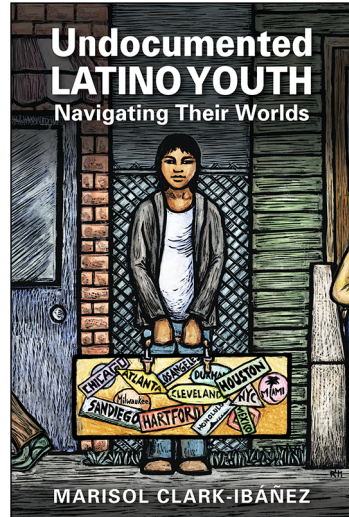


EXCERPTED FROM

Undocumented Latino Youth: Navigating Their Worlds

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ISBN: 978-1-62637-260-3 hc



LYNNE RIENNER PUBLISHERS

1800 30th Street, Suite 314
Boulder, CO 80301 USA
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fax 303.444.0824

This excerpt was downloaded from the
Lynne Rienner Publishers website
www.rienner.com

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1

Undocumented Immigration: Dreams of Education and Beyond

Bodies running fast in all directions. Gravel spraying behind feet sprinting away.

¡Corran! ¡Corran! ¡La migra! (Run! Run! The border patrol!)

¡Por aquí! ¡Por aquí! ¡Corran! ¡Escóndanse! (This way! This way! Run! Hide!)

Brown faces straining. Sweat running down foreheads and behind ears.

Omar and the other children take cover in bushes, up trees, and behind rocks. They climb over fences.

Wham! A front door slams. Inside is the last place you should hide.

Grown-ups holler, “*¡Vayan a jugar allá fuera y no azoten la puerta!*” (Go play outside and don’t slam the door!)

Wham! Running. Looking. The sun is setting, and shadows help with hiding. Where is the best place to sneak past *la migra*?

Heavy breathing you could hear in the darkness.

Shhh, ay’ viene. (Shhh, he is coming.)

Deep-voiced, gringo Spanish, “*¡Halto Uh-hee! Halto Uh-hee!*”

Screams erupt and then transform to laughter.

Streaming bodies once again run around like chickens trying not to get caught.

Shirts yanked from behind, just enough to slow you down.

Got you! Your arm grabbed behind your waist.

¿A dónde crees que vas? ¡Vaz pa’ tras! (Where do you think you are going? You are going back!)

¿A dónde? Where?

Back to where you came from!

This group of cousins and neighborhood children in Encinitas, a Southern California coastal town, creates scenarios based on conversations they overhear among the adults. “¿Escuchaste que a Mario lo agarraron en el Depot?” (Did you hear that Mario got picked up at the Home Depot?) Seven-year-old Omar and the rest of the children who had previously crossed the border were *los pollos* (the chickens, slang for migrants). The migrant smuggler was *el coyote*, the kid with the most experience with *el cruce* (border crossings). The kids born in the United States were *la migra* (Immigration and Customs Enforcement [ICE], also known as border patrol).

Sometimes the games reenacted crossing the border, or *el cerro* (the hill), which took a physical form, such as a line of trees, a set of cars, or the street. Other scenarios reflected current activity in the community: going to the swap meet, park, or store. It always ended with getting chased by *la migra*, which meant being sent back across the border to Tijuana or kept out of the game by going to jail.

Through these exhilarating games, the children reenacted a journey many of them or their parents experienced. Omar’s childhood was *peppered* with deportation fears and realities. His brother had been taken by border patrol on multiple occasions. Once, it took place in front of their driveway. Omar recalled the many times his mother urgently told him and his sisters to hide in their bedroom because *la migra* was outside. His sister was detained for more than a year and eventually deported. She returned to the United States, but she has suffered anxiety and depression.

During the school year, Omar and his undocumented peers attend public elementary schools. The 1982 Supreme Court decision *Plyler v. Doe* granted all undocumented youth the right to attend public schools, from kindergarten through high school. Yet, the context and conditions in which undocumented students learn are often stressful.

We intentionally use the term *undocumented*. The terms *illegal immigrant* and *illegal alien* are inaccurate because it is not possible for a person to be “illegal.”¹ They strip people of dignity and are therefore considered derogatory.

Alfredo, a participant in this study, attended school every day. He was a seventeen-year-old, undocumented high school student who crossed the border by himself several years ago. Similar to other unaccompanied migrants, he left a violent family situation in Mexico (UN High Commissioner for Refugees 2014). Alfredo was good at math and wanted to go to college to become a lawyer. Yet, sometimes concentrating in class was hard. He began to sweat and panic, seemingly out of the blue. His mind started racing, and he wondered if today was his last day in the United States. Alfredo’s everyday existence—going to work and walking to school—required that he negotiate border patrol encounters in and out of

the Escondido city limits. He lived in town but worked in the avocado and citrus groves on the weekends. He had been chased three times (but not caught yet) by the border patrol—twice near his work and once during a routine traffic stop.

My coauthors and I describe the experiences of undocumented children, youth, and young adults. Because of the scope of the community projects, most of the participants were Latino/as in the San Diego, Riverside, and Palm Desert regions. Many of the participants voiced concerns about the dilemmas of walking to school or work, driving, trying to get by, and working hard to succeed in the face of intense stress about their immigrant status. Life for these students involves risk and faith. Immigration for them means coping with daily life-altering decisions, the sense of being from neither here nor there, and the enduring quest for a better life. Deysi, one of our undocumented community college participants, explained what sometimes feels like the impossibility of her situation:

I think that nothing is impossible; it's just that if you believe it. But, no, since I don't believe that . . . no. Nothing is impossible for me. I feel like I am a bee. Because bees are impossible . . . because the scientist say[s] they . . . because their bodies are so big and their wings are so small that they are not supposed to fly. But they fly anyways. Because they don't listen to humans! So they do whatever they wanna do; because they have wings they fly! And that's how I feel. Even though someone is telling me, "Oh, you cannot do that!" I know I am able to do that. I have two hands, two arms, two legs. I have everything I need. So, I just do it!

We began this study to understand the experiences of young migrants at each stage of the educational pipeline: elementary school, middle school, high school, community college, four-year university, and beyond. Through the research experience—interviews, photos, and qualitative online surveys—the participants in this project invited us into other social worlds: peer, family, community, work, and legal worlds.

Education was a fundamental goal for the undocumented young people we interviewed. It is why their parents risked everything to bring their children to the United States. The hope for a better future is the time-honored goal of all immigrants to the United States and the basis for many proposed legislative paths to citizenship. However, what goes on in school is only a portion of the story they wanted to reveal. So, as the chapters focus on groups of students at different points of their educational journey, we also share their fears of deportation, desire to work, terrible workplace conditions, and mixed-status family dynamics, in which some are "legal" and some aren't. We tell the stories of career and educational aspirations, of depression, of hope and hopelessness, and ultimately of struggle. *Ganas*, determination.

The United States has more than 11 million undocumented immigrants and about 1.8 million of these are undocumented youth under eighteen years old. The College Board (n.d.) estimates 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high school each year. Latino/as represent the largest group of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Although they are legally allowed to attend public K–12 schools, the Supreme Court in *Plyler v. Doe* left decisions about higher education access to individual states.

As is often the case, however, law and lived reality can be quite different. The law does not assure undocumented Latino/a students that they are safe to attend school. States are enacting laws to undermine the spirit of *Plyler v. Doe*. After Alabama passed a law requiring school officials to check birth certificates, 2,300 of the 36,000 Latino/a public school children vanished from classrooms (Dias, Gray, and Scherrer 2011:14). Responding to outrage in the Latino/a community, state officials created ads on Spanish-speaking radio to explain that schools would not check existing students' citizenship if they came back to class.

As we worked in our communities, we discovered local practices of law and immigration enforcement also negatively affect the ability of families to send their children to school. Colleagues in Riverside County (southeast of Los Angeles) who work for migrant education programs have been dismayed to see ICE trucks trolling local elementary, middle, and high schools during drop-off and pickup of students. A school psychologist in a local San Marcos elementary school commented with dismay that deportation of students or their parents is no longer treated as a crisis but is, in fact, such a regular occurrence that school officials have developed protocols and interventions for students. The students featured in our study (some of whom are authors) have described the horror of immigration raids taking place in family friendly settings, such as the local swap meet on a Saturday morning. This constant law-enforcement surveillance in our region has a chilling effect on the undocumented Latino/a community and families.

Although my name is on the spine of the book, I consider the project a collaborative monograph. My collaborators include student researchers (some undocumented), educators, and community members. Throughout the book their individual voices and contributions are highlighted and credited. For a full discussion of the methodology and team behind the book, see Appendix A. Since 2009, my collaborators and I have been involved in an ongoing public sociology project that includes education, activism, outreach, and data collection. We strive to embody Michael Burawoy's (2005) notion of organic public sociology by working closely with the "visible, thick, active, local" members of the undocumented Latino/a communities in our region (7). This book honors community-based knowledge and elevates the voices of undocumented students along with the educators who support them. This collaboratively written monograph also bears witness to their

stories, the firsthand accounts and experiences of living undocumented in the twenty-first century.

As a sociology professor tenured at a teaching-oriented state university, I trained my collaborators in rigorous research methods, facilitated meetings, kept track of data, and cowrote most of the chapters in this book. During the analysis and writing stage of this project, I worked side by side with them to discuss data and write up the results. We met at taco shops, Panera, Noodles and Company, Starbucks, or at my house. In the case of one student collaborator, Fredi, I Skyped with him in Tijuana. We shared, deliberated, analyzed, and revised this work repeatedly. As an illustration of one of my roles in this project, I recall when Omar and I worked back and forth on this introduction to the book. When I sent him the last draft of our collaboration, he responded on e-mail, “Lots of work. End result will be a great book. Piece by Piece. *Tejiendo Palabras* [weaving words]. That is your art.”

We, the authors, believe this book exemplifies one of the most important tasks of public sociology: to “make visible the invisible” (Burawoy 2005:8) by including the lived experience of the authors. We intentionally highlight their agency or navigation along with what Negrón-Gonzales (2013) described as “the numerous daily practices undertaken by undocumented young people which require them to bridge the schism between belonging in a place they do not have a legal right to” (1286). This book is firmly entrenched as a social justice project that connects with the community by drawing on personal narratives—both visual and oral. Drawing upon diverse forms of data collection, we offer compelling snapshots of undocumented students, educators, activists, and authors themselves who actively experience the undocumented context. I hope this book paints rich, complex, and diverse portraits of undocumented Latino/a immigrant experiences.

The (Leaking) Educational Pipeline for Undocumented Students

Education represents the roots and wings of the undocumented young people featured in this book. Understanding that their parents have sacrificed to provide them better opportunities leads to immigrant students’ increased engagement in school. This awareness becomes a source of resiliency for young migrants. Many of the immigration reform policies—both federal and state—rely on educational attainment to determine future educational opportunities for young migrants.

The metaphor of the “pipeline” represents the pathways taken by students through the educational system (Solórzano, Villalpando, and Oseguera 2005). The normative trajectory through this public school pipeline

entails a student progressing through each grade level beginning with kindergarten, arriving at her or his high school graduation, and possibly going beyond to college. The educational pipeline has significant “leaks”—that is, low-income students and/or students of color who are pushed out. These leaks result in “push-out” rates² and/or create phenomena such as the “school to prison” pipeline.³ (Please see Appendix B for a brief overview of research that describes various explanations for undocumented Latino/a student attainment or lack thereof.)

Covarrubias and Lara (2013) offer powerful evidence of the “leaking” educational pipeline for undocumented students, especially when compared with documented (naturalized) and US-born students of Mexican heritage. They use data from the US Census Current Population Survey of 2010 to explore ways in which citizenship and gender shape educational outcomes. The pipeline begins with 100 students in elementary school. We clearly see the loss of students as they move through the educational pipeline. Covarrubias and Lara find that only about 50 of 100 young men and 40 of 100 young women who are undocumented graduate high school; they graduate at lower rates than naturalized or US-born Mexicans. The undocumented students also enroll in college less frequently than their naturalized Mexican peers, and about half of the undocumented students are pushed out of college before completing a degree. Fewer undocumented immigrants earn associate’s, bachelor’s, or graduate degrees than naturalized students. This is not surprising given the additional stress and insecurity undocumented students face in their educational journeys.

Those who do not make it through the educational pipeline experience potentially serious and long-term consequences for future earnings. According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013), education levels make a substantial difference in salaries. In 2012, the average worker in the United States made \$816 per week. Those with less than a high school degree earned a weekly average of \$471, high school diploma \$652, some college \$727, associate’s degree (community college) \$785, college degree \$1,066, master’s degree \$1,300, professional degree (e.g., law) \$1,735, and doctorate \$1,624. Of course, these averages vary in real earnings by race and gender.

The pipeline research approach, although a powerful descriptor of inequality, typically does not acknowledge that we begin to lose students during elementary school and middle school. Some parents of undocumented elementary school children choose to keep their children out of school when there is a strong or sustained presence of border patrol around the neighborhood. As a result, absences from school may accumulate and thus predict student push-out rates. Robert Balfanz (2011), a Johns Hopkins professor and director of the Everyone Graduates Center, found that if a sixth grader in a high-poverty school attends school less than 80 percent of

the time, fails math or English, or receives an unsatisfactory behavior grade in a core course, there is a 75 percent chance that without effective intervention, he or she will be pushed out of high school. California has a 3.5 percent push-out rate for middle school children. Trends in longitudinal studies of children from kindergarten or preschool through high school show predictors for educational outcomes begin as early as preschool (Heckman et al. 2009). Some argue the best predictor of educational outcome occurs before a child is even born because it is based on a mother's educational level (Gándara 2010).

Also, as useful as the educational pipeline metaphor is in describing the push-out rates, it leaves out some of the causes and the nuances of what happens in the pipeline, stage by stage. We hope the rich nature of our stories—across grade levels and beyond—yields a compelling narrative and social snapshot of current education and immigration policies in practice.

A Regional Context for Education

This project is mostly situated in a San Diego region called North County. The resource-rich cities of Encinitas, Carlsbad, and (to a lesser extent) Oceanside serve as the West Coast boundary of the region. Vista and San Marcos are in the middle. Escondido and Ramona make up the eastern side. Some might know of the region because of LegoLand (Carlsbad) and the San Diego Zoo Safari Park (Escondido). Others might be familiar with California State University, San Marcos (about 12,000 students) and two community colleges, Palomar College (about 30,000 students) and MiraCosta College (about 15,000 students). In Oceanside, Camp Pendleton is the largest West Coast marine training facility; it is also the largest employer in North County, and 36,000 families are housed on base.

Given this economically diverse region, Arcela Nuñez-Alvárez and Ana Ardón (2012) of the National Latino Research Center analyzed educational trends with a focus on Latino/as. US Census data from 2010 show Latino/as have reached close to 50 percent of the total population in the cities of Escondido (49 percent) and Vista (48 percent). The number of Latino/a children in the North County region is 43.6 percent compared with about 23 percent in the United States. Latino/a student enrollment surpasses any other group, reaching more than 50 percent in Escondido, Fallbrook, Oceanside, and Vista. (Note: In contrast, Latino/as are poorly represented among the teaching faculty in these districts, constituting only 16.4 percent of all teachers in the county.)

Focusing on North County San Diego school districts, Nuñez-Alvárez and Ardón (2012) drew upon data from the California Department of Education. Latino/a students represent 76.9 percent of economically disadvan-

taged students compared with 50.2 percent in the United States. Latino/a students have the lowest graduation rate in North County; more than one in four Latino/a twelfth graders did not graduate. In the San Marcos Unified School District, the general graduation rate is 92 percent, but the graduation rate for Latino/as is 47.8 percent. It is difficult to know how many *undocumented* Latino/a students are represented in these numbers. Most of the participants in this study lived and went to school in North County. Table 1.1 presents the overall findings across school districts in the region for the general population and for Latino/as.

Most of the school districts in this region are graduating students at fairly high rates except those in Vista. However, when we separate out and examine rates for Latino/a graduation, we can see some profound differences. The lowest graduation rate is 25 percent, for Latino/as in Carlsbad, and the highest is 60 percent, in Escondido. The percentage point differences in rates range from a gap of 72 (Carlsbad) or 67 (Ramona) to a smaller gap of 21 (Vista) or 32 (Escondido).

The San Diego North County region is failing Latino/as in regard to college preparation. As seen in Table 1.2, Latino/as also lag behind students who graduate high school having completed the courses required by the state public four-year colleges, the University of California (UC) and California State University (CSU) systems. Students who do not complete these required courses are not eligible to enter directly a four-year university (but could enroll in community college).

Some school districts, such as those in Oceanside and Vista, are struggling to prepare *all* of their students for university. In Vista, only 20 percent of the students have taken the courses required for enrolling in a four-year

Table 1.1 High School Graduation Rates in North County School Districts, 2009–2010 (percentages)

School District	Overall Average	Latino/as	Percentage Point Difference
Carlsbad	97	25	72
Escondido	92	60	32
Fallbrook	90	48	42
Oceanside	86	53	33
Ramona	94	27	67
San Marcos	92	48	44
Valley Center–Pauma	94	30	64
Vista	68	47	21
Total averages	89.13	42.25	

Source: Nuñez-Alvárez and Ardón 2012.

Table 1.2 High School Graduates with UC/CSU Required Courses in North County School Districts, 2009–2010 (percentages)

School District	UC/CSU Ready, Overall Average	UC/CSU Ready, Latino/as	Percentage Point Difference
Carlsbad	50	37	13
Escondido	33	23	10
Fallbrook	30	18	12
Oceanside	27	21	6
Ramona	53	38	15
San Marcos	69	58	11
Valley Center–Pauma	42	28	14
Vista	20	13	7
Total averages	40.5	29.5	

Source: Nuñez-Alvárez and Ardón 2012.

university. San Marcos and Carlsbad are preparing their students much more rigorously. Yet, there are still gaps in the course completion by Latino/as. Ramona suffers the worst gap at 15 percentage points, whereas the other districts have gaps less than that.

Regardless of comparisons with non-Latino/as, the percentages for Latino/as alone are concerning. For example, only 13 percent of Latino/as in Vista have taken college preparation courses. Taking college prep courses makes a difference. Oseguera (2012) reports that, of the youth in poverty who completed their college preparatory work, about 75 percent went on to attend a four-year college. Giving students a chance—a pathway—to take college requirements results in strong college attainment rates. It is clear most of the school districts are not adequately serving Latino/a students. The regional data here offer a glimpse into the community context in which Latino/a students are embedded.

The Undocumented Sociological Imagination

As sociologists, we have a particular lens through which to view and understand the educational pipeline. Through a social lens focused on disparities and educational inequality we can clearly examine the leaks in the pipeline and the critical points at which Latino/a students leave the educational system. We give primacy to institutional and structural explanations for students' successes and failures. We examine the personal "troubles" of those in the educational pipeline through the "sociological imagination" (Mills

1959). Individual people tell the joy of graduation or the pain of dropping out of high school early. The sociological imagination allows us to focus a broader lens on students' journeys, to step back and consider broader social forces, and to examine the impact of history and current events on this issue.

To understand immigration and undocumented students from a sociological perspective, we also draw upon the concept of *social location*. We are all "socially located" within specific social systems, and our social location has a profound influence on our identity. Social location affects how we think, feel, and behave and, as such, shapes the range of possibilities we envision (Johnson 2008).

Undocumented students are structurally located within overlapping social systems of inequality. Race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and immigration status all play a role in the undocumented student's educational journey. Undocumented families live and work within various community and regional contexts that affect their access to resources, their employment opportunities, and their contact with border patrol. Undocumented immigrants currently exist in an era that differs from those past in terms of the laws and policies affecting their lives. The specter of future comprehensive immigration reform as well as current federal, state, and local laws shape their everyday lives. Legal and financial circumstances often curtail educational opportunities for undocumented immigrants. The undocumented immigrant is embedded in a legal framework that currently denies rights and opportunities by law.

Undocumented immigrants' social locations are intrinsically linked to their aspirations, living conditions, opportunities, and futures. They face numerous hardships and challenges related to having low income as recent immigrants. They also cope with being denied many social services available to low-income children who are citizens. Undocumented youth and their educational journeys are negatively affected by frequent changes in residence and by living in crowded housing environments (Seif 2004). Lack of health-care access, future substance abuse, and mental health challenges are all cited as potential risks for undocumented immigrants (Abrego 2008; Perez et al. 2009). These challenges affect school experiences and work against aspirations and educational advancement (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011). A sociological lens is a powerful tool for understanding the diversity of lived experiences of undocumented Latino/a students.

Multiple Methodologies

Our data collection spanned three years, from 2010 to 2013. As we describe in the following chapter, during this time period state legislators passed sig-

nificant laws that supported undocumented students, and President Obama took executive action offering temporary resources to undocumented students. (In each chapter, we indicate which specific legislation was on the horizon or at play for our participants.)

We drew upon Latino/a critical race theory, which encompasses the following principles: the notion that race is socially constructed; the centrality of race in the analysis; the primacy of immigration and language in daily life; the importance of challenging dominant ideology; the explicit linkage of theory, practice, and community; the presentation of a structural perspective and use of personal voice and experiences; and a commitment to social justice (Delgado Bernal 2002).

Thus we developed diverse approaches for capturing the students' experiences. Additionally, we strive with this project to reflect what Paris and Winn (2014) describe as a "humanizing research" approach, which aims to bring a meaningful and explicit social justice agenda into the research. For elementary school students, we used photo-elicitation interviews in which the undocumented child took photos of his or her everyday life, and the researcher used those photos as a basis of the interview (Clark-Ibáñez 2004, 2007, 2008).

For high school, community college, and university students we conducted in-depth, qualitative interviews. For postgraduates, we developed an anonymous open-ended online survey that would reach more participants.

Two community members engaged in professional autoethnography. A teacher reflected on teaching practices based on more than twenty years of teaching undocumented students. A director of a middle school program for more than ten years presented the struggles facing undocumented students.

Appendix A details more of the collectivist ideals that shaped our methodology and author collaborations.

Chapter Guide

In Chapter 2, Fredi García-Alverdín expertly guides us through the complexity of immigration policy and how these laws shaped educational opportunity (praxis). We argue policy is the basis of the "undocumented" experience because the very category is created through law. García-Alverdín provides historical background, shows federal attempts at immigration reform, explains the state legislative arena, and concludes by analyzing the anti-immigration forces at the local, state, and federal levels.

In Chapters 3 to 8, we focus on undocumented immigrants in the educational system: elementary (Rhonda Avery-Merker), middle school (Cecilia Rocha), high school (Yeraldín Montiel), community college (Betina Serna), four-year university (Griselda Alva-Brito and Fredi García-

Alverdín), and postgraduate (Omar Canseco). In all but the middle school chapter, the authors were student researchers. I cowrote and collaboratively analyzed data for each chapter. For the middle school chapter, Cecilia Rocha and I collaborated to discuss the many undocumented middle school students with whom she has worked since 2005. She describes her successful program for positive interventions to help youth through the pipeline. She is also my community partner for many of the events and outreach efforts that emerged from our Pipeline Research Collective.

We conclude with chapters that feature ways to change the educational and legal systems. In Chapter 9, Carolina Valdivia Ordorica provides an overview on the activism that has emerged since the creation of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act in 2001. She situates herself as an activist-scholar-DREAMer and paints a rich landscape of the youth-led *online* social movement. Her expert “insider” view counters the arguments that the Internet is leading to a decline in meaningful social change (e.g., “clicktivism” and “slacktivism”).⁴ This chapter highlights the agency among vulnerable members of society. We want to inspire the reader to join us in the struggle for educational opportunity and a humane approach to immigration policy and praxis.

Chapter 10 focuses on a teacher who successfully educates undocumented students. Alma Ruiz-Pohlert is a “DREAM keeper.” She has been my collaborator on many academic and mentoring projects related to undocumented students. She has been generous with her insights and passionate about helping immigrant families in the region. Through our friendship and collaborations over more than ten years, I have come to ask myself, “What would Alma do?” In this chapter, she shares her experiences, advice in terms of what she has observed, and what she believes should be done. She has been a bilingual teacher for more than twenty years, and she herself came to the United States from Tijuana as a young girl. We integrated academic analysis to give a broader perspective on pedagogical and institutional best practices.

In Chapter 11, I reflect on the lessons learned and future directions in research and policy based on what we have discovered about the educational pipeline for the undocumented Latino/a students interviewed for this book. I focus on social, human, and cultural capital and highlight the cultural wealth upon which the students draw to survive and thrive in the United States. Ultimately, I believe the participants in this study offer a variety of ways to reconsider the “American dream” and how we contextualize undocumented immigrants.

Appendix A is a methodological discussion of the varied data sources, processes, and approaches we undertook. I also outline the various community efforts that emerged from the project. I invite those interested to reach out to me directly so that I can share the English and Spanish informed con-

sent forms and IRB applications created for this study. Appendix B is a short essay giving an overview on research about undocumented immigration and education. Appendix C lists the research participants' demographic details not provided in their corresponding chapters.

Notes

1. In 2013 the Associated Press decided not to use the term *illegal* to describe undocumented immigrants, and other news outlets and publishers have changed the way they describe them as well. See Colorlines.com for its campaign to "Drop the 'I' Word."

2. "Push-out" rates is a concept that replaces "dropout rates" because it more accurately describes the dynamics of school (the institution) that undermined the success of the student; "dropout" overly emphasizes the individual without considering the microinteractional, institutional, or structural factors for a student leaving school (Doll, Eslami, and Walters 2013).

3. The "school to prison pipeline" refers to disciplinary rules (e.g., zero tolerance) disproportionately applied to low-income students of color. Schools rely too heavily on school police and the juvenile justice system to administer discipline. As a result, students experience extreme consequences, such as suspensions and misdemeanors, that place them at risk for leaving school or for further exposure to the criminal justice system.

4. There is concern that the prevalence of online options, such as clicking on a website to donate funds to a particular social cause or signing an online petition, could negatively impact the occurrence and possibility of "real" social change. See Roberston (2014) for an example of this argument.