U.S. school system, which he began at the age of eleven:

Basically, I was the kid that would never talk, unless they asked me to. Whenever they asked me to, I would feel really awkward to answer because even though I would understand it, speaking it was a huge part of the language and I just didn't feel comfortable doing it.

Daniel experienced awkwardness and discomfort due to his perceived lack of English abilities; whether his English skills were indeed limited or not is irrelevant. Because Daniel was so self-conscious and uncomfortable with his English, he explained that he preferred avoiding interactions and discussions with peers. Notably, however, not being able to communicate in everyday life limits one's ability to form connections, in turn influencing SofB. Daniel explained that he was very motivated to improve his English skills, but that he was still aware of differences: “whereas other kids were worried about their ranking in the class, I was worried about fitting in and not having my English skills looked down upon, and not speaking with an accent.” Daniel's narrative illustrates the pervasive desire to be accepted by “fitting in”—both the desire for SofB and the actual SofB that would result from not being recognized for social, physical, or linguistic differences, but also those that would result from commonality.

Daniel continued to describe his experience in education, including a turning point during his sophomore year of high school—what he called “a defining year of his life.” Daniel elaborated: “that is when I actually started coming out of my shell in terms of English.” Another big change in Daniel's

life was that he had moved out of his extended family's home; not only was he no longer subject to his cousin's taunting, he explained that having a house with only his mother and sister gave him freedom and control. He explained: "I actually started joining activities, being involved in clubs, joining sports. I actually started doing my high school experience. I could get home late because I actually had a home." Fundamentally, this "home" had both physical and emotional implications. The home was tension-free and therefore comfortable, but having a physical home also meant the freedom to "do" his high school experience alongside his peers through participation in clubs, sports, and other activities. Of this year, Daniel said that it was then he "realized I had a lot of opportunities here," marking a change in his life.

Similarly to Daniel, Ralph explained that it was through family members, rather than society, that Ralph was made to feel the most different and unaccepted. He recalled that his cousins "taunted me about my status. I mean, up to today, I still remember that. They basically made fun of me because I didn't know English as well...they would kind of point me out because I was undocumented... because I wasn't from here." The cousin's recognition of Ralph's uniqueness—English skills, birthplace, and ULS—resulted in discomfort, illustrating that extended family members can play a role in challenging SofB in everyday life. Ralph concluded of his cousins: "they brought so much humiliation, not only to me, but to my parents—because I do remember them taunting my parents as well." Though a repeatedly negative experience, Ralph turned it into a motivating factor. He explained that "is how I find motivation...I always think back to that and I just want to prove them wrong." Sometimes, the absence of love, care, esteem, and acceptance can result in long-term resilience and positive outcomes.

In contrast to Isabel, Diego, and Daniel, Cristina did not experience difference due to linguistic abilities; she came to the United States from Mexico at less than one year of age, so her first encounters with an educational system were in English and in the U.S. Furthermore, she explained that she knew of her ULS since she was six years old, but that ULS did not influence her in her childhood. She explained that questions about ULS "never came up...little kids don't ask questions like 'are you undocumented?' It was always 'what is your favorite color?' type of things." Though she stated that ULS was not something she explicitly shared with others and "was never in my mind when I was little," her memory suggests indirect influences of ULS in everyday life:

Most of the people...assumed that I was [undocumented]. I had to deal with racism when I was a kid. I had to deal with so many things because of my race, being undocumented. That is why I always had doubts. Because I was like “ok, they don’t know I am undocumented, but yet they know I am Mexican. They are making fun of me because of my race.”

While from Cristina’s statement it is difficult to assess precisely how much influence ULS had on her everyday SofB, it is clear that ULS is conflated with other factors such as race, ethnicity, or nationality. In this sense, intersubjective perceptions that result in racism illustrate that regardless of whether an outsider’s perceptions are informed or accurate, they can instill self-doubt and negatively influence SofB in everyday interactions.

Cristina explained that her mother worked for a family and that she had close contact with this family growing up; she described them as “the most amazing people ever. They didn’t see us as a different race. They saw us as human beings. I always played with the kids to keep them busy while my mom cleaned their house. They always took me out—me and my sister.” It is telling that Cristina decided to mention this detail in her description of the family, including that they treated her as a “human.” In comparison to her other statements, this particular context and relation allowed her to achieve a self-worth on a par with them, as well as the “human” race.

While her experiences in relation to the family are positive, there was one significant and negative incident that occurred when Cristina was ten years old. Cristina accompanied the family on errands and was initially excited: “everything was so big, everything was so shiny and stuff. The stores were so different than what I was used to.” Cristina was conscious of the material differences in comparison to the stores that she and her family usually visited, but also the social differences: “I remember that there was one African employee and five Anglo-Saxons—that is what I noticed, right? It was me and an African American. Everyone just looked at me.” Her feeling that “everyone” was looking at her may appear to be over-consciousness, but she was indeed being observed:

I was with the girl and we were picking out her bed and everything. I don’t know if it was the assistant manager or the main manager that came to us. He called my mom’s boss over and we were right there. It was the guy, Ms. E, the little girl, and me. And he was like “hi,

how are you?” She thought that he was going to help him out for a bed and everything. She was like “we are ready to order” and he was like “yes, if you can do me a favor...” and he was like “can you please keep her close? Can you please make her wait in the car because we do not want anything stolen.” I was like “what did I do wrong?”

I questioned Cristina to make sure that I had heard her right and that this scenario was taking place in a furniture store where she was a young girl. She confirmed that it was and added that when she heard that she needed to be kept close, watched, or put in a car—and it was only her, not the other girl from the “Anglo-Saxon” family—she felt less than human. She explained: “I was like am I a dog or something? Dogs wait in the car for their owner.” Social interactions, including the ways identities are evaluated and judged in everyday social interactions, condition experiences of non-acceptance and self-doubt. This particular experience is not explicitly linked to ULS, but highlights a number of other identity characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or nationality that may result in discrimination during everyday interactions.

In this regard, neither the 1.5GUY nor outsiders need to know ULS to disturb one’s SofB, worth, identity, and membership in the human race. Of this particular scenario, Cristina acknowledged “that is when I found out, that is when I started knowing that there are people out there who are going to look at you like that. And it’s sad that at a young age, I had to learn it like that.” Cristina’s narrative illustrates that being recognized does not always result in positive outcomes; indeed, it was precisely the social recognition of differences that resulted in discrimination and negated SofB. The 1.5GUY are subject to a double-edged sword of discrimination based not only on ULS, but also on racism and related ethnicism. They may become aware of the differences between themselves and their peers early in life. This awareness is sometimes a hyper-consciousness of differences, which affects their identities, practices, and interactions long before systematic exclusion. In the public sphere, even the most banal of scenarios and interactions can lead to discomfort and discrimination. In these cases, recognition does not result in acceptance; observation is what causes feelings and experiences of difference.

5.2.2 Discoveries of Difference: Mixed Status Families

While 1.5GUY often encountered feelings of difference or discrimination in the educational or public sphere, they occasionally learned of a major distinction between themselves and the rest of society at

home and in private. It is not these interactions themselves that necessarily create discrimination, but rather these scenarios which make evident to the 1.5GUY that ULS will prohibit their everyday lives—and already does. This was especially the case for 1.5GUY who come from “mixed status” families, e.g. immediate families with varying legal and non-legal statuses and was particularly true for 1.5GUY who had younger, U.S.-born, citizen siblings. Thus, in addition to parental approaches regarding ULS, the experiences and opportunities of younger citizen siblings can also make salient the impact of ULS early in life in both implicit and explicit ways.

With her parents, Issa moved to Texas from Mexico when she was one and a half years old. Issa explained that she not only became aware of her ULS early in life, but also aware of the differences ULS would have on her everyday opportunities:

I remember knowing the difference. When I was in about 3rd grade, 4th grade, we had a trip that we had to go on. My mom was already hesitant to approve and let me go. It was just outside of Texas, here within the U.S., but she still felt really insecure about letting me. And that is when she had the discussion with me like “you are not from here...your brother and sister are, but you are born in Mexico.” I knew I was from Mexico, but I didn’t know that I didn’t have the privileges that they had. And that is when it became real to me.

Issa was a participant in the educational system, but not an unconditional one. Due to her mother’s insecurity, Issa was prevented from participating in a mandatory school trip with her classmates precisely due to ULS. This scenario was a turning point of Issa’s life: not only did she learn of her ULS, but she also had a firsthand experience of the limitations ULS brings in everyday life. Due to the fact that Issa had two younger citizen siblings, the personal knowledge of differences—in privileges and rights—would be made salient in the most intimate of spheres in ways she could not escape. Unlike other families, Issa said that her family talked about ULS “all the time. It is something that is always discussed.” Instead of making comparisons between herself and her classmates, Issa explained that she began comparing herself and her activities against those of her brother and sister and learned that her place of birth and ULS were major factor in these differences. She explained that growing up, her primary desire was to have legal residency: “one of my biggest things was to be a resident or to at

least have a social [security number]—or anything else other than what I have right now,” illustrating her desire to achieve SofB through legal legitimization.

Issa explained that her younger siblings were also aware of the difference in their opportunities and the role that legal residency and citizenship status had in structuring their lives. For example, her siblings had been to Mexico to visit extended family, but neither Issa nor her parents could accompany them. However, differences in opportunities also influenced approaches to life:

It is really different. They have that mentality that they can apply for full financial aid. They have more guaranteed things here, so my side is always like “no, you have to push harder. Do this, do that.” And they don’t have that. I don’t see it in them to go the extra mile that I always push myself to do. And so I feel like they don’t see that sometimes. I feel that it does hurt me. I don’t feel like to them, it is as important as it is to me.

Issa’s statement illustrates that though citizenship comes with more guarantees, it does not always come with the drive to take advantage of those opportunities. For Issa, it is both structural and motivational factors which cause her pain; when she sees firsthand, individuals who can, but choose not to take advantage of opportunities, the irony is not lost on her.

Similarly, Alma arrived in Texas from Mexico when she was only a few months old and has younger U.S. citizen siblings. While she explained that her parents do not talk about ULS, Alma said that she tries to motivate her siblings precisely due to the opportunities they have:

I talk to them about school, because my sister, my middle sister doesn’t really try in school. I tell her “you should...” I was telling my younger brother, too, because he is just starting high school. I say “try to do your best...you will have more opportunities than I will, because you are from here.” I was telling him “you have me to help you, I had nobody.” They already know English. My sister is in 3rd grade and she has been studying English since 1st grade. When I was in 1st and 2nd grade, I had trouble because my parents didn’t know English and I didn’t either. I had to learn it on my own.

Alma’s statement illustrates the ways older siblings can influence younger sibling’s educational pursuits. I often encountered scenarios where 1.5GUY from mixed status families cautiously lamented

the difference between their opportunities and those of their citizen siblings, especially in instances where the 1.5GUY felt as if the citizens were not taking full advantage of opportunities.

Cristina, who experienced discrimination linked with racism early in life, also learned of the differences in everyday opportunities by comparing herself with her U.S. citizen sister. Cristina described her sister as “blessed to be born here” less than a year after Cristina’s family immigrated. When I asked Cristina if she knew of her ULS growing up, she linked her knowledge to the differences between herself and her sister:

I did not always know about my status. I was seven years old when I started knowing about it. That was different. People were like “Oh, Cristina, you are Mexican.” And with my sister, it was like “you are pure American.” There was that division between us. I guess I can say that I was a little jealous of my sister because of that.

Cristina’s knowledge of divisions—and the resulting “jealousy”—came as a result of legal status based on heritage, nationality, and place of birth. However, ULS also reversed expectations based on birth-order. Cristina explained that as a first-born child, these differences had a particular emotional impact:

Being the oldest, I guess it was really low self-esteem for me. She could already do all of these things...I was always the oldest. As a child at seven, ten, eleven years old, I was always like “I am the first one who is going to do all of this because I am the oldest.” And yet I felt like I would never be able to do that stuff.

Cristina became painfully aware of the limitations ULS had on her everyday activities early in life, which ended up affecting her well-being at a young age. Her statement that she will “never be able” to do the things her sister can suggests lack of hope, alluding to long-term challenges.

Finally, Ralph detailed that his mother has voiced her remorse over not moving to the United States earlier, so that Ralph would be a citizen instead of undocumented: “my mom kind of regrets not coming earlier so that I would have been born here...She realizes that we are not offered the same kind of opportunities.” Though Ralph has been able to participate in education like his citizen siblings, the inequality and imparity in their activities and opportunities does not go unnoticed. The narratives of 1.5GUY from mixed status families illustrate that experiences from the private and familial spheres can

make evident the implications of ULS, including early in childhood. When combined with youth's narratives describing discrimination by extended family members, these narratives make evident that discomfort and difference can result not only in the educational system, but also in the private sphere. The family setting is not always one of comfort and acceptance, but also a where one becomes consciously aware of disparity and difference.

5.2.3 Constructions of Identity & Home

Though many of the 1.5GUY I talked to cited challenges and unpleasant situations growing up, many referred to the United States as the place they grew up. Further, many—though not all—called the U.S. “home.” When I met Brazilian-born Gabriela in Connecticut, where she has resided since age seven, she described the current challenges she was facing: as a recent university graduate, she had no future jobs, past work experience, or legal status. In light of these challenges, I asked Gabriela where she felt at “home,” to which she replied: “it’s a good question. I do remember, I came when I was seven, so I have a lot of memories [of Brazil].” She added that people often ask her if she wants to return home to Brazil, but explained:

If I could go back to when I left, I would go back, but I don’t want to go back right now. That is not really my home anymore. This is. I’ve grown up here. I have been here for fifteen years...that is where I came from, it’s not home. This is.

Gabriela made a distinction between homeland and home, rationalizing the difference through length of time spent in the U.S., as well as the fact she has grown up there. This suggests that both time and life stage play a factor in shaping her constructions and identifications of home—a point further made evident as she highlighted the difference between immigrating as an adult or child:

When you are adult and come here... I guess even though you are used to or get used to this country after a while, you can always go back because you do remember more of the country where you came from...If you came here when you were young, it’s kind of a difficult situation. You have grown up here and...you always think this is your home.

For Gabriela, one’s homeland is a place of origin, but not necessarily a home. She further explained that “when you grow up and learn your [ULS]... you are kind of unsure where your home is supposed

to be”—a challenge I return to in later chapters, but one that nonetheless suggests that at times, conceptions of home are processual and structured by knowledge of ULS.

Gabriela’s statement also illustrated what many 1.5GUY explained in regards to their constructions of home: length of time, lack of memories, and being raised in the United States play an important role in identifying with the U.S. rather than their homelands. Alvarez, for example, cited being “used to” and comfortable with cultural norms, including knowing “how things work.” In this case, knowledge leads to comfort, which allows youth to establish a sense of home and therefore SofB. Similarly, Beatriz explained “I am used to it...I have a life here. My family is here,” illustrating the importance of being accustomed to routines, having a life, and having one’s closest relations to consider a place “home.” Because the 1.5GUY arrive at such a young age, go through socialization processes, and are raised in the United States, many youth say they are accustomed to the life in their “home.” Especially for the youth who immigrated at only a few years of age, their lack of memories prevents them from citing their homelands as home.

Brazilian-born Gustavo arrived in Massachusetts at age eight, but explained that he grew up in the United States, not Brazil. During our discussion, Gustavo cited the current challenges with education and employment that he was facing due to his ULS. I asked “if I can be a little provoking—and also take from what I have read from the opposition—people say ‘well, if you can’t do this, why don’t you just go back home?’ what would you say?” His answer turned to experiences of growing up in the United States and the way that has shaped his SofB, sense of self, and identification practices:

I have grown up here. Personally—I am not speaking for every family—but I have grown up here. I have spent most of my life here...and I have grown a sense of nationalism to America. You know? Even patriotism to America. Of course, I still have the Brazilian heritage behind me, but I have spent most of my life here. This is where I have assimilated fully, into every aspect. Into politics, the culture, unhealthy food...

Gustavo’s statements illustrates that due to his life stage and young age at arrival, he feels as if he has grown up in the United States. Additionally, length of time plays an important factor: he has “spent most” of his life in the U.S. Due to these factors, Gustavo has not only learned, but also embraced and

assimilated various cultural, national, and patriotic practices that he views as “American.” While acknowledging his heritage, he asserts that the United States is his home.

In general, being educated, socialized, and raised in the United States were frequently cited amongst 1.5GUY in their everyday constructions of self, identities, and practices. However, there were variations amongst youth as to whether they cited one or multiple homes or points of reference. For example, during my discussions with Ralph, I asked him “Do you consider Mexico your country?” to which he replied:

I consider it my place of birth, where I have citizenship. Ya, it is my country, but I think that now, since I have always been educated in the U.S., I basically know more history about here than over there. I kind of declare this as my country as well. I am kind of stuck in between.

Ralph made the distinction between Mexico and the United States: while he was born in Mexico and has citizenship status there, he has been raised and educated in the U.S. His narrative illustrates the importance of information—knowledge of history—in his constructions of home, which led him to consider the U.S. “his” country, despite his ULS. However, Ralph’s statement “I am kind of stuck in between,” illustrates a hybrid SofB, self, and home. He continued answering my question, making evident this hybridity: “I am very proud of my roots. I declare myself Mexican, but when they ask where I have been raised, I would say the U.S.” Together, these narratives illustrate a number of factors that go into constructing the United States as the 1.5GUY’s home.

Youth also pointed out that their knowledge and ability to embrace or enact cultural norms caused outsiders to view the 1.5GUY, but not their parents, as belonging in the U.S. For example, Brazilian-born Leonardo explained “I think people see us as kind of more ‘American’ than undocumented adults...we grew up here. We know how things work. We did the pledge of allegiance every day. We did everything that everyone else does.” These everyday practices and experiences allow the 1.5GUY not only to construct their sense of home, but also signify their identities and achieve SofB in the process. Youth’s statements refer to time, life stage, age at arrival, and education as major factors that not only contribute to this construction of home, but also allow them to be knowledgeable about practices and enact or assimilate them. Even when youth are facing challenges due to their ULS—and

therefore discomfort, insecurity, and uncertainty—youth often refer to the U.S. as their home, making their relationship to home dynamic and complicated.

5.2.4 Constructing SofB through Everyday Activities

Up until this point, many of the narratives that have been presented illustrate experiences and feelings related to difference based on any number of factors such as ULS, race, ethnicity, skin color, birthplace, language, culture, or heritage. Within this section, I shift from experiences of discomfort and difference to narratives that illustrate feelings and experiences of normalcy, similarity, equality, and attachment to peoples, places, and ways of being. I examine narratives of youth who have grown up knowing their ULS, as well as those who did not, to delve into how SofB is constructed through everyday performances and interactions.

As mentioned previously (section 5.1.2.2), Sofía was not aware of her ULS growing up and was explicitly told by her parents to say she was born in the United States, not Mexico. Sofía grew up in a southwestern state with a presence of immigrants of varying legal and non-legal statuses, especially individuals originally from Mexico. Thus, being Mexican itself was not unique, but the way she experienced her heritage and identity was. Sofía explained that her parents emphasized education to the extent that her status as a student, rather than as a Mexican predominantly structured her everyday life. She described that when the rest of her Mexican community was protesting, or participating in marches such as a “day without a Mexican,” where Mexicans did not work, buy gas, shop, or go to school, to demonstrate their importance in her community, she nonetheless went to school. Sofía stressed that she was always in school and because of her young age “I was too young to really realize the effect it was having”—the marches, immigration, and ULS.

Of her experiences growing up, Sofía claimed

I would go as far as saying that I was very privileged, compared to a lot of Mexicans or undocumented people around me because my parents kept me very separated from that entire community. They wanted me to go to school. They wanted me to be like a normal American.

Here, there is an inextricable connection between familial and educational settings on her experiences. When I asked Sofía what “normal American” meant, she explained that her parents separated her from

the immigrant community, focused on education, and promoted extra-curricular activities such as karate. These activities meant that she was exposed to citizens, rather than to fellow immigrants in her everyday life and practices. Thus, her participation with and connection to citizen peers meant that her daily life was conditioned more by activities and relations than ULS.

Sofia frequently used the word “normal” to describe her life, experiences, and identity growing up. I inquired about this sense of “normalcy” and “Americanness,” to which Sofia explained the differences between her and documented and undocumented immigrants:

I was very much integrated into the American culture. I was pretending to be one of the American people. I was taking classes with the smarter, white people. That is usually associated with Americans, whereas all of the Latinos, the Mexicans, are taking the average or below average classes. I was always hanging out with my white friends.

At this time, Sofia knew she was born in Mexico and was aware of her heritage, but still did not know of her ULS. Nonetheless, her narrative illustrates how she constructed her SofB and identity not only through educational participation, but also the participation in particular classes and in organizations and with a specific group of people—“white people.” Thus, it is not only educational inclusion or participation which structures SofB, but also the type or level of participation and the particular demographics of other individuals associated with those activities that matter.

Sofia described “white” activities as high level courses, membership and leadership positions in school organizations, contributing via community service, and extra-curricular activities and sports. As Sofia noted, “I never thought anything of it, but categorically speaking, it makes things very different. None of my friends were doing whatever it is Hispanic kids do. All of my white friends were doing whatever white people do.” It appears that everyday associations and participation—rather than race or ULS—played the major factor in structuring her life, leading Sofia to construct a sense of “normalcy” in relation to her identity and modes-of-being in the U.S. Of her experience growing up, Sofia concluded “in that sense, I was in *this* world, and my parents—they weren’t in that world, because they weren’t in school.” Notably, the differences in everyday activities, participation, and associations led Sofia to conclude that the experiences of undocumented immigrants are so contingent upon generation and cohort that individuals from the 1.5 versus second generation exist in two different worlds.

Marcelo, a Mexican-born 1.5GUY who came to Connecticut at age six, explained that learning English was initially challenging, but not necessarily traumatic. Instead, his statements illustrated a positive valence in association with school and language learning, especially as it allowed him to build enduring attachments: “that’s how I started learning English, by the friends I made there. There were two people that are still my good friends that helped me the most with learning English.” Everyday participation in school not only taught Marcelo, but allowed him to establish social connections.

Marcelo’s everyday participation also structured his identity and SofB in the process. Like other 1.5GUY I interviewed, Marcelo used the word “normal” to describe himself as similar to his peers. He also explained that due to participation in everyday activities, he did not know about his ULS:

I had no idea before because I was just living a normal life...everything that my friends had, I had. Being able to go to the park, being able to go to an after school program, since it was a public school, nothing was ever asked of me, but just to attend school. So I never knew.

Marcelo’s narrative illustrates that everyday actions and opportunities structure one’s sense of self and SofB. Further, because SofB is an intersubjective and social phenomenon, Marcelo assessed that he was “normal” as he compared himself, his possessions, and his practices as parallel to those of his peers. Especially due to his ability to participate on a par with American citizens and establish American connections, he had no knowledge of his ULS, any reason to question it, or feel different.

Similarly, Aja, who came from the Philippines at age four, explained that she never knew of her ULS growing up, especially as she felt included and assimilated in U.S. everyday life:

I was with other American peers and residents. I didn’t realize about my status. At the time, I was at a public school and I was just assimilated with everyone else. I was not aware of the difference in status...My family, my mom doesn’t really talk about it. She doesn’t tell me about the immigration status. It is not something we talk about at the table or that she ever mentions.

Like Marcelo, Aja’s narrative demonstrates the importance of context, relations, and activities in relation to SofB: because she was with Americans, she had no reason to question her difference or

ULS. Because she was included in school, she not only became, but also felt assimilated in relation to everyone else. Further, because her mother never talked about ULS, it did not factor into her everyday life early on. Here, the mix of parental approaches to disclosure, everyday participation, and associations structure Aja's everyday SofB.

Finally, unlike Marcelo and Aja, Beatriz knew of her ULS growing up. She came to New York from Ecuador at the age of twelve and explained that her ULS did not matter:

Since I came here, I knew I was [undocumented]. I didn't have papers because the way I came. I started living here. I started getting used to the life here. I went to school and all of that. I didn't care about the papers because I had the opportunity to study and to do the things that other people do.

Beatriz's experience and the opportunity to participate on a par with peers in everyday life were more important to her residency, adaptation, and comfort than her ULS. Neither the knowledge of ULS nor the ULS itself appeared to challenge her everyday SofB, which was shaped by her opportunities and lived experiences, rather than her ULS. However, Beatriz added "now that I am a senior here and am trying to apply to college, I don't have the same opportunities." This alludes to the temporality of opportunities and the temporal influence of ULS—phenomena I return to in later chapters. Notably, regardless of knowledge about ULS, some 1.5GUY establish a SofB in relation to the peoples, places, and modes-of-being in the United States. Furthermore, narratives within this section illustrate that activities and performances shape identity, rather than vice versa. Finally, because 1.5GUY create their SofB not only through everyday performances, but also interpersonal comparisons, their SofB is largely linked to perceptions of "normalcy."

5.3 Conditioning Experiences

While in the previous section, I dealt more exclusively with experiences from the educational system, in this section, I also include familial influences on everyday life. As noted previously (section 5.1.2.2), parental approaches to immigration processes and ULS can condition their children's early experiences in the United States and thus SofB. Here, I move beyond parental approaches to disclosure and non-disclosure to explore how families, and especially parents, influence SofB in everyday life.

Specifically, I examine the way parents approach discussions about the future challenges of ULS and the creation of contingency plans as a result of ULS.

5.3.1 Conditioning Expectations

Ana Maria, who came to New York from Ecuador at age three, explained that she always knew of her ULS growing up because her mother was open with this information and did not shy away from discussions about ULS. Furthermore, Ana Maria explained that her mother emphasized the challenges and barriers that ULS would bring in the future. She explained:

My mom always told me. Just growing up, she was always honest about these things. I would see her working at low-paid jobs. She was being exploited. Having to balance two or three jobs, trying to take me to school, my siblings, and all that—I always knew. She would always tell me: “you don’t have papers, you are just going to work twice as hard.” Or “you are going to have to finish school, because I didn’t get to do that.” But I didn’t really think it was going to have the same impact, because I was being raised here. I learned how to speak English, I was going to school.

Ana Maria’s statements indicate that she was aware of her undocumented mother’s hardships and exploitation. However, it does not appear as if Ana Maria’s SofB was negated due to her mother’s challenges, Ana Maria’s knowledge of ULS, nor the emphasis about future barriers. In fact, her statements suggest the opposite: it is precisely because Ana Maria was being raised, educated, and socialized in the United States that she thought ULS would not have “the same impact” that it was having on her mother. Due to Ana Maria’s everyday participation, she constructed her SofB, identity, and practices in relation to individuals from the same age group, rather than legal status. In turn, Ana Maria could not see that as she grew older over time, it would be her ULS, rather than generational or immigrant cohort, that would indeed play the dominant role in structuring her everyday opportunities for participation.

Similarly to Ana Maria, Ecuadorian-born Javier knew of his ULS growing up in Connecticut. His perception was that his parents tried to protect him from the negative influences of ULS by working hard to provide for Javier and his brother:

What I have noticed is that my parents have kept a lot of our status hidden. I always knew I was undocumented, ever since I came to this country. And, I was always... I was always afraid and scared and depressed because of it. But, I think it could have been a lot worse—my depression and my fear. I have noticed that my parents basically shielded me when I was younger. They tried to work very hard. They did everything for us to have whatever we needed. I didn't feel it as strong as other people because my parents were there, basically shielding me from all of the problems.

However, in comparison to his undocumented peers, Javier explained that he felt more fortunate due to his family support system: “my parents were there to support me. They were constantly giving me everything I needed.”

Javier's statements also suggest that his knowledge of ULS had consequences to emotional well-being in the form of “fear” and “depression” unlike some other youth who did not indicate a connection between knowledge of ULS and negated SofB. Even though he perceives his position to be better off than his undocumented peers, these emotions influenced his everyday SofB. While he noted emotional challenges due to ULS, he added how his ULS motivated him, especially because his parents supported him:

My parents, from the start, told me “you need to do good in school because we are undocumented. We are not going to be able to pay for a great school, so if you do well, you might get a scholarship. You might be able to go to a good school.” That is why I kept going. I pushed myself to do good in high school.

Whether due to personality, resilience, or a variety of other factors, Javier's narrative suggests ways in which his ULS both positively and negatively influenced his everyday SofB, life, and actions

I often encountered similar perceptions of protection or comparative privilege in relation to other undocumented peers during interviews. For example, Lina explained that “being undocumented wasn't a daily struggle in my upbringing. My parents worked, they took care of everything. I didn't even need to know about it...I had everything taken care of, so I wasn't thinking about it all of the time.” Some 1.5GUY cited that their parents worked hard, stressed the importance of school, enrolled them in

private schools, and encouraged participation in sports and extra-curricular activities. Conversely, several 1.5GUY noted that their parents refused to let them work at a young age, which was further made possible due to a better economic standing. However, this was not a universal experience amongst youth I interviewed. Some 1.5GUY explained that they had lived in overcrowded apartments, lived in a car for several months, worked alongside their parents well under the age of ten, or had a full time job during high school.

In comparison to Ana Maria and Javier, Gustavo did not explicitly know of his ULS, though his parents suggested there would be difficulties awaiting him in the future. He said:

My parents never really told me I was undocumented, but it was more like they always told me that it is going to be really hard for you to go to college. It's going to be really hard for you to get a driver's license, stuff like that.

His knowledge of ULS was ambiguous, but his SofB was nonetheless influenced. He explained that he associated these challenges with being an immigrant, rather than ULS: "it was really weird because at that time, I started becoming ashamed of being an immigrant. It's kind of like an identity crisis." As Gustavo's statement suggests, some 1.5GUY may erroneously attribute challenges to factors other than ULS. Nonetheless, the shame or identity crises that are experienced in the process—regardless of knowledge about ULS—have negative consequences for SofB.

5.3.2 Creating Contingency Plans

Another phenomenon I occasionally encountered in discussions with 1.5GUY was the presence of what I call "contingency plans" or specific discussions and instructions from parents about what to do in the case of an emergency, e.g. in the case that a parent unexpectedly did not return home or if immigration authorities were present at one's home. The everyday presence of these contingency plans indicates that for the 1.5GUY, the private sphere and the family home is neither always nor necessarily a place of safety, stability, or comfort, but rather one that can be subject to intense scrutiny, uncertainty, and insecurity.

As Isabel explained that she knew precisely what to do should she come home and see immigration authorities at her home, she also recalled the everyday fear she grew up with as a result of ULS:

This is the mentality I was raised with: “If you see people at our house, don’t go into the house. Keep walking. Don’t look at us. Ignore us.” It is really frightening to be eight, with your brother. You are all by yourself, your family isn’t there. And to say that if someone arrested my mom, I can’t even look at her. I can’t even acknowledge that. It is hard to think about what that does to your psyche. I have been working, I have been balancing checkbooks, I have been cleaning my house, buying groceries, cooking, making sure the taxes are paid—all of that—since I was eight years old.

Isabel’s narrative illustrates that for some 1.5GUY, the private and public spheres are subverted; ULS drives a wedge into the most intimate sphere and the home is constantly subject to interruption and interrogation. She described her constant consciousness of her mother’s work schedule and if she were ever late, her immediate reaction was: “oh my god, what is going on?” She detailed occasions when she and her brother were home alone, crying, and unable to reach their mother.

Isabel linked the constant fear that her family would be torn apart with the adult responsibility she has felt since the young age of eight, and observed the influence these experience have on present relationships. She acknowledged her low tolerance for peers worrying about “trivial things” like music, make-up, and clothes when she grew up with the fear her mother would be deported. Her statements illustrate the prevalence of instability and fear in everyday life, not only due to her own ULS, but also that of her parent’s. Isabel’s constant awareness that her mother could be taken away at any time, without notice illustrates a low level of control in her everyday life, and furthermore suggests the inability to relax and achieve comfort—especially in the most private sphere.

Similarly, Chilean-born Julia grew up in New Jersey with the knowledge of contingency plans, should something happen to her family. As the oldest child, the burden of this knowledge, as well as the responsibility to carry out such plans, fell upon her shoulders. Julia explained that these contingency plans came to fruition because a close family friend was taken from his home in the early morning hours and deported. She elucidated “there was always that fear that it could happen to us. There was always a plan of who I would call, what would happen, everything.” I inquired about the details of the plan, to which Julia expounded that her parents began the conversation by quizzing her about what she

would do should they suddenly not return home. When she replied that she would call her grandmother, her parents corrected her and detailed the proper procedure:

I had a list of phone numbers of people and priorities of who I would call first...They said “your grandma is in Chile, you can’t do that. You have to call this person,” who is my uncle. I had my uncle’s number. I had to call him. I had to wait for him to come and pick us up—me, my sister...From then, we would try to get in contact with my parents and my parents would probably call my uncle, ‘cause my uncle is my guardian...it was just a very specific list of things I would have to do. At some point, if my parents were deported, my uncle would probably send us to be with them. But if not, and if they were in jail for a really long time, I would just have to stay with my uncle for that time period and be aware of what was happening.

Julia’s narrative illustrates more than just the details of a contingency plan. It also illustrates how the condition of deportability permeates everyday life. Julia was constantly aware, but never in control; she could only react in the case something went wrong rather than prevent an emergency. Julia, like many other 1.5GUY, live with the constant consciousness that their most private and intimate lives can be abruptly disrupted—and live with the fear that this pervasive threat brings. This further illustrates the long-term reach of immigration control, as it shows how immigrants, their lives, and SofB are limited or controlled long after entry in the United States.

Julia explained that neither she nor her parents had been stopped or detained by the authorities at the time of our interview, but admitted that even a potential interaction with authorities conditioned her everyday life with fear from a young age. Julia said that even though she was in the process of applying for DACA, “there is always that fear that I will wake up one day and my mom will be calling me, telling me” about someone being deported. Because Julia moved away from her family home to attend university, she is even more fearful: “there was always that plan, but I am not there anymore...I fear that something is going to happen and I am not going to be there to help out.” While her family’s contingency plans are no less important, they are more difficult to enact in her absence. Julia exhibits a great sense of responsibility as the oldest child, suggesting the possibility that the burden associated with contingency plans could vary by age. Notably, the everyday instability, fear, and insecurity

associated with ULS comes not only as a result of a 1.5GUY's ULS, but also that of family members; ULS has implications not just on individual's SofB, but that of a family unit.

5.4 Chapter Summary

I began this chapter by exploring some immigration experiences to illustrate that one's everyday SofB as an immigrant is challenged not only in one's host country, but also during the processes of detachment from one's homeland. Individuals must physically, if not also emotionally, let go of attachments and modes-of-being in the process. By focusing on early childhood experiences in the educational system, I was able to explore how SofB was influenced by the opportunity to participate in educational. Notably, the educational system serves as a point of reference through which 1.5GUY evaluate their competences, differences, and similarities, and in turn, structure their sense of self, identities, practices, and SofB. The educational system exposes the 1.5GUY to peers who recognize the 1.5GUY as different based on a range of intersectional factors and identity characteristics such as culture, linguistic ability, race, ethnicity, nationality, or physical appearance and in turn leads to feelings of unacceptance, discomfort, or discrimination. Schools are therefore ground zero for awareness and recognition of differences that do not always relate to ULS, but nonetheless challenges or negates youth's SofB.

At the same time, the everyday opportunity for participation in the educational sphere also allows youth to achieve SofB via attachments, knowledge, and action regardless of knowledge about ULS. It is especially the 1.5GUY who know about their ULS, but nonetheless experience SofB through experiences and feelings of assimilation and normalcy that make salient the point that SofB is predominantly structured by everyday actions and interactions, rather than ULS itself. Examples of 1.5GUY who struggled initially due to actual or perceived differences in appearances or abilities, but eventually achieved competence, knowledge, and connections illustrate that struggle can turn to success and SofB can eventually be achieved. Furthermore, "normalcy" is prevalent as a desire, feeling, and experience. Many 1.5GUY want to be, do, and appear normal. When they evaluate their everyday actions, identities, and practices as similar or equal to those of their peers, their SofB validated and achieved accordingly—regardless of knowledge of ULS.

Narratives from the familial sphere document a range of parental approaches that influence how 1.5GUY become aware of their ULS, as well as the various challenges ULS brings. In some cases,

ULS implicitly or explicitly limits youth's everyday activities, further illustrating that there are indeed early and negative influences of ULS. This point is made evident from parents who withhold participation, instruct youth to conceal ULS, or create contingency plans for emergency scenarios. These parental coping mechanisms shape the 1.5GUY's lives and in turn, SofB, whether youth know their ULS or not. Youth's narratives related to the family furthermore illustrate that the intimate sphere can challenge SofB. It is in the private sphere that 1.5GUY can become aware of differences, live through firsthand limitations, and encounter discrimination from extended family members as the result of their ULS. Finally, youth's narratives illustrate the inter-relational aspects of ULS: everyday fear can exist not only due to one's personal ULS, but also that of a parent. The awareness that a parent can be deported at any moment is a constant reminder of the instability and insecurity that permeates everyday life for 1.5GUY, and influences SofB in every day.

6 Destabilized SofB: Learning, Understanding & Coping with ULS

In this chapter, I continue my focus on how 1.5GUY experience everyday SofB, but transition from early childhood experiences to the teenage years. As outlined previously (section 2.4), typical traditions marking the passage into adulthood are associated with graduating from school, moving out of one's childhood home, gaining employment, getting married, and having children. Also, scholars studying the experiences of 1.5GUY have documented the challenges associated with participating in typical American teenage rites of passage such as driving, working, voting, and participating in other social activities that require identification (section 2.4). The empirical data presented in this chapter supports these findings and seeks to contribute to the existing literature on these challenged rites in three ways: by exploring the emotional impact of these challenges through the conceptual lens of SofB; to establish the everyday impact that these blocked rites have; and to explore the 1.5GUY's coping strategies particularly in relation to ULS and SofB during these years. I therefore begin by examining how some 1.5GUY learn of their ULS in association with (blocked) teenage rites of passage. I then turn to the narratives of the youth who have known of their ULS since a young age to explore their SofB in relation to these lived challenges. Finally, I examine youth's hypothetical and actual coping strategies in everyday life, used specifically as a means to manage their SofB in relation to these challenges and blocked rites.

6.1.1 Learning ULS

As previously mentioned (section 5.2.4), Filipino-born Aja felt "assimilated" growing up in New York City and was neither aware of her ULS, nor recalled any major experiential difference between her and her peers. Aja's perceptions and experiences changed at the end of eighth grade, when she came home with an application for a summer employment program for youth. She explained that she wanted to participate in the program and contribute financially to her family, so she took initiative to complete the application. Aja recalled that she did not know what to do when she reached the part of the form which required a social security number, as she had no idea what that was. She consulted her teacher who "was pretty sure that everyone had one," in turn, conditioning her expectations that she, like everyone else, had a social security number. She recounted that she went home to search for this "simple" piece of information:

I asked my mom if I could get a social security number to finish the application. She avoided it. I wanted to have an experience and help her out financially in the household. She told me at that moment she didn't want me to work, and she wanted me focus on my studies. I didn't really understand why because it was during the summer.

Aja's statements illustrate confusing and non-fitting opinions. Because the employment was during the summer, Aja could not see why it would interfere with her education. Unsatisfied with her mother's answer, she pushed on:

The following week, I just went on the computer and looked up what a social security number was, what it meant, how to get one. I said "oh look, next door there is an office where we can get a social security number." The next thing you know, I drag my mom outside the apartment. We drove there. At the time, I am pretty sure she knew what was going on, but I guess I was just—I wanted to find out by myself with her. I am pretty sure she knew what was going on, but I didn't. She knew I was just trying to win this battle. I was just telling her "I think you just have to apply. Maybe you never applied." So we stood in line at the social security office to get one. I handed the clerk my passport... That is when I found out I wasn't a U.S. citizen or a permanent resident.

Aja's story demonstrates not only her personal determination, but also the extent to which parents avoid disclosing ULS with their children. From Aja's retelling of the situation, it appears as if her mother knew what would happen, but rather than stopping Aja, she let her go through the process to discover her ULS. However, even after this discovery, ULS was not discussed within her family. Aja recalled: "it is not something we talk about at the table or that she ever mentions. It's more me fighting battles, talking to her, and trying to find answers. She avoids it." Aja remarked upon her confusion about learning her ULS: "I didn't know what that meant...It didn't make sense because I came when I was five, but I technically had been a foreign student studying through high school." Her narrative also illustrates that her new knowledge was dissonant with her past experiences: her age at arrival, long-term physical presence, and everyday participation the educational system did not fit with her ULS.

Leticia, a self-proclaimed “Latin American” who arrived from Mexico at the age of four, found out about her ULS in middle school. She recalled that her parents stressed the importance of culture and heritage in her family, but never told her of her ULS. Instead, she found out from her brother:

I remember one night talking with my brother saying “I want to be this” and he also wanted to join the army and he couldn’t. I remember talking to him and I started off thinking I wanted to teach Philosophy. I was telling him I wanted to be a Philosophy professor and he said “yes, if they do something about our status” and I didn’t know, didn’t understand what he was meaning. I remember that my mom’s friends would ask “Why haven’t you taken Leticia to the doctor?” and she said “Oh, it’s because she wasn’t born here” and I wouldn’t understand what that meant until middle school, when my brother told me.

A seemingly casual discussion about career aspirations turned into a defining moment when Leticia learned of a fundamental barrier to achieving these goals. With this new knowledge, she reflected upon earlier memories: she recalled crossing the border at the age of two and hearing her mother say that the reason Leticia had not been to the doctor was because she was not born in the U.S. However, it was not until her brother told her about their ULS that she fully understood past actions or inactions. She said: “I honestly never faced the fact that I was [undocumented]... it was never an issue,” illustrating that some youth do not connect everyday challenges with ULS because of their everyday routines. I asked Leticia how she felt upon hearing this information and she explained:

It was the largest frustration of my life because the way he phrased it, it was almost like “you are not going to be able to do anything you want because you don’t have a paper with numbers.” And that just crushed me. I came to the realization that I was going to have to leave for Mexico, or just go to a college in Mexico, or just find a job after I graduated. I was just so shocked and frustrated because all my life, I had been talking about going to college and now it was going to be so hard to get there.

Leticia’s narrative is filled with emotionally-charged memories: feeling crushed, frustrated, and shocked. Perhaps the news was especially shocking because Leticia had made concrete plans for her future. Those plans that she had made “all [her] life” in the United States would no longer be possible in the United States and the reason was she did not have “a paper with numbers.” Often, the 1.5GUY

lamented that the only thing that made them different than their American peers was “nine digits,” a “simple document,” or a “piece of paper”—an acknowledgement that their opportunities for participation were dramatically and abruptly cut short by something as seemingly insignificant as a piece of paper. While Leticia’s realization about her ULS marks a vast contrast in her SofB, sense of self, and participation in the past versus the future, she explained that she did not confront her parents. Instead, she opted to do her own research on the internet to understand what ULS meant, but concluded she was “a permanent resident because I live here.” When she discussed this idea with her father, she learned otherwise: I “realized I am not even realized here.” Her past experiences clashed with this new knowledge and her visions for the future were derailed. The lack of a piece of paper with numbers invalidated her experience, presence, and personhood—and SofB.

Amongst the 1.5GUY I interviewed who learned of their ULS in their late teenage years, many retrospectively reflected on experiences to make sense of their new information. For example, youth cited comments or instructions given by parents, or particular actions or inactions as the result of ULS. Brazilian-born Sabrina, who moved to Massachusetts when she was nine, discovered her ULS in relation to the pursuit of a teenage rite of passage: getting a driver’s license. Her seemingly normal teenage question “when can I start driving school?” was a turning point in her life:

I guess when I started high school, all my friends were starting driving school, so they could get their permits. I came home one day and I told my parents “oh, when can I start driving school?” and they said “you can’t” and I said “why can’t I? I speak English!” They just told me I couldn’t because I need a social [security number]. And I started realizing that was why we hadn’t gone back to Brazil yet. And other stuff.

Sabrina’s immediate reaction was to connect her linguistic abilities to her eligibility for a driver’s license. When she learned that she had no social security number and of her ULS, she began to piece information together, for example why she and her family had never visited Brazil and why her mother was fired for working “without documents.” While Sabrina explained that in retrospect, she “thinks” she knew that her visa had expired, she explained “I never really cared as much because it never really affected me. I didn’t work, I didn’t need anything like that.” Because she was able to participate in

everyday life and in education, she neither paid attention to nor was very bothered by her ULS. However, this began to change in her teenage years.

Like Sabrina, Mexican-born Alfonso who had lived in Massachusetts since age two, learned about his ULS during his teenage years. Because he had only learned of his ULS a year prior, to our meeting, he was one of the most recent and oldest youth I met with to learn of his ULS. I inquired about his process of discovery, which appeared quite accidental:

My high school is geared towards math and science. One day, some representatives from a community college came in and said “ok, so you guys are taking this engineering class. Would you like college credit?” and everyone said “Ya, for sure!” This was a partnership that my high school had established with the community college already—giving kids college credit. Everyone signed up and [they] said “ok, it’s going to be free for everyone.” So I signed up too, not knowing, not thinking what the consequences might be. Freshman year, I signed up and got college credit. Sophomore year, signed up and got college credit.

“Everyone” wanted college credit, and “everyone” was earning it for free. Because of Alfonso’s membership and participation in the course, he naturally expected that the same conditions would apply to him. Further, because he did not know of his ULS, he had no reason to question otherwise. The next year, the same opportunity presented itself, but Alfonso explained “for some reason or another they got back to me and said ‘Are you a resident?’ And I said ‘What does that mean?’” He continued that his “parents had never told me anything” and therefore did not know what the question meant. Suddenly, after already completing a class that was part of his high school curriculum, an administrator at the community college told him “if you aren’t a resident, you owe \$1300.” In his confusion, he turned to his parents for answers:

They said “ok, you know what? We have to tell you you are undocumented. This is the reason why we have been hesitant to allow you to go to the DMV and get a license. Why we told you don’t get a job, don’t worry about money.

Alfonso said that he initially thought “ok, that makes sense” as he put his parents’ past and present comments together. He explained that he still “didn’t know what to feel...Other than the obvious I

can't drive, work, or get this college credit for free, I didn't know what else it entailed and it didn't seem like a significant issue and I hadn't started considering college yet." Alfonso's reaction is characterized by uncertainty. Because he had only begun to experience firsthand challenges, he did not know the full implications of ULS. In response to the college credit fee, Alfonso told the community college "just don't give me college credit"—but added that the feel is "still chasing him."

Because Alfonso learned of his ULS relatively recently, I was intrigued to learn more about his experiences growing up, including how his parents handled questions related to ULS or legal residency. More specifically, I asked if he had discussed work, driving, or international travel with his parents and how they responded. Alfonso explained:

For the job, they said "you don't need it. What do you need? Tell me what you need? I will get it for you." I said "ok cool, I don't need a job then." For the driver's license, I said "can I drive yet?" and they said "you don't know how to yet. We haven't taught you." And I said "well, I can go to driver's ed, right? And then go and take the test. They said "you don't need driver's ed. We'll teach you." And they finally taught me and I did start driving, actually, without a license. I would sometimes ask them "can I get a license?" so I cannot be worried about getting stopped? Actually, when I asked them this was right before I found out that I was undocumented, so the answer was pretty immediate. Not being able to travel—I would ask them about some of the trips my school or some other program I was doing were going outside of the country. They said "oh, it's too expensive" or "look for a program here in the US."

Alfonso's narrative adds to the understanding of parental approaches regarding discussions about and divulgence of ULS from Chapter Five. It also illustrates how parents condition their children's everyday experiences early in life, as well as in relation to blocked opportunities because of ULS.

Notably, however, parents' ability to circumvent disclosure is limited due to youth's increasing questions, worry, and curiosity, and furthermore, the passage of time. Alfonso explained that growing up, his parents would often refer to an external "process" that was underway:

One time they did tell me “oh, because you were born in Mexico, your citizenship and visa and passport and all that are being reviewed, but we have initiated a process. You just have to wait for that.” Actually, they used that quite a bit, now that I think about it. That I would just have to wait for the process to be done. I was always wondering about the process, what kind of process it was, can I do anything about it.

This “process” was implicated with long-term uncertainty and ambiguity, and Alfonso recalled finally growing impatient; his parents could no longer postpone disclosure. He asked his parents: “Can I help you guys push it along cause it’s been five years?” and explained “eventually, they just said ‘you can’t. There is no process. We don’t know what to do.’” His story highlights another aspect of ULS: for most undocumented immigrants, there is no easy way—or any way—to legalize ULS. In the meantime, 1.5GUY attempt to find alternative ways to navigate everyday life, including just waiting things out.

Like Alfonso, Diego discovered his ULS during his late teenage years and more specifically, right before his high school graduation. As described in Chapter Five, Diego’s early life and adaptation processes in the United States included intense feelings of difference, the inability to communicate the most basic needs in English, and years of struggling linguistically, socially, and academically. Over time, however, this changed, demonstrating a marked difference from his earliest experiences. He described his high school experience: “I was doing great, doing sports, I was accepted into the Spanish honor society, the National Honor Society and everything. It was good. My grades were always As and Bs. I graduated from there in the top 5%. I was doing great.” Diego’s enjoyment, acceptance, participation, and membership in clubs and organizations allowed him to achieve a SofB through participation and validation. Furthermore, he not only participated, but was also accepted as a member due to the recognition of his achievements. Then, he suddenly discovered his ULS:

When I was going to graduate, my dad was like “well, you are about to graduate. When you graduate, I am going to send you to Mexico.” And I was like “why are you going to send me to Mexico? I want to go to university. I want to work here, and everything.” He said “well, you don’t have documents, so you can’t work. You can’t go to school. You can’t drive. You can’t do anything, so why stay? You might as well go back.”

Diego's narrative illustrates the desire to stay and continue his life, studies, and employment in the United States. However, he recalled that his dad "was willing to do anything just to send me back," since the only future he could see for Diego was one filled with the same challenges and barriers he was facing. I asked Diego how he managed to stay in the United States instead of returning to Mexico and he referred to his immigration story (sections 5.1, 5.2). He recalled the difficult journey and his determination to "never give up." He asked his dad "Don't you remember what we came for? I just told my dad I was going to fight for what I really wanted." Yet though Diego was determined to find a way to achieve his goals, he noted that he had no contact with other 1.5GUY and did not know how to continue. Due to the uncertainty, lack of information, and lack of resources, Diego explained that he remained home for several months neither working nor participating in education; while determined, he was temporarily derailed.

6.1.2 Living ULS

In this sub-section, I continue to explore the everyday challenges facing 1.5GUY, but unlike the previous section, I only examine youth's narratives who knew about their ULS while growing up to explore how this knowledge relates to experiences of SofB. Because the 1.5GUY I interviewed were between ages sixteen and twenty-five, their everyday challenges or negative experiences often relate to driving, working, traveling, and university access. Narratives reveal that 1.5GUY continue to compare themselves, their identities, and their practices to their peers, illuminating the intersubjective and interpersonal construction of SofB. For example, while Cristina described her college application process, she explained the differences between herself and her legal and citizens classmates: "You know when you have the popular kids over there and they are like 'ok, you can't be in this party because you don't have this?' that's how I felt...it pissed me off." She observed a hierarchy of inopportunity that was not previously encountered.

When the challenges associated with ULS become more apparent, and when experiences turn to exclusion, SofB is often influenced in the process. As illustrated in Chapter Five, 1.5GUY may attribute differences or challenges to linguistic, racial, ethnic, cultural, physical, or other features. Because 1.5GUY grow up in the United States, are invited to participate in education, and actively contribute to everyday life—all alongside American peers—even those who knew of their ULS did not necessarily attribute ULS to experiences of difference or discrimination. In their teenage years,

however, they are directly confronted by the limitations of ULS. This point is made evident from my discussions with Chilean-born Alejandra, who had lived in New Jersey for the past fourteen years. When I inquired if she knew of her ULS growing up, she explained that she did and immediately turned to the difference between her childhood and present day experiences:

I always knew, but I didn't think it would affect me. You don't think in the long run. You don't think about going to college. You don't think about driving when you are eight years old. You don't think about those things. It hit me, I think, starting sophomore year. I passed my driver's ed exam and there were only two people that passed...So they give you a paper, which is valid for 2 years. I was a sophomore, so I thought junior, senior year...By senior year I am sure something will happen. So then junior year comes and nothing has happened. People are starting to drive. People are starting to do the school visits and see what college they want to go to. You prolong it and say "I will figure it out next year." That is when I realized "ok, time is passing and I needed to do something." That is when it starts hitting you. Because you are more aware of the things you can't do and the things you should be doing as a "normal" person.

Alejandra's reflection reveals a number of points relevant to everyday SofB and ULS. She knew of her ULS growing up, but explained that "you don't think in the long run." The lapsing of time and changing of life stage is fundamental to the changes in these experiences: Alejandra's ULS had not presented challenges in childhood because of her opportunity to participate in everyday life. Though she was one of two people qualified to apply for a driver's license due to her accomplishments, her ULS disqualified her. In turn, this excluded her from partaking in teenage rites of passage, but more importantly, structured her everyday mobility. Her statements also allude to a non-passive and preliminary coping mechanism: waiting and prolonging what ends up being the inevitable limitations of ULS. Her narrative illustrates that ULS "starts hitting you;" when she encountered firsthand limitations explicitly due to her ULS. Whereas before, she could participate on a par with peers, this was no longer her lived reality. As such, she not only became cognizant of the limitations to everyday life and participation, but these challenges also destabilized her sense of self to the extent that she no longer viewed herself as a "normal person." Due to Alejandra's frequent use of the term, I asked her to explain what a "normal" person or life meant, to which she described "little things" and referred to

driving, working, visiting her family in Chile, not having to constantly carry her passport around as a form of identification, and being able to travel domestically and internationally. The inability to participate in these “little,” but ordinary experiences, has long-term consequences, including to her sense of self as a person.

I introduced Ecuadorian-born Ana Maria (section 5.3.1) in relation to her mother “always” being open about ULS and the challenges awaiting Ana Maria in the future. Though Ana Maria knew her ULS, she emphasized that because she was going to school, learning English, and being raised in the U.S., she did not think her life trajectory would resemble that of her undocumented mother. Of her ULS, Ana Maria explained: “I always thought it was a different environment, but it still had a similar impact.” When we met, Ana Maria was attending a four year public university, living at home, and working full time to pay for university. Though she has been able to attend university, this process has and continues to challenge her. She explained that during high school, a college counselor told her she would not qualify for financial aid because of her ULS, but admitted “I didn’t really believe him.” Because she was allowed to participate in education in the past, even despite her ULS, it was difficult—if not impossible—to see when or why a change to these opportunities would occur.

She attended an open house at a university to obtain information and met with a financial aid administrator to learn about her options. Of the experience, she recalled:

The financial aid administrator told me that I was wasting her time because there were a lot of people outside. There were a line of other students that came to the open house and if I didn’t have the money to come to the school, I shouldn’t really bother, basically.

As it was unclear if the administrator’s comments were based on financial inability to pay or in reference to ULS, I asked Ana Maria if the administrator knew she was undocumented:

Yes. When I came in, they didn’t ask for my name. I don’t even know how to explain it to you. They just come in and they say “can you please type in your social [security number]?” You aren’t even a person. They didn’t ask me for my name. I just sat there and I said “well, I don’t have one” and that is when she looked at me and told me I was wasting her time.

Ana Maria's experience, in conjunction with not having a social security number, left her feeling invalidated as a person. The administrator summarily dismissed Ana Maria for "wasting her time" and told her to "get out." While illustrating a challenge to accessing university—and thus a challenged rite of passage—this experience also documents the constant opportunity for discrimination that 1.5GUY are subject to during their everyday life, including those that have consequences for SofB. Ana Maria's answer to my question about how she felt and reacted to this encounter makes the consequences to emotional well-being clear:

I sat on a bench and I just cried for hours, figuring out what I was going to do...and I wasn't really sure what I was going to do...it was like being stabbed. It hurt a lot. I was in shock. She didn't even give me an alternative, or resources, or another office I could go talk to about my situation.

The experience caused Ana Maria to feel hurt, pain, shock, and uncertainty. Notably, with no way to change her ULS, the challenges to Ana Maria's everyday SofB are endless. While she has been able to access and attend university, she explained that her four year degree will take at least six years. She enrolls in classes each semester on the basis of how many she can afford and rarely is it a full time course-load. Though attending university has been a challenging, but not totally blocked opportunity, the emotional toll of ULS is long lasting. As Ana Maria argued "if you tell yourself 'well, I can't do this, I can't do this, I can't do this,' you get depressed." However, what she will do with her Bachelor's degree upon graduation remains unclear and uncertain.

David's trajectory to becoming a student at a private university was also conditioned by uncertainty and marked differences from his early childhood experiences. David arrived from Mexico at the age of two and until he was enrolled as a university student, lived in a southwestern state where he described ULS as "kind of normal. I knew a lot of other undocumented students, other families. My neighbors are undocumented from all sides. It was kind of the norm. I never really thought it was a question." In contrast to other narratives where the 1.5GUY compared themselves to their American peers and feel a sense of normalcy, David compared himself to his undocumented peers, but nonetheless felt normal due to the concentration of immigrants with ULS.

However, David's experiences of normalcy and acceptance are contextual; in his pursuit of higher education, he also had interactions with college administrators who were not always welcoming when they learned about his ULS. Some of the 1.5GUY I met with described being very open and upfront about their ULS and even wrote their college application essays about being undocumented. Other youth alluded to not being a citizen and still others avoided disclosing ULS altogether. David's approach fits the first category: he explained that when he contacted universities, he wrote emails such as "Hi, I am an undocumented student. What is the application process? Can I receive financial aid?" or "am I eligible to apply to this private scholarship?" I inquired if David ever considered any consequences as a result of sharing his ULS, and he explained:

I think it was desperation. I didn't really care. I knew I really wanted to go to college and I thought that if this is what it is going to come down to...I won't get the answers I want if I just avoid the facts...I knew I had to find other means of paying for college. I didn't really know to be scared or not. I just did it on my own. I didn't really have anyone I could ask. What could they do to me with this information?

David's explanation illustrates a complex combination of uncertainty, desire, and desperation and one that I frequently encountered during my conversations with 1.5GUY. Youth feel as if they have no other choice, nothing to lose, and no one else to turn to for information about navigating the university process, as well as other processes that require proof of legal identification. Instead of being apathetic, however, it appears as if uncertainty and desire motivated David to take a risk, disclose his ULS, and seek information. Marcelo's explanation of disclosing his ULS during the college application process similarly illustrates this point. While Marcelo's mother urged him not to divulge his ULS in the application process and instead suggested he return to Mexico to attend university, he took what he called a "risk." Marcelo explained of his two choices to "self-deport" or disclose ULS: "either way, if it doesn't work out, I am still going back to Mexico, right?" With nothing else to lose, undocumented youth often hope for the best outcome.

Gustavo was also forthcoming about his ULS during his college application process. He explained to me that he was invited to attend a university information session and that the university flew him across the country to do so:

I remember being there. I went to the admissions office and I was like “what is the process going to be like for me? I am undocumented.” And the guy was like “wait, you are undocumented? You are not supposed to be here. We shouldn’t have allowed you to come.

As he had been forthcoming about his ULS, he explained that he “was really taken aback. Really sad for a long time” in reaction to being told he was “not supposed” to be on campus or “allowed” to come. Gustavo further explained that in general, seeking information about university access as a 1.5GUY is a “really gray area.” There is uncertainty about where to look for information, how to pay for college, who one can trust when disclosing ULS, and how other people can help. Gustavo further clarified that there is no consistency with the information, process, or assistance across universities, but also even within the same institution. He explained that the information, service, and experience depend “on what person you talk to on the phone—it could come down to that.” Similarly, this difficulty and uncertainty was echoed by Ralph, who as a high school student was in the process of seeking out information to attend university. He described the process as “really hard because the whole process is underground. A lot of schools don’t announce ‘we are going to give money to undocumented students.’” Due to the lack of consistent information, informed counselors, and institutional gatekeepers whose personal politics enter their professional lives, the college application process can be risky, uncertain, frustrating, shocking, and altogether invalidating.

6.1.2.1 Internalizing Challenges & Mental Health Issues

Many of the 1.5GUY I talked to recounted emotional consequences as a result of challenged rites of passage and other experiences where their ULS has presented barriers to their everyday participation. The particular reactions depend on a variety of factors, including personality, support system, severity of challenges, educational status and beyond. However, these emotional reactions illustrate the ways in which SofB is destabilized when youth begin to realize the opportunities for participation in everyday life into adulthood will not resemble their experiences in childhood. One narrative that clearly indicates the impact of ULS and overall well-being comes from Leonardo, a Brazilian-born youth. I introduced Leonardo (section 5.1.2.2) and explained that his parents were forthcoming about ULS and the challenges that he would encounter in adulthood. He recounted his early challenges in relation to

adaptation, language, and school, but explained that he overcame these barriers and excelled academically, socially, and personally:

It was a little difficult at first. You are learning a new language and it took me about a year, but once I got the language part got settled down, I excelled in school. I was getting As, Bs. I was getting into clubs, I was getting awards. I was really excited because it builds up your self-esteem in many ways.

Leonardo's initial experiences of linguistic difficulty were replaced by experiences of acceptance, membership, and accomplishment—all of which establish SofB and sense of self. Leonardo made clear that these early challenges were not related to ULS and furthermore explained that ULS “wasn't really a concern until high school for me.” However:

Everything kind of took a downward spiral in high school when I was sixteen years old and I couldn't apply for a license, get a job, or do the things a lot of my friends were doing. It was hard because you want to be as normal as possible, as everyone else. You want to have as much in common.

Leonardo's narrative illustrates a sudden and turbulent shift in experiences. His story illustrates a desire to continue participating just as was possible in the past. Furthermore, it illustrates a desire to be and appear “as normal as possible, as everyone else”—to fit in and be accepted by not being distinguished from his peers or their opportunities. However, his inability to participate in teenage rites of passage meant that he lived the challenges of ULS firsthand. The following reveals the emotional consequences of internalizing these lived challenges:

It really sunk me into a deep, deep depression. It was something that I had never experienced before. It was really a hard time for me. I wasn't eating a lot and I was having horrible, horrible thoughts about suicide²⁸—all those thoughts. It was really strong. It was

²⁸ Deeply concerned about his well-being, I asked Leonardo if this was how he presently felt; he assured me that he no longer felt this way. When I inquired as to whether he had sought professional treatment, he said no, but cited the importance of a support network he found through social movement participation, which I explore in the next chapter. As noted in Chapter Four, researchers can encounter intense emotions and disturbances to mental health especially when researching “vulnerable” populations. Even when I did not explicitly inquire about mental health issues, they still arose in relation to challenges. There is certainly need for more attention to the psychological impacts that ULS presents, as well as attention to research methodologies and ethics.

a really bad depression. My grades slipped, completely. Ninth grade year was definitely a horrible year...I was lucky enough to know my limits. I thought those horrible thoughts, but I think I knew I could never do it. I was just really depressed.

Leonardo's narrative illustrates the extreme psychological impact that ULS can have on one's SofB, sense of self, and overall well-being, including the personal, social, and academic consequences. Though Leonardo was told that ULS would present challenges in adulthood, he did not expect these challenges because he was participating in everyday life as a child, even despite his ULS. When 1.5GUY encounter new challenges during their transitions to adulthood, these lived experiences stand in stark contrast to their past experiences. As such, they destabilize the SofB that has been created over time, through everyday participation, and through the establishment of identities, connections, and practices—including those that took effort to achieve.

These challenges come particularly at a time when youth generally want nothing more than to be accepted by peers, but ULS poses barriers that the 1.5GUY simply cannot overcome themselves. Though some 1.5GUY find alternative pathways, many—though not all—experience a variety of negative emotions such as anxiety, confusion, frustration, decreased appetite, and depression regardless of gender, age, country of origin, current geographic location, or if they learned ULS later in life or knew it all along. Some of the 1.5GUY I met with revealed that they had sought professional help such as psychological counseling or other therapy as a direct or indirect result of their ULS. However, even when 1.5GUY are able to access professional assistance, this is not always a helpful experience. Ana Maria explained:

It is difficult to get therapy when you are undocumented, because many times your therapist doesn't understand. It turns into immigration 101 instead of therapy. You need to explain to them why you are undocumented, and they still don't understand.

As a result, the supposedly therapeutic assistance turns into more frustration. While most of the youth I talked to who were forthcoming about seeking professional assistance said that it did help, Ana Maria's comments raise questions about whether mental health professionals are adequately equipped to assist individuals facing mental and emotional health issues as a result of their ULS.

When youth encounter barriers, they often internalize these challenges. Almost all of 1.5GUY I met with explained that a major reason to come to the United States was their parents' desire to provide better lives, opportunities, and education for their children. The youth do not forget these sacrifices and often refer to them as they attempt to motivate themselves to "keep fighting" (Javier) and "never give up" (Diego). As Sofia explained "they brought us here for a reason, and if we don't accomplish that reason, then this is all for nothing. I don't want this struggle to be in vain, so obviously, I am going to push myself." However, the pressure from making good on family sacrifices can also mount up and lead to diminished well-being. For example, before Daniel was accepted at a university, he received nine rejection letters. He described this experience as "the lowest point of my life...I just broke down," I thought "I am a failure," and was "devastated." Isabel also expounded that making good on her mother's sacrifice is "a lot of pressure" and she is "not doing as well" in school as she would like. Notably, the ability to overcome these challenges results from a complex mix of personal and exogenous factors—including ones that are often beyond youth's ability or control to change.

Furthermore, even when 1.5GUY do manage to gain access to university, neither their personal nor familial problems necessarily subside. While gaining acceptance to a four year, private university on a full scholarship may appear to be the short term answer to challenges associated with ULS, the reality is often more complex, which is made evident by Daniel's story. As a full time high school student, Daniel also worked full time to support his mother and sister as the sole provider for his family. When he gained access to university, he not only left his family home, but he traveled across country to do so. At the time of our interview, Daniel believed that his family's return to Mexico was imminent due. His family could not survive economically in his absence. Daniel explained that while attending a university was his dream, "it was really hard coming here and once my mom told me she was about to leave before winter break, and I was not going to be able to see her, I was really devastated." Educational success for the 1.5GUY may indeed come as a result of various trade-offs and multiple familial sacrifices. However, many of the 1.5GUY I talked to explained that while gaining access to and finding funding for university was a relief and achievement, it only prolonged the inevitable; as Daniel explained, upon graduation, "you just go back to the path where you would have been, had you never attended college in the first place."

6.2 Coping Strategies: Alterations on the Life Course

Due to the various challenges the 1.5GUY encounter as they approach adulthood, both the youth and their parents begin to employ coping strategies to navigate everyday life. These coping strategies differ from those presented earlier (Chapter Five), because these actions relate to experiences during youth, not childhood. Furthermore, at this point, youth are aware of their ULS, encounter firsthand challenges due to ULS, and are conscious of these coping strategies or hypothetical contingency plans. I call narratives presented in this section “Alterations on the Life Course” because these examples relate to major events on the life course such as moving away from home, getting married, and forming families. However, they differ from traditional rituals in that they are created out of necessity or desperation, rather than choice and desire and are therefore not accompanied by celebration. In this sub-section, I examine experiences and emotions related to family discussions about returning to one’s homeland, arranging marriages to obtain immigration papers or legal residency, and being adopted by extended family members as ways to potentially overcome the everyday limitations of ULS.

6.2.1 Returning to one’s Homeland: “Self-deportation”

Gustavo, a Brazilian-born resident of Massachusetts, was elated and relieved when he was accepted to a four year university and received a full scholarship to do so. He recalled thinking ““thank god, I have finally made it!’ It was such a relief.” However, his excitement soon turned to devastation. Long after he had been accepted, attended events for admitted students, sent his tuition deposit, and registered for activities, the scholarship committee learned of his ULS and revoked his scholarship. Gustavo explained that he felt as if there was “nothing” he could do: “I got really depressed and I tuned out of everything. It was just a feeling, a helpless feeling, like my future was ruined.” Both the sudden rejection and the inability to make alternative plans caused Gustavo to doubt his future in his present and long-term place of residency. As he questioned his continued residency in the United States, people within his network also began suggesting that he return to Brazil:

My parents had a couple of friends. They were really obnoxious. They said “Gustavo, you are dumb for staying in this country. You are definitely smart. You speak perfect English. If you go to Brazil, you will find the best job you can. You will be able to work at an American company speaking English. What are you still doing here?” I felt a lot of

pressure from a lot of different people to go back to Brazil. In my heart, that was not what I wanted to do.

Though Gustavo had lived in Massachusetts for well over a decade, and, as previously mentioned (section 5.2.3) had established a SofB, nationalism, and patriotism to the United States, it appeared that the most logical way to overcome barriers was to go back to Brazil—anything else was “dumb.” While these suggestions were dissonant to Gustavo’s desire to continue with his life in the United States, he admitted that the external pressure, limited future, uncertainty, and his depression made him also question his physical being in the U.S., despite his emotional belonging there:

It came to a point where I was actually searching for plane tickets to go home, to go home to Brazil. I thought “what am I doing here?” The country doesn’t want me. It’s just...what am I going through all of these obstacles for? You know? It was hard because I had no one to talk to about it.

Gustavo’s alternative plans were not driven by personal desires, but rather desperation and rejection that resulted from continuous obstacles. He said: “I felt like I had no choice.” His statement also highlights the absence of a network through which to gain access to information, support, and resources. Though he explained that he was searching for “tickets to go home,” elsewhere in our conversation, he emphasized “for me, home is America. Home is Massachusetts...it upsets me so much to think that I am in a country that doesn’t even want me here.” Notably, precisely the place that Gustavo considers home is the country that also rejects him.

Salvadoran-born Pilar also explained that she had considered “self-deporting” herself and returning to her homeland as a way to end the constant struggles and stress associated with ULS:

There was a point in my life where I thought “why do I stress myself out? Why do I take AP classes? I am not going to go anywhere.” I was ready to throw in the towel and say “ok, I am done. Someone deport me back to my country. I will just go and raise chickens...” My mom was like “no, I didn’t pay \$10.000 for you to come here and say that.” Well, that is what Mitt Romney wanted: us to self-deport ourselves.

In association with the challenges ULS presented to Pilar, she experienced stress and hopelessness and thought about giving up. Other 1.5GUY I met with also explained that they had considered returning to the homelands they have not lived in for years or decades as way to avoid the frustration, uncertainty, and anxiety they experienced in their current home. These hypothetical plans and the related emotional consequences illustrate a disconnect between past experiences, present challenges, and limited expectations for youth's future participation in everyday life.

6.2.2 Marrying for Papers

Another alteration on the life course that I encountered was some 1.5GUY's hypothetical contingency plan to get married in order to legalize ULS. Both males and females alike had seriously considered, researched, and even begun preparations. However, some other 1.5GUY rejected the idea of marrying for papers due to perceptions of immorality, not wanting to break the law, the discomfort associated with "using another person," not wanting to be dependent upon someone else, and the importance of marrying for love, not need. I examine youth's narratives that reject marriage as a viable option before turning to those who have more seriously considered it.

While Leonardo explained that he has considered returning to Brazil "a lot" during his high school years, he explained of the notion of marrying for papers "I could never do that... some people have the courage to do that, I don't." Colombian-born Lina stated that "there is no pathway for me to adjust status unless I get married, and I am not ready to do so" even though she was in a long-term relationship. Mexican-born Cristina also rejected the idea and declared: "I don't want to depend on somebody just for citizenship papers. That is not me. That is using somebody and I don't want to do that." Instead, the current high school student preferred to set her aspirations on college, as she felt "it is shooting two birds with one stone. I can get my education and I am hoping I can get my social security number." However, she noted that getting married for papers was a potential, longer term option: "my first resort is to go to college and work at a company. If that doesn't work out then yes, my final option is to get married and get a visa, to get citizenship."

Ecuadorian-born Javier is one example of a 1.5GUY I met with who had seriously considered getting married not out of personal choice, but rather due to parental pressure. He explained that his parents "pushed" him to explore this option, but added "I am not comfortable doing it. I know it's against the law, but one of the things that also pushes me not to do that is my religion. And two, I don't really

want to take advantage of a person that way.” Javier continued: “I feel wrong marrying someone just for papers. It doesn’t feel right to me. If I ever do get married, I want to do it because I love the person, not because I need papers,” which suggest a tension between need and desire.

That Javier has no intentions of getting married for papers does not mean that this notion has not negatively influenced his current intimate relationship. He said that he has shared his ULS with his girlfriend, which has caused her to question his motives and become “an issue in our relationship:”

She has been like “why are you with me? Is it really because you love me, or is it because you want papers?” I constantly tell her, “if I really wanted to marry you for papers, we would be married by now, so I don’t want to marry you for papers. That is really messed up.”

Notably, even if 1.5GUY do not legitimately consider this path, it can still negatively condition intimate relations, as significant others are caught between believing in love and worrying about motivations. The feelings of acceptance, love, and comfort that one normally desires in an intimate relationship may be replaced with suspicion or discomfort, as the desire to remain in the United States is conflated with the desire to have an interpersonal relationship.

Peruvian-born Elena, who came to New York at the age of six, was the only youth I met with who was married at the time of our interview. She emphasized that her marriage was for love, but also acknowledged the practicalities: “I got married because I loved him, and also because I understood that if anything were to happen, he would be able to visit me in the detention center because he is my spouse.” Notably, Elena’s narrative illustrates the additional scenarios that 1.5GUY need to consider in their intimate relations and plan for as part of their everyday lives. Elena rationalized her decision, but clarified that she rejected the idea of converting her marriage out of love into a marriage through which she received legal status:

I am at a point where I don’t see that as a strategy or a solution for me. I have been pushed by my family. I have been pushed by him...But that does not resolve the issue at hand. I will get papers, but it still doesn’t deconstruct or restructure the immigration policies. Until that happens, I am not looking into doing that.

As an active leader within the undocumented youth-led social movement, Elena was cognizant of the fact that one individual receiving legal status through marriage did not alter the bigger picture, nor solve the ULS of millions of other residents. She concluded: “if I am given the alternative to get citizenship, it still doesn’t solve the issue.”

There were, however, some 1.5GUY who said they would consider marrying for papers if there were no other option. For example, high school student Adriana stated candidly: “honestly, I think I would finish school and maybe marry someone. I would even pay someone to marry me for me papers, so they can fix my papers.” University student David said he would “definitely” get married if that were the only way to legalize his ULS, but argued that he did not think it was the only option: “there are a lot of different people who have obviously found different ways. Even with being undocumented, they find internships, they get stipends, things like that. It’s definitely an option for me. And I know I will get married eventually.” David added: “you know what is really terrible? If I fell in love with an undocumented girl,” in turn highlighting the irony that neither of them could help the other with their ULS.

Pilar had considered marrying her boyfriend, though it was still not her preference. She recalled that when she told her boyfriend of her ULS, his immediate reaction was to ask how he could help her get citizenship. Because Pilar wanted to remain in the United States and attend university, she sought the advice of a lawyer with her boyfriend. They both believed that marriage could be a means through which she could attain these goals, but the lawyer’s advice proved otherwise. Pilar was told that she would need to return to El Salvador anyway “for a ten year punishment.”²⁹ Of the possible return, Pilar proclaimed: “that would drive me nuts. I live here, I go to school here. What am I going to do there?” and dropped the plans.

Of the youth I talked to, no one had come as close to marriage as Julia or Alfonso. I begin with Alfonso, who explained that he and his girlfriend had hired a lawyer, did most of the paperwork, and had the marriage process well underway when his girlfriend suddenly called things off:

²⁹ Not all undocumented residents are eligible to legalize their ULS through marriage, as there are rules depending upon circumstances, including method of entry. Individuals who entered without inspection are ineligible for legalization through marriage. For a discussion on rules, risks, and limitations see e.g. Semotiuk (2014).

The day we were going to get married, right? She called me and said “oh, afterall, no. It’s not going to happen.” This was my girlfriend. We were together. She said “no.” We had agreed, before this, to keep the marriage thing sort of a business, not an emotionally charged issue—to keep the relationship separate. After that, I felt sort of let on and betrayed for so long. And it was so much money it had cost, too—and she knew that. And I had always asked her “are you sure? Before I take this next step, are you sure? We can stop here. It will be totally fine.” She had always said yes, so I was like “damn, was she always lying to me, or what?” I even got her a ring, too. It was a lot of money. This was with my parent’s approval and encouragement. After that, we ended up staying together for seven months...and they were just terrible.

In contrast to Javier, whose girlfriend I explained earlier began questioning his motives, it was Alfonso who felt betrayed and began to question his relationship. Even though the first plan to get married ended abruptly, the pair reconsidered the option and the same thing happened. Alfonso concluded that “it was just such an emotional roller coaster” and that he will never consider the same process again. Overall, he lamented that these contingency plans negatively affected the relationship and the couple ended up breaking up several months later.

Julia recalled that growing up in Chile, she never met anyone who was divorced and therefore “always had the idea that if I do get married, it would be a one-time thing.” In relation to the desperation Julia experienced during high school as she encountered challenges due to ULS, she began to think of ways to overcome the barriers. Marriage became one option, much to her dismay: “It’s so depressing to think about the fact that you are doing it just to get something out of it. It was just very different from what I grew up thinking I was going to do.” The expectations she had for marriage were dissonant to the current position she found herself in. She continued:

I had a friend who was a resident. I was talking to him on the phone. I forget how the idea got into my head. I said “so, would you do it? We can get divorced after three years” or however long it has to be. I didn’t even tell my parents I was doing this. His mom and my mom are really good friends. The next day, my mom goes over to his mom’s house and his mom was like “oh, by the way, this happened.” My mom started crying because then she

started thinking about all of the possibilities...She picked me up from school that day and was like “thanks for telling me.”

While Julia’s father was completely against the idea, her mother was more accepting, as she realized “all of the possibilities” that such a solution could bring Julia. Though the idea was “depressing,” getting married seemed to be a better alternative than what she was experiencing in her lived reality. Julia’s emotions vacillated between disappointment, despair, and hope for change:

I would have gone through the whole process. I was really tired at that point. Really disappointed in how my life had turned out to be because of this limitation. Because I thought I had come here for more than I received. I was just like “let me just do this, be done with it. It will be fine.”

Julia’s narrative suggests that she reached a tipping point in her life where her lived reality caused her to consider different plans than she ever believed she would pursue. However, circumstances abruptly changed, as two key events occurred almost simultaneously: DACA was announced, and Julia was accepted to university on a full scholarship. She recounted of both events: “that is basically the reason I didn’t go through with [marriage].”

Julia mentioned that while she was against applying for DACA, especially because she was concerned that giving the government personal information could implicate her or her family members, it was the best alternative to marriage:

I knew the benefits, but I was just so scared of giving all of my information to immigration. For them to have this on file, despite them saying that there are laws that prevent them from using it to pursue people. I don’t know. I felt very, very uneasy. It was very hard. I knew that I was going to do it as soon as it came out. I knew that I was going to do it, I just really didn’t want to do it.

Julia’s narrative illustrates what I encountered with several 1.5GUY who were in the process of applying for DACA: in order to achieve the stability and security that the two-year legal stay provides, youth must turn over addresses, photographs, personal information, school records, etc.—a process that itself causes fear, discomfort, and insecurity. Together, these narratives illustrate the tensions between

desire and need, but also that everyday life often entails trade-offs between one emotion or experience associated with SofB and going through a negative emotion. For example, in the pursuit of gaining acceptance, security, and stability, an individual may experience discomfort and the disruption of intimate relationships. To achieve one emotion associated with SofB, a 1.5GUY may subject themselves to an experience not necessarily associated with SofB.

6.2.3 Adoption

The final example of a potential contingency plan that is an alteration on a life course event comes from Cristina. During high school, she and her mother were growing desperate to find solutions to overcome the barriers of ULS. Cristina wanted to drive, attend college, and work, but her mother did not want Cristina to do these things without legal status; in her mother's "desperation," she began to think of what Cristina called "crazy" solutions:

There were just so many crazy ideas because my mom was getting desperate for me to get my social security number. I always wanted to get a job, but she always said "no, because you have to use a fake social security number and that is a felony." She didn't want me to drive. Most of my friends drive without a driver's license but she said "no, you can't drive." I was deprived of doing so many things because she wanted to keep me safe.

Cristina's perception was that her mother withheld her participation in these everyday activities to protect her. In the process, however, Cristina ended up feeling "deprived" due to her non-participation. In order to achieve one emotion related to SofB, another may be compromised in the process; in this case, safety came with a price of exclusion. Her mother came up with one solution, which she presented to Cristina:

My cousin told my mom [that] if she wanted, I could go and live with them and pretend to be their daughter...I did not really get along with her and I did not want to. But it would be faster. It was an opportunity. But my mom was like "if you want to take that opportunity, you can get your citizenship, but you can pretend that you are their daughter. You have to live with them three years and you can't see me." When she told me that, I pretended like "ya, ya, I can do that," but when I went to my room, I started crying. I couldn't believe I would have to do that because I am undocumented...I would have to change my name. I

know it's not much, but it is your name...They would have to adopt me. I don't want to be adopted. That was a scary thing.

Cristina's narrative presents one nuance of the dialectics of everyday life for individuals with ULS: in order to avoid infringing upon certain laws or regulations, an individual may have little choice but to impose upon another. In this case, to avoid working or driving without papers, Cristina's mother suggested subverting another law. Perhaps unsurprisingly, considerations about how to navigate everyday life do not always include preferred choices, but rather choosing the least-worst option. For the 1.5GUY, choices are not limitless. In Cristina's case, in order to experience safety, participation, and acceptance, she would have to sacrifice identity, attachments, and comfort. In order for the 1.5GUY to achieve SofB in one situation, it may indeed be compromised in another.

At the time of our interviews, none of the 1.5GUY I talked to had actually gone through with plans to return to their homeland, get married to legalize themselves, or be adopted by extended family members. Even though they are hypothetical, the prevalence of these plans illustrates the everyday impact of ULS, including the pervasive need to find alternatives so as to continue participating in everyday life. These plans illustrate where SofB is mitigated or absent, as well as how the 1.5GUY and their families attempt to regain SofB. However, these alterations on the life course do not result from desire, but rather desperation or need and cause emotional consequences in the process.

6.3 Coping Strategies: False Narratives

In this sub-section, I continue with my focus on coping strategies in relation to blocked rites of passage, but depart from the previous section in various ways. The coping strategies presented here are actual, rather than hypothetical, ways that the 1.5GUY attempt to manage their SofB in everyday life. Specifically, I look at stories from 1.5GUY who are questioned by their peers, friends, and coworkers about their non-participation in everyday activities and teenage rites of passage, but prefer not to divulge the real reason for their non-participation: ULS. To explain why they do not drive, work, travel, or apply to university, some youth employ these false narratives also in relation to managing their everyday SofB. One main reason for these false narratives is to maintain the social illusion of normalcy; at times when youth are being excluded from activities, there is an intense desire to appear and feel "normal."

Growing up, Gustavo's parents told him there would be challenges awaiting him in his future, but they did not reveal what these challenges were, nor that they would result because of ULS (section 5.3.1). When Gustavo began anticipating getting his driver's license, he explained that his parents sat him down and said "one day you will [get your license], but right now you can't." I asked Gustavo how he reacted, and he said:

It was really weird because at that time, I started becoming ashamed of being an immigrant. It's kind of like an identity crisis. You start feeling like you have a double life. You start hiding yourself. You feel like you can't be yourself...It was tough.

Gustavo's reaction is not only the result of his ULS, but also to his identity as an immigrant—an identity he became ashamed of. His narrative illustrates a compromised SoFB in relation to learning of his ULS and the challenges it brings. He explained that he hid his ULS—and himself—but this also caused identity crises and a compromised sense of self. During high school, no one knew of Gustavo's ULS; instead, he used false narratives to avoid disclosing ULS as the reason for exclusion in everyday activities:

I remember I made the excuse that my mom got into a car accident when she was seventeen, so my mom wouldn't let me get a driver's license until I was eighteen. It was just an excuse. I felt really bad, but it was just an excuse for me to give to my friends. So they were like "oh ok, it's okay you aren't getting your license when you are sixteen." Especially when my birthday is in January—I turned sixteen before any else of my friends.

Gustavo's narrative indicates the emotional impact and uncertainty that coming of age with ULS brings: he was ashamed, confused, living in secrecy, and in crisis about who he was. His inability to continue participating on a par with peers in everyday life, as he had done in childhood, left him feeling as if he had a "double life." This duality is likely because his past experiences and perceptions of self clashed with the new knowledge and limitations to everyday participation. Though he lamented using false narratives, he preferred this to divulging his ULS to his peers.

Gustavo's ability to use his mother as an excuse sufficed for only so long; when he turned eighteen, his friends expected that his time had finally come. However, he had to create new excuses:

When I turned eighteen, I was just like “oh, I don’t have any time...” When I turned 18, it was really hard because it was senior year. I was applying to college and by this time, I was already getting somewhat depressed. My friends...would always say “Gustavo, why aren’t you being yourself? Are you feeling different?” and I would just tell them “Oh, I just have a lot on my mind...oh, it’s school work, I am so tired all the time.”

Gustavo’s story illustrates that false narratives can have a temporal applicability and may need to shift over time according to circumstance. Notably, the 1.5GUY may not be able to see that their ULS is a long-term phenomenon, and create these false narratives expecting their ULS and thus situations to change in the meantime. Gustavo’s statements also illustrate how questions about non-participation turned into questions about overall well-being. ULS had begun to take an emotional toll in Gustavo’s life: he was depressed and acting differently than his normal self—changes which were also noticeable to his concerned friends.

Like Gustavo, Sofia also preferred to use false narratives during her teenage years in relation to questions from peers about why she was not driving, working, or applying for university. Earlier, I explained (section 5.2.4) that Sofia viewed her everyday activities and social identity in relation to her peers, not her undocumented parents. Sofia’s perception of the distinction between everyday her everyday life and that of her parents was so vast that she placed herself in one world and her parents in another. Once Sofia reached high school, however, these worlds began to collide:

Once I hit my junior year in high school, it became a lot more about me and how it affected me as far as college options and jobs. Obviously, my peers were getting driver’s licenses, part time jobs, and it was kind of awkward. They expected me to be doing these things because I was a top student. They knew I was smart, I was categorized as a “leader” on campus and they thought “ok, this great leader on campus is not getting a job? Why is she not driving?” It was just expected of me.

Sofia’s story reinforces that social identity is created through actions. Her peers expected her to not only undertake certain actions, but pave the way as a leader. Because her non-participation was in contrast to expectations and she had not divulged her ULS, her peers began questioning her:

A lot of the times they would ask me more so about the driver's license. It is a teenager thing. Everyone is like "When are you getting your driver's license?" or "Oh! I am getting a car!" So they would obviously say "when are you getting a driver's license?" Obviously, I would make up lies. I would say "oh, my dad is very over-protective. You know, traditional Mexican family...I probably will never drive..." I would literally tell them anything that I could come up with. And usually I would blame it on my parents being over-protective, because that is the only thing I could come up with.

Sofia's usage of false narratives illustrates how some 1.5GUY draw on cultural stereotypes to explain non-participation in other cultural norms.

Chilean-born Julia also did this; her false narratives often involved "typical things that someone would anticipate a Spanish dad saying." Julia recalled a particularly significant moment in high school where she was excluded from going on a trip that everyone else in her French class went on:

People who took French went to France. So they all went there and that really sucked because I had the best grades in French, throughout all my time in French. It was just really, really sucky...All of my friends were there, because all of my friends took French. All of my friends were gone and I was just sitting at home.

Despite being more than academically qualified, Julia's ULS prevented her from attending the trip not only with her class, but all of her friends. Her experience of exclusion caused her to feel left out and "really sucky." She employed false narratives to explain why she was not attending by citing economics and cultural reasons. She told her friends and classmates that:

It was an economical reason. Basically, I think I remember telling someone that my dad didn't want me to go because there were guys going, or something like that—typical things that someone would anticipate a Spanish dad saying.

Due to the combination of economic reasons and an overprotective parent, Julia also made up stories to navigate non-participation, but these excuses did not prevent her from feeling excluded. During the course of our conversation, Julia told me that only a few of her closest friends knew of her ULS. As

she was not open about ULS in her general, everyday life, I inquired about how she navigated discussions with friends and her usage of false narratives. She detailed:

My friends would always ask me—‘cause I am the oldest out of my group of friends at home—so technically I should have been the first person to get their license. So I would always have to be making up these little lies. It just bothered me how much each lie led to more lies. I would forget what I said a few months ago, and then I would be like “oh crap!” Then I would, you know, contradict my own lie, then I would have to make up another lie to cover up that. I feel like I started accepting that this is just the way that it has to be, and this is just the way it’s going to be...I have been very aware of my situation from a very young age. I feel like I have gotten so used to doing it that it’s just kind of—it’s part of me now.

Julia’s statements indicate various ways in which these false narratives bother her: she constantly needs to be aware of the excuse she has given in the past so as not to contradict herself in the present or future. However, she often ends up contradicting herself and needs to create new false narratives to get herself out of awkward situations. Notably, Julia’s statement that she has “started accepting” these false narratives, and is “so used” to them that they are a “part” of her suggest that these discursive actions constitute part of her everyday life and identity. However, there is a particular tension regarding the everyday: while she uses the false narratives with such frequency that they appear to become routine phenomenon, her usage of false narratives also requires her to be constantly vigilant in her everyday interactions.

For Julia, the use of false narratives is the lesser of two evils. While they cause her discomfort, she prefers them to the alternative: disclosure of ULS. She continued to explain how these false narratives permeate her everyday life in reference to a recent casual discussion with her roommates:

We were just hanging out in our common room. I forgot how it happened, but someone made a joke. One of my roommates is Colombian. Someone made a joke about being deported...I played it off, because I am so used to having to do that, but it still got me thinking. We started talking about voting and people were like “who are you going to vote for?” people are always like “Oh, I just sent in my absentee ballot” and I’ll be like “oh,

cool, I did that a couple weeks ago.” Stuff like that, that I have to constantly be lying about, because I can’t just say it. I don’t want to just come out and say it...that would make it in a way real that I am different. That would suck more than it does now.

In a situation where Julia is with friends, a seemingly harmless joke or otherwise banal topic of conversation is enough to cause Julia to employ false narratives so as to maintain SofB. However, this scenario—a dorm room conversation with roommates—illustrates that for some 1.5GUY, everyday routines do not always produce comfort and even the most banal of topics causes the need for purposeful action. While Julia may be so “used to” using these false narratives, there is a “constant” need to employ them. Nonetheless, she prefers false narratives to revealing her ULS, as this would make socially and blatantly real that Julia is “different.” Her statement makes salient the point that these false narratives are meant as a way to maintain SofB; here, they are used as an interpersonal tool to portray an image of commonality and similarity while simultaneously maintaining an interpersonal sense of normalcy and therefore SofB.

Daniel is another example of a 1.5GUY who preferred to employ false narratives than to divulge his ULS in everyday life, a point that became very apparent during the course of our interview. We met at a space of Daniel’s choosing on his university campus, and likely due to the location and timing of our discussion, we were frequently interrupted by friends and classmates knocking on the door. Because Daniel had previously told me that his classmates have “no idea” of his ULS and that he is “just living and hiding that secret,” I took the opportunity to inquire as to what he planned to tell his peers post-interview about what he was doing. In his answer, he reflected upon an experience from a few hours prior, when he was on his way to meet me:

One of the guys that just knocked right now was like “oh, where are you going?” and I was like “you know, I am going to Burger King.” Then he said “why?” He is the type of guy that is attached to you. He will say “oh! I will come with you.” And I was like “no, just stay here.” So then he said “why?” I am usually friendly and will say “ya, come with me,” but I was just like “oh, I am meeting with someone.” So then he said “who?” and then I said “oh, someone from one of my clubs.” Because I am so involved in so many different clubs, he said “oh, what club?” and I said “the one on immigration rights.” So he said “oh,

that's cool. What dorm is she in?" And I said "oh no, she is one of the advisors, or whatever," so then he said "oh, ok." I don't know what I am going to say. Someone from my club, summer program, something.

Daniel's narrative illustrates a barrage of seemingly innocent questions that require the same quantity of false narratives to address. It is precisely because these questions are related to everyday activities that there is a constant need to employ false narratives if one wants to avoid disclosing ULS. Though Daniel said he did "not know what he would say," he continued that "those are the type of questions that when people ask me, whatever comes to mind I say—it's always thinking, foreshadowing what you are going to say." Daniel rationalized his use of false narratives in this particular scenario by explaining that he could not say "'I had an interview about my story' because then they will say 'what story?'" He concluded:

I know I am lying, but I don't feel like I am lying to hurt someone. I am lying to hide my own identity, hide my own story. Even though I like these people, even though I will be dorming with them next year, even though they are my closest friends here, it is just a really sensitive issue from my part.

Like Julia, Daniel prefers to employ false narratives rather than to reveal his ULS, whereby exposing himself to vulnerability in the process. For some 1.5GUY, false narratives are a facet of everyday life that result from the desire to protect oneself, feel safe, maintain a false image, and a sense of normalcy—all aspects of SofB. Because the 1.5GUY cannot change their ULS, youth must continuously create and recreate false narratives as they navigate everyday life. The usage of false narratives furthermore indicates that the inability or decreased ability to work, obtain a driver's license, or apply for university is not just a one-off blocked rite, but rather a pervasive and lasting consequence that permeate everyday life with emotional consequences.

6.3.1 Concealment of ULS as an Imposition

The narratives presented above represent examples of 1.5GUY who employ false narratives as a complex navigation between two non-preferred choices. While rare, I did encounter another phenomenon in relation to false narratives and concealment of ULS. Ana Maria, for example, did not conceal her ULS out of personal choice, but rather due to the directive of another person. Unlike the

narratives presented in Chapter Five, these instructions were not given by a parent or due to the desire to protect Ana Maria, but instead came from an employer to protect himself. Because Ana Maria was open about her ULS in everyday life, the instructions to not discuss or reveal ULS were quite dissonant to her normal approach; she described the difficulty which resulted from their usage:

When he first hired me, he told me that I couldn't tell anybody at work and that was difficult, because I have always told people. And then to be in an environment where they would ask if I was going to go back to Ecuador in the summer, or "how come you are only going to school part time?" or "why are you working here? Are you not getting enough financial aid? How come you are still a sophomore? When are you graduating?" I couldn't tell them "well, I have to be a part-time student, because I don't get financial aid. And then they are going to ask me why I don't get it, so I always had to watch what I was going to be saying and doing.

Ana Maria's narrative illustrates a range of seemingly quotidian questions related to work, travel, graduation, and studies that resulted in a constant need to lie. Notably, this need was imposed upon her, as normally, she would honestly answer these questions. Ana Maria continued explaining the need to conceal her ULS at work, including the ongoing, emotional consequences this had:

If I had an event after work, I had to be careful about coming into work with a shirt that said "I am undocumented" on it. My binder says "undocumented" on the front, printed across. I always had to watch a lot of the things I was doing and saying. That was the first few months, and then after a while, I just got annoyed with having to lie. A lot of my co-workers wanted to spend time with me outside of work, and I was just thinking, in the back of my mind "ok, if I go to a bar with them, I am going to have to take out my passport." If we go out someplace to a club, it's the same thing. I don't have a state ID. So I would always reject them. If they wanted to add me on Facebook, I would tell them I didn't use it. Then they would make fun of me: "How are you twenty-one and you don't have a Facebook?" Then they found me, tried to add me, and I had to reject them. So it was too much. I was just like this is out of control. One lie kept snow-balling into a lot of more

things. My boss knew I was undocumented, my co-workers didn't. The dynamics were just really awkward and I felt like I wasn't being myself.

Ana Maria's statement highlights the relentless need for her to be cognizant of what she was doing, saying, wearing, and carrying in one particular context that was in vast contrast to all other contexts of her everyday life. Yet the constant need extended beyond the workplace and into her personal life; she needed not only to conceal her ULS at work, but in any interaction with her coworkers, which meant avoiding or rejecting opportunities to socialize with them in real life or cyber space. The constant need to keep up with these false narratives was not only frustrating and awkward, but also "out of control," especially as it was in direct conflict with the way Ana Maria normally choose to live her everyday life. Eventually, Ana Maria quit her job, resolving the need to produce false narratives on behalf of someone else.

6.3.2 The Tipping Point

Ana Maria's story illustrates the consequences that result from a persistent, everyday need to create excuses. The tipping point of using false narratives and experiencing consequences was particularly evident from the 1.5GUY I interviewed who explained that they were "in the shadows" or concealed their ULS earlier in their lives, but had since come "out" about their ULS. Lina is one such example; at the time of our interview, she was open about her ULS in her general and everyday life, but this was not always her approach. Her reflections on her experiences leading up to this openness illustrate how her use of false narratives eventually caught up with her, reaching a tipping point during her university years:

It was just eleven of us and it was a seminar class and at the end of the year, you had to go [on a trip]. Everyone in that class went. I had one very close friend in that class and I felt really pushed—not intentionally, obviously. They were all like "why aren't you going? Is it a money issue? We can all raise money." And it was like "no, I just can't go." There was like a constant—that is when it becomes aggravating. You have to come up with narratives. You are not being true to yourself or to the people around you as a way to safeguard yourself. But it really is because you are a. scared, b. shameful, and c. there is a stigma. So that semester I came out to my professor and that was kind of the beginning of that, but I was still very much in the shadows.

It was not only Lina's non-participation in a school trip that caused her emotional reaction, but also the use of false narratives that aggravated this sense of exclusion. Even though she did not perceive her friends' and classmates' questions to be of ill-intent, the persistent questions were frustrating. In her desire to mitigate shame, fear, and stigma, Lina ended up frustrated and compromising her sense of self. I delve into coming out strategies in the next chapter, so emphasize here that for some 1.5GUY, the use of false narratives has a temporal applicability. Instead of achieving SofB while avoiding disclosure, some youth destabilize SofB as they create the very emotions they meant to avoid: frustration, anger, aggravation, and heightened awareness of ULS. As youth cannot escape the banalities of everyday life or the related questions, they must either constantly maintain these false narratives, or come out.

6.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have examined a variety of everyday scenarios which challenge the 1.5GUY's SofB especially in regards to challenges presented during their teenage years and in relation to teenage rites of passage. Due to the opportunity to participate on a par in everyday life growing up, both discovering ULS as a teenager and encountering firsthand barriers can be emotional and consequential for SofB. Youth experience uncertainty, shock, stress, hopelessness, disappointment, despair, depression, an unstable or compromised sense of self, and decreased emotional well-being as they internalize these challenges. The focus on everyday life reveals that SofB is constantly challenged through even the most banal scenarios, topics, and questions and therefore, everyday life becomes significant, rather than routine. Some 1.5GUY and their families attempt to navigate life by circumventing challenges or creating alternative pathways to achieve feelings of safety, commonality, membership, normalcy, and acceptance.

However, the dialectics of the 1.5GUY's everyday life reveal that opportunities are not limitless and often result out of need or desperation, rather than choice. Furthermore, these "choices" are often what is perceived to be the lesser consequences, rather than preference. As such, to achieve or maintain an emotion or experience related to SofB in one particular context may mean that SofB is challenged in another. The presence of hypothetical contingency plans and the pervasive use of false narratives illustrate the ways that ULS permeates everyday life, including how 1.5GUY are controlled in even the most private of spheres. That these coping strategies exist illustrate that 1.5GUY are active agents

navigating their everyday life. Yet simultaneously, because the youth undertake purposeful action or avoidance also illustrates how SofB is constantly fraught due to shifting contexts, temporalities, and relations; I continue my focus on these everyday challenges and additional coping strategies in the next chapter.

7 Managing Everyday SofB through Purposeful Performances

Introduction

In this chapter, like the previous two chapters, I continue my focus on the everyday lived experiences that construct and challenge the 1.5GUY's SofB. This chapter differs from the previous two in that I explore the 1.5GUY's most recent experiences that take place when the youth know of their ULS and therefore more explicitly attribute challenges to ULS. Due to their knowledge of status, the experiences, coping strategies, and emotions related to SofB are interrelated and constantly evolving; an experience may challenge SofB and lead to particular coping strategies, but 1.5GUY may also undertake coping strategies to condition experiences and therefore produce SofB. In my exploration of empirical material, I am particularly interested in how individuals manage their SofB through purposeful performances. I am inspired by the concept of the right to the city, which can help capture the everyday locations, actions, and interactions which challenge or limit 1.5GUY's SofB, in turn highlighting the need for legal status in everyday life. My focus captures the dialectics of everyday life for the 1.5GUY: experiences that youth can navigate with creativity, but also the limitations that ULS presents. I begin this chapter where I left off: exploring how 1.5GUY experience and manage SofB by coming out about ULS. I then continue to explore how 1.5GUY's SofB is experienced, performed, and challenged in everyday plans, actions, and interactions, including the purposeful avoidance of certain plans, actions, and interactions.

7.1 Managing SofB by Coming Out

As discussed previously (section 3.2.3.1.1), coming out is a purposeful and continual process of identity management which requires decisions about if, when, how, and whom one should divulge or conceal LGBT status—or in this case, ULS.³⁰ Narratives presented in Chapter Six illustrate how some 1.5GUY purposely conceal their ULS in their everyday relations, especially as a means to manage their SofB. In this regard, the opinions, approaches, and experiences of the 1.5GUY I interviewed are varied: some have been open about their ULS for as long as they can remember; some were once secretive and closeted, but are now out to anyone who feels compelled to ask about ULS; some walk around with t-shirts saying “undocumented, unafraid, unapologetic;” and others are selective about who

³⁰ In relation to discussions of my empirical material, I use “coming out” explicitly in relation to coming out about ULS.

they tell, are out only in certain contexts, or have divulged their ULS to only their most trusted of relations.

7.1.1 Tipping Points & Defining Moments

I start my exploration of coming out experiences in relation to SofB by picking up where I left off in Chapter Six: Lina's use of false narratives, which produced constant aggravation, a compromised sense of self, and eventually led to a tipping point where she came out about her ULS. When we met, Lina explained that she was now very open about her ULS in her everyday life, but because I knew she was very "in the shadows" growing up, I asked her to describe the differences in approaches and experiences. Lina began: "I feel strongly because I am working on this myself. It is never a single event. There may be one single event that triggers, or pushes you that last push. But there are a series of things that build up... little things began to happen." She recounted an experience during university: her class was scheduled to go on a trip to the United Nations and she was required to complete a questionnaire with personal information such as name, address, citizenship status, passport number, etc. Of the experience, Lina recalled: "that was the first time ever I felt that I was not safe. That was the first time that it was 'real' and I was terrified." Lina's concern was that someone would do a background check, discover her ULS, and that there would be consequences and thus she declined participation in the trip.

The following summer, Lina's experiences of participation and exclusion during an internship became what she called "the turning point." While Lina was participating in the internship program, she was struggling to find a way to be financially compensated for her contributions precisely as the result of her ULS—compensation that all other participants were receiving. Lina decided to talk to a trusted professor about these challenges and came out to him in the process. She explained that the professor searched widely for a solution that would not require that Lina divulge her ULS to others in the process. She recalled: "at that point, we were both so scared. Who do we talk to? Where do we go? What if they find out? Who do we talk to in the school?" Because there was no clear procedure, no easily accessible information, and no network through which to obtain information and assistance, neither Lina nor her professor knew exactly what to do. She described the situation:

I remember I had to go into a room and talk to the two program directors about my status, and that was very hard for me. I had only come out to [my professor] and all of a sudden, I

felt like I was forced to come out to two people I didn't know and didn't trust. I felt like that was a breaking point for me.

In the absence of information, Lina had no control of the situation. When she came out to her professor, her decision was a negotiation between need and trust. Here, Lina suddenly found herself disclosing her ULS to people she neither knew nor trusted; thus, coming out was imposed. This particular experience and the resulting emotions suggest the importance of both choice and trust in coming out strategies in relation to feelings of comfort, safety, and SoFB.

Though Lina divulged her ULS to the two administrators and explained her challenges in relation to receiving remuneration for her contributions, this did not alter the outcome—another experience she defined as important to her coming out process:

At the beginning of the next semester, we got our program certificates. The distinction became very clear to me that day, because there were eleven of us. I was standing there and I had gotten my certificate and I couldn't get paid for that fellowship...that was the first time I felt like I was looking at all of these people who have done the same type of work, but I might have even worked harder, and they were all getting remunerated for it and I am not. And there was a clear distinction in my head. It was a very strong feeling. And from there, I did a lot. I was really involved.

Lina was included as a group member, but she was aware of the distinction in recognition processes between herself and her fellow program participants. While she was symbolically recognized on paper as a participant, she was excluded from the official recognition and monetary compensation that she had otherwise earned as an active contributor.

The final factor that Lina cited in her coming out processes was the rejection of the DREAM Act in 2010. Upon hearing this news, Lina called an acquaintance and said “I am done, I don't want to live like this anymore. Can you connect me with someone because I want to share my story?” Lina explained that she was tired of hiding her ULS, living in the shadows, waiting for change to come and wanted to find a way to fight for change while being connected to other undocumented immigrants in the process. Though Lina had taken the initiative to find an opportunity to share her immigration story

and ULS publically, when she was presented with this opportunity, she was still nervous and uncertain. She explained that she was asked to share her story while being videotaped and recalled that she “felt so uneasy.” During discussions with her acquaintance about this nervousness, Lina had a realization: “it was a wake-up call. Like a ‘you can do this moment’ type-of-moment. I have never actually thought about how significant that moment was.” Though there was a tangible nervousness, Lina decided to seize the moment and come out; in doing so, experienced “such a strong sense of liberation.” She added: “I think I could have very easily said no, but I think that I was very ready. Enough things had happened in my life so I thought ‘ok, this is it. This is my moment.’” The culmination of various negative experiences led Lina to a tipping point in which she chose to come out about her ULS. During this process, she cited various emotions: fear, uncertainty, injustice, inequality, lack of knowledge, lack of control, difficulty, unstable sense of self and ultimately: liberation.

Lina’s coming out story illustrates a complicated experience between personal choice and external imposition and the navigation between desire and need—phenomenon I frequently encountered in my discussions with youth, though the particular details often varied. Julia, for example, decided to come out about her ULS to her closest friends late in high school. Instead of citing fear as a major factor against coming out earlier, she cited the desire to avoid pity: “I didn’t want to make a big thing out of it and I just didn’t want people’s pity. That pisses me off. I didn’t want people’s pity just because of this. So I just didn’t want to tell anyone.” As previously described (section 6.2.2), Julia was seriously considering getting married to rectify her ULS; due to the uncertainty of the situation, Julia felt inclined to tell her closest friends about her upcoming plans, especially in the case anything went wrong:

I wasn’t sure what was going to happen, so I just thought it would be a good idea to tell them, just in case something happened...I didn’t want to be telling them from a Skype conversation, if I was somewhere else. Or if, for some reason, I had to go back to Chile. I didn’t want to be like “Oh, hey, by the way, I am here and I can’t come back.”

Though Julia’s life was full of uncertainties, the one aspect of her life she decided she could control was the management of her ULS in social relations, and particularly amongst her friends. For Julia, divulging her ULS was a means to reduce one uncertainty from her life, in the case that something drastic like detention or deportation should happen in another temporality.

For Andrés, the decision to come out about ULS, detention, and the threat of deportation were all too closely linked. Andrés moved from Peru when he was an infant and growing up in New Jersey, he did not share his ULS with anyone. He explained that his secrecy was driven by fear: “I still had that fear—the wrong people knowing about my situation.” However, when he faced deportation, the situational change caused him to reconsider his approach about disclosure. While Andrés was visiting an extended family member’s home, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) entered, and according to Andrés, claimed “they had been informed that there was a lady involved in drugs and they wanted to check to make sure she wasn’t [inside the house].” In the process, they detained Andrés and other family members and as Andrés said: “tried to deport us as fast as possible.”

In what became a multi-year legal battle to remain in the United States, Andrés received a letter stating two choices: deportation in sixty days or attempt to appeal his deportation. In both the desperation to stay and uncertainty of what to do, Andrés came out to a trusted counselor who advised him to seek the assistance of a local organization involved with undocumented immigrant’s rights. Andrés was advised to plan and participate in a public rally to stop his deportation, which would subsequently require that he come out publically. He was hesitant to participate and recalled: “I was still afraid. I thought ‘what if they just sped up my deportation process?’ ‘Cause I knew they can. I tried to trust them.” However, the organization he was in contact with explained that instead of increasing the risk of deportation, coming out publically would decrease his risk. Andrés recalled that they “convinced me that the only thing [coming out] can do is help you. Because no one knows about your story, but the more people who know about your story, the more people who want to keep you here. The more people will fight for you.” Faced with desperation and uncertainty, and armed with a great deal of trust, Andrés came out publically. In doing so, Andrés was granted the right to stay in the United States—a right he believes he gained due to the public awareness and recognition of his story and struggle. While this is one example of a coming out story, the relationship between sharing ULS and safety was a perception I frequently encountered amongst youth.

In an example that cites both social movement participation and public openness of ULS, Luiza explained that immigration authorities “want to stay away as much as possible from people who are the most active...who have a lot of connections, who have a lot of relationships.” The quantity of attachments, the quality of participation, and the number of people who know one’s story are

associated with increased safety and the decreased chance of detainment. Likewise, Elena called coming out a “life strategy” and illuminated that disclosure of ULS is a means to manage identity, well-being, and SofB: “you have to come out. It is a survival strategy. It’s either you come out, or little pieces of you die off...” Elena further described coming out as a means to manage personal safety in relation to SofB: “It’s a tactic, right? If there were something to happen, there would be uproar within our communities. They know better, not to do anything!” Some 1.5GUY I interviewed firmly believe that the more people that know an individual and their ULS, the better.

7.1.2 Coming Out Rationales

Notably, this perception is not universally shared; some 1.5GUY I interviewed carefully consider a variety of factors in their ongoing decision-making related to disclosure of ULS. While context appears to matter, the factors influencing disclosure go beyond living in an immigrant rich, diverse community with a high concentration of undocumented immigrants; micro contexts matter, as I will show throughout this section. This is evident from 1.5GUY who have grown up in such places as Dallas, Los Angeles, or New York City not knowing other undocumented immigrants, not sharing their ULS, and not realizing that some of their classmates or even best friends also are undocumented until much later in life. In order to capture the range of opinions and approaches amongst the youth I interviewed, I examine the rationales 1.5GUY give in relation to deciding who, where, and how to come out about their ULS in their everyday lives and interactions.

Some youth cited a mixture of context, relation, and normalcy of being undocumented. For example, Alma explained that while she and her family do not discuss ULS, the reverse is true at her Texas high school. Due to the sizeable population of 1.5GUY, Alma explained that having and discussing ULS is normal. She explained her rationale about sharing her ULS: “I guess it’s because everyone is. I think especially because I am in this school. We all know each other. Everyone basically knows everything. I am not the only one.” Thus, ULS is commonly shared information, and being undocumented is an experience that unites individuals. Similarly, Adriana reported that ULS was a frequent topic of discussion at her school and “as a class, we all swapped stories about how we came.” This was, however, in contrast to her approach earlier in life in a different context. Adriana explained: “we used to live in a smaller town and it was mostly Caucasian, so you didn’t really tell anyone.” Not only

context and relation, but also demographics, race, and ethnicity can factor into decisions about concealing or revealing ULS.

7.1.2.1 Knowledge, Sympathy & Awareness-Raising

Daniel is one of the most secretive youth I interviewed and an individual who actively employs false narratives (see section 6.3), so he is very discerning about disclosing his ULS. While he generally described his approach to ULS as “just living and hiding that secret,” he has disclosed his ULS to a few fellow 1.5GUY. However, Daniel said: “I don’t feel like that is coming out. I feel like coming out is to someone who has no idea.” For Daniel, the definition of coming out requires that another individual has no knowledge of ULS. Daniel’s rationale also requires a certain amount of awareness, and his statement illustrates that some knowledge of immigration is key to his judgment in who to disclose to: “if they had some awareness of what is going on in immigration, in the Dream Act, I would be more comfortable in telling them.” Because Daniel was normally very secretive about his ULS, the perception of awareness of immigration and related challenges is likely why he felt comfortable talking with me at length about ULS.

Colombian-born Ofelia, who has resided in Massachusetts for well over a decade, also cited knowledge of immigration as an important factor in her decisions to divulge or conceal ULS, but there were also other important nuances at play. I met Ofelia in a public location of her choice, and when she revealed to me that only her closest childhood friends knew of her ULS, I stopped the interview to suggest we change locations. However, Ofelia insisted that she was fine with both the location and the fact that people were walking by and she defended her choice: “I don’t know these people. No, it’s not weird. I mean, these people come and go.” Due to Ofelia’s lack of attachment to these individuals, she felt comfortable discussing ULS in public. I inquired about how she decides to tell friends about her ULS and she stated: “I get to know the person really personally...I kind of do a little quiz. I test them like ‘how do you feel about immigration?’ or ‘What’s your background?’” Her rationale demonstrates that her comfort with disclosing ULS relates to if she knows an individual or not, and further, if she perceives that person to be sympathetic and knowledgeable about immigration.

However, some youth take a somewhat opposite approach, as they view disclosing ULS as an opportunity to raise awareness. David was one such youth and described his open approach:

I would tell anyone who asks me. I was really excited just watching some of the reactions. And also, I was excited just to have people know that I am undocumented. It feels liberating. It doesn't feel like you are hiding something all of the time.

For David, coming out results in positive feelings of freedom and excitement; not only does he enjoy the liberation of living freely and openly about his ULS, he also enjoys watching people's faces as he comes out to them. In a somewhat similar regard, Alfonso explained that he would disclose his ULS "if it's relevant in the conversation" and added "I think it's a good thing to have people know...to make our presence known." For some 1.5GUY, coming out is a means to increase awareness and recognition of the presence of undocumented individuals in the United States. As Pilar summarily stated "being out doesn't mean you are free of, or absolved of any possible consequences of being out, but it certainly means you have access to more resources than you do when you are in the shadows."

7.1.2.2 *Fear, Shyness & Trust*

Beyond perceptions of knowledge, sympathy, or the desire to raise awareness, fear was a predominant emotion in relation to coming out strategies, but also a complicated one. For example, Ofelia explained that she has not experienced any consequences coming out to friends, but when it comes to significant others, the situation is "more complicated." Ofelia's statements illustrate the fear associated with coming out about ULS to boyfriends: "I always think 'what if I tell them and they react bad?' or 'What if I tell them and they want to break up with me?'" She further continued that "the fear is always there," but added "if I don't tell them, I am hiding something important about my life... an important piece of the puzzle. I can't leave it out. I like being truthful." Thus, for Ofelia—like other 1.5GUY—coming out about ULS requires a careful negotiation between fear and freedom, secrecy and truth. While hiding her ULS may keep her safer, it also compromises her identity, illustrating that conflicting emotions are often part of the coming out experience, and thus maintaining SofB in everyday life.

Similarly, fear was something that Daniel cited in his coming out rationalizations. He explained that:

There is always that fear...what if someone finds out, becomes really jealous of me and all of a sudden calls deportation services on me? What if I get deported because someone knows I am undocumented? Those silly thoughts that the possibility of it happening is not really high, but you just still think about it because you live with it every day.

In everyday life, 1.5GUY must navigate complex constellations of actual and hypothetical situations that create fear and uncertainty. Though Daniel acknowledges that the possibility of divulging ULS to the wrong person and therefore being deported is not high, it is still a risk that he and other 1.5GUY have while managing their SofB in everyday life and social interactions.

When I talked to Aja, I learned that she had disclosed her ULS to only a handful of her closest friends—often those she met while participating in organizations for undocumented rights. Though Aja grew up in a New York City, she explained that she never knew anyone who was undocumented growing up. Furthermore, her family neither disclosed their ULS to neighbors or peers, nor even discussed ULS in private. When Aja began university, she was very much in the shadows, but decided to join an on-campus organization dedicated to immigrant rights. In doing so, she met and formed a friendship with another undocumented student, whom she describes as a role model:

He showed me. I grew up in a family where it wasn't spoken, you shouldn't tell anyone, you should keep quiet. He told me about his story and situation, so I decided to tell him about my situation. Even though it was very difficult for me to come out, I told him and I felt solidarity.

For the first time in her life, Aja felt comfortable disclosing her ULS, especially because both individuals shared this ULS. Though she described the coming out process as difficult, she still experienced solidarity and thus SofB in this particular context. Within Aja's narrative is another facet I often encountered in coming out rationales: the importance of sharing one's ULS to inspire, motivate, and encourage other 1.5GUY who may not yet be out or even aware of support systems, but need to be exposed to and aware of role models and networks.

As Aja discussed the intimate details of her life and immigration story with me, I came to understand that she had not disclosed these similar details to her current partner. She explained her rationale:

I feel like I haven't told him because I feel like I would be looked at differently. I would be judged. I mean, it plays a lot of factors...I just don't tell people because I don't like to be vulnerable. I don't like to feel dependent. I don't like to put people in that awkward situation—dating someone who is undocumented... I tell people sometimes just to release

it and have them understand it, but obviously, I don't expect anything out of it. There is no way to solve it, there is no solution. People can only listen, they cannot solve it.

Aja's statement reveals the complexity of emotions in relation to managing her everyday sense of self, identity, and SofB. In an effort to avoid feelings and experiences of difference, dependency, vulnerability, awkwardness, and judgment, she decides to withhold her ULS. Yet as she stated, sometimes she discloses her ULS "just to release it," suggesting that there is a sense of liberation and comfort that comes from disclosure. However, as Aja also acknowledged, while sharing her ULS can be a "release," it does not solve her ULS—the fundamental reason for these feelings of discomfort which create the constant need to assess whom and how to share ULS with.

Javier was one of the more secretive 1.5GUY I met with, and still had yet to tell most of his friends about his ULS. Now a college student, he described himself growing up: "during high school, I was very afraid. I was very shy. I didn't want to open up to anyone. I was afraid about what they would say." Personality-wise, Javier acknowledged that he was quiet and shy, but added that ULS only made this worse due to the associated discomfort and fear:

I was just so afraid of what would happen...I would think that if I told anyone about my situation, they would tell immigration. I would get deported. I was afraid that if I told anyone, bad things would happen—not only to me, but to my family. I don't think it would have been fair for me to open my mouth and get my family in trouble who was always there to help me...So I was always very quiet. I lost a lot of friends because I wouldn't open up.

Javier's narrative illustrates the uncertainty and fear associated with divulging ULS and the potential personal and familial consequence it could bring. In order to control or mitigate this fear, Javier remained secretive about his ULS. At the same time, his secrecy caused a loss of attachment, again illuminating the competing emotions and experiences of SofB for 1.5GUY in everyday life. In certain circumstances, youth must choose between one emotion related to SofB while compromising another.

Javier's fear and shyness was not only a result of his particular personality, but also an unfortunate experience that his mother had. Javier's mother was in the process of legalizing her ULS through her place of employment, which had subsequently hired a lawyer to take care of the paperwork. However,

Javier explained that the lawyer “wasn’t really honest...he actually lied to us. He didn’t do anything and in the end, we ended up getting denied, because we didn’t process our papers within the time frame because the lawyer didn’t do anything.” As a result, Javier and his family—who were all in the process of becoming legalized—lost that pathway forever. Javier reflected on the experience: “that is one of the things that added some trust issues to me. I was afraid about who can I trust.” He added that his family continues to be very cautious about divulging ULS, and concluded that his parents “were even afraid of me coming to this interview.” When I conducted the interview with Javier, he had recently received DACA and as such, the temporary legal residency it brings. Notably, Javier’s statements illustrate that not only is he still careful and weary about whom he can trust, but also that this caution and uncertainty is driven by past familial experiences and furthermore, by the fear of consequent repercussions to family members. While Javier may have temporary protection, that safety is not extended to his family; even with DACA, he carefully considers who and how he reveals his ULS.

Another facet of Javier’s decision-making strategies in relation to managing his SofB and disclosing his ULS has to do with the intimacy of relations. On the one hand, Javier explained that he decides to share his ULS with someone only after having established the relationship and knowing an individual quite well. On the other hand, Javier acknowledged that time and intimacy are also challenges to coming out in interpersonal relations:

I don’t know how to start the conversation. Some people...I have known them for like five to ten years. If I haven’t told them since the beginning, I don’t know how to start the conversation, like “oh, hey I am undocumented...” I think it’s an awkward conversation and I just haven’t gotten around it yet...You can’t just tell anyone...They might be your friend now, when they don’t know anything, but once you tell them your situation, I am still kind of afraid. What would they say? Would they judge me? Would they say hateful things? There are people out there, and they aren’t out to get you...I don’t know who they are yet.

Notably, trust requires time and attachments to develop, but is precisely why uncertainty and awkwardness develop when waiting to divulge ULS. Yet conversely, without trust comes fear. Even when relationships are well-established, the fear of friendship loss, judgment, and hatred are present.

As Javier noted, he can indeed share his ULS with people, but finding those people and building those attachments are an ongoing processes. Finally, Javier explained the difficulty in discerning who to tell his ULS to because, as he noted, even the most intimate of relationships are not guaranteed to last forever. Thus, significant others present a particular paradox in relation to disclosing ULS: the most intimate relations are not necessarily the most secure.

Javier stated earlier in our conversation that he had a girlfriend and I asked if she knew of his ULS. He described his current girlfriend as “supportive” and added that he chose to “tell her right away.” However, in earlier relationships, he felt pressured to reveal ULS due to “persistent” questions. During his relationship with his ex-girlfriend, he did not experience judgment, but was especially worried about the potential consequences when they broke up: “I was afraid of breaking up with her because she knew that information. I was like ‘what if she hates me and she decides to do bad things to me?’ I was actually really afraid of what was going to happen.” Javier’s experiences illustrate the interpersonal consequences and relationship loss due to his secrecy about ULS, but also the fear he experienced when his relationship ended precisely because he had divulged ULS. Notably, while coming out is a constant process of identity management in everyday relations, once ULS is shared, a 1.5GUY cannot reclaim that information. If and when a relationship dissolves, there are consequences to SofB not only due to the dissolution of attachments, but also due to the resulting fear of future consequences.

7.1.2.3 Experiencing the Consequences of Disclosure

Some 1.5GUY I met with did recount consequences of divulging ULS to the “wrong” individuals, which most often resulted in judgment that was irreversible and the consequent loss of friendships. Brazilian-born Felipe, however, experienced different costs. During our conversations, Felipe described how he was very open in church because “most of the people are basically in the same place I am.” In this particular context, the commonality of ULS meant that Felipe and other individuals were comfortable sharing their ULS. He continued “I have actually gotten smacked in the face when I told the wrong person. I ended up suffering the consequences for that, mentally and emotionally. After that, I thought ‘I need to pick more wisely.’” I was curious about these consequences, but hesitantly asked: “Can you talk more about that? I don’t know if it’s too painful?” Felipe was willing to talk:

No. I will talk about that. It's a really interesting experience. I basically told a friend...he told his cousin...his cousin actually ended up getting my phone number and all of a sudden, she started sending me threats. Telling me that she was going to call the police, tell them I am illegal, where I work, where I go to school. Basically, everything so they could find me. Apparently, her dad is a police officer...in California. She was going to tell him to tell the IRS or Immigration. Then she was going to try to get me deported. She was bombarding me with texts. I can't change my phone number. I was constantly bombarded with text messages saying that she was going to get me deported if I don't leave her cousin alone. Eventually, it all subsided. I basically stopped talking to the kid. And she left me alone.

Felipe's narrative illustrates some of the various consequences associated with telling the "wrong" person about ULS: the instability associated with having one's personal and private space violated through constant harassments and threats. This fear and instability occur not necessarily when the authorities are contacted, but rather the constant awareness of even the possibility that they could be contacted. Though Felipe lived across the country in Connecticut, had never met this individual, and was not the one to initiate the contact, everyday technology made it possible for him to be subject to instability, fear, and threats from an individual he originally had no connection to, nor a desire to have contact with. He was told that he needed to leave the friend alone, lest there be consequences, but Felipe had no such option to reverse the command to the individual who initiated the threats in the first place. Notably, while many of the 1.5GUY I met with described the positive consequences such as feelings of freedom and liberation as a result of disclosing ULS, there can indeed be negative consequences.

7.1.3 Returns to the "Shadows"

As a result of experiencing consequences or even changes in circumstances, some 1.5GUY may decide to "return to the closet" or, in the undocumented sense, return to the "shadows" at some point in their lives. Indeed, I encountered this phenomenon amongst some 1.5GUY I met with whose narratives pointed to various reasons for these decisions. One such example is Issa, who grew up in Texas and described being undocumented as something that was quite normal due to demographic, geographic, and institutional contexts:

From my elementary school, almost half of us did not have citizenship or residency. It was something that wasn't uncommon. It wasn't out of place...middle school, it was the same—there were even more undocumented students. I never felt awkward. Moving to high school was the same thing.

In Issa's experience and perspective, being undocumented was quite common rather than extraordinary. As such, neither having nor disclosing ULS resulted in discomfort in these particular contexts. This, however, changed as Issa transitioned from high school to university:

Moving to college was when [ULS] hit me. It hit me right in the face. When I became close with about four or five of my friends, they knew about it. Right now, I am a commuter, so I don't get to see them very often and I have different friends right now. I know that they are from here, but they don't know that I am not from here.

Issa's description of being "hit in the face" denotes the ways her experience and approach to discussing ULS has changed, which Issa stated "feels very different." I asked Issa if she thought she would share her ULS with her new and current classmates and she replied "I don't think so, because I haven't become as close to them as I did with my first friends. I don't consider it as something that I should tell them." Issa's statements suggest that intimacy plays a large role in deciding who to disclose to. Notably, Issa's experience illustrates that a 1.5GUY can transition from being seemingly completely out in one context to secretive in another—to the extent that she does not even tell people she is an immigrant. Shifts in time, context, and relation can cause 1.5GUY to decide to return to the "shadows" in everyday life interactions. Like in the LGBT context, disclosing ULS and managing SofB is a constant and dynamic process.

Aja is another example of a 1.5GUY I met with who has consciously decided not to reveal her ULS in certain situations. She acknowledged that in general, her ULS is frequently on her mind, but also something that she tries to forget every now and then: "It affects me, it gives me a lot of stress when I have to think about being undocumented. I am trying to be a normal student here. It affects you so much and it's out of my control...there are days I need a break from it." Aja's conscious decision to avoid disclosure on her university campus is directly related to her desire to have what she perceives to

be a “normal” student experience. In this process, she purposely attempts to avoid the stress, uncertainty, and challenges to SofB that ULS brings by neither disclosing nor thinking about it.

Aja’s narrative illustrates various nuances in relation to coming out rationales, as well as how or why some youth decide to conceal ULS after having been open about it. Aja explained that in general, she is uncomfortable coming out and prefers secrecy, but did explain certain scenarios and methods of divulging ULS that she is comfortable with:

Like I said, I don’t feel comfortable, but I support the effort. I want to be part of the movement. It’s funny. I am okay coming out in [city name], I don’t mind telling it there, but I wouldn’t do it at [university name]. I’ve done it in New York at Times Square, Central Park where they had a rally. I don’t know why. I think it’s because they don’t know who I am, they don’t know my name, they don’t know what is going on. I don’t know, it’s weird. I wouldn’t do it on campus...I guess it’s because I haven’t built relationships with them and I feel like I would be judged.

Aja’s narrative illustrates an interesting phenomenon I encountered with some 1.5GUY who also explained their rationalizations for coming out and returning to the shadows: for some 1.5GUY, coming out about ULS in front of hundreds of people is less intimidating than coming out to only one individual. In this regard, 1.5GUY find comfort and courage in the public, rather than the private sphere. Due to perceptions of anonymity and lack of relationships, there is less fear of judgment and a greater sense of security. In intimate relations and the private sphere, there is no opportunity to hide behind a large quantity of people, anonymity, or protection from being judged. The on-going decisions related to concealing or revealing ULS demonstrate the fluid and dynamic nature of managing SofB in relation to ULS. However, while a 1.5GUY can indeed return to the shadows, whereby choosing to withhold their ULS in particular relations, contexts, temporalities, and circumstances, once they share this information, it cannot be withdrawn. In itself, this fact can cause insecurity and fear due to both actual or potential threats, notably illustrating that coming out about ULS is not necessarily or solely a positive experience in which a 1.5GUY achieves a SofB, but also one that can continually challenge SofB in everyday life and interactions.

7.2 The Micro-Dynamics of Everyday Life & Constant Challenges to SofB

In this subsection, I continue my focus on the ways 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB in everyday life by focusing on the banal scenarios which challenge youth's SofB, as well as how youth manage their SofB through coping strategies. The focus on everyday scenarios allows me to demonstrate that experiences, emotions, and coping strategies related to SofB are inextricably connected. Furthermore, empirical examples illustrate the omnipresent and pervasive challenges that ULS presents. Here, I go beyond documenting the challenges in association with typical teenage rites of passage, e.g. working, getting a driver's license, or attending university to illustrate that 1.5GUY's SofB can be challenged in everyday conversations, locations, actions and interactions. For example, it is not just working or paying for university that can be challenging, but actually getting to and from work or school that cause feelings of fear, discomfort, or insecurity. Yet at the same time, 1.5GUY are active agents and undertake actions large and small to manage their SofB in everyday life.

7.2.1 Everyday Conversations & Social Interactions

Having conversations with friends, peers, family members, or other individuals is both an unavoidable facet of everyday life, and one that is necessary in order to form or establish relationships and thus SofB. Yet at the same time, daily conversations with friends or family members can be what destabilize SofB in everyday life. For example, Mexican-born Ralph recalled that growing up, his friends would tease him about being undocumented even though they had no idea about his ULS. He explained "everyone would just talk about it. They would talk about me being undocumented and they would just be playing around with me. They wouldn't actually know it was true." This particular experience is illustrative of a greater phenomenon in which country of origin—and particularly Mexican heritage—is often conflated with stereotypes and presumptions about ULS. Ralph believed that his friends "were doing it to play around" and were joking when they said "oh, you are undocumented, go back." However, he admitted: "it would actually hurt." These jokes amongst friends, which were not intended to cause harm, actually did. Ralph further acknowledged that these jokes, which ascribed ULS to him, were a part of the reason he decided to keep his ULS a secret from his friends. Thus, even in familiar and friendly contexts, where an individual has positive attachments, SofB is not necessarily guaranteed.

Ecuadorian-born Ana Maria recalled being the target of discriminatory and harassing comments, again illustrating the connections between national origins, ULS, and everyday stereotypes:

Illegal aliens. We are always compared to rapists, terrorists. At least personally, I get a lot of people calling me roach or leech. They say that I just suck from the U.S. or just to go back to Mexico. Sometimes I just laugh, because I am not even from Mexico.

Notably, though ULS is invisible, interactions with strangers can make it palpable, as their discriminatory comments seemingly interrupt youth's pursuit of everyday life. Though Ana Maria argued that she sometimes laughs because strangers erroneously ascribe her country of origin, she also indicated a more serious nature of everyday the derogatory comments: "I have had people email me, telling me that I should kill myself, that I shouldn't be here. That they feel sorry for my mud-colored children." Ana Maria considers herself "empowered" and does not let these comments bother her, but the same is not necessarily true for all 1.5GUY who end up internalizing these hateful messages—especially those who do not have similar personalities or support systems. Ana Maria explained that this type of harassment can lead to "self-blaming," "self-hatred," and "self-hurting," all of which encourage her to proudly and publically share her ULS, her strength, and her story for the benefit of other 1.5GUY to feel valued and accepted. As part of this everyday mode-of-being, Ana Maria openly shares her ULS on social media, which simultaneously subjects her to anonymous harassment from any location. Ana Maria acknowledged the irony of such comments: "I am the one who is supposed to be scared. I am the one that is supposed to be a coward, but they are the ones that hide behind the internet." Because the opportunity for such encounters is seemingly everywhere, the 1.5GUY's SofB is constantly subject to change through public scrutiny, assumption, and prejudice.

Even an outing with family members can turn into an unpleasant experience that challenges everyday SofB. Peruvian-born Isabel explained that her appearance is dramatically different than her brother's: "I am white...but my brother is significantly darker than me. If you looked at him, you would say 'what country are you from?'" Growing up, Isabel noticed that the treatment she received from strangers was markedly different than the treatment her undocumented brother received. She described a "complete change in people" when they switched from interacting with her to her brother and vice versa, which ended up negatively influencing both of their experiences. She recalled one such

occasion, when her brother took her out to a local ice cream parlor. They ordered their meals, paid, and when Isabel was in the process of collecting their ice cream, her brother suddenly told her they were leaving immediately. She did not understand the abrupt decision to leave—especially not before eating their ice cream—but her brother soon explained why. An employee “asked [my brother] if he got his money from selling drugs and why he was with a white girl.” Isabel lamented that she had these types of experiences “a lot” while growing up. Notably, these experiences illustrate that the prejudices that 1.5GUY are subject to go beyond ULS, and incorporate additional and intersectional stereotypes based on race, ethnicity, nationality, and beyond. Isabel’s narrative furthermore documents that the lived experiences of 1.5GUY are not necessarily the same even when a range of other factors such as ULS, race, ethnicity, context of exit, country of origin, current geographic location, institutional attachment, immigrant cohort, socio economic status, and family are. Further, though Isabel was not the direct recipient of these derogatory comments, her SofB was still influenced in the process.

Another example which illustrates the everyday locations in which SofB can be challenged and destabilized comes from Sofia, whom I introduced as having a “white” or “normal” upbringing and therefore living in a “different world” than her undocumented parents (section 5.2.4). However, this is not to say that these two worlds did not occasionally collide, nor that Sofia’s SofB was constant because of her participation in education or other activities. For example, Sofia indicated that when the family “went to the grocery store, they wouldn’t be associated with white Americans.” When in the company of her parents and in the public sphere, these experiences were often punctuated by negative encounters. Sofia explained that strangers’ prejudicial comments often negatively influenced both her and her family’s lives. These derogatory comments occurred with such frequency that Sofia and her family undertook a purposeful coping strategy to mitigate these uncomfortable interactions and the resulting emotional consequences: the purposeful avoidance of speaking Spanish in the most common public settings:

Even at the grocery store, my mom would shush me if I started talking to her in Spanish...I would say “why?” and she would say “I don’t want them to hear us speaking Spanish.” And it was true. As soon as you say something in Spanish...people automatically turn to you and give you the dirtiest look. If we were out in public and there were a lot of people

around, we would always keep to ourselves. We would just keep quiet, keep to ourselves, go get our groceries and then just leave.

While Sofía and her family—like any human being—could not avoid shopping for groceries, the one thing that they could do was to avoid speaking in Spanish to each other during these daily routines. This conscious avoidance was the direct result of the desire to reduce or avoid the discomfort which resulted from “dirty looks” due to their language of conversation. However, because Spanish is the *lingua franca* used for all conversations in Sofía’s family, these purposeful non-actions demonstrate a marked shift between normal practices in the private versus public sphere. They furthermore illustrate the subsequent costs of avoidance: Sofía’s mother only spoke Spanish and thus avoiding the language meant that they could not communicate while in public. Thus, while managing SofB by attempting to avoid discomfort, one consequently sacrifices interpersonal involvement with existing attachments.

Sofía further explained that there would be times at the grocery store where people would go into a “full-fledged conversation about immigration” while the family was waiting in line to pay. She described how strangers would blame Mexicans for the downfall of the national economy of the United States, as well as their personal struggles finding employment. While doing so, they would actually point to Sofía and her family—a phenomenon she said “happened fairly often.” While the strangers had no idea if Sofía or her family were immigrants, were undocumented, or were even from Mexico, they did not hesitate in letting their stereotypes guide their discriminatory discourse. Sofía recounted that the atmosphere was at times so negative and discomforting that her family would communicate only “if it was necessary, but we wouldn’t have large conversations just because it was better that way.” She added that her family occasionally avoided the grocery store altogether to avoid such confrontations, illustrating the intense unease associated with an otherwise fundamental and banal activity.

While Sofía and her family made purposeful decisions about language choice as a means through which to manage SofB in everyday life, Ana Maria’s narrative illustrates her navigation of conversations through thematic choice. While Ana Maria is open about her ULS in general, and describes herself as “empowered,” she also described certain scenarios which have left her feeling powerless, including casual conversations with her friends. She expounded:

When I have gone out with a group of friends, all six of them are citizens and they were talking about how they are going to go to all of these different countries during their summer vacation. I was just sitting there sipping my orange juice and thinking “what am I going to do? Am I just going to sit here, quietly? Or should I say something? Should I say ‘this conversation is making me feel uncomfortable’ or that I am being excluded from the conversation?” It is situations like that where you will feel powerless, or voiceless in a way. There was nothing for me to contribute to the conversation. I wasn’t going to go anywhere over the summer. I was working to be able to pay for school. That is when you kind of choose what you are going to do. So I said “you know, hey, can we talk about something else? I don’t feel like I am part of the conversation.” And so they changed it to something about relationships.

In an otherwise pleasant, everyday context with close relations, Ana Maria’s SofB was destabilized when a seemingly ordinary topic of conversation turned into an extra-ordinary experience. Her narrative illustrates the suddenness with which SofB can change, as well as the multi-level dynamics of SofB. During a social activity with people Ana Maria not only has a connection to, but also friends Ana Maria has selected, the topic of conversation abruptly caused feelings of exclusion, discomfort, non-participation, voicelessness, and powerlessness. Unlike Sofía’s narrative, which illustrates challenges to SofB due to discriminatory comments, Ana Maria’s experience illustrate that SofB can be challenged even in situations of belonging: a seemingly harmless topic of conversation, in a situation where friends did not purposely attempt to discriminate Ana Maria, nonetheless left her feeling that way. However, Ana Maria’s narrative illustrates her consciousness of her opportunity to change these feelings, which is evident from her statement: “that is when you kind of choose what you are going to do.” She indeed made a minor, but meaningful change and redirected the topic of conversation to regain SofB, in turn demonstrating that the most banal of situations can challenge 1.5GUY’s SofB, but simultaneously, small actions can be coping strategies to manage SofB in everyday life.

Notably, Ana Maria’s friends knew of her ULS, so she was able to make this change somewhat seamlessly. However, when 1.5GUY’s SofB is contested and a youth is not out about their ULS, making changes to regain SofB can be slightly more challenging. For example, Gabriela attended a

small and local immigration protest with a group of American friends. She explained that the group “held up signs on my street” to which strangers reacted negatively:

They were honking saying “You illegal immigrants, go back to where you came from!” And I kind of looked around and I realized that I was the only person in that small group that actually was an immigrant...I kind of had a small realization that those people in the car who were shouting...they were shouting at me. I was the only one in the group that was undocumented.

Because Gabriela’s friends did not know of her ULS, they were not aware of the personal nature of these comments, nor the need to comfort her. Furthermore, because none of her friends were undocumented or even immigrants, Gabriela instantaneously went from the comforting experience of participating as an equal amongst friends to being recognized by an outsider as an outsider. This unpleasant realization was unavoidably imposed upon Gabriela, and not only alerted her to these differences, but also the general hatred towards undocumented immigrants in society. She described the experience as “a weird situation. They were shouting at me, but nobody knows. It’s kind of hidden. I guess it kind of just opens up your mind to the kind of hatred and the atmosphere that some people have and they don’t even know you.” When outsiders correctly assessed Gabriela’s previously undisclosed ULS, the experience of belonging turned into a defining and unpleasant moment.

7.2.1.1 Benefitting from Everyday Stereotypes

While the previous narratives illustrate the various ways in which ULS is racialized, conflated with nationality, and used in a harmful manner in everyday conversations, some 1.5GUY cited certain benefits from these stereotypes and misconceptions. Specifically, due to linguistic ability, race, physical appearance, and the espousal of “American” characteristics, some 1.5GUY I interviewed noted they are less prone to stereotypes, discrimination, and detection in relation to their ULS. All of the 1.5GUY I met with could recite a list of connotations and stereotypes of an undocumented or “illegal” immigrant: cleaners, construction workers, day laborers, caretakers, seasonal agricultural workers, painters, dishwashers, job stealers, rapists, drug dealers, welfare abusers, criminals, etc. Especially because most all of the youth I interviewed were students, they did not associate themselves with industry-based stereotypes, and certainly not to the prejudicial ones. Furthermore, some of the 1.5GUY I interviewed suggested that their particular traits meant they were less likely to be perceived

as undocumented; however, in the case they were suspected to be undocumented, some would purposely emphasize “American” characteristics to manage SofB in everyday scenarios.

A common phenomenon amongst the Brazilian youth I interviewed was their acknowledgement that due to physical appearance, language, and ethnicity, many are not assumed to be Hispanic, Latino, or undocumented. For example, Gustavo was once stopped by a policeman and found to be driving without a license, but was let go only with a warning. When I asked him how he avoided the fine, his answer referred to these non-fitting stereotypes: “this is going to sound really, you know, politically incorrect. I think it’s ‘cause I don’t look—I don’t have the image of the undocumented immigrant or what people portray as an undocumented immigrant. So he just let me go.” Gustavo explained that in particular, his lighter skin color meant that the way he looks is often dissonant with other people’s conceptions of undocumented immigrants. Even when he comes out about his ULS, he is often met with surprise: people “say ‘well you don’t look Latino’ or ‘you don’t look like an undocumented immigrant,’” which he explained causes him to ask “‘what does an undocumented immigrant look like!?’”

Similarly, Brazilian-born Luiza explained that she has not experienced “racial discrimination, racial profiling because I look very white. That hasn’t been an issue for me, but I know that has been an issue for a lot of other people.” While her statement refers to race, it is also an indication that ULS is often racialized in everyday encounters. This point is further made salient from Aja’s comments about her physical appearance not fitting the stereotypical “image” of an undocumented immigrant. As an undocumented Filipino, Aja acknowledged that her heritage was to her advantage and made everyday life a little safer: “I think it’s easier. I am not targeted, I am under the radar. I know for sure that if I am riding a bus and I travel, I won’t be profiled. I know other people with different colored skin will be profiled. That gives it an advantage of not being targeted, ever.” Aja’s narrative suggests that she may be able to relax slightly more than some of her undocumented peers due to her awareness of non-fitting stereotypes.

Some youth more actively let these dissonant stereotypes work to their advantage. Pilar, whom I described as having pale skin and green eyes and therefore not appearing as a stereotypical Central American (section 5.1.1) explained how people often are mistaken about her ethnicity, which is one of

the reasons she feels more comfortable divulging her ULS, but also why she can avoid revealing ULS. She expounded: “I think that is why I feel free to say it. I don’t feel the stereotype of being brown or black. I don’t have black eyes, brown eyes. I don’t fit into the stereotype.” Pilar said that people frequently comment on her non-native English accent, but often have difficulty placing the accent and thus, her nationality: “people are like ‘you are not Spanish, that is for sure. You are not Mexican.’” Though people often confuse Pilar for an Eastern European immigrant, which first used to “bother” her, she explained this was no longer the case. In fact, Pilar works in the service industry alongside other undocumented immigrants from Central America. Because her boss erroneously thinks she is from Europe, she has not been forced to disclose her ULS to him like some of her fellow employees. She prefers to keep her ULS a secret from him so that he cannot use this against her; she proclaimed: “he can keep thinking I am European!”

Brazilian-born Felipe also commented on his physical appearance, assimilation, and linguistic abilities in contrast to general stereotypes. Felipe was one youth I interviewed who had recently received DACA and as such, considered himself “legal” and safe: “I feel like now that I have DACA, I can’t get deported. I have a status.” I asked if he ever worried about deportation before DACA and he replied:

I actually made a joke about it. I said that my English is so clean, if immigration would come to my door, I would say ‘Oh, sorry, this is the Joneses house’ and trick them...Most people think I am American because I am lighter-skinned, I don’t have an accent...I actually went through a couple months at my old job without people realizing that I speak another language.

Felipe is aware that external perceptions do not completely coincide with his identity, practices, and ULS. In this case, however, ascribed identity appears to be beneficial rather than problematic. If and when the need should arise, Felipe is ready to purposely emphasize certain abilities so as to manipulate assumptions, give the illusion of belonging, and achieve SofB in everyday interactions.

7.2.2 Everyday Mobility

In addition to everyday conversations and interactions, mobility in everyday life can also challenge the 1.5GUY’s activities, interactions, and thus SofB. Regardless of whether the destination is home, work, school, extracurricular activities, church, errands, or social outings, figuring out how to get from point

A to point B in everyday life can entail extensive planning, experiences of insecurity, and time-consuming behavior. I previously detailed (section 6.3) the false narratives youth employ in relation to persistent questions about not obtaining a driver's license, so here I focus on how SofB is challenged in everyday mobility, as well as the purposeful actions 1.5GUY take to navigate life in the absence of the ability to legally drive themselves.³¹ For youth who live in major metropolises where there is an established public transportation system, such as Boston or New York City, everyday mobility proves less challenging. Alvarez observed his advantage: "think New York is a good place for immigrants because they have the subway, the bus, everything." However, where access to public transportation is limited or non-existent, many 1.5GUY must choose between dependency, driving without a license, or other impractical and time-consuming alternatives.

When I met with Gabriela, she explained that she did not have a license, did not drive, and was dependent upon her family for transportation. Of her particular geographic location, Gabriela explained that it required less time and energy to travel from her home in Connecticut to New York City, than it did to travel across her city due to lacking existing infrastructure. Gabriela's parents are also undocumented, so whenever they drive without a license, they too take risks—risks her mother is very well aware of. Gabriela explained that her mom "worries so much. She can barely drive...Every time we drive, the only thing she says is 'there is a cop over there, drive slow, drive slow' there is a map in her mind of where they stop. She is kind of neurotic when she drives." While Gabriela's mother is hyper-aware of police presence and the potential to be stopped, this fear also conditions Gabriela's everyday life: her mom prefers not to drive and does not allow Gabriela to drive. Thus, Gabriela must depend on her father to drive her to work, school, outings, and errands, which she describes as a "hassle because I can't go where I need to go, when I need to go. I need to plan my whole day around thinking who can take me where, where I can take the train." While Gabriela waits every day for legalization to occur, she also waits for the ability to participate in and control her own mobility in everyday life.

³¹ I note that this challenge has been reduced because 1.5GUY who have DACA are now legally eligible to apply for a driver's license in any state (see NILC "DACA Access to Driver's Licenses" (2013) for more information). However, I include these narratives to document the everyday mobility challenges that ULS presents to individuals, and more specifically, how 1.5GUY experience and react to challenges in relation to their SofB. As not all 1.5GUY are DACA eligible, as DACA is only temporary, and as legislation is subject to change, these narratives are illustrations of ongoing, everyday life challenges.

Diego, also a resident of Connecticut but in a different city than Gabriela, was almost an hour late to our interview. He apologized, but did not go into any details about why; nor did I inquire. However, later in the interview, when I asked him “do you think being an undocumented youth is different than an adult?” he replied yes and further explained that the youth have more opportunities and resources and are more willing to take risks. Conversely, he described undocumented adults as having less hope, constantly working, and living in fear: “for the adults, it’s always a life of fear.” He cited this fear as the reason he was late to the interview: his mom was supposed to drive him, but plans suddenly changed:

[My mom] is afraid to drive. Really, really afraid. I told her this morning “I am going to the café, would you like to take me?” She said okay, and she was about to, and then she saw her phone. My dad sent her a text that said “the police is [sic] at that exit” cause he just went to work. My mom was like “I was about to take you, but look at the text he sent me.”

Like Gabriela, Diego described his undocumented parents as living a life of fear, yet notably in both contexts, this parental fear structures the everyday life and SofB for the 1.5GUY as well. These two examples illustrate how some 1.5GUY are unable to control mobility in their everyday lives, and thus plan activities; it is not only about context, but also parents’ approaches to driving and their own fear that carries over to the lives of 1.5GUY. Diego’s narrative illustrates how plans unexpectedly change, causing another facet of everyday uncertainty for youth. Instead of a quick drive across town to the café, Diego needed to walk and take the bus, which took five times as long. What remains unclear is if and when the fear that Diego attributes to undocumented adults will become his own as he ages.

Unlike Gabriela and Diego, some of the other 1.5GUY I met with had been driving for several years without a license; while many considered this “wrong” and cited the risk, they also acknowledged they had no other choice. Gustavo had indeed been driving and had even been involved in an accident that required police interaction. Of the scenario, he explained that he was “distressed,” “shaking” physically, and “freaking out.” While waiting for the police to arrive, he called an undocumented friend for advice and was told to present his school identification so as not to raise questions about ULS. Gustavo explained that he said to the police “I am sorry sir, I don’t have a license. I am trying to

get my little sister to soccer practice.” Gustavo was fined \$200 for driving without a license—a fine he noted was worth the economic risk. When the police asked him why did not have a license, he said “oh, I don’t have the time...” illustrating that false narratives can also be used in interactions with authorities as a means to mitigate potential questions about ULS.

7.2.3 Interactions with Authorities

7.2.3.1 Fear

While some 1.5GUY may use false narratives during interactions with authorities as a means to manage their SofB, whereby reducing suspicion of the ULS, this is not to say that SofB can always be achieved during such interactions. Indeed, many of the 1.5GUY I met with cited uncertainty, fear, or anxiety in relation to actual or potential interactions with police, immigration, hospitals, or other authorities. While everyday transportation is not an issue for New York City residents Beatriz and Cruz, fear of authorities is. For example, Beatriz argued “if you are undocumented, you are scared of the police. If something happened to you in your job, let’s say you get hurt. You are going to be scared of going to the hospital or going to the police, because you...don’t have your papers.” Cruz similarly stated: “people are scared to go to the police, the hospital, because they don’t have papers.” Though neither have needed assistance, their perceptions illustrate that individuals with ULS may not access the services and protection they need, including in an emergency situation. In fact, at times where authorities should have been involved—for example burglaries, car accidents, disputes with neighbors, etc.—some youth cited the purposeful avoidance of any involvement due to the additional insecurity and discomfort this would cause. However, this feeling was not universally shared. For example, Elena said “I am not even scared to the point that I follow [I.C.E] on Twitter” and further explained that she actively comments on their social media page while openly sharing her ULS.

Connecticut resident Lina recounted how she was involved in a car accident, which resulted in various emotional consequences: she was “uneasy,” “unable to sleep,” and “a mess” and stated “I have never seen myself as so emotional.” Lina sought professional assistance to work through her psychological distress, which she noted had a “very positive impact on the long run.” She added “I remember my therapist saying it doesn’t say you are undocumented on your license plate, so chill out.” While ULS is invisible to outsiders, and the constant fear 1.5GUY experience can be equally difficult to see, this fear is certainly palpable for those living with ULS.

Growing up in Massachusetts, Isabel also developed an intense fear of police interaction. She explained:

The worst was when the car would break down and the cops would stop by to make sure everything was okay. I shouldn't have to have a mini-heart attack. Your heart just drops. Your whole body is just paralyzed with fear. I was ten, my biggest worry should be watching [tv].

Some 1.5GUY actively and purposely attempt to avoid any possible encounter with an authority due to this intense fear, which requires constant attention. I asked Isabel where this fear came from and she explained from her mom, stories she heard, the news, and basically "all over." She added that the "people that you meet—who are in the same situation—they always have a cousin or a friend that it happened to." Even in the absence of negative, firsthand encounters with the authorities, learning about other's negative experiences conditions one's everyday sense of fear, even at a very young age. Isabel explained that her mother would occasionally prohibit her from leaving the house due to police presence in her neighborhood, further illustrating the inability to leave home without taking great risks and living through fear. About a year prior to our interview, Isabel had obtained a green card and as such, was the only youth I talked to who had a long-term legal status and pathway to citizenship. She explained that she was still scared to approach the police and summarized her experiences growing up: "those experiences, that mentality, even, never leaves you...being scared to walk out of your house, not knowing if your mom is going to come back..." While it is only one example, Isabel's narrative suggests that there are long-term impacts of ULS to SofB, even after legality.

Pilar recounted a scenario in which she was afraid to leave her New Jersey home. She was home alone and getting ready for school when she noticed the presence of I.C.E. in her neighborhood and recalled:

Oh my god, I was cold. I called my school and I was like..."I cannot go to school today. How can I get it excused?" And [the headmaster] goes "why?" and I go "there are one, two, three and a half mini I.C.E. vans outside my house. I am not going outside my house.

This headmaster knew of Pilar's ULS, accepted this fear as a valid excuse for not participating in school that day, and furthermore instructed Pilar "not to leave home, to not look out the window, to

turn off all of the lights, and to make it seem as if no one was home.” Pilar described the fear in her community, which rendered the streets desolate; there was an intense insecurity of being present in the public sphere due to the presence of immigration authorities. Yet at times, Pilar’s mother would be afraid to leave she and her siblings at home. She further recalled how the local Spanish media advised individuals in the surrounding areas to be extra cautious due to the presence of immigration authorities. They were, for example, warned not to leave their homes if they saw or suspected I.C.E, in their neighborhood, and were further instructed to ask for a search warrant if someone unknown came knocking on their door; in the absence of a warrant, they were told not to open the door under any circumstances. Pilar recalled that period: anytime there was a knock on the door “everyone would jump,” regardless of whom it was. She added: “once, we turned off all of the lights and my mom hid us all under the beds...I was so scared.” Notably, Pilar’s narrative illustrates that instead of the home providing security and comfort, it was a space filled with fear, instability, and constant scrutiny. For individuals with ULS, including 1.5GUY, fear can indeed be omnipresent in everyday life and render neither the public nor the private spaces secure.

7.2.3.2 Conditioning Encounters

The previously explored narratives illustrate the intense fear resulting from potential or actual interactions with authorities and the steps taken to avoid such encounters. Here, I explore in-depth, one example of the purposeful actions a youth took to condition these interactions, which illustrates the conscious and extensive planning some 1.5GUY feel they must make in planning travel even within the borders of the United States. While traveling between states is not something that 1.5GUY do on a daily basis, there are indeed times when they travel across state borders to attend field trips, meet family, go on excursions, work, or attend university. When they need to rely on planes, trains, or busses for such travel, these experiences require extensive planning and caution. For example, Daniel needed to move across country to attend university, which he called “a true immigrant experience—traveling across the country just to get to my destination, trying to hide from people.” He further explained that it was “a really stressful time;” he “freaked out” trying to figure out how to avoid immigration checkpoints, be as safe as possible, and avoid deportation all while being conscious of time and cost. He argued that such stressful planning was not something he imagined legal residents and citizens do, shaping his perceptions of difference and indicating how banalities taken for granted by others require extensive planning.

I turn to Sofia's experiences with domestic travel, as they are particularly illustrative of the conscious planning some 1.5GUY undertake to condition interactions with authorities so as to reduce questions or suspicion related to ULS. Furthermore, as I explain, these coping strategies are employed with the aim to control the situation, mitigate insecurity, and therefore manage SofB during such interactions. When Sofia was presented with an opportunity to travel across the United States, she sought advice from a lawyer as to the best and therefore safest way to travel:

He said that trains are not safe at all for undocumented students. He said that you are much better off just doing the airport. It was very much a learning process—even for such basic things such as transportation. Busses are not safe. Trains are safer than busses, but the general idea is that in an airplane, you get checked once. The person sees you have a real identification and they let you through. On a bus or a train, people are much more prone to whatever it is they perceive. If they don't like you, they can tell you to get off the bus, or that they are going to check all of their bags. They can just treat you wrong. It is widely known that this happens everywhere...Then you are in that awkward situation where you think "do I tell this person I am here unlawfully? Do I leave? Do I sit here?" It happens fairly often when you are riding in a bus and they do a random checkpoint. It should normally be okay, because you are just traveling within the U.S., but it will turn into an immigration checkpoint.

Sofia's comments illustrate that though 1.5GUY are not crossing borders, they need to be careful about detection when moving within the United States. This, in turn, highlights the reach of immigration control far away from country borders and into the interior of the country even long after initial entry: the 1.5GUY are subject to control, power, and fear in their everyday lives. In general, many of the 1.5GUY I talked to referred to firsthand experiences with immigration checkpoints, or their knowledge of the existence of such insecure locations. Furthermore, youth often had perceptions about the hierarchy of safety in regards to travel. Though these perceptions vary, youth I talked to generally named busses least safe, planes most safe, and trains in the middle. Youth who cited air travel as the safest option did so for precisely the reasons Sofia's narrative alludes to: youth need to present identification once, rather than multiple times. Furthermore, youth know precisely when and where they need to present identification at the airport, making the situation more secure and the individual

more in control. Using a passport as identification in an airport is commonplace, whereas using a passport—and especially an international one—on a bus or train can immediately raise questions about ULS, regardless of whether it is within the authority of a bus or train employee to ask such questions or not. On a bus or train, an individual is not only subject to more frequent scrutiny, but also scrutiny arising from personal prejudice—not necessarily formal procedure—making such scenarios all the more uncertain.

I asked Sofia to describe the first time she took a plane and even though she knew it was the safest option, she said “I was very scared. I was dying. I was sweating, I was freaking out.” She explained the additional advice she received from an undocumented friend, and the purposeful actions she took to condition interactions with airport authorities:

What they told us—to feel safer—was to wear as much [university] clothing as we can. I wore a [university] t-shirt, everything said [university name] on it. That was a way to change the perception of whomever is looking at your ID. Literally, that is what every other undocumented student is told. You need to appear as Americanized as possible.

Sofia’s narrative illustrates the purposeful actions she took with the goal to increase safety and comfort and thus manage her SofB. Her selection of clothing was part of a performance intended to appear as “American” as possible, and thus condition the perceptions of airport staff. When I asked Sofia what, exactly, this looked like, she said “I don’t even know,” but suggested looking “nice” and “presentable.” Notably, however, a seemingly banal clothing choice becomes a significant tool in her everyday life navigation.

Sofia continued to explain that she was advised to think about how to present her identification at the checkpoint: “you are told to open your passport to your picture. Just hand it to them, don’t leave it to them to open. If you do, they will flip through it and look for your visa, which you don’t have.” In order to give the authorities the least opportunity as possible to gain information or question residency, something as seemingly routine as handing a passport to an immigration authority in an airport also becomes a planned performance. Sofia acknowledged “honestly, these are the tips we talk about. We say if you want to look comfortable, you have to look nice, you have to wear the [university] emblems.” Of the calculated actions and presentation, Sofia admitted “the tiny things that other people

don't think about, we need to be very strategic about.” Notably, otherwise taken for granted routines of citizens become significant everyday encounters for 1.5GUY, and ones that can constantly challenge their SofB. Youth undertake actions so as to mitigate insecurity, fear, and anxiety and increase control, safety, and comfort. Their narratives illustrate the constant awareness of locations and interactions that can lead to interactions with authorities and thus subsequent questions about ULS. These calculated performances document the everyday vigilance required in both the public and private spheres because of ULS, making evident the importance of having a legal identity in relation to SofB.

7.3 Envisioning the Future: Challenges to & Coping Strategies of SofB

Given the range and diversity of everyday challenges that 1.5GUY experience in the public and private spheres in everyday actions and interactions, some 1.5GUY I interviewed had various approaches to planning their futures. As envisioning one's future in one's current community is one component of SofB (section 3.3.1.1.1), in this sub-section, I undertake an explicit examination of youth's orientations to the future, for example if and how they plan and the emotions associated with future orientation.

7.3.1 Uncertainty, Stress & Depression

Many of the 1.5GUY I interviewed indicated a hope for the future, particularly in terms of legislative change that would give them legal residency, put them on a pathway to citizenship, and allow them to attain their educational and employment dreams. Some youth eagerly looked towards the future as they began preparations for their next move. For example, Ralph, a high school student explained “I am very eager, very excited to find my true potential and become a better person” in relation to his upcoming transition to university. Leticia, who was also a high school student, enjoyed making plans related to her future career: she would attend university, teach in the United States, and then maybe spend a few years abroad teaching. However, she emphasized her desire to stay in the United States long-term: “I plan to be here for a long time.” If and when this optimism may change remains to be seen, especially as these two individuals make the transition from high school to university and from life as a student to a university graduate.

I commonly encountered youth who disliked thinking about and planning for their futures. Cristina, for example, expressed her dislike for making plans due to the psychological toll it had; even with extensive preparations, life with ULS was often so uncertain that plans unexpectedly changed:

It is also stressful when you try to plan...and things don't go as planned. There is no room for flexibility. It is also an emotional impact on you... So you can plan out all you want, but you never know what can happen. Then your plan went down the drain.

This, of course, is the dialectics of everyday life for individuals living with ULS. The lived experience is a constant navigation between expectations of continued participation in everyday life and the unexpected challenges ULS suddenly brings in new temporalities, situations, contexts, and relations.

When I talked with Aja, we discussed her future and she lamented the constant need to plan due to the ambiguities and uncertainties that ULS presents in her life in present and future tenses, especially due to the limited knowledge and awareness of how to continue participating and contributing in everyday life. She viewed her current situation and the challenges presented by ULS as factor separating her from her peers:

I have to constantly think about my future—being able to support myself, having no one to rely on. Trying to find my way and figuring out this unknown path. Dealing with the unknown. Everyone has a fall back—a fall back in the sense that you have a benefit of being a U.S. citizen. You are able to get a job...We don't have anything to scratch [sic] off. There is nothing to start from...U.S. citizens are able to just apply, whereas undocumented people have to think twice. Are we allowed to even apply? There is no starting point.

Aja's statements illustrate the various contributing factors to this everyday uncertainty. In this regard, ULS is not merely the absence of legal status, but also the lack of resources, support systems, fallbacks, information, and a known pathway on which to proceed. With neither the opportunity to participate on a par with peers or the knowledge about alternatives through which Aja can continue participating despite her ULS—as she has done in the past—it is not only her participation in everyday life that is limited, but also SofB.

The lack of flexibility in everyday life played out slightly different for Elena, who indicated an extensive need to plan as a result of the ultimate threat from ULS: deportation: "I always say that my future—so many of us plan with plan A, plan B, plan C, right? Well, many of us plan: plan A, B, C, D,

E, F, G ‘cause one day you can just wake up and you may be put in deportation proceedings.” Elena’s narrative illustrates the intense and constant uncertainty that conditions her everyday life, as well as other individual’s with ULS. With the awareness of the constant possibility that life may drastically and abruptly change—including the possibility of detention or deportation, meaning she will no longer live in her present community—Elena’s strategy is to plan extensively. Notably, ULS presents constant barriers in everyday life, but also includes the possibility of being displaced and expelled from one’s current residence at any moment—the ultimate threat to SofB and denial of one’s attachments and contributions over the years.

Because the 1.5GUY grow up in the United States and particularly because they participate in everyday life, the sudden challenges presented by ULS can take quite an emotional toll. Due to the limitations of ULS, especially in regards to thinking about one’s future, some youth preferred making only short term plans. Alejandra’s statement illustrates the stress and uncertainty:

If I were to think about what I am going to graduate, it would just be more stress upon me. I would rather push it to the side and not think about it. Just think about from here up until the process to graduation... If I start thinking “when I have a degree on my wall, what will I do?” it’s not going to work out.

Alejandra knew she wanted to transfer to a four-year university when she completed community college, but noted that even if that plan went through, she had no idea what she could do with her degree upon graduation.

Instead of stress, Sofia cited the depression that resulted from thinking about her future, and added that it “shouldn’t be depressing, but it is.” When we met, Sofia was a university student and the upcoming summer holidays were on her mind. For most students at her university, summertime meant participating in internships to secure a solid professional future after graduation. Yet due to her ULS, Sofia had no idea what to do: “I spent hours trying to figure out what I am going to do and came up with nothing.” At that time, her ULS meant she could not get a job and without a job, she could not afford to remain on campus; she had no idea what she would do or where she would live in only a few months’ time.

For Javier, thinking about the future is inevitable: “it’s just something that even if you try to avoid it, it is just something that will come up. It is your life.” However, he too noted the everyday uncertainty and limitations that ULS brings, as well as the resulting depression and decreased motivation. Javier had overcome some significant barriers to attend, access, and pay for university. However, his narrative illustrates that even when a 1.5GUY overcomes significant barriers, there are only more awaiting them:

I guess the worst thing is that if you do get past those barriers that the system puts on you—I feel like I was able to—you just get put into this limbo. You don’t know what is going to happen to you. I feel like that uncertainty about the future can really have a big impact, not only on your motivation, but if something bad happens in your life outside of that, it can add to that depression. You might give up easily. Stuff like that—that uncertainty about what is going to happen in the future.

Without knowing if and how he can continue to participate in everyday life in the future, Javier acknowledged that this ambiguity can influence motivation, achievement, and well-being. In this regard, Javier’s statement suggests that the success of 1.5GUY in accomplishing their goals, participating actively in everyday life, and contributing to their societies cannot be measured by individual motivation or lack thereof, but rather the emotional toll that the pervasive structural limitations of ULS has on their motivation.

Though Aja’s statements previously indicated her perceptions of a continuous and broad need to plan in everyday life, Aja also indicated the need to circumvent this planning from time to time. During our conversations, Aja often referenced her desire to be “normal” in relation to her classmates, peers, and friends. When I asked her to expand on what “normal” meant, she referred back to the constant need to think about ULS, plan, overcome challenges, and undertake everyday tasks. She explained that the endless awareness about ULS caused her to try and purposely avoid thinking about ULS and the future: “[ULS] affects you so much and it’s out of my control...there are days I need a break from it...I can’t just focus on finishing my homework assignment...when I am so focused on other concerns, like what am I doing after graduation.” Her statements illustrates a tension between the need to constantly plan the minuscule details in everyday life due to ULS and the need to circumvent the negative emotional

consequences that result from it. Due to her desire to avoid what she calls “endless questions” in relation to her life in the future, as well as the inability to find reliable and feasible answers to those questions, she attempts to slip into normalcy by limiting these thoughts. Notably, due to the uncertainty that the future brings in relation to ULS, SofB can be difficult to achieve in the future tense. While being able to plan for one’s future—today, tomorrow, next year, and beyond—is something that people often do out of both pleasure and need in everyday life, these examples illustrate the pervasive impact of ULS. Additionally, these narratives highlight that making even the most banal plans for the future can induce stress or depression, challenging one’s SofB in the process.

7.3.2 Buying Time & Avoidance

Some of the 1.5GUY I met with cited participating in higher education as a means to prolong their status as students and therefore postpone direct exposure to the uncertainties and limitations that ULS brings post-graduation. When talking to Marcelo about his approach to planning for the future, he explained that he neither likes nor dislikes planning: “I wouldn’t necessarily say that I like it. I wouldn’t say that I don’t like it. I like looking to the future because I want to know. I don’t want to just wait.” His answer hints at the possible desire to have knowledge and thus the ability to control and plan his life. At the time of our interview, Marcelo was attending university and explained that if he did not think about the future, he “would be stuck with a degree that I can’t use.” Marcelo acknowledged the current employment limitations as a result of his ULS and therefore mentioned he was considering continuing with education and pursuing a Master’s degree:

I do want to continue studying, because whenever I am able to become legal, I want to have more than just a Bachelor’s degree. I don’t just want to wait and see what happens...in one way [education] is buying time...to not actually get the full effects of being undocumented. Coming to [university] was like an escape from having all of the downfalls, all of the responsibilities of an undocumented person.

Marcelo’s narrative illustrates that his approach to the future is directly linked to education. Instead of being stressed or depressed in relation to thinking about his future, he strategically thinks about avoiding the barriers and “full effects” of ULS by maintaining student status as long as possible. If and how Marcelo will continue is uncertain, especially given the financial barriers to tertiary education. Marcelo’s statements suggest that he has hope that his coping strategies will work; “whenever”—not

if—he is able to become legal, he will be educated, willing, and able to work. Until then, he is able to take more control over his present and everyday life by avoiding longer-term challenges.

Gabriela's narrative similarly reflected that higher education was an escape from the future realities of ULS. Being a university student allowed her to buy time and postpone the effects of ULS in the process:

If you are in school then you can focus on school... You can just think about that moment, not about what you are going to do after school. So that is how I felt about college—that it was buying me some time until either some things were straightened out or something happened, for me to figure stuff out...

However, as one of the 1.5GUY I spoke to who had recently completed higher education, I asked her what her current and future plans were. She lamented: "I am in a limbo place. I am not sure what to do. I don't know what's going to be my next step. School was definitely easier." At the time of our interview, she neither had a job nor knew where to look to find one. Ideally, she wanted a career where she could make use of her Bachelor's degree in Physics. However, she continued that she would be happy for a "simple job in retail" because she could not see any possibility of obtaining a job commensurate with her degree as a result of her ULS. Many of the youth I interviewed viewed their participation in higher education not only as a means to buy themselves time and avoid confronting the limitations of ULS head on, but also a strategic use of their time while awaiting legalization.

Gabriela described herself as "confident" and "empowered," but when it came to thinking about her future, she was not as secure. In regards to her future and the opportunity to continue participating in everyday life, she explained that it has been "a slow process understanding [that] my future is very, very limited." Gabriela was not currently working and did not have a network through which to navigate the employment process. As a result of the current limitations she is experiencing during her transition from youthful student to unemployed adult, she tries to avoid thinking about her future:

I try not to plan, I try not to think about the future. I don't really want to think about the present. I mean, I try to think about the present, I don't think about the future because I

don't know what is going to happen. Most things are probably not even possible anyway, so why even think about that? You will just be disappointed.

When thinking about her future, Gabriela experiences skepticism, doubt, and uncertainty. As a means to avoid the disappointment associated with the challenges of ULS in adult life, Gabriela attempts to avoid thinking about these challenges and thus her life in the future tense. Similarly, Alvarez, a high school student explained that he avoids thinking and stressing too much about the future so as to avoid losing motivation due to the barriers ULS will bring: "you just try not to think about it...I think that the more time you think about it, the less successful you are going to be...You are putting the wall between you and the future. You are not going to be able to see what is there for you." Alvarez's statement suggests that the key to maintaining SofB in the present is to avoid thinking about the future. Notably, these two youth at differing educational statuses and levels, illustrate the difficulties in long-term planning because of ULS. The inability to "see what is there for you" in one's future illustrates that at least some 1.5GUY have the inability to envision their everyday lives and activities in the future, illustrating the delicate nature of SofB in the future tense.

While unable to plan and thus envision her future in her current community, Gabriela also acknowledged the hope that keeps her motivated:

You can't live your life based on the way your life is now. You have to live your life based on what you hope is going to happen in the future. In the future, I hope that I will get a green card and everything will be legalized and straightened out. Otherwise, you are just going to give up.

Together, both of Gabriela's statements illustrate a tension between hope and despair, optimism and disappointment. While she acknowledges that her future is not hers to plan, she remains optimistic, lest she give up all hope about legalization and the opportunity to continue living and participating in everyday life in the United States. What remains to be seen, however, is if and when this legislative change comes. Furthermore, it remains to be understood how long Gabriela, Alvarez, and other 1.5GUY can and will hold out hope that their current challenges are only temporary before abandoning this optimism and finding other ways to manage their SofB and participation in everyday life.

7.3.3 No Future

One final phenomenon I encountered in relation to future orientation was the belief amongst some youth that there was no future for them in the United States. This belief, which played out in various ways, relates to the experiences in the past and the present and the desire to avoid thinking too long-term. Andrés, the one youth I met with who had actually been put into deportation proceedings indicated the influence this experience has had in relation to thinking about the future: “that might be one of the reasons I don’t plan too far ahead...I am sure it has affected me. I don’t have goals. It’s more spur of the moment.” When I asked Andrés to elaborate, he added: “I don’t know what tomorrow will bring—if I will be documented or I won’t...I have always thought that because I don’t know what tomorrow will be like, tomorrow is not mine.” Notably, his answer illustrates the everyday condition of uncertainty that ULS brings in a way that renders him unable to control his own life even in the near future. With the perception that “tomorrow is not mine,” Andrés’ comments do not suggest that planning a future is difficult, but rather there is no future to plan.

I encountered similar feelings of not owning or controlling one’s own future in a variety of instances, including with Luiza who noted the pervasive difficulties ULS brings:

It’s hard to think about when you don’t really see any future. It’s hard to plan for the future when you don’t really see any future for yourself. Or, it makes it very easy not to... my situation makes it really easy just not to think about the future—because we have an excuse. We aren’t allowed to do anything anyway, so I don’t think about it.

Luiza had recently graduated from university with a degree, but was facing difficulties finding any type of employment because of her ULS. Her narrative furthermore illustrates the difficulty—if not impossibility—of planning or even envisioning a future as a result of the challenges brought on by ULS in adulthood. Without the ability to control and plan her everyday life, she could not envision her future at all, notably illustrating the extensive impact the ambiguities and challenges ULS has in relation to future orientation and as such, SofB in various temporal tenses. Luiza added “now that I graduate, I don’t really know what to do;” what her next coping strategy becomes remains to be explored.

Some of the 1.5GUY I met with explained that they would seriously consider leaving their homes in the United States if there was no immigration reform or pathway to legalization and thus no opportunity to get a job and continue living their lives as participants as they had lived in the past. For example, Issa, a Tourism major, described to me her long-term career goal of being a General Manager of a hotel. When we discussed the steps she would take to achieve the goal, including the potential barriers of ULS, Issa explained:

That is something that I thought about before, because the DREAM Act hasn't passed. I always told my mom 'if in five years we do not get our residency...' I will go to Spain or somewhere else internationally where I can work, but I wouldn't stay here because I don't have a future to look towards.

Though Issa's statement is a hypothetical scenario and an evaluation of potential limitations in her future, it could indeed become her reality. It nonetheless demonstrates that for some 1.5GUY, future goals are not only driven by ambitions, but also the keen awareness of limitations and the pragmatic need to think of other alternatives—or alternatively avoid thinking about the future altogether. Regardless of the individual reactions, thinking about the future is a challenge to SofB: it induces stress, uncertainty, lack of control, depressed motivation, or even depression. Whether some youth undertake extensive planning as a means of coping or attempt the converse—avoidance—the future is notably not a secure, comfortable, and accepting temporality, but rather one conditioned by uncertainty. As SofB has been conceptualized as the ability to envision one's future in one's current location, these narratives make salient that the 1.5GUY's futures do not even belong to them.

7.4 Social Movement Participation

In the previous sections and chapters, I have documented the various ways in which ULS directly and indirectly challenges everyday life. ULS not only structures or limits everyday activities and the opportunity to participate on a par in everyday life, but also consequently negatively influences SofB. As such, the case can be made for the critical importance of having a legal identification and citizenships status in one's country of residence. It is precisely this desire and fundamental need which motivates some 1.5GUY to participate in social movements to enact change and gain rights locally or nationally, for some or all undocumented immigrants. Amongst the 1.5GUY I interviewed, around half participated in an organization linked to the undocumented youth-led movement. For 1.5GUY who did

not participate, they cited lack of time, interest, need, or knowledge of an organization through which to get involved. I also found that social movement participation can be downgraded or deemphasized. As Aja explained, she has needed to take a break from social movement participation as a means to avoid the constant awareness of ULS and the limitations it brings.

For those who did participate, they were active in organizations promoting higher educational access and financial aid for undocumented students; fighting immigration raids, detention, and deportations; and attempting to enact legislative change to immigration policy such as the DREAM Act or comprehensive reform. Methods for enacting change include, but are not limited to petition signing, calling or writing to Senators, campaigning and canvassing for politicians, hunger strikes, immigration marches, protests, and other acts of civil disobedience. Some youth I met with explained that their organization emphasized the importance of neither asking about nor forcing anyone to disclose their ULS. For example, Luiza stressed that she never asks fellow members if they are undocumented: “you never know. I don’t really feel comfortable asking either. I don’t want to make someone tell me.” In this regard, participating in the undocumented youth led movement neither requires one to be 1.5GUY, nor open about their ULS; even within a positive environment, not all 1.5GUY disclose their status. Conversely, there are other youth led organizations that encourage public and large scale “outings.” Elena, for example, explained that her organization focused on coming out about ULS in public and in private: “coming out in front of the I.C.E office, in front of federal buildings, in front of your family.” She also emphasized the importance of supporting differences, creating community, and promoting acceptance by “creating space for different narratives and not marginalizing our communities.” While there is a diversity of organizations, participants, methods, and goals—and these are all important aspects of social movement research—here, I limit my focus in the remainder of this sub-section to the relationship between social movement participation and SofB.

7.4.1 Finding SofB through Commonality & Common Challenges

In my discussions with 1.5GUY who participated in an organization related to the undocumented youth led social movement, one observed phenomenon was the difference between how youth described themselves before versus after joining. Narratives describing life pre-social movement participation frequently referred to feelings and experiences of difference, hopelessness, desperation, loneliness, and isolation in contrast to sentiments of solidarity, community, and empowerment post-joining. For

example, Gabriela explained that she “felt all alone before. I was all by myself,” but in “meeting other people, you find a community.” Luiza explained that before she joined an organization, she knew of the DREAM Act proposal, but did not grow up knowing many undocumented immigrants. She did not have a previously existing connection who was already engaged in the social movement or a straightforward way to join, which she explained “kept me up at night.” However, when she discovered a local undocumented youth led organization and joined, she described how “amazing” it was to make these connections who gave her the “motivation to keep going” and added that it has been “empowering to have her voice heard.” As such, she has established important connections through social movement participation. Furthermore, the opportunity to be heard and therefore recognized has also allowed her to experience a SofB in certain circumstances.

I previously detailed Gustavo’s shame, compromised sense of identity, and the feeling as if he were living a double life (section 6.3). Due to these feelings, increasing challenges, and the uncertainty about how to overcome barriers, Gustavo began searching for resources and information. When he came across a local meeting for undocumented youth, he initially hesitated out of skepticism and fear. However, he attended and in doing so had a significant realization. He exclaimed “oh my God, they are going through the same things I am...I belonged. I found a group I could belong in...it was really empowering...so positive. It was very emotional.” Through his interactions with other 1.5GUY, he realized that there were other individuals who were having the same challenging experiences. Yet though these challenges were negative, Gustavo’s experience was related to SofB.

Similarly, Sofia experienced a SofB through connections and common experiences. She grew up in an area with a high concentration of documented and undocumented Mexican immigrants, but had no personal connection to them. As a result, she felt lonely, fearful, and was secretive about her ULS growing up. When we met, however, she was one of the most active, open, and daring youth and had participated in various acts of civil disobedience in relation to her social movement participation. Sofia recalled a personal “realization point” during her participation in a summer program, which was the first time she was exposed to peers with ULS. She recalled: “I felt that I fit in there...once you start realizing that there are others in your situation...you think ‘oh, maybe we can do this together.’” Sofia’s narrative illustrates that though the challenges of ULS remain, encountering other 1.5GUY who

share similar struggles was positive. Her narrative suggests a sense of unity and hope that results from togetherness and tackling issues collectively.

The SofB that results from finding a community of other individuals who share collective struggles was a common phenomenon I encountered in discussions with youth. This sentiment was echoed by Ana Maria, who cited the uniting power of shared issues: “you are able to see how everyone is connected through their struggles, their stories, and you are able to get the help that you need.” Lina similarly explained her social movement participation: “even though you are unsure about your future, unsure about everything, meeting people who are in the same situation...having a community does a lot for you. It empowers you, it gives you more confidence.” Notably, shared challenges lead to feelings of commonality, community, and experiences of fitting in.

Alejandra’s narrative illustrates that emotions related to SofB results from shared struggles, as well as the marked change in sense of self since joining the social movement. Growing up, Alejandra described herself as “all alone” particularly because she never knew “anyone like me.” She further described feelings of fear, self-doubt, and uncertainty that resulted from ULS. However, joining a social movement has been “amazing.” Alejandra continued: “I am with a bunch of other undocumented youth across the state. We have that connection. It has helped me a lot.” The experience of finding and forming attachments with other 1.5GUY who share ULS has been a profound experience, which Alejandra described as “a realization that you are not on your own.” As such, she has been able to experience a SofB in certain contexts even despite her ULS. Alejandra’s statements suggest that SofB also relates to the tacit knowledge that comes from shared challenges: “we meet other people who are going through the same situation. It’s a mutual understanding—an understanding that you don’t have to tell them. You just know.” Being in a situation where she could freely disclose her ULS, but yet simultaneously did not need to explain how and why ULS presented challenges suggests a connection to SofB that resulted from tacit knowledge of shared struggles. Notably, Alejandra explained that she has experienced pride, togetherness, and a better sense of self in relation to social movement participation, but added that she is still fearful about the possibility of either herself or her mother being deported.

Pilar said that she was originally introduced to the social movement by another undocumented friend at church, but added that she did not immediately join. Only a few months before our interview, Pilar had decided to join an organization and described one of her first experiences: a nationwide conference for undocumented youth which was “the most amazing three days of my life. It felt right to be there...it just got you going.” During this conference, she met other 1.5GUY, heard their stories, shared her experiences, made important connections, and felt empowered. However, she also added that this experience was temporary and reality hit when it was time to leave the conference and return home. Pilar lamented: “I was just like ‘I hate my reality. I hate being the only undocumented student in my high school.’” While being in the company of hundreds of other 1.5GUY allowed Pilar to achieve emotions related to SofB—solidarity, community, and empowerment—this SofB was contingent and fleeting. When she returned home and was the only 1.5GUY in her school, feelings of difference and loneliness resurfaced.

7.4.2 Support Systems

In this last sub-section, I dedicate explicit attention to the relationship between social movement participation and the positive sense of self and well-being that results from being connected to these support systems. For example, Javier explained that he was “always afraid and scared and depressed” because of his ULS and detailed earlier, the trust issues he had as a result of past negative experiences. As Javier had only joined the organization through which we met one month prior to our discussion, he was still very new to participation and secretive about his ULS. However, he had already observed some positive changes in his perceptions: “I never knew there were people out there who were willing to support you...I saw them more like a family, like they were supporting each other. That got me more interested, made me build more trust towards people.” Though he is new to movement participation, his new awareness of the close-knit support system is an important step in building his trust and sense of community which could lead to a SofB.

I have previously documented the variety of situations in which the 1.5GUY become targets of derogatory comments and discriminatory experiences related, but not limited to ULS (e.g. section 7.2.1). This includes, for example, Ana Maria’s personal experiences with strangers sending comments via social media telling her she was a “roach,” “leech” and “sucks from the U.S.” and even suggesting that she commit suicide. Ana Maria acknowledged that these are harassing messages, but importantly,

she does not internalize them due to the empowerment and support she receives from social movement participation. Ana Maria explained that her organization emphasizes the importance of “not having to apologize,” “not being ashamed,” and “letting go of the blame” that is often related to ULS. She furthermore stressed the importance of creating spaces for dialogue, where 1.5GUY can change the conversation about immigration, share their stories, and not let others speak on their behalf—all while experiencing acceptance and learning to accept and value themselves.

Quite similarly, Elena stressed that social movement participation allows youth “to reclaim your dignity, reclaim your story. I emphasize the reclaiming. We grew up with our society calling us ‘illegals,’ ‘aliens.’ There is no time to breathe and acknowledge to ourselves that we are human.” Elena also explained that as a result of these derogatory messages from strangers and society at large, some 1.5GUY end up internalizing these messages. In the absence of the fundamental recognition as a human being by other human beings, this non-recognition can lead to irreversible consequences: 1.5GUY committing suicide. As a result of compromised or absent self-esteem, well-being, value, acceptance, and self-worth and in conjunction with constant uncertainty, lived limitations, and continual external messages demoting equality, the psychological impact of ULS is far-reaching, which makes evident the need for mental health resources for 1.5GUY.

While social movement participation can certainly help youth achieve well-being, it is not necessarily an alternative to professional help. However, in one such instance, a youth I interviewed explained the profound emotional changes he experienced as a result of social movement participation. I detailed earlier (section 6.1.2.1) that Leonardo was particularly depressed during high school due to the firsthand challenges he was encountering as a result of ULS. The death of another 1.5GUY in his community had a “huge impact” on him, and made him realize that “something needed to change.” He searched for local resources for undocumented youth, came across an organization, and started to participate. Leonardo described his social movement participation: it “has really made an impact. It made me realize I wasn’t alone. That there were a lot of kids out there that needed help just as much as I did...it was kind of like a renaissance.” During our conversations, Leonardo underlined that he has found the emotional and social support he needs through movement participation, but in other contexts, it is not evident if social movement participation is enough or even accessible to all 1.5GUY.

Together, these narratives illustrate the critical importance of social movement organizations and the benefits to SofB which can result from participation. While the social movement exists to rectify social and legal inequalities and human rights issues, shared experiences of imparity, frustration, and challenge critically connect youth, creating a space of commonality and acceptance; their negative experiences unite them. In their pursuit for social and legal change, 1.5GUY can enact change from within by altering feelings of loneliness, anxiety, despair, hopelessness, and diminished self-worth. The knowledge that youth are neither alone in their ULS nor their struggles enables them to achieve a sense of solidarity, empowerment, and the motivation to continue due to the experiences of solidarity that sharing common challenges bring. These organizations give youth the space to be unconditionally accepted, heard, and recognized as human beings who deserve dignity, rights, and respect. Though the future remains unclear, everyday challenges are more bearable in solidarity, rather than isolation. The experiences of attachment, unconditional acceptance, commonality, solidarity, and empowerment that are possible through social movement participation illustrate that there is indeed an emotional and physical space for 1.5GUY to achieve SofB—though fundamentally, this is not a long-term alternative to legalization.

7.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have focused intensely on the 1.5GUY most recent experiences in relation to how their SofB is experienced, challenged, and performed through everyday actions and interactions. As such, I have illustrated that everyday life is filled with pervasive and constant challenges which can test youth's SofB. Coming out narratives illustrate the complexity and dynamics of divulging one's ULS in relation to managing SofB, including the relief that comes from divulging ULS either publically or privately. Youth's rationales for and against disclosure demonstrate various levels of decision-making in relation to the public and private spheres; the level of intimacy with attachments; and the balance between personal choice, need, and imposition. These examples further reveal that trust and fear of judgment are important components in coming out strategies, and likely in experiences of belonging.

In an otherwise pleasant and comfortable situation with friends, family, and peers, SofB can instantaneously be challenged due to the imposition of outsiders' derogatory comments and stereotypes. Even the most banal scenarios—everyday errands such as grocery shopping, discussions with friends, and transportation—can cause discomfort, insecurity, awkwardness, and discrimination.

Yet at the same time, narratives illustrate that 1.5GUY can and do manage their SofB through even the most minor actions, for example by redirecting the conversation or purposely avoiding conversations. Narratives furthermore illustrate that youth undertake various coping strategies in relation to everyday life navigation and management of SofB. Even the most commonplace activities such as clothing selection can illustrate how 1.5GUY purposefully manage their SofB in everyday life as a means to condition a stranger's perceptions and in turn, feel safe(r) and in control.

At the same time, there are various instances where 1.5GUY purposefully avoid thoughts, actions, interactions, and locations so as to achieve SofB. These examples include avoidance of interactions with authorities, local and common locations such as the grocery store, driving, leaving one's home, or thinking about the future so as to expressly mitigate or eschew feelings of difference, insecurity, discomfort, stress, or anxiety. The 1.5GUY are indeed active agents constructing their everyday lives and SofB. However, the focus on everyday life illustrates the myriad ways in which ULS negatively conditions youth's everyday lives, making the employment of coping strategies necessary to mitigate or avoid negative emotions and experiences. While their SofB is constantly under pressure, attention to the emotional aspects of social movement participation reveals that 1.5GUY can experience emotions related to SofB such as comfort, acceptance, value, empowerment, solidarity, and commonality. While social movement participation is not an alternative to legalization or citizenship status, these narratives reveal that 1.5GUY can experience SofB in some contexts, even despite ULS and challenges it brings—and sometimes, precisely as the result of shared but negative experiences.

8 Discussion of Findings

Introduction

My empirical data (Chapters Five, Six, Seven) illustrates that ULS influences SofB, but it alone cannot explain the 1.5GUY's overall experiences; while ULS remains constant, the emotions, experiences, and coping strategies related to SofB do not. In contrast to undocumented adults, children of the 1.5 generation are relatively privileged due to their participation parity, which not only allows them to participate, but also legitimizes them as members of society. My findings illustrate that while educational participation can foster the creation of a SofB, it alone cannot guarantee a SofB. The 1.5GUY's everyday participation allows them to construct their SofB through the knowledge, practices, and attachments they encounter and create, as well as causes youth to expect that these opportunities will continue in the future. Thus, the right to education, while critical, also leads to the establishment of an illusory SofB. Youth's SofB is destabilized when the opportunities for participation parity are unexpectedly thwarted during blocked rites of passage, but also during everyday social encounters. Because shifting social locations are a facet of everyday life, the way 1.5GUY are viewed and judged in everyday interactions also influences their SofB. The combination of social location and participation parity allows me to capture both structural and social forces that shape 1.5GUY's everyday SofB, including temporal, relational, and contextual influences.

However, my findings illustrate that it is too simplified to conclude in absolute or binary terms that SofB is directly related to age or life stage, e.g. that childhood is marked by belonging and adulthood by non-belonging. While educational inclusion and participation influence SofB, they do not necessarily equate to SofB. While indeed processual, the 1.5GUY's SofB is neither unidirectional nor cumulative. My explicit attention to everyday life, in conjunction with the concept of the right to the city, allows me to capture how 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB despite their ULS. My empirical data illustrates coping strategies such as contingency plans; purposely acting, speaking, or dressing in certain ways; and reluctance or avoidance of particular actions, locations, and interactions, furthermore illustrating that expectations about the public and private spheres can be reversed due to ULS. While SofB is indeed consciously managed, data also suggest that over time, strategies morph into normalized responses. While SofB is ongoing and dynamic, data illustrate the micro-dynamics through which SofB is experienced, performed, and contested; even when context and ULS remain

stable, seemingly banal changes, such as topic or language, can shift SofB. While concepts such as recognition, partiality, assimilation, simultaneity, hybridity, liminality, and the third space are useful to my research, they alone cannot capture the constantly contingent micro-dynamics of everyday life for the 1.5GUY who constantly come in and out of SofB—a point I develop throughout this chapter.

8.1 Early Childhood Experiences

8.1.1 Participation Parity, Social Location & SofB

My empirical data illustrate that because the 1.5GUY have the ability to participate on a par with peers in everyday life, they construct their SofB accordingly. There are various examples of how youth construct their SofB in relation to the people, places, and modes-of-being in the United States, indicative in statements such as “I have grown up in the United States,” “this is my home,” “I have a life here,” “I am used to life,” “I know how things work,” “I was being raised here,” “I was with other American peers and residents,” and “everything that my friends had, I had” (sections 5.2.3, 5.2.4). Conversely, without educational parity, the 1.5GUY would not have extensive, systematic opportunities through which to establish SofB via the construction of attachments and identifications with peoples, places, and modes-of-being in the United States. This point is particularly made salient through my application of the concept of “participation parity” (Fraser, 2001) from recognition theory. Through participation parity, I can capture not only the active nature of how SofB is achieved, but more specifically, how the 1.5GUY’s participation in everyday life is promoted through institutional and legislative structures. While the case of the 1.5GUY is a concrete example of how the “politics of belonging” (e.g. Anthias, 2006; Crowley, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2006) work, e.g. how the social construction of membership to a particular group is constructed through political projects, the concept of participation parity more adequately captures the participatory nature of this membership; the 1.5GUY are not only encouraged to participate in society, they work hard to do so, too.

Fundamentally, *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) extended the opportunity to undocumented children to participate on a par with peers in educational, and thus social life. A primary rationalization of this right was the argument against the creation of a permanently undereducated underclass (Olivas, 2005, 2009). In turn, the needs, rights, and membership of this subset of the undocumented population were recognized and validated in contrast to that of the second generation; though neither group has legal residency, it is only the 1.5 generation who, relatively speaking, have been incorporated, protected, validated, and

legitimated. The ability to participate in everyday life often, but not always, renders ULS subordinate to participation; due to participation parity, the 1.5GUY can achieve SofB even despite their ULS. This point is made evident by Beatriz's statement about knowing her ULS, but it seemingly not making a difference: "I went to school and all of that. I didn't care about the papers because I had the opportunity to study and to do the things that other people do." In turn, this reinforces the duality of citizenship status, e.g. that individuals without legal status can experience SofB (e.g. Aleinikoff & Rumbaut, 1998). Because ULS remains constant, ULS alone cannot explain the way the 1.5GUY's experience SofB; indeed, shifting participation parity plays a major role in these experiences.

My empirical data document various ways that the 1.5GUY are able to achieve SofB via the creation of personal connections, attachments, friendships, awareness, knowledge, linguistic abilities, cultural competences, identities, and identifications through their everyday life. As the 1.5GUY are not only exposed to, but also learn or embrace "American" norms and values through everyday participation, these processes are one example of how children's citizenship is characterized by learning (e.g. Delanty, 2003). For example, Leonardo's statement illustrates the connection between knowledge, practices, and perceptions of being American: "I think people see us as kind of more 'American' than undocumented adults...we grew up here. We know how things work." Sofia's statement also reinforces the connection between knowledge, culture, and "American" practices: "I was very much integrated into the American culture. I was pretending to be one of the American people. I was taking classes with the smarter, white people" (section 5.2.4)

That the 1.5GUY establish their SofB through their educational participation supports scholarship which has argued that the educational setting is a key sphere in which immigrant children come into close contact with the host culture via socialization processes (e.g. Lopez, 2003; Seif, 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 2003). However, my research shows that the educational sphere not only exposes youth to norms and socialization processes, but is the fundamental vehicle through which the 1.5GUY are encouraged to establish SofB through practicing, learning, participating, socializing, and being socialized.

This point is made evident by youth who did not know of their ULS growing up, but had no reason to question if or how they were different. Because "nothing was asked" of Marcelo to be able to go to

school or to the park, he constructed their SofB in relation to their peers. Aja's statement, "I was with other American peers and residents. I didn't realize about my status. At the time, I was at a public school and I was just assimilated with everyone else" also illustrates that due to seemingly equal participation, there is no realization of potential differences or any reason to question ULS (section 5.2.4). Yet at the same time, even 1.5GUY who knew of their ULS growing up could achieve SofB. Notably, knowledge of ULS alone does not necessarily negate a SofB for 1.5GUY. For example, Ana Maria explained that her mother was forthcoming about the challenges related to ULS awaiting her into adulthood and could see her undocumented mother being exploited. However, Ana Maria did not think the same life awaited her precisely due to her educational participation and learning processes: "I didn't really think it was going to have the same impact, because I was being raised here. I learned how to speak English, I was going to school" (section 5.3.1). Similarly, other youth cited being raised and educated in the United States, learning English, attending school, pledging the flag, and participating in everyday life for the reasons they did not believe ULS would have the "same impact;" everyday participation leads to the creation of an illusory SofB (section 5.2.4).

My empirical data illustrates that the opportunity to participate in everyday life allows the 1.5GUY to achieve emotions related to SofB, but participation alone cannot explain or guarantee SofB. Indeed, it is precisely the everyday participation in the educational system that exposes 1.5GUY to negative experiences, feelings or consciousness of differences, and discrimination. For example, Isabel experienced physical and emotional consequences: "I got picked on at school, because I didn't know English. I got pushed." Because Sofía did not yet know English, she described the first year in school as "literally the hardest year of my life" and because she "had no idea what to do" she "would cry." Diego's statements illustrate that his physical appearance made him conscious of his differences: "I remember going to school and the kids looking at me like they had never seen a person like me." Diego also added that "the teachers wanted to help me, but they didn't know how, since they didn't speak Spanish." This empirical data reinforces the notion that SofB or the need to belong is salient exactly when an individual realizes they do not (Anthias, 2006). Together, these narratives (section 5.2.1) illustrate that participation does not necessarily lead to experiences of belonging or SofB. Thus, while experiences of belonging vis-à-vis inclusion, participation, and membership can positively influence SofB, they do not always lead to positive experiences and therefore do not guarantee a SofB

for 1.5GUY. Therefore, the concepts of belonging, inclusion, membership, and participation relate to, but are not interchangeable with SofB.

My empirical data illustrate a range of intersectional factors such as linguistic, cultural, racial, ethnic, physical, socio-economic, or physical differences that influence the 1.5GUY's SofB, in addition to ULS. Various scholars have argued that SofB is an intersubjective process (e.g. Ahmed, 2011; Anthias, 2006; Fortier, 2000; Hagerty et al., 1996; Hagerty et al., 1992; Lambert et al., 2013; Marshall, D., 2002; Miller, 2003; Probyn, 1996; Savage, et al., 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006). While the 1.5GUY have the opportunity to participate in everyday life, it is precisely these everyday social interactions which also influence the construction of 1.5GUY's SofB. Yuval-Davis (2006, 2011) has used the concept of "social location" to capture how individuals are positioned within constantly changing, socially constructed axes of power. Yuval-Davis (2006, 2001) has acknowledged that an individual's placement within these axes of power changes; for example, what it means to be a woman not only depends upon intersectional characteristics such as ethnicity, race, and age, but also situational, historical, and geographic contexts. The concept of social location help capture how the 1.5GUY's SofB is influenced during social interactions, for example how ascribed or achieved characteristics related to linguistic, racial, cultural, physical, or ethnic factors are recognized or judged in everyday life and consequently, influence youth's SofB.

It is the combination of decreasing participation parity over time in association with the constant social judgment that comes from shifts in social location that makes 1.5GUY's SofB constantly contingent (Figure 6). Youth's emotions, experiences, and performances depend on an inseparable combination of context, temporality, relation, social location, and participation parity that constantly shift. An emotion may lead to a purposeful performance, just as an experience may cause a particular emotion and require appropriate action. Through everyday participation, the 1.5GUY construct their SofB in relation to American and legal citizen peers from the same age group instead of peers with the same ULS and end up feeling "normal" in relation. These findings support scholarship (e.g. Ahmed, 2011; Anthias, 2006; Christensen & Jensen, 2011; Dench et al., 2006; Gullestad, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010) that has found that individuals construct their SofB in relation to their placement in the social world. Notably, the 1.5GUY's social location and participation parity is precisely what allows them to create an illusory SofB despite knowledge of ULS; knowing ULS is not the same as living ULS.

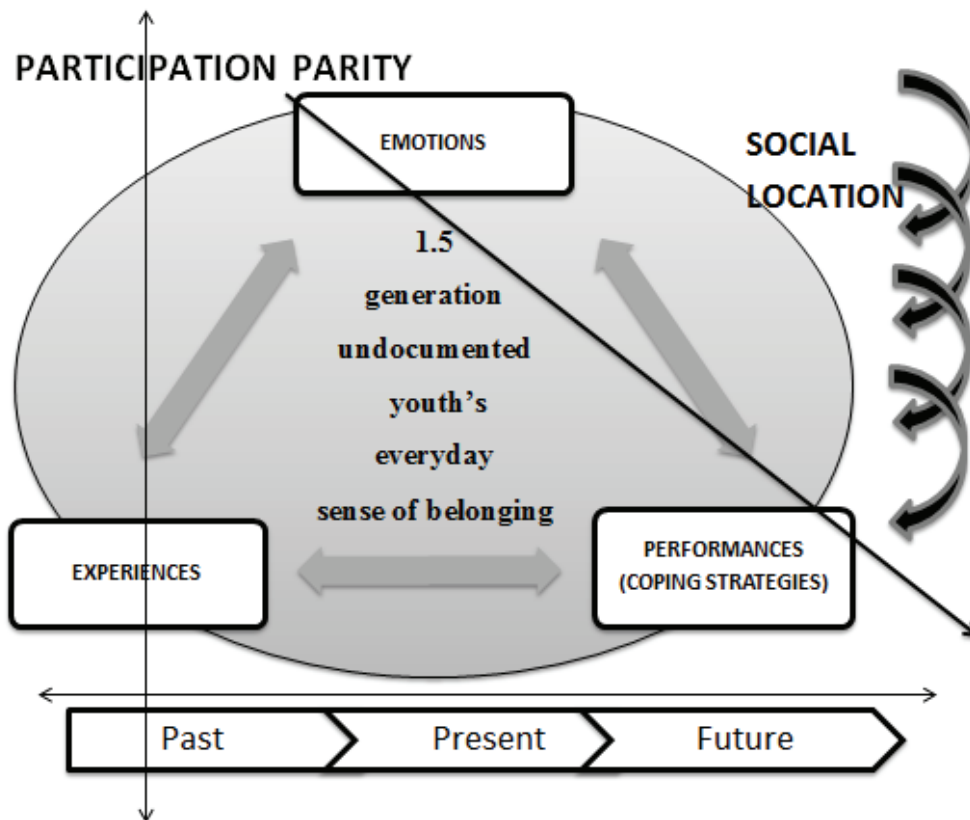


Figure 6 Conceptualization of the 1.5GUY's constantly contingent SofB

8.1.2 Constructing SofB in Everyday Life

There are various examples of how 1.5GUY have constructed their SofB in relation to the peoples, places, and modes-of-being in the United States. For example, youth have indicated that they feel “Americanized,” “assimilated,” “nationalistic,” and “patriotic.” Additionally, they embrace what they perceive to be “American” cultural norms by pledging allegiance to the flag, embracing food and music cultures, being interested or involved in politics, or having relationships with Americans. These findings illustrate that individuals can feel assimilated well before the second or third generations, as has been previously argued (e.g. Aleinikoff & Rumbaut, 1998). Youth who have explained they feel “American” and link these feelings with, for example, linguistic and cultural practices complicate existing research on the 1.5 generation in the field of Applied Linguistics. For example, Benesch (2008) has argued that most scholarship in this field posits the 1.5 generation as perpetually partial;

they are neither first nor second generation, neither immigrant nor native, and always becoming, but never are American. Benesch's (2008) conceptualization of "perpetual partiality" did not take into account ULS, but rather related to social, cultural, and linguistic abilities.

My findings illustrate that many 1.5GUY work hard to master, if not also embrace social, cultural, and linguistic norms. For example, youth have acknowledged that because they have "grown up in" in the United States, they "know how things work" or "speak perfect English." Thus, describing their competences or their SofB as "perpetually partial" adequately captures their overall experiences. These empirical examples suggest a connection between SofB and access to information—a point generally underemphasized in the SofB literature (for an exception, see Fenster, 2005). The concept of the right to the city, which scholars (Lefebvre, 1991b; Purcell, 2002, 2003) have argued is intertwined with access to information and resources also helps capture relationship between information and SofB. However, it is not only having the access to this information, but also how competent the youth perceive themselves to be in relation to mastery of these cultural codes and modes-of-being that relates to their constructions of SofB.

Youth's narratives are characterized by experiences, feelings, and the desire to be "normal." This is in relation to experiences growing up where youth perceive themselves to be normal in relation to peers. This is made evident from Marcelo's statement about his lack of knowledge about ULS: "I had no idea before because I was just living a normal life" and also from Sofía's memories of her "normal," e.g. "white" upbringing. Youth also desire to be, appear, or experience normalcy. As Aja said "I am trying to be a normal student here. [ULS] affects you so much and it's out of my control." Alejandra also made reference to normalcy in contrast to the limitations of ULS in her teenage years: "you are more aware of the things you can't do and the things you should be doing as a "normal" person." Leonardo also indicated a desire "to be as normal as possible, as everyone else." Because this desire for normalcy can be so intense, there are mental health consequences in the absence of perceptions of normalcy, as Leonardo's narrative illustrates (6.1.2.1).

Experiences and perceptions of similarity and feelings of normalcy permeate empirical discussions, whereby confirming what SofB scholars have argued: that SofB entails the desire to be accepted and fit in (e.g. Fortier 1999; Probyn 1996). Through my empirical data, however, I contend that for 1.5GUY,

SofB neither necessarily results from nor is the desire to be accepted regardless of differences, but rather entails the desire to be perceived as normal in relation to others. Stated differently, this particular nuance entails the non-recognition of differences or diversity, whereby allowing the 1.5GUY to achieve a SofB from the comfort that experiences of commonality, homogeneity, and normalcy allow.

My findings illustrate that some 1.5GUY achieve SofB precisely due to experiences of non-recognition, for example by being anonymous or living a banal life, has implications for recognition theory. Various scholars (e.g. Honneth, 1995; Nicholson, 1996; Renault, 2007; Taylor, 1994) have argued that the intersubjective recognition of one's identity is a necessity for the attainment of a good life and further, that being recognized is a fundamental human need. Furthermore, while scholars across disciplines (e.g. Anthias, 1998; Butler, 1990; Jenkins, 2014; Kabeer, 2005; Modood, 2005; Taylor, 1994) have argued that embracing and encouraging diversity is fundamental in modern societies. Indeed, my findings illustrate that the 1.5GUY's SofB is constructed not always in relation to being accepted for their differences, but rather from non-recognition of their ULS. In this regard, youth construct their SofB against perceptions of normalcy that are related to experiences of commonality and banality.

8.1.3 "Conditioning Illegality"

My empirical data document that youth's narratives entail a range of memories of how their parents have shaped their early childhood experiences, including even during the immigration process (section 5.1.1). For example, some parents tell their children they are going on holiday, but not migrating, whereas other parents explicitly connect a holiday with the migration process. Youth's narratives illustrate a diversity of parental approaches (section 5.1.2), for example parents who openly discuss ULS and the associated limitations; avoid discussions about ULS; or postpone disclosure of ULS. Empirical data also includes examples of how parents instruct their children not to divulge birthplace, status as an immigrant, or ULS; and includes instructions to behave in a certain way and not get into trouble, so as to avoid police suspicion. Whether parent's actions are explicitly or implicitly related to ULS, and whether youth are conscious or unconscious of these actions at the time is less important than the omnipresence of these parental strategies.

My data also documents how youth's memories are engrained with avoidance: avoiding interactions with the police or locations where authorities are known to frequent; avoiding public locations where unpleasant experiences have previously occurred; or avoiding public conversations in their native and common language (section 7.2.2). Furthermore, my empirical material illustrates non-participation early in life, including not being able to attend a school fieldtrip (section 5.2.2) or a daily errand with family friends. Contingency plans that require a youth to memorize in detail who to call should a family member not return home and therefore presumably be detained illustrate not only how parents condition early childhood experiences, but also how fear can be learned early on (section 5.3.2). Additionally, youth may internalize a fear of authorities and interactions with police. For example, Isabel cited the intense fear she had when her mother's car broke down and the police stopped to help: "I shouldn't have to have a mini-heart attack. Your heart just drops. Your whole body is just paralyzed with fear" (section 7.2.3.1).

These findings support scholarship which documents that the family is a crucial institution for children's development socially, culturally, educationally, and psychologically (e.g. Lopez, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). These empirical findings also illustrate a link between ULS, SofB, and the family unit. Particularly due to the prevalence of parental coping strategies, the early childhood impact of ULS, and the implications on SofB, I suggest adding "conditioning" to Gonzales' (2011) three stages of "learning to be illegal" (discovery, learning, and coping). As a concept, "conditioning illegality" can help capture the early childhood impact of ULS well before the teenage years and blocked rites of passage, as well as how parents influence childhood experiences of SofB in relation to ULS.

8.1.4 Public vs. Private SofB

There are public and private dynamics of SofB that are present in my empirical data, and a phenomenon which the concepts of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991a, 1991b) and the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991a, 1991b; Purcell, 2002, 2003; see also section 3.1.2.1) help capture. My empirical data illustrate how the "condition of illegality" permeates everyday life in what is often assumed to be the comfortable, private sphere. For example, in the family setting, a 1.5GUY may come to understand the limitations of ULS, as they learn firsthand that a younger U.S.-born citizen sibling can participate in activities they cannot (section 5.2.2). As Ralph's narrative demonstrates

(section 5.2.1), discrimination can also come from extended family members. He recalled that his cousins “taunted me about my status...They basically made fun of me because I didn’t know English as well...they would kind of point me out because I was undocumented...because I wasn’t from here.” Ralph concluded that “they brought so much humiliation, not only to me, but to my parents—because I do remember them taunting my parents as well.”

The subversion of the public and private sphere for 1.5GUY is also made evident by youth’s feelings of distress when a parent unexpectedly returns home late. Isabel’s narrative illustrates a constant consciousness of her mother’s work schedule and her expected arrival time, including the emotional distress caused by an unexpectedly late return (section 5.3.2). Yet simultaneously, Isabel knew that her mother could be apprehended in her family home: “this is the mentality I was raised with: ‘If you see people at our house, don’t go into the house. Keep walking. Don’t look at us. Ignore us.’ It is really frightening to be eight, with your brother. You are all by yourself, your family isn’t there.” The delicate balance between security and insecurity in the private sphere is also made evident by Andrés narrative (section 7.1.1). While visiting a family member’s home, he became entangled in immigration operations and was swiftly placed in deportation proceedings. Further, Pilar’s narrative (section 7.2.3.1) illustrates that a youth may be fearful of leaving their home due to the presence of police or immigration authorities outside. Thus, while everyday participation in the public sphere is blocked, an individual may also become trapped in their home. As such, one’s private sphere is not necessarily a place of freedom and comfort, but rather one of confinement and discomfort.

8.1.5 Early Childhood Fear

The presence of fear across contexts, places, and times adds new dynamics to previous studies (e.g. Abrego, 2006) which have concluded that the 1.5GUY experience stigma, whereas the second generation experience fear. Notably, when I directly asked youth “are you fearful of anything?” some said yes and clarified further, whereas others said no; however, fear is present during other discussions within the same interview, including in relation to early childhood experiences. This highlights the methodological importance of indirectly studying phenomenon to more fully capture their essence, including asking indirect or multiple questions. The presence of emotions such as fear, discomfort, or insecurity suggest that some 1.5GUY are both aware of and experience the negative impacts of ULS much earlier than their teenage years, as has previously been documented (e.g. Gonzales, 2011).

Therefore, my findings complicate existing scholarship that has described the childhood experiences of 1.5GUY as those of protection, inclusion, and de facto legality (e.g. Abrego, 2011; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2011; Suárez-Orozco, 2009; Suárez-Orozco 2011), as there are also experiences of fear, non-protection, discrimination, and exclusion. My data also reveal that 1.5GUY have experiences of non-protection, exclusion, and “illegality,” just as various scholars (e.g. Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011) have found to be the case for undocumented adults.

All of the early childhood experiences represented in this dissertation are an integral part of the 1.5GUY’s overall experience related to SofB, and furthermore illustrate how ULS can impact 1.5GUY well before blocked rites of passage. My empirical data illustrate a diversity of ways in which SofB is challenged even in the most banal settings. These findings contribute qualitatively to a relatively overlooked time and life stage in relation to studies on the 1.5GUY. As established by Enriquez (2011), scholars often focus on teenage and young adult experiences, if not explicitly on higher educational access issues (see e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales 2010; Cebulko, 2014; Corruner, 2012; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012).

8.2 Rites of Passage

8.2.1 Destabilized SofB & Living ULS

Regardless of if or how the 1.5GUY struggled during childhood, experienced feelings of difference or discrimination, or if they knew of their ULS, the blocked rites of passage that youth encounter in their teenage years present challenges to their SofB (Chapter Six). This dramatic and sudden destabilization of SofB has a number of empirical and conceptual implications.

Youth’s narratives in relation to blocked rites of passage indicate challenges to identity and well-being when youth begin living through the increasing limitations of ULS. Assimilation scholars have contended that as “narratives of social belonging” (Aleinikoff & Rumbaut, 1998), assimilation processes are linear and cumulative experiences (e.g. Alba, 1985; Aleinikoff & Rumbaut, 1998; Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Rumbaut, 2005; Warner & Srole, 1945). American Sociologists (e.g. Aleinikoff & Rumbaut, 1998; Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945) have also

argued that assimilation entails a process of increasingly becoming American as individuals decreasingly identify with their past modes-of-being. However, for 1.5GUY, SofB is neither linear nor cumulative.

While the 1.5GUY's SofB may be greater in one situation than another, SofB does not increase in a unidirectional manner. For example, a youth who experienced feelings of difference or discomfort upon arrival in the United States due to any range of legal, cultural, linguistic, racial, ethnic, ethnic, or physical factors, can later experience SofB via feelings or experiences of normalcy, assimilation, attachment, acceptance, or identification with American values. Leonardo's narrative illustrates this: "It was a little difficult at first. You are learning a new language... once I got the language part got settled down, I excelled in school. I was getting As, Bs. I was getting into clubs, I was getting awards. I was really excited because it builds up your self-esteem in many ways" (section 6.1.2.1). However, long after arrival, a youth's SofB can be suddenly destabilized, which is especially evident from experiences in teenage years. Leonardo's hard work meant mastery of competences, which in turn built up his self-esteem. Suddenly, however, "everything kind of took a downward spiral in high school when I was sixteen years old and I couldn't apply for a license, get a job, or do the things a lot of my friends were doing" and Leonardo experienced "deep depression." The extensive structural barriers Leonardo was facing due to his ULS had emotional consequences.

The inability to continue participating on a par with peers in everyday life comes both abruptly and unexpectedly. This change —especially when ULS has remained constant—has various psychological implications such as uncertainty, stress, shock, anxiety, disappointment, desperation, doubt, insecurity, identity crises, depression, discomfort, frustration, the inability to sleep, and reduced appetite (e.g. section 6.1.2). For example, Gustavo explained: "I started becoming ashamed of being an immigrant. It's kind of like an identity crisis. You start feeling like you have a double life. You start hiding yourself" in relation to the increasingly challenges (section 6.3). These emotions, which are quite the opposite of those normally associated with SofB, are experienced by 1.5GUY regardless of whether they have recently learned or if they have always known their ULS. Festinger's (1957) concept of cognitive dissonance, in which psychological discomfort results from non-fitting cognitions, helps capture the psychological impacts of the destabilization of SofB which occurs during blocked rites of passage and as 1.5GUY live their ULS.

Youth's narratives illustrate challenges in relation to domestic and international travel, obtaining driver's licenses, working, and applying for university, and therefore supports existing research which has documented the challenges that 1.5GUY encounter as they attempt to transition through typical American teenage rites of passage (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Coutin, 2007, 2008; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). I contribute to this knowledge qualitatively, especially as I focus on the everyday impact challenges have on youth's SofB.

Youth's narratives provide compelling evidence that while SofB is not cumulative, it is shaped by the accumulation of past experiences. While Fortier (1999) has claimed that past experiences create grounds for remembrances, the role that the past has in shaping present SofB is underemphasized in SofB literature. When the 1.5GUY encounter limitations and contradictions during their late teenage and early adult years, they are confronted with the uncomfortable reality that the participation parity through which they have constructed their SofB throughout the duration of their lives in the United States will not continue in the future. It is precisely because the 1.5GUY have been invited and legitimized as participants despite their ULS that the understanding of their limited opportunities for participation is not only contradictory, but also traumatic. As Javier explained: "the worst thing is that if you do get past those barriers...that uncertainty about the future can really have a big impact, not only on your motivation...it can add to that depression" (section 7.3.1).

8.2.1.1 "Suspended Illegality" as Misrecognition

Because the 1.5GUY are not merely unable to participate fully and equally into adulthood, but that this inability comes after extended periods of purposeful legitimization, membership, and systematic participation parity makes the establishment of an illusory SofB all the more unjust. My findings support Gonzales' (2011) concept of "suspended illegality," which has been used to capture the ways in which ULS rarely limits activities in childhood, but does so later in life. My empirical data illustrate the late onset of pervasive challenges due to ULS, including a range of consequences to overall well-being. Through the concept of misrecognition (e.g. Fraser, 2001; Fraser & Honneth, 2003), we can conceive of these emotional consequences not as the result of personal weakness, but rather those that result from social injustices and structural limitations. As the 1.5GUY have not only knowingly resided in the United States, but have also been allowed to participate—only until their teenage years—I suggest characterizing the experiences of everyday imparity into adulthood as misrecognition. This

concept allows us to capture these experiences as the manifestation of social injustices via purposeful and institutionalized inferiority, exclusion, subordination, and denial of full partnership and participation in the public sphere.

8.2.1.2 *The “Condition of Illegality” as Disbelonging*

This misrecognition, however, extends beyond blocking participation in social life and permeates the private sphere. Youth’s narratives from their childhood and teenage years indicate the presence of fear which is linked to ULS and the potential for deportation. Whether described as the “condition of illegality” (e.g. Genova, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004; de Genova & Peutz, 2010; Kanstroom, 2010, 2012), or “abjectivity” (e.g. Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Willen, 2007), fearing detention or deportation of oneself or a family member is a condition of everyday life. The potential for deportation is something that causes Elena to plan extensively in everyday life: “plan A, B, C, D, E, F, G ‘cause one day you can just wake up and you may be put in deportation proceedings” (section 7.3.1). Youth’s experiences of detainment or narratives of hypothetical emergency contingency plans (section 5.3.2) also illustrate how this condition permeates the everyday lives of 1.5GUY and disrupts SofB in the private sphere.

While ULS is an individual immigration status and is uniquely experienced, my findings demonstrate that ULS is a relational condition. This phenomenon is made evident by the parental approaches to ULS, experiences within mixed status families, and the fear that some youth have in relation to their own deportation, or that of their parents. As Julia explained of deportation: “there was always that fear that it could happen to us” (section 5.3.2). Some youth have indicated that the way they discuss or disclose ULS or even DACAmented status is done in relation to their parents’ safety; while 1.5GUY may be relatively more protected, there are various instances in which youth acknowledge that the same is not the case for their parents. For example, Javier indicated that though he had DACA, his parents had no such protection; as such, they “were even afraid” of him being interviewed (section 7.1.2.2). In turn, this reinforces the notion that ULS influences significant others. That ULS is a shared burden is generally underexplored in the literature on undocumented immigrants (see Enriquez, 2015 for an exception).

Youth’s narratives citing fear, uncertainty, anxiety, desperation, despair, insecurity, or frustration illustrate the everyday emotional impact of ULS. The 1.5GUY’s negative emotions are especially the

result of knowing that either they or an undocumented parent may be detained or deported. These findings furthermore illustrate the lived vulnerability that results from social injustice and purposeful misrecognition as produced from above. The purposeful denial of the attachments that 1.5GUY have to the peoples, places, and modes-of-being in the United States can furthermore be captured through Plumwood's (2002) concept of "disbelonging." Plumwood (2002) has used the term in relation to the inability to remain in one's "home"—a physical house, city, or country—due to the purposeful denial or rejection of connections. Whether conceived of as disbelonging (Plumwood, 2000), misrecognition (Fraser, 2001; Fraser & Honneth, 2003), or non-recognition (Carleheden et al., 2012), these concepts cannot capture how individuals move from experiences of purposeful legitimization, membership, protection, and acknowledgement to purposeful exclusion and non-recognition. However, these concepts can help capture the everyday fear which conditions the 1.5GUY's lives as the manifestation of social injustice, in turn highlighting the need for legal identity or citizenship status in everyday life. While exposure to the experience of disbelonging is an everyday condition, I refrain from conceptualizing the 1.5GUY's overall experience as non-belonging, misbelonging, dis-belonging, or un-belonging, as there are indications of SofB after blocked rites of passage—a point I turn to next.

8.3 Coping Strategies & Performances of SofB

While the narratives of 1.5GUY represented in this dissertation provide clear examples of challenges to SofB in everyday life, their experiences into adulthood are not only or always characterized by inferiority, exclusion, or subordination. It is especially due to my focus on the everyday which reveals that SofB is not wholly absent, but rather a constantly contingent process. My overarching research question has allowed me not only to uncover how the 1.5GUY experience SofB, but also how they actively cope with SofB in everyday life. Indeed, my findings illustrate a range of purposeful coping strategies that 1.5GUY employ to manage SofB, mitigate negative experiences, or avoid them altogether across contexts, temporalities, situations, and relations. In turn, this focus allows me to acknowledge that the 1.5GUY are agents who actively construct their lives—albeit ones who do so within the new dialectics of what is real and possible when living through the increasing limitations of ULS.

That the 1.5GUY employ coping strategies in relation to their SofB confirms various scholars' conceptualizations of SofB as active, purposeful, and conscious performance (e.g. Bell, 1999; Butler,

1990, 1993; Fortier, 1999; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 1996). Furthermore, my empirical data illustrate that experiences suggestive of “non-belonging,” e.g. those that have resulted in feelings of discomfort, discrimination, or fear are purposely managed by 1.5GUY in their everyday lives. Thus, experiences of non-belonging are not only passive experiences, but ones that 1.5GUY actively work to manage in relation to their SofB. Within this sub-section, I examine performances, contingency plans, false narratives, coming out strategies, social movement participation, and purposeful avoidance as key coping strategies derived from my empirical data. Overall, these coping strategies contribute to existing research on the 1.5GUY and add nuances to Gonzales’ (2011) concept of “coping” with “illegality.” Gonzales (2011) has argued that “coping” takes place between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine and result as undocumented youth abandon past aspirations and understand that the challenges associated with ULS are permanent rather than temporary. My findings, however, document that 1.5GUY employ coping strategies far earlier, e.g. in their teenage years and do so not in relation to the abandonment of plans, but often as a means to manage SofB in everyday life.

8.3.1 Performing Normalcy to Attain SofB

One phenomenon that was present across contexts and interviews was the importance of “normalcy” in relation to SofB. For example, youth believed that by appearing “normal” in relation to their peers, the illusion of normalcy would decrease any suspicion of their ULS. In this regard, the selection of clothing to appear “American” is anything but a banal choice. Instead, clothing is purposefully selected to mitigate any suspicion that an individual is undocumented while simultaneously increasing feelings of safety and comfort, for example when going through airport security. Youth have indicated that they do or could alter the way they speak, act, or look to enact a normalized “American” identity and therefore signify attachment to the United States. As Sofia’s narrative illustrates, youth may purposely choose clothing to “appear as Americanized as possible” when going through airport security, so as “to change the perception of whomever is looking at your ID” (section 7.2.3.2). Youth’s clothing choice may be the result of wanting to look and feel comfortable, mitigate fear, and give perceptions of belonging to outsiders.

Felipe explained that he has thought about the possibility of saying “You’re at the Jones’” in a “perfect American accent” should a police officer or immigration authority knock at his door (section 7.2.1.1).

This also illustrates the conscious ability of some 1.5GUY to manage SofB by downplaying racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, or other characteristics perceived to be associated with ULS and the ability to have non-fitting racial, linguistic, or ethnic stereotypes work to their advantage. However, that such thoughts or actions are needed clearly illustrate the everyday impact of ULS, including the myriad situations which constantly challenge SofB for 1.5GUY. These purposeful actions point to the desire for non-recognition and anonymity in the attempts to avoid recognition of their ULS. While Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) conceptualized “belonging” as a combination of conscious awareness and action that signifies or enacts an identity, these examples suggest a heightened awareness due to ULS, as well as how otherwise banal choices become significant practices to symbolize normalcy and manage SofB in everyday life.

8.3.2 Hypothetical Contingency Plans

Youth’s narratives illustrate the extensive planning that ULS requires, including the need plan for hypothetical emergency situations, such as the detainment or deportation of a parent, or considering alterations on the life course (section 6.2), for example “self-deportation,” marriage for papers, being adopted by an extended family member. While these plans have not been actualized, they nonetheless illustrate the extensive deliberations and pre-emptive strategies youth make to manage SofB, potentially rectify their ULS, and (re)gain equal opportunities for participation in everyday life. Because these are hypothetical plan, it is unclear what the tipping point to actualizing these plans are. However, considerations about marriage add new dynamics to Cebulko’s (2015) study, which found that undocumented youth will not marry for papers.

The 1.5GUY’s contingency plans demonstrate new constellations in otherwise recognized major events in the life course such as getting married, moving out of one’s family’s home, and building one’s own family (e.g. van Gennep, 2011). However, instead of these events being marked by celebration, these considerations deviate from tradition and may result from necessity and desperation rather than choice. For example, Gustavo explained that he felt like there was “nothing” he could do, which is why he started considering returning to Brazil: “it was just a feeling, a helpless feeling, like my future was ruined” (section 6.2.1). Julia explained that she did not want to get married out of need, but because she was “really tired at that point. Really disappointed in how my life had turned out to be because of this limitation,” she “would have gone through the whole process” if necessary (section 6.2.2). Cristina

explained that she “was deprived of so many things” because her mother wanted to keep her safe; her mother became increasingly desperate to find a way for Cristina to work or drive legally and began considering having an extended family member adopt Cristina (section 6.2.3). While Cristina said “I don’t want to be adopted. That was a scary thing,” she also explained “it would be faster. It was an opportunity.” Notably, some of the 1.5GUY’s coping strategies entail choices they do not want to make, but could make life easier. Thus, their coping strategies often entail trade-offs: one may have to undertake a negative experience or emotion to achieve SofB in a different context.

8.3.3 False Narratives

The use of “false narratives” is prevalent throughout my empirical data and a strategy that primarily results from the avoidance of disclosing ULS (section 6.3). For some youth, ULS is a “sensitive issue;” thus, they prefer to use false narratives to maintain or signify SofB via experiences and feelings of normalcy, acceptance, and similarity. Conversely, they avoid judgment, stigma, difference, and discomfort that they anticipate would come as the result of disclosing ULS. My data illustrates that youth often, but not explicitly, use false narratives in relation to blocked rite of passage, e.g. that they use them to rationalize their non-participation in activities such as driving, working, attending university, or travelling abroad. Youth may also use false narratives to explain actions that appear to deviate from the perceived norm, such as why they only attend university part time, why they are a student and working in a particular industry, or why they are not participating in activities that their peers expect them to.

Youth occasionally cite their parents in conjunction with false narratives, for example Sofía claimed that her “overprotective parents” will not let her drive and Gustavo cited his mother’s car accident as the reason to delay getting his license. Youth have also evoked cultural stereotypes, for example Julia cited her “typical” “Spanish dad” who will not allow his daughter to participate on a “trip with boys” as the reason for non-participation in an international trip instead of revealing the real reason: ULS. In general, the use of false narratives is an underexplored aspect in relation to research on the 1.5GUY, especially in conjunction with SofB (for exceptions see Benedict Christensen, 2015; Gonzales, 2015). However, findings support research from two other studies conducted in a different legal, geographic, and cultural contexts. Kohli (2006) found that unaccompanied, asylum-seeking youth are purposely silent or circumvent discussions about migration experiences so as to avoid exposure as non-legal in

the United Kingdom. Sigona (2012) documented how individuals with various forms of non-legal residency in the U.K. use concealment or lies in their everyday social interactions.

My findings illustrate that the use of false narratives is both problematic and normalized. For example, Daniel explained that he says “whatever comes to mind” and Julia said they are a “part of me.” These examples suggest that these once purposeful performances have become normalized, if not morphed into un-reflected routines. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) have argued that SofB is the combination of conscious awareness and action that signifies or enacts an identity (e.g. Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004), while elsewhere, scholars (e.g. de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre 1991a, 1991b) have conceptualized the everyday to be characterized by rote, un-reflected routine. My focus on the everyday suggests a tension between repetitive and normalized routines and conscious awareness.

Furthermore, the usage of false narratives, amongst other coping strategies, reveals that the everyday is fraught for 1.5GUY. The 1.5GUY’s everyday lives require routines to purposely manage their sense of safety, security, and identity in otherwise seemingly common scenarios. However, these everyday routines also entails a complicated choice between two undesirable outcomes; often, youth must make trade-offs between one negative experience and another to achieve the least-worst outcome. For example, Javier explained that he was “just so afraid of what would happen” if he disclosed his ULS: deportation for himself or his family. Thus, he remained secretive, but also observed “I lost a lot of friends because I wouldn’t open up.” While the usage of false narratives “bothers” Julia, the alternative—disclosing ULS was worse. As Julia explained, that “would make it in a way real that I am different,” again implicating the desire for the illusion of normalcy in relation to SofB. While neither the loss of friendship nor frustrating is a desired outcome, these examples illustrate that youth often need to make trade-offs in relation to managing their everyday SofB, at times choosing what they perceive to be the least-worst option, rather than the ideal option.

My exploration of false narratives also illustrates that they can be temporary solutions with disadvantages, not just benefits, to SofB. My findings illustrate that the very experiences and emotions false narratives intend to maintain—normalcy, acceptance, cohesion, similarity, positive sense of self, etc.—can be replaced by frustration, aggravation, and compromised sense of self through the “constant need” to lie. For example, Lina acknowledged that the use of false narratives was meant to safeguard

herself against stigma, shame, and fear, but also reached a critical tipping point where these coping strategies also produce aggravation and a compromised sense of self.

That false narratives are both a burden and benefit supports findings by scholars who have found that purposeful silence or circumvention (Kohli, 2006) or concealment or lies (Sigona, 2012) in relation to legal statuses can both protect and lead to interpersonal consequences. The concept of being “closeted” from LGBT literature is particularly useful in capturing the psychological damage caused by not divulging ULS. For example, LGBT scholars Mosher (2011) and Vargo (1998) have argued that non-disclosure of sexual orientation can prevent individuals from living freely and truly, can sacrifice integrity, and damage sense of self, which is the case for some 1.5GUY’s experiences represented here. However, that some 1.5GUY prefer false narratives to coming out about ULS suggests that in these particular cases, the use of false narratives has not yet caused identity quandaries that destabilize SofB. Over time, however, this may change, cause cognitive dissonance, and propel these youth to shed their false identities and come out about ULS—as illustrated by one youth’s narrative describing the aggravation and compromised sense of self that resulted from a constant the constant use of false narratives (sections 6.3.2, 7.1.1.).

8.3.4 Coming Out

8.3.4.1 Dynamics of Disclosures

My exploration of the 1.5GUY’s coming out experiences contributes empirical understanding to a relatively underexplored aspect within studies on 1.5GUY and more specifically, documents the relationship between managing ULS and SofB in everyday life. My usage of the concept of “coming out” from LGBT scholarship has enabled me to capture the constantly contingent nature of SofB, but also how 1.5GUY must constantly make decisions about ULS in their everyday lives, in relation to processes of self-discovery (Rust, 1999), identity development and exploration (Rosario et al., 2011; Rust, 1993); and disclosure (Hill, 2009). My empirical discussions illuminate the various dynamics of coming out about ULS, including considerations for or against coming out, to whom, why, and where (section 7.1.2). For example, Ofelia quizzes the individual about their stance on immigration, David enjoys sharing his ULS and watching people’s reactions, and Alfonso said it is good to raise awareness of undocumented immigrants in the United States.

These deliberations also illustrate that coming out in the undocumented sense is, in some ways, similar to the LGBT sense. For example, LGBT scholars have argued that coming out is more complex than realizing one is different and divulging this knowledge to others (McLean, 2007). Indeed, coming out is a dynamic process that requires constant management of personal identity, as well as the risks of disclosure depending on context, relation, location, etc. (e.g. McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004). My findings do illustrate some differences, however. For example, while Connell (2012) found that positive institutional environments motivate LGBT individuals to come out, the same cannot be said about coming out undocumented. This point is made salient by the fact that some 1.5GUY who participate in organizations explicitly geared towards undocumented immigrant's rights do not share their ULS with group members. While coming out may be linked with social movement participation, the two strategies are not always interconnected; neither discussing nor disclosing ULS is a requirement for participation, nor attaining SofB in this regard.

Another key difference in coming out LGBT versus undocumented is that the 1.5GUY need to know their ULS before they can explore, understand, and make subsequent decisions about disclosure. As discussed previously, my empirical data documents a diversity of parental approaches in relation to discussions and disclosure of ULS. For the 1.5GUY who do not know of their ULS growing up, but repeatedly ask their parents about when they can drive, travel abroad, work, or attend university, the imperative to disclose ULS is on the parent; a youth's ability to come out about ULS is firstly contingent upon parental disclosure. Parents shape disclosure and non-disclosure practices already early in life, which furthermore illustrates that coming out undocumented can be a shared process with collective consequences.

8.3.4.2 Intrapersonal Benefits & Interpersonal Consequences

Regardless of whether 1.5GUY avoided disclosure of their ULS or purposefully employed false narratives earlier in life as an alternative to disclosure, my findings document a marked change in emotions before and after coming out. For youth who have come out about ULS in some manner, their reflections on life pre-coming out illustrate negative emotions not normally associated with SofB, for example fear, secrecy, isolation, compromised sense of self, identity crises, depression, or anxiety. In contrast, youth's narratives illustrate feelings of relief, solidarity, acceptance, positive self-worth, or empowerment after disclosing ULS. My incorporation of the concept of coming out from LGBT

scholarship has also been fruitful in capturing how coming out about ULS is important for achieving a positive sense of self, living life openly and honestly, reducing stress, improving relationships, and increasing overall well-being (e.g. Berzon, 2001; Coleman, 1982; Solomon et al., 2015; Vargo. 1998).

My empirical data illustrates that coming out about ULS is a dynamic process and one that can be filled with competing emotions, again highlighting the need to make trade-offs as part of the everyday management of SofB. For example, Ofelia explained the particular complexity associated with coming out to significant others: “I always think ‘what if I tell them and they react bad?’ or ‘What if I tell them and they want to break up with me?’” While she admitted “the fear is always there,” she also explained that “if I don’t tell them, I am hiding something important about my life... an important piece of the puzzle. I can’t leave it out. I like being truthful.” For Ofelia, coming out entails navigating between fear, risks, and secrecy, as well as the risk of compromised sense of self. As youth navigate unknown outcomes in relation to coming out, they may need to make trade-offs between the achievement of one emotion related to SofB and the sacrifice of another. This includes youth’s long-term fear in association with ending a relationship with a significant other who knows one’s ULS. Further, as Felipe’s narrative illustrates (section 7.1.2.3), there can indeed be consequences to disclosing ULS to the “wrong” person in the form of harassment and long-term fear. The consequences are worth mentioning, so as to avoid reifying coming out undocumented as an imperative or solely beneficial process; LGBT scholars argue against the idealization of coming out precisely for these reasons (e.g. McLean, 2007; Rasmussen, 2004).

8.3.4.3 Public/Private: Scale & (Non) Intimacy of Coming Out

As part of the ongoing coming out process, some 1.5GUY have explained that they wear t-shirts with the words “undocumented, unafraid, and unapologetic”—or even showed up to interviews wearing them. Here again, a seemingly banal activity such as selecting clothing is a significant action; this particular choice also allows youth to make a statement without saying a word. Yet while it discloses ULS, it also signifies identification with a particular group in the process. That some youth are so open about their ULS in public leads me to an interesting phenomenon about coming out in the public versus private spheres.

Some youth I interviewed rationalized against coming out to their peers, friends, and significant others due to perceptions of fear. This finding reinforces what Grov et al (2006) found in the LGBT context:

fear is often associated with coming out and particularly linked to fear of relationship loss. The 1.5GUY's narratives illustrate that fear is indeed prominent, but also manifests itself in relation to fear of "judgement," "awkwardness," "vulnerability," "being looked at differently," or making it "real that I am different." Thus, for 1.5GUY, fear of disclosing ULS is tied to both the loss of intimate relationships, as well as the loss of the illusions of normalcy. However, some of the same youth who avoid disclosing ULS in the private sphere are indeed the ones who come out publically and en masse in protests, marches, or press conferences. In these situations, youth believe that they can hide behind quantity in public, but the private sphere offers no such way to hide from potential judgment. The rationale one 1.5GUY used in her decision to come out publically, but not privately is telling: "I think it's because they don't know who I am, they don't know my name...I guess it's because I haven't built relationships with them and I feel like I would be judged." Her statement suggests that it is precisely the absence of relations which decreases fear and increases trust.

The connection between non-intimacy and non-existing fear of judgment also presented itself during interviews. For example, some youth who met with and discussed their ULS in detail with me also told me that they had not divulged their ULS to even their closest relations. When asked why they agreed to meet with me, they explained that because I was a stranger, they did not fear judgment—we had no existing relationship, so there was no relation to lose. Methodologically, this suggests that my ability to gain access to not only vulnerable populations, but also the intimate details of their lives, was possible precisely because I was a stranger. While during the recruitment and interview processes, I shared personal details, and more than one youth remarked that this allowed them to "connect" with me, there appears to be a fine balance between building rapport and remaining an outsider.

Together, these points have conceptual implications for SofB. For example, achieving SofB is possible from experiences of non-recognition; it is precisely the perception of anonymity that offers a refuge of comfort and safety. Furthermore, it is precisely the absence of relationships which can free an individual from fear of judgment. While Probyn (2006) and Yuval-Davis (2006) have argued that SofB results from and is driven by the desire for attachments to people, my data illustrates that the reverse can also be true: in certain contexts, achieving a SofB may be possible precisely due to the absence of attachments, intimacy, or relations which in turn leads to feelings of comfort, freedom, and safety.

Yet there are also empirical examples which document that some 1.5GUY come out publically not to be hidden or anonymous, but rather to raise awareness of the unique circumstances and challenges of the undocumented population. Some youth rationalize their participation in mass public “outings” because they believe that the more people who know them, their ULS, and their struggles, the safer they are. As one youth said, coming out publically is a “life strategy.” She furthermore explained the perception held by some 1.5GUY: that immigration authorities stay away from the most active, public, and well-connected 1.5GUY. In this regard, the more people who recognize a 1.5GUY and know their story, the more people there are to fight should this youth be put into deportation proceedings. This is another example of the reversal of public/private norms, e.g. that by thrusting private information into the public sphere, one achieves SofB through the association of safety that comes with recognition.

8.3.4.4 Coming In & Out: Returns to the Closet

A final aspect that connects coming out about ULS and SofB is that coming out is rarely an absolute or completed process. Indeed, my empirical findings reveal that some 1.5GUY return to non-disclosure after periods of openly sharing ULS as a result of personal choice or need, purposeful performance, or external imposition (section 7.1.3). For example, a 1.5GUY who was out in high school where ULS was not only accepted, but also common may no longer disclose upon transitioning to a university where ULS is not common and therefore potentially not accepted. This was the case for Issa, who explained that ULS “hit me right in the face” when she made the transition to university and began hiding her ULS. As Aja’s narrative illustrates, a 1.5GUY may be openly out while dedicating her summer to work on undocumented immigrant rights, but upon returning to university in the fall may purposely avoid disclosure in attempts to lead a “normal” life. Conversely, Elena, who was openly out in all other contexts of her personal life may be obliged by her employer to conceal her ULS—a process which also had emotional consequences.

Scholarship conceptualizing coming out to be dynamic, fluid, non-linear, multi-dimensional processes of constant identity negotiation (e.g. McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001) help capture the dynamic ways that 1.5GUY must decide to conceal or reveal their ULS in everyday life depending upon context, temporality, situation, relation, etc. Furthermore, it is especially the acknowledgement by a number of LGBT scholars (e.g. Connell, 2012; McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004) who have contended that an important facet of coming out includes potential returns

to the “closet” which helps capture the dynamic processes of coming out about ULS. Just as coming out about LGBT orientation is never a completed process, neither is coming out about ULS; youth may indeed decide or be forced to “return to the shadows” depending upon context. In the case of imposed concealment against a youth’s own desire, the concept of ascribed identity, which scholars (e.g. Huddy, 2001; Jenkins, 2014) have used to capture the consequences of an imposed identity helps capture that ascriptions of the illusion of belonging do not necessarily result in SofB. Further, the concept of cognitive dissonance (e.g. Festinger, 1957), can capture the compromised sense of self and well-being that occurs in the process when a youth is constantly aware of, but not true to herself. The emotional consequences are made evident through statements such as “I always had to watch what I was going to be saying and doing,” “I got annoyed with having to lie,” “this is out of control” “one lie kept snowballing into a lot of more things,” “the dynamics were just really awkward,” and “I just felt like I wasn’t being myself.” Overall, coming out literature allows me to capture the constantly processual nature of SofB; some 1.5GUY come in and out about ULS, but they all constantly come in and out of SofB in everyday life.

8.3.5 Social Movement Participation

Even after intense negative experiences and emotions brought on by blocked rites of passage or other everyday challenges associated with ULS, discussions with 1.5GUY illustrate that social movement participation allows some youth to achieve SofB through feelings or experiences of empowerment, commonality, solidarity, relief, pride, and acceptance (section 7.4). The 1.5GUY’s social movement participation also illustrates the purposeful ways youth attempt to make social and political change in the United States. Though Jørgensen (2012) coined the term “subcultural sense of belonging” to capture how individuals develop and achieve a SofB to their local, rather than national communities, this concept nonetheless captures how individuals achieve SofB via organizational attachment, which is also similar to Christensen (2009) and Christensen and Jensen’s (2011) notion of “meso” level SofB. Notably, due to clear indications that the 1.5GUY achieve SofB through social movement participation and organizational attachment—even despite their ULS and after blocked rites of passage—this suggests that we cannot conclude on absolute, stable, or binary terms that there is “no place” for the 1.5GUY to belong, as has been previously argued (e.g. Corruner, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013).

Another facet of youth's social movement participation which relates to SofB is how negative experiences can lead to positive outcomes and emotions (sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2). For example, Gabriela explained that before she joined an organization, she "felt all alone," but in meeting other youth she found "a community." Luiza explained that ULS "kept me up at night," but when she joined an organization, it was "amazing." Gustavo was experiencing shame, a compromised sense of self, and identity crises, but when he joined the youth-led movement realized: "oh my God, they are going through the same things I am...I belonged...it was really empowering...so positive. It was very emotional." Ana Maria similarly explained that youth can "see how everyone is connected through their struggles" and Lina similarly said "even though you are unsure about your future, unsure about everything, meeting people who are in the same situation...having a community does a lot for you. It empowers you, it gives you more confidence." Notably, ULS can unite youth through shared negative experiences: grievances, uncertainty, frustration, and participation disparity. Furthermore, as Alejandra explained, "you meet people going through the same situation. It's a mutual understanding." Youth's experiences of non-belonging and non-recognition unite youth through mutual understanding, feelings of commonality, community, empowerment, and solidarity. While 1.5GUY fight for legislative change and legal recognition, they are able to experience belonging and emotions related to SofB in the process.

However, empirical data illustrates that social movement organizations are not spaces of unconditional belonging. While some 1.5GUY achieve well-being, a positive sense of self, and SofB, this purposeful participation is by no means an alternative to the comfort, safety, and recognition that legal status or citizenship could provide. Social movement participation may give illusions of protection and safety from deportation, but movement participation is a guarantee from detention or deportation. While 1.5GUY are actively fight for legislative change, until change is enacted, social movement participation cannot return to youth the participation parity they once had. Further, that some 1.5GUY purposefully take pauses from being out about status and/or participating in the social movement because they "need a break from it" illustrates that even when SofB is achieved via solidarity, empowerment, acceptance, understanding, commonality, and attachment, constant awareness of ULS, including the challenges associated with ULS, can destabilize that very same SofB in the process. There are indeed limits to the

situational SofB that youth can achieve in relation to social movement participation, and thus in everyday life.

8.3.6 Purposeful Avoidance & Future Orientation

Even for 1.5GUY who participate in the youth-led social movement, current and future uncertainty is an omnipresent phenomenon; due to ULS, this uncertainty causes some 1.5GUY stress and anxiety. It is precisely due to these negative emotions that some 1.5GUY purposely avoid planning for or thinking about their futures (section 7.3). For example, Gabriela explained how she avoided future-oriented thoughts: “I don’t think about the future because I don’t know what is going to happen. Most things are probably not even possible anyway, so why even think about that? You will just be disappointed.” The ability to plan or control one’s life is an underemphasized nuance of SofB (for an exception, see Fenster 2005), but a desire for the ability to plan and control one’s everyday life is present throughout youth’s narratives. Anthias’ (2006) conceptualization of SofB, which entails envisioning and desiring a future in one’s current community, helps capture that in the absence of legal status, the 1.5GUY’s SofB is continually challenged in the future tense. While have youth cited a desire to remain in the United States, their narratives indicate an impaired ability to envision their futures due to ULS.

This inability, coupled with the stress and uncertainty of ULS, supports research that has documented that the lack of legal recognition is a serious impediment to the pursuit and enjoyment of political and civil life (e.g. Bhabha, 2009; Blitz, 2011). At best, some 1.5GUY have DACA, but even this is partial, temporal, and uncertain. Cebulko (2014) has borrowed Menjivar’s (2006) term “liminal legality” to capture the ambiguity associated with DACA. Elsewhere, however, “liminality” has been used by scholars (e.g. Turner, 1987, 2002; van Gennep, 1960, 2011) to capture transitional moments where an individual neither neatly belongs to the stage they are leaving behind, nor the one they are moving towards. Notably, while these liminal periods are ambiguous, there are clear ends; the same cannot be said for the 1.5GUY. In the absence of long-term legalization or a pathway to citizenship, youth are trapped in an interminable, non-legal limbo and their everyday SofB is implicated in the process. However, as my findings illustrate indications of clearly positive and negative experiences and emotions, the 1.5GUY’s SofB cannot be adequately captured through the lens of liminality.

8.4 Constant Contingency & the Micro-Dynamics of SofB

Due to these challenges, it may seem appropriate to describe youth's overall SofB as absent, lacking, or non-belonging. The almost instantaneous manner in which SofB can be negated or renegotiated, may make it logical to conclude that the 1.5GUY's overall experiences is of a simultaneous SofB—both positive and negative (e.g. section 7.2). Yet scholars (e.g. Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller, 1999; Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) who have studied transnational immigration have used simultaneity to capture the complex combination of choices about practices and identifications. These scholars have also used simultaneity to capture the complexity of ways that immigrants make use of both home and host country practices. However, youth's narratives illustrate that home country practices, such as speaking a native language in public, are precisely what cause discrimination and discomfort. An otherwise banal or personal choice related to language use, which has caused negative experiences in the past, is therefore purposely avoided in the future. Because youth's blending of practices can result in negative outcomes or imposed stereotypes that are not due to choice, I refrain from conceptualizing the 1.5GUY's SofB as simultaneous.

Empirical discussions illustrate a proliferation of emotions in everyday life. Youth's narratives are filled with positive emotions and experiences related to SofB, such as relief, solidarity, attachment, comfort, empowerment, normalcy, and acceptance, but also clearly negative emotions and experiences such as discomfort, alienation, non-membership, fear, insecurity, depression, non-participation, anxiety, sadness, or identity crises. The concepts of the third space and hybridity (Bhabha 1994) allow me to capture the diversity of factors that influence 1.5GUY's everyday lives and SofB without needing to pinpoint exact origins or causes. These concepts also allow me to capture how youth's everyday modes-of-being are constantly opening up and are hybrid rather than partial or incomplete. Further, these concepts can be used to celebrate the richness of diversity. However, this celebration of diversity is often not the case for 1.5GUY, whose narratives illustrate that having multiple or hybrid modes-of-being in the form of food, music, language, ethnicity, race, identity, linguistic abilities, or other cultural practices often results in negative judgments in social encounters. Furthermore, because the 1.5GUY's emotions and experiences are decidedly positive or negative, rather than hybrid, the concept of the third space does not adequately capture 1.5GUY's everyday SofB.

The 1.5GUY constantly come in and out of SofB due to a complex combination of purposeful performance, social interactions, and the limitations that ULS presents in everyday life. This particular conclusion has been inspired by the concepts of coming out and returns to the closet, which scholars have used to capture the multidimensional and multilinear processes of identity management. My intense focus on the everyday has allowed me to capture the myriad ways in which 1.5GUY's SofB is challenged, negated, and regained during the micro-dynamics of everyday life. Even when context remains the same, a youth's SofB can be influenced by a minute factor, such as a thematic or linguistic change in conversation. When a pleasant experience with friends turns into a discussion about international travel, a 1.5GUY can abruptly experience exclusion and discomfort. Yet by redirecting the conversation, SofB can be regained.

A youth can choose to attend a pro-immigrant protest with friends, but an unexpected intrusion from a stranger yelling "illegal" can turn the enjoyable experience into a moment of uncomfortable realization: she is alone and the target of the derogatory comments. General stereotypes about race, ethnicity, or ULS subject the 1.5GUY to the constant threat of social prejudice, often which are located in the socially constructed axes of power and social locations. For example, being called a "leech" illustrates how strangers can constantly interrupt and intrude upon 1.5GUY's SofB in the public sphere. During more intimate social encounters, a friend's seemingly harmless joke about a youth being undocumented, "illegal," or deported also illustrates that even when context remains the same and associations are by choice, SofB is neither constant nor guaranteed (section 7.2.1). That positive attachments are no guarantee that SofB will be achieved is a relatively underexplored aspect of SofB (for an exception see e.g. Lambert, 2013), but one that is evident in the case of the 1.5GUY.

8.5 Conclusion

My explicit focus on the 1.5GUY's everyday lives has allowed me to capture the constantly contingent nature of 1.5GUY's SofB. Even minute details or changes can suddenly destabilize or challenge youth's SofB, including without warning. However, even with minor effort, youth can regain SofB; thus, SofB is an experience within experiences. Empirical data illustrate that 1.5GUY's SofB is endlessly and instantaneously marked and divided, achieved and negated, entered and exited. Indeed, 1.5GUY can manage, enact, or signify SofB through purposeful, everyday choice (Figure 7). However, youth are conscious of the omnipresent challenges in everyday life; otherwise taken for granted

routines and seemingly banal actions become significant. For this reason, the 1.5GUY's SofB is thwarted and the everyday is fraught; youth are constantly aware of scenarios that could destabilize their SofB due to past experiences or perceived threats. This means that the 1.5GUY cannot slip into the relaxed routines that normally characterize everyday life precisely when the attainment of a "normal," common, or banal life is a key desire.

Coping Strategy	Associated Emotions	Motivation	Example	Unintended Consequences	Conceptual / Empirical Contribution
Performing "Normalcy"	Safety, comfort	Condition other's perceptions; reduce suspicions of ULS	Dress "American;" speak in "perfect American accent;" "You're at the Jones'"	Heightened awareness of ULS; otherwise banal decisions become significant	Experiences of non-recognition allow 1.5GUY to achieve SofB
Hypothetical Contingency Plans	Desperation	Rectify ULS; (re)gain participation parity; reduce everyday challenges of ULS	Getting married for papers; "self-deportation;" adoption by extended family; plan if family member detained or deported	Internalization of fear	Though hypothetical, plans illustrate major events normally celebrated on the life course may result from desperation, not choice
False Narratives	Normalcy, acceptance, similarity, sensitivity, safety, sense of identity	Avoid disclosing ULS; maintain illusion of normalcy; avoid judgment, stigma, discomfort, making real "differences"	"Too busy" to get driver's license; international travel "too expensive"; "typical Spanish dad;" "overprotective parents"	Aggravation, frustration, compromised sense of identity; burden; not being true to self; can become traumatic or lead to cognitive dissonance	Can entail trade-off between two undesirable outcomes e.g. being bothered by use, but preferring that to disclosure & feelings of difference; via repetitive use, false narratives morph into normalized routines
Coming Out	Relief, solidarity, empowerment, acceptance, positive sense of self	Tipping point of false narratives, compromised sense of self reached; shed false identity; raise awareness of undocumented rights; increase recognition & thus safety in case of detention or deportation	T-shirts with "undocumented, unafraid;" mass public outings e.g. press conferences, marches, protests; coming out intimately to friend or counselor	Imposed disclosure; judgment; awkwardness; vulnerability; relationship loss; fear associated with ending relationship with significant other who knows ULS; harassment	Constantly contingent, in/out nature of SofB; inclusive & positive environment not enough to come out about ULS; coming out a shared process contingent upon parents; trade-off between increased self-worth but severed attachments; public outings allow 1.5GUY to find refuge, safety, freedom, comfort behind non-recognition, non-attachment & anonymity
Social movement participation	Empowerment, pride, acceptance, solidarity, commonality, relief, understanding	Being alone & desperate; wanting to enact legislative change	Participation in local, university, national organizations; marches, protests, hunger strikes	Constant attention to or awareness of ULS "too much;" youth "need break"	Allows 1.5GUY to achieve SofB despite ULS & after blocked rites of passage
Purposeful Avoidance	Uncertainty, stress, anxiety	Inability to plan for future	Avoidance of future thoughts: "I'll figure it out next year;" "you prolong it"	Planning & living life, uncertainty is unavoidable	Envisioning oneself in one's future community necessitates being able to plan, control everyday life

Figure 7 Overview of the 1.5GUY's everyday coping strategies in relation to managing SofB

My empirical data demonstrates that the 1.5GUY's SofB is not binary, stable, absolute, or complete. Instead, the 1.5GUY constantly come in and out of SofB due to the constantly contingent nature of intersubjective interactions and evaluations of social location. Yet while youth's SofB is dynamic and

processual, these processes are neither unidirectional nor cumulative. However, past experiences condition present SofB and lead to the expectations for continued SofB into the future. Precisely because the 1.5GUY have been invited to participate in everyday life despite their ULS means that youth expect to have the same opportunities for participation parity into the future. For this reason, even youth who know of their ULS achieve a SofB—albeit a precarious and illusory SofB. While experiences normally associated with belonging—for example inclusion, participation, and membership—indeed influence and allow youth to achieve SofB, they alone do not guarantee SofB. Thus, these terms should not be used interchangeably with SofB, which more adequately captures the tripartite relationship between emotion, experience, and performance.

Due to shifting participation parity, the 1.5GUY encounter dramatic challenges to their SofB in their teenage years as they transition from their relatively—but not totally—protected and legitimized social location as children and members. Their experiences are particularly traumatic because the 1.5GUY's presence was once validated, their needs recognized, and their participation encouraged; their emotional reactions are the psychological manifestation of social injustices caused by misrecognition. As the 1.5GUY continually encounter firsthand challenges, they are confronted with the dissonance and discomfort that their lives into the future will be more similar to their undocumented parents than the peers they had constantly compared themselves to and constructed their SofB against while growing up. This new knowledge destabilizes the 1.5GUY's SofB, as what they believed they knew of themselves, their identities, and their practices is no longer reality. In turn, they must cope with the limitations that ULS brings in everyday life and undertake purposeful action accordingly. While youth can and do achieve SofB in their everyday lives, these coping strategies are not long-term alternatives to the safety and protection that legal status could provide.

9 Conclusions

In this dissertation, I explore how thirty-three 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB in their everyday lives, including examining the complicated relationship between ULS and SofB. I incorporate existing literature on belonging and sense of belonging to capture the diversity and dynamism of 1.5GUY's lived experiences, but also use empirical material to develop the currently undertheorized concept of SofB. I summarize these empirical and theoretical contributions, as well as make suggestions for future research in this chapter.

9.1 Empirical Contributions

Based on a number of research gaps that I have established in detail (section 2.1), I have made a number of decisions to contribute geographically, qualitatively, and with empirical diversity. I conducted my fieldwork in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Texas, due to the documented research gap of the experiences of 1.5GUY not living in California (e.g. Cebulko, 2014). Due to the acknowledgement of the paucity of qualitative understanding about the 1.5GUY's everyday, lived experiences by a number of scholars (e.g. Abrego, 2008; Cebulko, 2014; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011; Perez, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2011), I have concentrated on the 1.5GUY's everyday experiences in relation to the phenomenon of SofB to contribute empirically. I interviewed 1.5GUY from various linguistic, cultural, national, racial, contextual, and educational backgrounds due to the observed gaps of understanding related to the diversity of experiences of 1.5GUY (e.g. Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012), the heterogeneous undocumented population in general (Menjívar, 2006), and especially non-Spanish speaking youth of Latin American origin (e.g. Cebulko, 2014).

I use SofB as the entry point to investigate 1.5GUY's intersubjective and lived experiences. My focus on how 1.5GUY experience and cope with SofB in everyday life in relation to ULS was the result of the combination of empirical gaps (Chapter Two), theoretical considerations (Chapter Three), and methodological deliberations (Chapter Four). I was particularly inspired by scholars (e.g. Abrego, 2011; Buff, 2008; Cebulko, 2014; Gonzales, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013; Nicholls, 2013) who have called for research on the 1.5GUY's experiences of "belonging" in general, and specifically on the impact of ULS on SofB (Cebulko, 2014), and the socio-emotional implications of ULS (Gonzales, 2015; Gonzales et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

I make a number of empirical contributions to our understanding of the everyday experiences of 1.5GUY in relation to SofB. My focus on early childhood experiences (Chapter Five) reveals that for 1.5GUY, childhood is not only characterized by inclusion, protection, and de facto legality, e.g. when ULS presents little difference or limitations, as has been previously claimed by various scholars (e.g. Abrego, 2008, 2011; Corruner, 2012; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, 2011, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). While the 1.5GUY occupy a relatively privileged social location with greater participation parity than the undocumented second generation, childhood for 1.5GUY is relatively protected, but not immune to negative experiences.

Indeed, my findings reveal experiences of difference, discrimination, and discomfort even in early life, including during educational participation (section 5.2.1) and in the familial sphere (section 5.2.2). Youth's narratives reveal the presence of fear, which adds to Abrego's (2011) study which found the 1.5GUY to experience stigma rather than fear, and supports Corruner's (2012) research that fear can be instilled by parents at early ages. My findings demonstrate that the 1.5GUY's early lives and SofB are influenced by parents who begin to condition SofB during the migration process (section 5.1), as well after arrival in the United States, for example by instructing their children to behave in a certain way, not to divulge their birthplace or ULS, withhold participation in school trips or daily errands, or discuss emergency contingency plans (section 5.3). Though the 1.5GUY have a diversity of experiences despite a common ULS, and though ULS is an individual immigration status, my findings strongly suggest that ULS is a shared and familial burden that requires collective efforts to navigate.

My findings support existing scholarship (e.g. Abrego, 2006, 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Gonzales, 2011, 2015; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012) which has documented the barriers of ULS in association with blocked rites of passage (Chapter Six). A key finding of my study, which is a currently underexplored phenomenon in scholarship on the 1.5GUY, is the difference between knowing and living ULS (sections 6.1.1, 6.1.2). It is precisely because the 1.5GUY are able to participate on a par with peers in everyday life that they construct their SofB accordingly—a phenomenon present for both youth who did and did not know their ULS growing up (sections 5.2.3, 5.2.4).

Knowledge of ULS alone does not necessarily challenge or negate SofB, and the opportunity to participate in everyday life via education is precisely what leads to an illusory SofB. This illusory SofB includes the delayed understanding of the implications of ULS, which is reminiscent of Gonzales' (2011) concept of "suspended illegality." However, my conceptual focus on everyday SofB allows to me capture the emotional consequences of this destabilization to SofB, when youth increasingly experience firsthand barriers of ULS later in life (section 6.1.1). These experiences and the related emotions are particularly elucidated through my application of the concept of participation parity (e.g. Fraser, 2001; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). However, while experiences of participation are important influences to SofB, participation neither necessarily equates to nor guarantees SofB.

Fundamentally, everyday life is anything but banal for 1.5GUY. Together, my empirical data (Chapters Five, Six, Seven) and analysis (Chapter Eight) document that SofB is constantly contingent and thwarted in the sphere of the everyday. As the 1.5GUY cannot slip into the relaxed routines which normally define everyday life (e.g. Lefebvre, 1984; de Certeau, 1984), their lives, and subsequently their SofB are fraught. Youth's narratives reveal relentless awareness of scenarios in which their SofB is or could be challenged, including the extent to which youth must purposely undertake actions or avoid situations known to challenge SofB. Even the most common of scenarios such as grocery shopping, commuting to school, trying to be compensated for work, or having conversations with friends can lead to imposed disclosure of ULS, prejudice, or misrecognition and therefore challenges SofB. My empirical data shows that banal activities that are otherwise taken for granted by citizens can cause a compromised sense of self, insecurity, and fear for the 1.5GUY (section 7.2)—a finding particularly made salient through my usage of the concept of the right to the city (e.g. Dikeç & Gilbert, 2002; Fenster, 2005; Lefebvre, 1984; Purcell, 2002, 2003, 2007). These findings about how everyday activities, locations, and interactions can result in a compromised sense of self or identity crises contribute to the growing, but not-yet saturated field that links immigration policy and ULS to identity formation processes (e.g. Gonzales, 2011; Gonzales & Chavez, 2012; Gonzales et al., 2013; Yoshikawa, 2011).

My empirical material reveals that while ULS is one unchanging trait, its impact is not constant and therefore ULS alone cannot explain the 1.5GUY's SofB. Indeed, my findings of the constantly contingent nature of SofB are particularly elucidated through my employment of the concept of social

location (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In addition to the concept of participation parity, which allows me to capture structural influences, the concept of social location allows me to capture a range of intersectional social factors in everyday life that can influence the 1.5GUY's SofB in addition to ULS, for example race, ethnicity, language, cultural modes-of-being, physical appearance, accent, etc. Because social life is an unending process, which is furthermore contextually, relationally, and temporally influenced, there is a complicated mix of intersectional and social factors that can also interrupt the 1.5GUY's SofB in everyday life. Youth's emotions, experiences, and performances are constantly influencing each other, as well as are influenced by exogenous structural and social factors in everyday life (Figure 6). In one context, ULS plays a minor role in relation to SofB, but suddenly, even with micro thematic or linguistic changes, ULS is brought to the forefront, influencing SofB in the process.

My empirical data also shows that the comfort often associated with the private sphere may be replaced by feelings of insecurity, instability, and discomfort, for example as youth anticipate the return of a parent or escape the gaze of immigration officials (sections 5.3.2, 7.2.3.1). Youth may also fear more judgment in the private sphere, for example in relation to discussing or disclosing their ULS with their most intimate relations (section 7.1.2.2). There is also a duality of experiences for 1.5GUY in relation to public life, which the right to the city approach enables me to capture. For example, the public sphere exposes youth to fear, harassment, discrimination, stereotypes, and misrecognition that can arise at any moment (section 7.2.1). However, the public sphere can also be associated with the comfort and security which comes through anonymity and non-recognition, therefore enabling youth to experience SofB.

This relationship between comfort and the public sphere also relates to 1.5GUY's coming out strategies (section 7.1), especially amongst youth who prefer to come out publicly, but not privately. While other scholars (e.g. Corruiter, 2012; Jones, 2010; Nicholls, 2013; Seif, 2011, 2014) have explored youth's coming out experiences in relation to social movement activism, the particular analysis of these experience through dual theoretical lenses of coming out and SofB is still underexplored in relation to 1.5GUY (for an exception see Benedict Christensen, 2015). I document some emotional tipping points that lead youth to come out (sections 6.3.2, 7.1.1), youth's rationales for and against coming out about ULS (section 7.1.2), and the range of consequences of coming out about ULS (section 7.1.2.3).

Through this focus, I can capture how concealing and revealing ULS is one component in youth's repertoire of performative coping strategies related to the management of SofB in everyday life.

For the 1.5GUY, coming out about ULS is an emotional, complicated, dynamic, non-linear, and multidimensional process, much like has been argued by LGBT scholars studying coming out experiences (e.g. McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004; Soloman et al., 2015). Notably, I can also document that coming out about ULS is neither a complete nor absolute process, but rather one that may include "returns to the shadows" (section 7.1.3) depending upon context, relation, and temporality. This is made evident especially through my application of the concept of "returns to the closet," which LGBT scholars (e.g. Connell, 2012; McLean, 2007; Morris, 1997; Mosher, 2001; Rasmussen, 2004) have used to capture the ongoing, non-linear nature of coming out.

If there is one generalizable conclusion to be made about the 1.5GUY's SofB in everyday life, it is that SofB is constantly contingent, rather than a stable, absolute, or completed process. These youth come in and out of SofB in everyday life not only due to shifting contexts or social locations, but also due to their own purposeful management of SofB. My empirical material documents various coping strategies that are generally underexplored, especially as the link between SofB and ULS is also underexplored. Youth's strategies include purposeful action, for example by creating contingency plans (section 6.2), employing of false narratives (section 6.3), coming out strategies (section 7.1), redirecting topics of conversation (section 7.2.1), conditioning encounters with authorities (7.2.3.2.), and participating in the undocumented youth-led social movement (section 7.4). My findings also illustrate that the 1.5GUY proactively employ avoidance strategies to mitigate exposure to negative experiences or emotions, for example fear, insecurity, uncertainty, stress, or anxiety. These strategies include avoiding particular forms of transportation or even mobility in general (section 7.2.2), interactions with authorities (section 7.2.3), certain interactions or discussions while in public (section 7.2.1), or future oriented thoughts (section 7.3) (see also Benedict, Christensen 2015).

These performances reveal that the 1.5GUY are agents operating within the dialectics of the everyday life, but also poignantly illustrate that ULS is precisely why youth must undertake specific actions, create actual and hypothetical contingency plans, and employ avoidance strategies. The fact that the 1.5GUY cannot slip into the relaxed and banal routines of everyday life that citizens often have, but

take for granted adds qualitative understanding to the everyday impacts of the “condition of illegality” (e.g. de Genova, 1999, 2002; de Genova & Peutz, 2010; Kanstroom, 2010, 2012). In turn, my findings reinforce the notion that citizenship-as-legal-status marks the boundaries of belonging, for example due to the threat of deportation (e.g. Anderson et al., 2011). The concept of “disbelonging” (e.g. Plumwood, 2002) helps capture the vulnerability which results from the purposeful denial of attachments to peoples or places and in turn, exposes individuals to inability to control whether they can remain in their own homes. It is precisely due to the combination of youth’s and parental fear of detention or deportation which leads to the creation of emergency contingency plans (section 5.3.2).

Overall, my findings suggest that the 1.5GUY can attain albeit a precarious SofB, for example through their social movement participation (section 7.4). Furthermore, my empirical data (Chapters Five, Six, Seven) and my analysis (Chapter Eight) illustrate that SofB is processual, unstable, and constantly contingent—a point made particularly salient through my focus on everyday life. While everyday SofB can be thwarted for the 1.5GUY, I contend that concluding they have “no place” to belong, or that their overall experience is of “non-belonging,” “disbelonging,” “unbelonging,” or “misbelonging” is too simplistic for this constantly contingent process. While ULS does indeed present challenges, the 1.5GUY are active agents navigating SofB in relation to both positive and negative experiences. It is precisely my focus on the micro-dynamics of everyday life which reveal that 1.5GUY come in and out of belonging and SofB.

Even the feelings of comfort, acceptance, and value that youth experience from social movement participation can be situational or fleeting. Furthermore, these situational and relational emotions do not replace the overall safety, recognition, and protection that legal status might bring. My findings thus contribute qualitatively to the field of citizenship studies, which scholars have argued lacks empirical investigation (e.g. Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Lister et al., 2003; Miller-Idriss, 2006; Nordberg, 2006). Specifically, I contribute understanding to the complexity of citizenship’s dimensions, demonstrating that individuals can indeed experience the sentimental dimension of citizenship without legal status. Simultaneously, I demonstrate the need for legal or citizenship status in everyday life to mitigate the fear of detention or deportation either for oneself or a family member.

9.2 Theoretical Contributions

My empirical focus on the relationship between ULS, SofB, and the 1.5GUY's everyday life allows me to shed theoretical light on the concept of SofB—a concept that scholars have argued is undertheorized (e.g. Anthias, 2006; Miller, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). SofB is indeed experienced and produced through everyday life (e.g. Christensen & Jensen, 2011; de Certeau, 1984; Probyn, 1996), but my intense focus on the everyday reveals that context matters even down to micro details, such as nuances related to intimacy, trust, theme, and language. SofB is an emotional experience within experiences; it is not only multi-directional, but also multilayered. For example, even during a pleasant and comfortable situation with friends or family, a sudden joke, topic of conversation, or derogatory comment by an outsider can abruptly interrupt SofB, yet SofB can be almost instantaneously regained, at times with minor effort (section 7.2.1).

Even 1.5GUY who initially experience difficulty and difference can form a SofB in relation to the people, places, and modes-of-being in the United States. In this regard, youth's past experiences may accumulate and eventually lead to emotions associated with SofB. For example, youth who remember feeling different due to language barriers or physical differences in either the educational and familial spheres (sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2) can attain feelings of accomplishment and normalcy due to mastery of certain skills, the creation of personal relationships, and growing up in the United States (sections 5.2.3, 5.2.4). In turn, this illustrates a generally underemphasized temporal aspect of how the accumulation of past memories and experiences relates to SofB (for an exception, see Fenster, 2005). However, my findings reveal that while SofB can increase, it is neither unidirectional nor cumulative. This point is made especially evident from youth's narratives illustrating pervasive emotions such as uncertainty, desperation, loneliness, depression, reduced appetite, identity crises, etc. which occur during and after blocked rites of passage (Chapters Six, Seven), furthermore illustrating the marked negative effects of ULS late in life and the subsequent impact to SofB.

The opportunity to participate on a par with peers in everyday life fundamentally allows the 1.5GUY to establish albeit a precious SofB through everyday activities, attachments, and involvement (Chapters Five, Six, Seven). My findings reveal that experiences often associated with belonging—experiences of inclusion, membership, and participation—influence, but do not equate to or guarantee the attainment of SofB. This point is made particularly evident by empirical data which illustrates that it is

precisely participation in everyday life that exposes 1.5GUY to negative experiences and prejudices (e.g. section 5.2.1). The relationship between SofB and experiences of belonging, inclusion, membership, and participation can be considered in future research, so as to further develop the concept of SofB in association with, but not in conflation with these concepts.

My data supports other scholars' findings that individuals long for and desire SofB through experiences of social relatedness and attachment (e.g. Ahmed, 2011; Fortier, 2000; Hagerty et al., 1996, Lambert et al., 2013; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 1996; Savage et al., 2005). However, my findings also reveal an underemphasized nuance of SofB, namely that the presence of positive attachments alone does not guarantee one is accepted and therefore attains SofB (Lambert et al., 2013). Even in positive contexts of intimate attachments and relationships that the 1.5GUY have chosen, a 1.5GUY's SofB can be suddenly destabilized. For example, during an outing to a café with friends, when the topic of conversation turns to international travel—an experience a 1.5GUY cannot have due to ULS—a youth may be left feeling uncomfortable, excluded, voiceless, powerless, and a non-contributor (section 7.2.1). Thus, ULS presents both structural and social limitations to participation in everyday life.

For 1.5GUY, SofB is constantly contingent, dynamic, processual, complex, contradictory, and fleeting. In contrast to my findings, when “SofB” or even “belonging” is employed by scholars, it appears to be a stable or absolute value, for example “non-belonging” (Bhabha, 2000; Christensen & Jensen, 2011), “unbelonging” (Christensen, 2009), “disbelonging” (Plumwood, 2002), “not belonging” (Corrunker, 2012), or “no place” to belong (Gonzales et al., 2013). My everyday focus demonstrates that SofB is unstable. The concept of social location allows me to capture how the 1.5GUY are judged and stereotyped in everyday social actions and furthermore, how these socially constructed judgments are temporal, contextual, and relational. Due to shifting social locations, the youth's SofB is constantly and instantaneously constructed, challenged, and regained. Because the 1.5GUY continually and contingently come in and out of SofB, a non-binary theoretical construction of SofB is needed to capture the instability and complexity of emotions, experiences, and performances related to SofB (Figure 6).

Furthermore, my empirical data reveal that negative experiences can actually lead to positive emotions for youth. For example, the shared emotions of hopelessness, desperation, and frustration that come as

a result of experiences of non-recognition or misrecognition can result in feelings associated with SofB, for example solidarity, community, empowerment. This is evident from youth who join the social movement and despite the insecurity, uncertainty, and structural limitations of ULS, nonetheless experience unconditional understanding and acceptance (section 7.4). These empirical findings raise questions about the existing dichotomous constructions of belonging in the literature, as shared experiences of non-belonging can bond individuals and lead to situational SofB. For example, 1.5GUY may share grievances, experiences of stigmatization, and participation disparity, but can achieve acceptance, self-worth, and solidarity due to the tacit understanding which comes from these shared experiences.

Youth's narratives reveal that positive and negative emotions seemingly overlap or instantaneously change. According to existing literature, emotions and experiences such as anger and hurt (e.g. Christensen & Jensen, 2011); fear, discomfort, harassment, and insecurity (Fenster, 2005); racism, discomfort, the inability to fit in, strong feelings of difference, and categorization as others (Anthias, 2001); and differences, distinction, and exclusion (e.g. Christensen, 2009) are not normally associated with SofB, but rather non-belonging, disbelonging, or unbelonging (Figure 1). However, my findings illustrate that due to the constraints arising from their ULS, as youth attempt to manage their SofB, they must sometimes choose between what they perceive to be the best outcome amongst two undesirable choices. For example, based on past experiences of discriminatory comments or looks and the resulting discomfort, a youth and their family may purposely avoid having conversations in Spanish in public. However, while mitigating the possibilities for these negative experiences, the family also sacrifices familial communication and involvement (section 7.2.1). Navigating between two potentially undesirable circumstances or making emotional trade-offs is a facet of the dialectics of everyday life for the 1.5GUY.

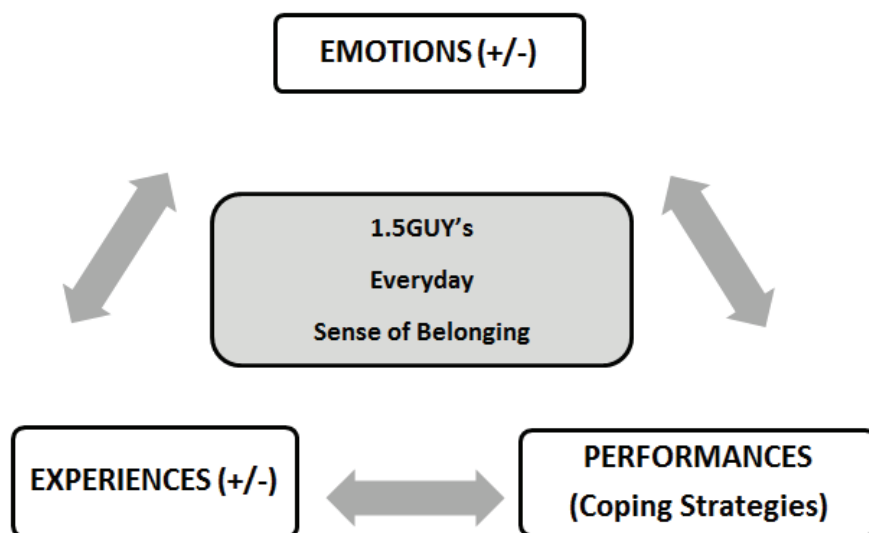


Figure 8 Tripartite model of the 1.5GUY's everyday SofB: emotions, experiences & performances

In turn, this highlights an underemphasized aspect of SofB: not only does maintaining SofB require purposeful and conscious awareness, as various scholars have acknowledged (e.g. Bell, 1999; Butler, 1990, 1993; Fortier, 1999; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Marshall, 2002; Probyn, 1996), but experiences related to “non-belonging” are also purposefully and actively performed and managed. As a result of shifting participation parity, as well as the shifting social locations that are a phenomenon of everyday life, youth’s emotions, experiences, and performances (must) constantly shift (Figure 6). The tripartite relationship between emotion, experience, and performance is therefore on-going, inextricable, and multidimensional (Figure 8). A negative experience may necessitate a purposeful performance that allows a youth to achieve a positive emotion, just as a purposeful performance may cause a negative experience and thus negative emotions. Or, a youth may mitigate fear, judgment, and vulnerability but experience aggravation and frustration as a result. Notably, because SofB cannot be reduced to experiences, SofB and belonging are not interchangeable concepts.

My findings suggest that the comfort and relaxation that normally accompanies routine does not exist for 1.5GUY precisely because the everyday is anything but routine. Notions of “comfort” have been associated with SofB (e.g. Fortier, 1999; Probyn, 2006), including the feelings of comfort that result

from feeling at home (e.g. Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014; Block, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006), and well as the ability to plan and envision one's future in one's current home or community (e.g. Anthias, 2006). My findings suggest that for the 1.5GUY, SofB could be defined by the comfort which is associated with the ability to slip into relaxed routines.

Youth's narratives illustrate a pervasive desire for "normalcy." This particular finding is not in contrast to scholarship which conceptualizes SofB in relation to feelings of value and acceptance (e.g. Anant, 1966; Anthias, 2006; Hagerty et al., 1992, 1996; Lambert et al., 2013, Sarason et al., 1990), the desire to fit in and experience commonality or similarity (e.g. Fortier, 1999; Probyn, 1996), and to share complementary characteristics to feel as if one is a part of a group (e.g. Hagerty et al., 1996). However, empirical material makes evident that for 1.5GUY, SofB also entails feelings of normalcy in conjunction with experiences of routine, banality, and non-recognition. Thus, for 1.5GUY, SofB entails not only being accepted, but also being perceived as similar, and thus going unnoticed.

Sometimes, 1.5GUY achieve SofB via the comfort that perceptions of normalcy, anonymity, and non-recognition allows. One way this is made salient is through youth who rationalize coming out publically, but not privately; there is a comfort and security that results from perceptions of anonymity and therefore non-recognition (section 7.1.2). This is also made evident by data which illustrates the youth's desire to be treated and recognized as a human being; there is a desire to be recognized as an equal, but not equally different. While some scholars have argued for the tolerance, recognition, and encouragement of diversity (e.g. Anthias, 1998; Butler, 1990; Jenkins, 2014; Kabeer, 2005; Modood, 2005; Taylor, 1994), my data suggests that being recognized for being different or extraordinary is not necessarily the ideal for 1.5GUY. Indeed, my data documents that a key desire for 1.5GUY are experiences of banality, commonality, and normalcy. Thus, instead of having one's identity intersubjectively recognized to attain a good life (e.g. Honneth 1995; Nicholson 1996; Renault 2007; Taylor 1994), not recognizing difference can also lead to SofB.

9.3 Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

Due to the exploratory nature of my research, I did not enter the field with a hypothesis to be tested, a goal to find cause/effect relationships, or an aim to make generalizable conclusions about the 1.5GUY (section 4.2.1). These considerations, as well as those about interviewee access and representativeness have been documented (section 4.4). My sample size of thirty-three 1.5GUY does not account for all

undocumented immigrants or even all 1.5GUY. The youth represented here are potentially and relatively more privileged than other 1.5GUY, as they not only have continued in high school, but many are, will, or have attended university. Due to recruitment methods and because many of the 1.5GUY I interviewed were attached to an organization working with or for undocumented immigrants to varying degrees, their experiences are different than individuals without access to such resources. Many of the 1.5GUY I interviewed were in the process of applying for, or had only recently applied, but had not yet received DACA. I therefore cannot illustrate the relationship between this form of “liminal legality” (section 2.5.4) and SofB. However, this can be explored in future research and could also entail a comparative approach of various non-legal statuses and SofB.

Nonetheless, it is evident that ULS has a diversity of influences on everyday life and SofB. My findings illustrate that 1.5GUY experience constant challenges to their SofB, which suggests even greater consequences to emotional well-being and SofB for the harder-to-reach undocumented populations. In turn, this reinforces the need for more research with 1.5GUY across intersectional contexts. My empirical material across chapters illustrate that when SofB is challenged, there are consequences to mental and physical health in the form of anxiety, depression, stress, decreased appetite, or even suicidal thoughts, just as psychologists have documented in other contexts (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Hagerty et al., 1996; Lambert et al., 2013). The prevalence of these negative consequences provides a compelling case for more research on the everyday psychological implications of ULS. This includes interdisciplinary research and collaborations with the mental health community to continue documenting the socio-emotional consequences of ULS, to educate mental health care professionals so that they can provide more targeted care, and to further develop ethical considerations when researching so-called “vulnerable” populations.

A longitudinal study, which returns to qualitative research with the 1.5GUY represented in this dissertation, can address some of these limitations, including those of DACA previously mentioned. It can furthermore document how shifting social locations and participation disparity influences SofB as 1.5GUY fully transition from student to (potential) employee and from youth to adulthood. In doing so, a follow up can be made on hypothetical contingency plans to see if and when youth actualize plans to get married for papers or leave the United States, or adapt new coping strategies in relation to SofB. Even in the case of future legalization, such a study could capture the relationship between long-term

legal exclusion, legal status, and SofB. One could also include comparative research across varying legal statuses, e.g. undocumented, refugee, and other ambiguous statuses, as well as cross-national comparisons.

There are myriad ways in which the 1.5GUY's SofB is contested in everyday life due to ULS, but also a range of intersectional factors such as race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, linguistic abilities, physical appearance, etc. As such, my findings of a constantly contingent SofB can be used to study the experiences of other individuals or groups in everyday life, for example ethnic or racial minorities. One way this could be done is to explore the experiences of African American citizens in the United States to understand the relationship between race, citizenship status, and SofB. Continued focus on the experiences of SofB across populations, legal and citizenship statuses, geographic contexts, and institutional settings can lead to further conceptual development which pushes the boundaries of SofB.

My data provides strong evidence that ULS is associated with cultural, racial, and ethnic stereotypes, for example, youth who cite that due to race (Asian), ethnicity (Brazilian), or growing up "white," they are less likely to be targeted or assumed to have ULS. Due to my research approach, I cannot make any generalizable conclusions about these factors in relation to SofB. To unpack the potential racialized or ethnicized nature of ULS, as well as uncover additional nuances of ULS in relation to SofB, a fruitful avenue for future research is one that more closely examines how factors such as age at arrival, nationality, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and context of reception influence SofB.

My findings illustrate various ways that parents condition their children's everyday experiences and SofB. One key aspect of the parent-child relationship is how parents conceal or divulge ULS.

Literature on adoption disclosure (e.g. Carp, 2000; Mohanty & Chokkanathan, 2014) may provide fruitful conceptual framework through which to further explore the relationship between age of knowledge, ULS, parental disclosure, and SofB. Youth's narratives suggest that parents attempt to mitigate fear and protect their children at young ages, even before 1.5GUY know their ULS.

Conducting interviews with undocumented parents was beyond the scope of this research and I cannot make conclusions about parents' rationales. However, future research could build on these findings to uncover how parents condition their children's experiences, in turn leading to greater understanding of how ULS negatively influences early childhood, including in relation to SofB. To further uncover the

collective burden of ULS, I encourage the exploration of interfamilial experiences, including mixed status families. Life course theory in general, but specifically, the concept of “linked lives” (e.g. Elder 1995), could help capture how factors not normally considered in relation to SofB, such as birthplace, birth order, or physical differences impact experiences of SofB, in turn leading to conceptual development.

9.4 Broadening the Implications

The narratives of the 1.5GUY presented in this dissertation document how the “condition of illegality” (e.g. de Genova, 2002, 2004) permeates everyday life; everyday fear is associated with ULS, whether youth are conscious of this fear or not. This dissertation makes evident the far-reaching implications of immigration policy, including how failed legislative attempts such as the DREAM Act and non-comprehensive DACA have lived consequences. In turn, youth’s narratives illustrate what Human Rights scholar Bhabha (2011) has written about legal identity even in today’s globalized world: “despite the optimistic rhetoric of universal rights proclaimed in international legal instruments... claims for the enjoyment of human citizenship and its associated benefits are increasingly mediated by proof of legal identity, nationality, or immigration status” (p. 13). Yet after years of legal exclusion, legal status cannot erase all memories, or even guarantee a youth SofB. Isabel, the only 1.5GUY I talked to whom had recently received a green card poignantly illustrates the long-term implications of ULS, even after legalization: “what you go through as an undocumented immigrant here, even after you get legal status, it never leaves you. Those experiences, that mentality, even, never leaves you.”

The narratives presented here provide compelling social, educational, cultural, and psychological reasons for the legalization of these youth, if not also their families. My empirical material illustrate a quasi-form of sub-citizenship that is currently emerging in the United States that entails the purposeful inclusion that allows individuals to achieve a SofB, followed by the purposeful exclusion of these very individuals. The 1.5GUY who are known to have resided in the country over extended periods of time; who have been recognized as worthy of rights and protection; and who have been offered not only the opportunity to participate, but also the legitimization that comes from participation are disregarded over time. Their lives, attachment, contributions, participation, and rights in the United States are ignored through purposeful non-recognition. As it has been argued that the most pressing question of democratic citizenship is access to and attainment of rights (Benhabib, 2005), the ability to call the

United States one's "own" country is not just a personal choice, but also a question of human rights and democracy. The same youth who are encouraged to participate in everyday life are not only discouraged, but rather barred from the same participation parity later in life. Yet as youth's narratives clearly show, they espouse or embrace American values and identities and desire the right to stay, to participate, and to contribute to the country that many of them consider their homes.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. I like to start by asking respondents to tell me about their immigration story...
(If respondent needs cues:)
 - Where did you come from?
 - When did you come?
 - How old were you?
 - How old are you now?
 - How did you come?
 - If via visa, what type?
 - Who did you come with?
 - Why did your family come to the US?
 - Where did you originally settle & why?
 - What else do you remember from the journey & decision to come?
2. Do all of your family members have the same status? Explain.
3. Do you talk about status with your family? Why / why not?
4. Are you in school now? What level? If in university or currently pursuing:
 - What is/ was the application process like?
 - What did you write on your application (refers to college application process in U.S. where people check “citizen,” “resident,” “international,” etc.)?
 - Who do/ did you go to for information on the process?
 - Are / were there any challenges? What?
 - Did you get financial aid?
 - What made you decide to go to university for a degree?
5. About your status:
 - Can you tell me about how & when you found out you were undocumented?
 - Who knows about your status?
 - Why did you decide to tell them?
 - When do you decide not to tell people?
 - How did you feel before you told people about your status?
 - How did you feel after you “came out” and told others about your status?

6. Have you been to an immigration lawyer to try and change your status? If yes, can you talk about the process and outcome?
7. Does being an undocumented youth differ from being an undocumented adult? How?
8. Do you think that knowing what they do now, your parents would make the same choices?
9. What daily challenges does your status bring?
10. Do you think you have received a better life here? How?
11. What is “home” to you?
12. How do you feel when you hear:
 - “Illegal immigrant?”
 - “Illegal alien?”
 - “Undocumented?”
 - “Dreamer?”
13. What do you think the general / stereotypical image of an “illegal immigrant” is?
14. What is the worst misconception (s) about undocumented immigrants?
15. How is the atmosphere for undocumented immigrants in your community? In your school?
16. Regarding the future:
 - Do you plan for your future? Why / why not?
 - What do your plans include?
 - How does your life now compare to what you want for the future?
 - How will you achieve this with your current status?
 - What is your dream job?
17. Do you see yourself represented in the media (news, politicians, etc.)? Why / why not? How?
18. Do you participate in the Dream Act movement or any other social movement related to immigration reform? If yes:
 - Which ones?
 - How did you get involved?

- When?
- Why?
- How do you participate?
- What information is shared?
- What information is not shared?

19. What other networks exist for Dreamers / undocumented youth?

20. Do you work?

- If yes, what type of industry? (note: do not need specific name / place!)
- How did you get the job?
- Does your employer know your status? Why / why not? How do they handle this information?

21. Do you drive? Why or why not?

22. How do you define citizenship?

- Do you consider yourself to be a U.S. citizen?
- Do you want to be a U.S. citizen?

23. How do you define American?

24. Are you an immigrant?

25. What words do you use to describe yourself?

26. Are you undocumented, unafraid, and unapologetic?

27. Are you empowered or powerless?

28. Are you fearful of anything?

29. Regarding deportation:

- Do you think about it?
- Do you fear it?
- Do you fear it in relation to yourself or family members?
- Do you know anyone who has been deported? Who?

30. Do you use the internet / social media for the Dream Act?
- What websites do you use?
 - What information do you look for?
 - When did you start?
31. Are you different from other Dreamers? If yes, how?
32. What are human rights?
- Are there any human rights you don't have?
33. Regarding the DREAM ACT:
- Do you agree with all of the terms of the Dream Act proposal? Why / why not?
 - What do you think needs to happen for the Dream Act to pass?
 - What will you do between now & the Dream Act passing?
 - What if the Dream Act never passes? What will you do? Where will you go?
 - If the Dream Act were to pass tomorrow, what is the first thing you would do?
34. Regarding DACA:
- Have you applied for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)?
 - Why or why not?
 - How did you feel applying?
 - Have you been approved? If yes, how do you feel now?
35. If someone were to say to you, you don't "belong here," what would you say? Why?
36. What is the worst thing about being undocumented? Why?
37. How do you find motivation on a daily basis?
- In closing:**
38. What made you answer my email / request for an interview?
39. Have I missed anything?
40. Any questions for me, my project, etc.?

Appendix 2: Cooperative Agreement

This document informs respondents about Elizabeth Benedict Christensen's PhD research at the Copenhagen Business School (CBS) & in conjunction with the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) from September 2011 – August 2014. Time may be extended, as necessary.

It provides a general framework of the **interview process**, how **information may be used**, discusses issues of **anonymity & confidentiality** and potentials for **future contact** / feedback.

Upon agreement of participation, both the interviewer & interviewee shall sign the document twice. One copy is for the interviewer, and the other is for the interviewee.

THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

My goal is to conduct the best interview possible; this allows me to obtain the richest, most in-depth data to inform my analysis. I want respondents to be comfortable, which in the very least means informing them of my general plans & expectations, to the extent possible.

- Participation is voluntary & the personal choice of the individual.
- A respondent may decline to answer a question at any time.
- There is no 1 “correct” or “true” answer; questions are based on how individuals perceive & feel about the world around them. Answers are individual truths about daily life.
- I use an *interview guide* for “semi-structured” interviews. It is only a framework rather than an exhaustive list of questions. My experience is that respondents say many interesting & relevant things requiring additional follow-up for greater understanding.
- I ask both general & specific questions related to personal history (e.g. birthplace, immigration history, etc.), personal daily lives (e.g. work, education, family, etc.) and the outside world (society, media, the Dream Act, human rights, etc.)
- I support the Dream Act & hope my research can add new and/or positive insight.

THE INTERVIEW AS DIALOGUE

Interviewees are welcome to:

- Ask for clarification on questions.
- Ask me questions about myself, my project, etc.
- Correct me. If you believe I have missed an important aspect, said something inappropriate or inaccurate, please let me know. I welcome a dialogue.

WHAT WILL / WON'T INFORMATION BE USED FOR?

Information is for PhD-related purposes, potentially including the following:

- PhD dissertation
- articles including, but not limited to: journals, newspapers, conferences, etc.
- lectures/ presentations at conferences, seminars, courses & in my own teaching activities
- Information, including quotations & transcriptions (see below) may be shared with advisors at CBS & DIHR for the purpose of discussion & analysis related to the PhD.
- I am involved in immigration issues in Denmark as an immigrant & as a volunteer in an organization helping victims of human trafficking. Though geographic & social contexts are different, there are often parallel issues. Information in the U.S. may inspire, overlap and provide opportunities for further research & collaboration between Denmark & the U.S.; confidentiality & anonymity will always be maintained.
- Specific personal information (e.g. names, addresses, emails) will not be given to anyone

ANONYMITY & CONFIDENTIALITY:

I do not plan on using real names for my research.

If you wish for your name to appear in the “acknowledgements” section, please let me know.

- No individual needs to tell me their full or real name at any time. However, it is important to clarify if you are a Dreamer, working with Dreamers, or both.
- When quotations are used, aliases are used.
- In the case that writing something such as “a female Dreamer from Ecuador at X school” may give away a person’s identity, adjustments to specific details will be made (e.g. not mentioning country and / or school or changing details).
- I wish to use school names and / or states. Please let me know if this could be an issue.

AUDIO RECORDINGS & TRANSCRIPTIONS

As a qualitative researcher, recording & transcribing (writing the interview down word-for-word) is important to my research. A recorded interview allows me to:

- gather & save in-depth material
- revisit & remember interview details
- analyze & re-analyze material over long periods of time

If you allow me to record our conversation (as signed), I will do so for the purposes of transcription. Transcription is an important part of the research process as it:

- Allows me to familiarize myself with the material
- Is a beginning step in the analysis process

A note about transcriptions:

- I will personally transcribe the interviews word-for-word.

- There is a difference between spoken & written language—especially academic language. Where appropriate, I *may* edit quotations without changing meaning.

For example:

Original statement: “Um, hmmm... I don’t, ahh, I don’t know. What I think is, is...”

Changed to: “I don’t know. What I think is...”

- Ideally, changes to quotations could be approved by the individual. However, this may not always be possible.

After the interview: the audio file & written transcription:

- The audio recording will not be shared / given to anyone else.
- When the recording is no longer needed for transcription, the recording will be deleted.
- Transcriptions will be stored in a locked space. Full names will not be listed on material.
- Transcribed material is the property of the researcher. A respondent may request a copy of their personal interview transcription. Proper citation must be used.

Future contact with Elizabeth (Beth) Benedict Christensen:

My contact information is:

Email: ebc.ibc@cbs.dk

Skype: beth.benedict

Mailing:

Copenhagen Business School

Dalgas Have 15, 2Ø.109

DK-2000 Frederiksberg

Denmark

I welcome questions, comments, concerns, etc. from respondents during & after the interview takes place. This could be—but is not limited to:

1. General inquiries related to my project (to the extent that they do not encroach other individual's confidentiality & rights)
2. The opportunity for the respondent to expand upon or clarify something said in the interview.
3. Requests for a particular statement or for particular information not to be used in the written dissertation.
4. Requests for information or assistance. If I can be of any assistance to an individual or organization, I am happy to do so—to the extent within my qualifications and means.

RESPONDENT:

I agree to participate in Elizabeth Benedict Christensen's interview. I do so willingly & acknowledge that my participation is voluntary:

Signature & Date

- I allow the interview to be taped: YES ☐ NO ☐
- I want my name to appear in the acknowledgement section of the PhD dissertation:
YES ☐ NO ☐
- After the interview, I understand I am under *no obligation* for future contact. However, if an opportunity for future collaboration arises, I allow Elizabeth to contact me so I may consider this opportunity:
YES ☐ NO ☐

If yes, contact information:

☐ I would like a copy of the transcription. If yes, contact information (if not given above):

RESEARCHER:

I agree as a researcher to uphold the standards as presented in this document.

Signature & Date

RESPONDENT:

I agree to participate in Elizabeth Benedict Christensen's interview. I do so willingly & acknowledge that my participation is voluntary:

Signature & Date

- I allow the interview to be taped: YES ☐ NO ☐
- I want my name to appear in the acknowledgement section of the PhD dissertation:
YES ☐ NO ☐
- After the interview, I understand I am under *no obligation* for future contact. However, if an opportunity for future collaboration arises, I allow Elizabeth to contact me so I may consider this opportunity:
YES ☐ NO ☐

If yes, contact information:

☐ I would like a copy of the transcription. If yes, contact information (if not given above):

RESEARCHER:

I agree as a researcher to uphold the standards as presented in this document.

Signature & Date

Appendix 3: 1 page Abstract distributed to organizations & respondents

About the Project:

This is a 3 year Ph.D. research project, which will run from September 2011 through September 2014 in conjunction with Copenhagen Business School & The Danish Institute for Human Rights.

Keywords: immigration & reform, human rights, education & higher education, access, cultural analysis, power, identity, everyday culture, narratives, youth, United States

Overall Project Goal:

My research has an interdisciplinary approach and focuses on the everyday lives of undocumented immigrant youth in the U.S. As such, it examines current immigration issues, access to education, human/civil rights, culture, and society. My project aims to contribute to existing research within the field of undocumented immigration, while incorporating stories from youth themselves.

Methodology:

To conduct my cultural analysis, I will use ethnographic methods to talk to undocumented youth (e.g. interviews, focus groups, observations, etc.). I will incorporate cultural theories (e.g. identity, narratives, discourse analysis, culture, power, marginalization, etc.) in my analysis of the everyday rights, issues and lives of these students. As part of my analysis, I want to illuminate trends, needs and gaps in information, resources and services so that needs, rights and wants of undocumented youth are better addressed & fulfilled. Preliminary interviews & desk research will be conducted in Denmark; fieldwork will be conducted in the United States in 2012.

Current research questions:

1. How does undocumented immigration status shape the lives of youth ages 16-25?
2. How do youth navigate daily lives & what particular challenges does this status present?
3. How do youth define themselves, their home, and their identities?
4. What is their outlook on the future and what goals do they have?
5. How do youth organize around the issue of undocumented immigration?

Respondents:

Focus is on undocumented youth ages 16 -25 from all national backgrounds. Whenever possible, I wish to talk to youth who have spent the majority of their lives in the U.S. and / or youth who have gone through at least some schooling in the K-12 educational system. Individuals working at high schools, universities or other organizations focused on assisting undocumented youth in education are also valuable gatekeepers of knowledge.

About me:

I am American & live in Copenhagen, Denmark. I attended Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, PA for my Bachelor's in Spanish & American Studies; the University of Pennsylvania for a Master's in Higher Education Management & the University of Copenhagen for a Master's in Applied Cultural Analysis. I am currently a PhD Fellow at the Copenhagen Business School focusing on immigration in the United States. I am interested in culture, education, immigration, human rights and intercultural exchange.

Appendix 4: Interviewee Demographics

Name	State of residency	Sex	Age	Years lived in U.S	Country of Origin	Educational Status
Adriana	Texas	Female	17	13	Mexico	High School
Aja	New York	Female	20	16	Philippines	Private University
Alejandra	New Jersey	Female	21	13	Chile	Community college
Alfonso	Massachusetts	Male	19	17	Mexico	Private University
Alma	Texas	Female	18	15	Mexico	High School
Alvarez	New York	Male	18	7	Mexico	High School
Ana Maria	New York	Female	21	19	Ecuador	Public University
Andrés	New Jersey	Male	24	22	Peru	Community college
Beatriz	New York	Female	18	6	Ecuador	High School
Carlos	New York	Male	16	6	Mexico	High School
Christina	Texas	Female	18	17	Mexico	Private University
Cruz	New York	Male	17	7	Mexico	High School
Daniel	Massachusetts	Male	20	9	Mexico	Private University
David	Massachusetts	Male	18	16	Mexico	Private University
Diego	Connecticut	Male	20	10	Mexico	Community college
Elena	New York	Female	22	16	Peru	Public University
Felipe	Connecticut	Male	20	16	Brazil	Private University
Gabriela	Connecticut	Female	23	16	Brazil	Private University
Gustavo	Massachusetts	Male	23	12	Brazil	Community college
Isabel	Massachusetts	Female	19	11	Peru	Public University
Issa	Texas	Female	19	17	Mexico	Private University
Javier	Connecticut	Male	20	11	Ecuador	Public University
Julia	New Jersey	Female	18	12	Chile	Private University
Leonardo	Connecticut	Male	19	10	Brazil	Community college
Leticia	Texas	Female	18	12	Mexico	High School
Lina	Connecticut	Female	24	15	Colombia	Private University
Luiza	Connecticut	Female	23	14	Brazil	Public University
Marcelo	Connecticut	Male	20	14	Mexico	Public University
Ofelia	Massachusetts	Female	25	13	Colombia	Public University
Pilar	New Jersey	Female	20	14	El Salvador	High School
Ralph	Texas	Male	17	13	Mexico	High School
Sabrina	Massachusetts	Female	18	8	Brazil	High School
Sofia	Pennsylvania	Female	21	16	Mexico	Private University

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