The Growing Significance of Place:

Assessing the Diverging Trajectories

of DACA-eligible Young Adults in the New South

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Immigrant-origin children are the fastest growing segment of the United States' school-age population today (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, and Todorova, 2009). While scholars have long sought to understand their adaptation processes, immigration policy has become increasingly consequential in shaping how they adapt, come of age, and experience life in the United States. Today, more than 16.6 million people live in mixed-status families, where at least one undocumented immigrant resides, and nearly half of undocumented immigrants are parents of minors (Passel and Cohn, 2011). Within these families, more than 2.1 million are undocumented but have lived in the United States since childhood (Batalova and McHugh, 2010). While undocumented immigrant youth confront reduced access in adulthood and heightened levels of immigration enforcement, their everyday lives are also informed by a set of contexts, mostly local in nature, that shape experiences of integration and exclusion. These local contexts—state, county, and municipal level policy; availability of resources; and the developed environment—play an increasingly important role in their incorporation prospects.

The situation of many undocumented young people changed on June 15, 2012, when President Obama introduced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program—an enforcement policy that temporarily defers deportations from the United States for eligible undocumented youth and young adults. By June of 2016, nearly four years into the program, more than 740,000 young people of an estimated 1.9 million who were eligible for the program had obtained DACA status along with temporary Social Security numbers and two-year renewable employment authorization permits.

In the wake of DACA's implementation, states also opened up additional benefits for DACA beneficiaries by passing measures to provide them greater levels of inclusion. For example, DACA holders who obtain employment authorization and a Social Security number are

now eligible for driver's licenses in every state. What's more, several otherwise restrictive states, such as South Carolina, have passed legislation that overrides previous bans on undocumented immigrants to allow DACA beneficiaries eligibility to attend state public universities. And some states have passed legislation allowing DACA beneficiaries access to in-state tuition and occupational licenses. These developments have widened the inclusion gap between DACA beneficiaries and their undocumented counterparts who do not possess a DACA status. They have also created divisions based on the state in which one resides.

To be sure, the local context has mattered for some time in shaping immigrant incorporation. Most recently, the devolution of immigration policy to state, county, and municipal levels has resulted in an uneven geography of policies and practices (Coleman, 2012). In addition, the places where immigrants settle, whether areas with well-established infrastructures or new destinations that are less developed, play an important role in shaping access to resources. For example, depending on the type of developed environment, where one lives structures access to public transportation, critical services, and opportunities to participate in community life. And while many new immigrant destinations, particularly rural and suburban areas, may provide lower costs of living and an easier entry into the labor market than traditional urban centers, they may not be able to offer the level of social, economic, and legal assistance from a vast networks of community based agencies established to support the needs of immigrant families.

This paper draws on data from a larger study of DACA-eligible young adults to understand the experiences, in particular, of DACA beneficiaries in the New South. With a combined total of over 35,000 DACA holders, South Carolina and Georgia have some of the most restrictive state-level immigration policies in the nation. These two states also experience

challenges supporting the social and educational needs of immigrant children. As such, South Carolina and Georgia offer a window through which to view place-based mechanisms that produce distinct and diverging trajectories among undocumented youth. How do local contours shape the experiences of undocumented young people in the South? While the introduction of DACA has significantly increased educational and economic opportunities for some undocumented youth and young adults, it has also exposed cleavages among a population previously assumed to confront a uniform set of barriers.

STRUCTURING SPATIAL INEQUALITY IN NEW DESTINATIONS

The variegated landscape of immigrant incorporation today is shaped by two important trends: the devolution of immigration policy to states and localities, and the dispersal of settlement patterns across the United Sates. Congressional gridlock over immigration policy spanning the last two decades has moved immigration lawmaking to states, counties, and municipalities. In the absence of a federal reform in immigration policy, local lawmakers have manufactured their own responses to immigration issues, resulting in a proliferation of immigration proposals at the local level (Olivas 2007; Varsanyi 2010). Whereas some states have opened up access to broader inclusion, offering undocumented immigrants eligibility for driver's licenses and in-state tuition at public universities, others have adopted a more restrictive stance, by attempting to criminalize unauthorized presence and exclude undocumented immigrants from public universities.

In addition, recent migration patterns have led to settlement in non-traditional areas, many of which struggle to offer sufficient supports for immigrants and their families (Massey, 2008; Zúñiga, and Hernández-León, 2005). These settlement patterns began to shift in the 1990s, as increasing numbers of immigrants began settling in suburban and rural areas in the Midwest

and South. Strikingly, one-third of recent Mexican immigrants have settled outside of traditional gateway states and 21 percent of them live in rural towns (Singer, 2004; Lichter et al, 2010). This shift in settlement is due to a complex array of economic and political contexts. On one hand, factors "deflecting" migrants away from traditional metropolitan destinations include tougher border and interior enforcement, anti-immigrant legislation and high costs of living (Light, 2006). On the other, lower overall costs, access to factory and agricultural employment, and emerging immigrant social networks attract immigrants to rural new destinations (Marrow, 2011). Recent scholarship has focused on economic tradeoffs between life in traditional metropolitan areas and rural new destination areas (Millard and Chapa, 2004; Singer, 2004; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005; Massey, 2008). However, immigrants in new rural destinations also encounter negative contexts of reception that include widespread poverty, limited opportunities for stable employment, underdeveloped social service and educational infrastructures and lack of public transportation options (Marrow, 2009).

Immigration scholars agree that research in immigrant new destinations is important for expanding the conceptual and empirical boundaries of our understanding of immigrant incorporation. For this reason, Winders (2014) argues that the emergence of immigrant new destinations marks "one of the more dramatic changes in international migration trends in recent years" (p. 150). New destinations present laboratories for examining processes of migration as they unfold, including arrival, settlement, family reunification, business formation, and other areas (Winders, 2014; Marrow, 2013).

Growing up without Legal Status

Due to contradictory policies and practices, undocumented immigrant youth confront a troubling

mix of circumstances that allow them to legally attend school on one hand, but deny them broader access to the polity. As they begin to come of age, they cross a threshold of legality that requires them to discard earlier expectations and retool their aspirations to adjust to lives of exclusion and difficulty (Gonzales 2011, 2016). However, this transition is not uniformly experienced. Access to educational supports, critical services, and extra-familial adult mentors can mean the difference between successful college transitions and an early entry into low-wage employment and illegalized daily lives (Gonzales, 2010; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008; Zhou, 2008). In addition, college access policies targeting undocumented students have made the attainment of a higher education more affordable for young people in some states, thus easing their transition from high school to college.

These observations underscore a growing reality that even among a group assumed to be uniformly disadvantaged, key differences in the settings where they grow up can play an important role in their diverging experiences. Several recent studies have examined the effects of such differences. For example, Cortez and Hamman (2014) examine the experiences of undocumented students in Arizona who move to attend college in Mexico due to restrictive laws—such as the state's SB and Proposition 300[1]—that limit their ability to pursue postsecondary education. Similarly, Cebulko and Silver (2016) compare the experiences of DACA beneficiaries in Massachusetts and Colorado. They suggest that federal and state policies interact to shape access to membership for young adults in states with different political climates. In Massachusetts, DACA beneficiaries expressed a greater sense of legitimacy and were more

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[1] Arizona's SB 1070, the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, required immigrants to register with the U.S. government, and to carry their registration documents with them at all times. It also made it a crime to be in Arizona without carrying the required documents, and required state law enforcement officers to determine a person's immigration status when there was reasonable suspicion that the individual was undocumented. Arizona's Proposition 300, is a state measure denying in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students.

optimistic about their abilities to redirect their life trajectories with DACA. In North Carolina, however, exclusionary state policies continued to impede mobility prospects and exacerbated notions of undocumented youth as outsiders.

Indeed, state policies play a powerful role in shaping access and belonging. But they also have limitations. Martinez (2014) analyzes recent attempts in Colorado to improve postsecondary access for DACA beneficiaries through a state measure, Colorado's Advancing Students for a Stronger Economy Tomorrow (ASSET) bill, granting undocumented students reduced tuition at the state's public universities. She argues that while these important reforms have created some opportunities for young people, their limitations leave immigrant young in holding patterns that delay or impede their access to higher education, and upward mobility. Furthermore, they also leave undocumented immigrants without DACA further behind.

Martinez' observation that current policies may be incomplete is corroborated by deeper examinations into the local context. Gonzales and Ruiz (2014), for example, examine the experiences of undocumented youth in rural eastern Washington. They argue that while the state has passed legislation that allows undocumented students to pay in-state residency tuition, young people in the state's rural areas face a "constellation of rural disadvantage"—characterized by poor social support infrastructure, persistently low wages and few employment opportunities outside of agriculture or meatpacking, and integration between ICE and local law enforcement. This imperfect storm of unfavorable circumstances limits undocumented youth's abilities to take advantage of supportive policies in the state.

Thus, previous work in this area has begun to expose the various layers of stratification structured by place. Until now, however, there has yet to be a systematic examination of the ways in which various local contexts interact to shape diverging pathways for undocumented and

DACAmented young people.

DESCRIPTION OF OUR STUDY

The National UnDACAmented Research Project is a five-year, multi-sited, longitudinal study

that aims to understand how undocumented young adults are experiencing their DACA status

post high school, and to what extent do other relevant contexts shape whether or not, and how,

young adults benefit from DACA.

Our analysis stems from in-depth, semi structured interviews collected between March

2015 and January 2016. In total, we interviewed 481 DACA-eligible undocumented and

DACAmented immigrant young adults in California, Arizona, Illinois, New York, Georgia, and

South Carolina. We sampled respondents based on DACA eligibility. We recruited through

various national and local gateway organizations, and generated snowball samples. In total, we

engaged 74 community stakeholders. At the time of interview, one-third of respondents were

between the ages of 18 and 21 (meaning they were 18 or younger at the start of DACA), while 2-

thirds were 22 and older. Nearly 40 percent of respondents were male, and 60 percent were

female. 79.5 percent were born in Mexico, 6.5 percent were born in Central America and the

Caribbean, 5.8 percent were born in South America, 5.8 percent were born in Asia and the

Pacific Islands, and the remaining 2.5 percent were born in countries outside of these specified

regions. In total, 35 different countries are represented in our interview sample. Additionally,

90.0 percent identify as Latino, 6.7 percent as Asian or Pacific Islander, 2.2 percent as Black, and

1.1 percent as some other race/ethnicity (including white).

Interviews ranged in length between 75 minutes to three and a half hours, and focused on

respondents' experience with DACA, as well as their experiences in school, their communities,

and the broader a range of experiences, including schooling, community, and their broader local environments.

All interviews have been transcribed. An initial codebook of 54 etic codes has been developed. Our analysis is based on these first-level codes. For the purpose of this paper, we focus our analyses on 125 of Latin American origin young adults from South Carolina and Georgia.

DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Research in new destinations has the potential to develop how immigration status shapes incorporation processes and life trajectories (Marrow, 2013). And our project advances both an empirical understanding of this process as well as our conceptual grasp of immigrant incorporation. Given the uneven landscape across new destinations, a comparative approach is important—both between new destinations and traditional ports of entry, as well as within new destinations themselves. While the new destination literature has begun to address questions stemming from the former, how new destinations differ from one another is still relatively underexplored. Just as undocumented immigrants have been drawn to new immigrant destinations, including the South, they have also been drawn to new locales *within* states, including rural areas. **Therefore, the role of place in shaping adaptation for DACAmented and undocumented young adults is experienced in three ways in new destinations: (1) state or local policies, (2) local configurations of support, and (3) the developed environment.**

These three factors are interrelated and, at times, overlapping. For example, state and local policies structure access to critical services (health care and police protection), social mobility (driver's licenses and tuition equity), and participation in community life (ability to vote

in local elections or serve on local councils). However, local organizations that advocate for immigrant rights, the availability of public transportation, and a local community that has a robust concentration of institutions for political engagement may soften the potential impediment of restrict legislation—or weaken the potential benefit of more welcoming state or local polices.

DACAmented young people also face different combinations of opportunities and barriers depending on the state where they live, and on local community and school contexts. For example, in one state they might have access to in-state tuition, state scholarships, and the ability to obtain a license to get a job in the profession for which they have been educated. The same DACA beneficiary in a more restrictive state may not have access to any of these resources or opportunities.

I. State and Local Policies

A. Heightened Law Enforcement

The differences in state and local policy context, as well as how different locales approach law enforcement, are diverse and dynamic. Some law enforcement units have signed 287(g) agreements and many—though not all—counties have adopted Secure Communities. There are sanctuary cities as well as "show me your papers" laws. This creates an uneven patchwork which requires undocumented immigrants and those from mixed-status families to think carefully about how they get to work, school, and the grocery store.

Stricter state and local immigration enforcement policies, such as 287(g) programs, Secure Communities and E-Verify, heighten the stress of living without full legal status. When local police and employers become an extension of immigration enforcement, the fear of deportation pervades neighborhoods, homes, and the workplace. South Carolina and Georgia are

two of six states which mandate that nearly all businesses use E-Verify to prevent undocumented immigrants from obtaining employment. For several of our respondents, this mandate created significant roadblocks for their families in trying to get by, and placed additional burdens on them to offer additional support to their families.

In our 2013 survey of 2,864 DACA eligible young adults, nearly 70 percent indicated that someone they knew (parents, siblings, other family members, neighbors, coworkers, or neighbors) had been either detained or deported. In addition, more than 46 percent told us they worried all or most of the time about family members being detained or deported.

Nina's family moved from Mexico to South Carolina when she was 6. While growing up, her dad worked and her mom stayed at home; in Nina's words, they "weren't struggling." However at age 14, when her father lost his job in an E-Verify sweep, Nina quickly faced a number of new obstacles. She explained:

> *They had established this new E-search at work, where you had to check Social Security and everything, and my dad lost his job. My mom wasn't working so whenever he lost his job, my dad he wasn't able to find a job again so he lost hope and he just wanted to go back to Mexico.*

At this time, Nina's parents returned to Mexico to visit a sick family member, and a few days later, they were denied reentry into the United Sates. As an eighth grader, Nina began bouncing around to different relatives' and friends' homes. At the time of her interview, Nina was a senior in high school and had lived in five different houses within the past year, working in fast food to be able to pay some rent to whatever family she was living with at the time.

In addition, several of our respondents indicated that they had taken on additional

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duties—i.e. driving parents to work, working extra hours, contributing greater sums of their paychecks to their parents—after receiving DACA. Some expressed worry about leaving home—DACA had tethered them to their families.

B. Curbed Access to Higher Education

Neither undocumented nor DACAmented students are eligible for federal financial aid. However, opportunities for postsecondary education still vary widely by state. In states with the most inclusive policies, undocumented and DACAmented students receive in-state tuition rates and qualify for state-based financial aid (e.g. California, Washington, Texas). Currently, twenty states offer in-state tuition to undocumented immigrant students, 16 by state legislative action (California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah, and Washington) and 4 by state university systems (the University of Hawaii Board of Regents, University of Michigan Board of Regents, Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education and Rhode Island's Board of Governors for Higher Education established policies to offer instate tuition rates to undocumented immigrants). In addition, five states (California, New Mexico, Minnesota, Texas, and Washington) offer state financial assistance to undocumented students. In states with the most exclusionary policies, these students may be barred from in-state tuition rates and scholarships (Arizona), be excluded from state-based financial aid and scholarships, or be banned from public universities and colleges entirely (Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina). Six states (Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Indiana, Missouri, and South Carolina) bar undocumented students from in-state tuition benefits, while certainly public university systems in Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia bar undocumented students from admission.

In addition, several states have passed laws providing additional access to DACA beneficiaries, otherwise unavailable to undocumented immigrants without DACA. While state governments cannot directly alter DACA itself, they can control the state benefits available to individuals receiving deferred action. The driver's license is an important example. Rules for governing eligibility for driver's licenses vary by state, and currently, only twelve states plus the District of Columbia offer undocumented immigrants eligibility for driver's licenses.[2] However, otherwise-eligible DACA recipients who obtain an employment authorization document and a Social Security number are now able to obtain a license in every state. This benefit provides DACA holders the ability to travel freely and safely to school or work, a significant form of relief for DACA beneficiaries and their families.

Higher education is another important area where DACA beneficiaries have added layers of access. In addition to being able to legally work to help pay for college, DACA beneficiaries in certain states now have significant advantages over those without DACA. For example, Alabama, Arizona, Idaho, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Virginia have passed state legislation allowing eligible DACA beneficiaries to pay tuition at in-state residency rates. Also, Alabama and South Carolina, states that otherwise ban undocumented students from enrolling in their public higher education systems, allow DACA beneficiaries to enroll. In addition, certain postsecondary institutions offer scholarships to DACA beneficiaries that are not open to other undocumented immigrants. DACA has also opened up possibilities for beneficiaries to pursue graduate studies. Many graduate programs offer funding packages to their graduate students that include teaching or research assistantships and fellowships; each are considered a form of university employment. And, many medical schools have opened up opportunities to DACA

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[2] These states are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Vermont and Washington.

beneficiaries. But university employment, as is participation in residency programs, is tied to the ability to lawfully work. Without work authorization, many of these opportunities would not be available and, as such, a large range of graduate programs would not be an option for DACA beneficiaries.

Our respondents in South Carolina and Georgia face some of the strictest barriers to pursuing postsecondary education. In Georgia, undocumented and DACAmented students are prohibited from attending the most selective public universities (including University of Georgia and Georgia Institute of Technology). At the time of our interviews, students without full legal status were ineligible for in-state tuition and state-based financial aid; however, a recent court ruling has extended in-state tuition benefits for DACAmented students. For DACA beneficiaries in Georgia, this policy will significantly reduce the financial burden of pursuing higher education, yet these students will continue to be barred from the best universities in the state. In South Carolina, undocumented students are explicitly prohibited from attending public postsecondary institutions.[3] DACA drastically changed the realities of our respondents, as becoming DACAmented opens up the chance to enroll in these public schools.[4] Nevertheless, the lack of access to in-state tuition rates and state-based financial aid continues to make higher education an unattainable goal for many.

Carolina, a recent high school graduate in South Carolina, demonstrated the dichotomy of new opportunities and remaining barriers which DACA presented to her. The fact that DACA opened a possibility for postsecondary education drastically altered her hopes and plans for the

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[3] In 2007, the South Carolina state legislature passed HB3620, excluding undocumented immigrants from receiving any form of student aid for higher education in the state, including tuition assistance and scholarships. One year later, HB4400 was signed into law, making South Carolina the first state where undocumented students were altogether prohibited from enrolling in public colleges and universities in the state.
[4] However, in 2012 South Carolina's Commission on Higher Education announced that the restrictions of HB4400 would not apply to DACA beneficiaries. Nevertheless, they are still charged non-resident tuition rates to attend South Carolina's public colleges and universities.

future. She explained:

My freshman year and my sophomore year, I did really bad. Mostly because I was just not motivated because I knew I wasn't going to be able to go to college so I was like why do I have to stay here and try? You know because all of this is going to be worthless in the end. But then when the DACA came out, I started doing a lot better since I was like ok I actually have a chance.

However, anger and disappointment set in later, when Carolina realized that she would never be able to afford the high costs of attending the state's best public universities without in-state tuition or financial aid. Carolina had to turn down more competitive 4-year universities to attend a local community college, which was both cheaper and enabled her to save money by living at home. Even so, she struggles to balance work and school, and she faces constant frustration that she must pay nearly four times as much as her documented peers for the same classes. She explained:

I felt really angry and upset because I saw all of these people that didn't even try in school. They didn't even care about school and they got to get away with college, got it for free. I know a bunch of people that got to college for free and they didn't try. They lost their scholarship, they dropped out, they didn't care, and I'm over here working my but off 40 hours a week while trying to go to school? Trying to get two classes done and I don't even know if I can afford next semester so it kind of makes me a little bit mad and kind of angry, really angry.

Even if DACA opened up the opportunity for higher education, for many of our respondents, the financial burdens in states without in-state tuition continue to make postsecondary schooling an unattainable goal.

C. Exclusion from Professional Licensure

Across all of our states, DACAmented respondents utilized new opportunities for postsecondary education to pursue vocational degrees. Often these programs are shorter in length, making them more financially feasible than 2-year or 4-year programs, and they directly translate into well-paid jobs. However, many of these specialized vocations (e.g. medical assisting, cosmetology) require a professional license in order to gain employment. Today, nearly 30 percent of all jobs require a license. License requirements vary from state to state. At least 190 occupations require state licenses in some states, and 93 occupations are licensed in all states. In some states, state-issued licenses are restricted to citizens and legal permanent residents. Additionally, in some, a federal law has been interpreted to prevent a state from providing licenses to a number of categories of non-citizens including DACA. In these states, many DACA beneficiaries are prevented from working in the occupations for which they are educated. Some are even precluded from education programs that require clinical training, such as nursing. Because these laws vary across states, and even across professions within a state, it is extremely difficult for DACA beneficiaries to know which paths are available to them and which are not.

Not only do license requirements for different occupations vary from state to state, but in some states, licenses are also restricted by immigration status. While in more inclusive states like New York and California that have passed bills providing eligibility, several of our respondents were employed in licensed fields, some respondents in more restrictive South

Carolina and Georgia were prevented from working in the occupations they had trained for. When investing in vocational degrees, these DACAmented students were unaware that they would be barred from the profession, discovering this only when applying for their professional licenses post-graduation. After investing time, energy, and money into these programs, these respondents end up confused and discouraged.

After high school, Martha began working at her father's car repair shop in South Carolina, as she was not able to pursue higher education in her home state. Upon the announcement of DACA however, Martha was eager to enroll in a six-month cosmetology program at a local community college, seeing this as a financially feasible option to set herself up for her own career. Yet when she finished the program and received her degree, she was surprised to find out that she could not obtain a professional license to practice. She explained:

> *You know I did the aesthetics program right? It was six months and I was supposed to get my certificate and my license to work in that field but unfortunately, because I'm a DACA student in South Carolina they didn't. I was not eligible to receive my license and that's where I feel like there's a downside, because the counselors or the people from the community college never told me that and maybe it would have been a different story if I would have known… I did not get my license because – it wasn't because of my grades. I passed everything thank God but it was because of my status. The fact that I have deferred action and apparently in the state of South Carolina anyone who has deferred action or has a temporary worker's permit, they will not give it to them. Unless South Carolina changes that law, then I can get it within 24 months or I can go to another state and try getting it there but because I'm not a citizen or anything else, they denied my application.*

No one at the community college had told Martha or her DACAmented peers that the cosmetology program would be a dead end: that they would be ineligible for licenses. Discouraged and disappointed, Martha returned to working at her father's repair shop, after wasting several thousand dollars in savings on a failed plan.

II. Local Configurations of Support

A growing number of new destination studies are exploring the various ways in which local context matters for immigrant incorporation, and how context interacts with immigrant characteristics to influence the mechanisms by which adaptation unfolds (Bickham and Nelson, 2016; Dreby and Schmalzbaur, 2013; Flippen and Parrado, 2015; Lehman, 2016). Constrained housing, lack of transportation options, and limited public space inhibit the ability of Latino immigrants to navigate the spaces of everyday life. However, local resources, such as schools and social service organizations, can mitigate these constraints.

A. Local Climate and Reception

In the case of undocumented immigrant youth in new destinations, primary and secondary schools are particularly important resources. In her study of a small town in North Carolina, Silva (2012) observes the development of social network ties between undocumented Latino youth and adults from school and the community. She finds that these youth enjoy a favorable reception by teachers and school personnel who encourage the formation of ethnic programs and groups for Latinos (2015). Due to the history of black/white segregation, the same school personnel were less willing to support black student groups for fear that doing so would

exacerbate racial divisions. Studying the incorporation of undocumented youth people in new destinations must attend to the complex ways that local structures—including the political economy of race, neighborhood segregation, and the availability of supports—influence the adaptive pathways of these young people.

Certain structural characteristics of new destinations appear to be distinct from traditional gateways, with implications for social inequality outcomes. Residential patterns and employment dynamics in new destinations are often more decentralized, especially in the US south and in rural zones outside of large metropolitan areas (Flippen and Parrado, 2012), leading to greater social isolation. Undocumented status exerts a powerful effect on residential segregation patterns in new destinations for Latinos (Lichter, et al, 2016) and for Mexican-origin immigrants in particular (Hall, 2013; Hall and Crowder, 2014). Relative to their peers in traditional gateways, unauthorized Mexican immigrants in new destinations are more likely to be residentially segregated from native-born non-Hispanic whites, net compositional differences, such as English language skills and income (Hall, 2013). These residential patterns are attributable to a range of factors including the location of affordable housing in new destinations—such as aging and dispersed apartment complexes (Flippen and Parado, 2012)—as well as the tendency of native-born residents to out-migrate when undocumented Mexican immigrants move in (Hall and Stringfield, 2014; Lichter, et al, 2016).

1. Increased Racism and Prejudice

In more conservative places with greater anti-immigrant sentiment, our respondents were more likely to report experiences with racism and prejudice. These respondents not only faced legal barriers due to their undocumented status, they also experienced added backlash, resistance, and

ridicule due to their skin color and language differences. Such prejudice could lead to feelings of isolation in schools and neighborhoods, or even differential treatment in the workplace.

Enrique, a 19 year old living in suburban Georgia, discussed his experiences with racism in several different jobs:

They were treating me like some sort of fucking slave or something, literally... four dollars an hour. Even in construction I got taken advantage of... the group I was in with my dad is all old white dudes who are fucking rednecks and shit, so I had to take shit from them in my— the foreman, he's a fucking asshole, he's really old but he yells his fucking head off at you if you do the slightest thing wrong, but when he does something wrong there's nothing wrong with that. Because I'm of Hispanic descent, Latino descent, and because I pretended to not be able to speak English at first, I didn't speak at all just to see what they'd say, because they assume you don't know, so they might say shit around you. I was right, they did... They also tried to talk down to me... My dad talks in an accent because he struggles with English, so everyone in his group talks to my dad and me with the same accent. They mimic the accent. That's how they talk to us... There's a lot of white supremacy, it's so wild there it's like trees. Like trees are everywhere, that's how abundant it is. There is a lot of racism.

While DACA might have given him access to legal employment, Enrique felt that racist employers and coworkers continued to create unsafe and unfair work environments for him. Without the funds to pursue higher education, and fed up working in hard manual jobs where he felt undervalued and disrespected, Enrique grew hopeless for any positive change in the future.

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2. Lack of Racial/Ethnic Diversity

Certainly traditional immigrant gateways like New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles are known for high levels of racial and ethnic diversity. While our respondents in larger metropolitan areas (i.e. Atlanta) and smaller metropolitan areas (i.e. Greenville, Columbia) in new destination states reported living in relatively diverse neighborhoods and attending relatively diverse schools, this was not the case for those individuals living in more rural areas. For these respondents, heightened racism was not the only problem; they could also experience significant feelings of isolation.

Daniel's family migrated to the U.S. from Colombia when he was 8, settling in South Carolina, as his father knew a friend living in the state. Growing up, Daniel never truly felt like he fit in, as he there were very few people in his town or school who shared his immigrant or ethnic identity. Daniel described his school:

It was in the country... In my graduating class there was about 4 or 5 Latinos and that's – maybe like 2 Asian guys or 2 Asian people and everybody else was white so it wasn't very diverse. Maybe – as far as African Americans go maybe there was about 20 people tops that were African-American in my graduating class. The rest of everyone was white. So it wasn't very diverse... It was in the country kind of closer up to the mountains so you get a lot of – for a lack of a better word rednecks that just are – I guess the way that they've grown up very ignorant. A lot of racist comments... I had a couple of – I wouldn't say fights but words with some people because of the comments that were made... I think that's mainly what had to do with it; with me being like that was because it was just so hard to fit in. It was so hard to fit in when everyone else is not like you and

look at you like you don't belong there and I guess that's what caused me to get a little

mad sometimes but it wasn't – it was only after you can only take so much. You can only

take so much verbal abuse until you start to get a little upset about it.

3. Cultural Segregation

In those metropolitan new destination areas with large concentrations of immigrants, overall

diversity may be higher than in more rural areas. However, residential segregation can still

create a social disconnect between immigrant and native groups that creates a conflict for young

people straddling the two worlds. For respondents living in these areas, navigating their family's

immigrant culture and their town's southern culture was a challenge. These same pressures did

not seem to exist in more culturally diverse traditional immigrant gateways.

Alex grew up in a metropolitan area of South Carolina, living with his parents in a

neighborhood he calls "Little Mexico." The families in this neighborhood are extremely close,

many coming from the same hometowns in Mexico. Consequently, these families have built up

their own community and institutions separate from the native population, and often rarely

interact with non-immigrants. Alex described the difficulties he faced trying to navigate both his

home and school cultures:

It almost felt like I had to assimilate to the things that they were doing… Since I grew up

in a Latino neighborhood but I was in the public education system – it's two different

worlds. The Mexican side versus the American side is conflicting worlds almost… At

home you had to talk Spanish but at school you had to learn English and keep talking to

everyone in English, and if you talk Spanish it's not good. And you had to be accustomed

to all the traditions and stuff and saying the Pledge of Allegiance and saying thank you,

and I don't know just Southern culture. It was definitely different because my parents

expected one thing and school expected another…. I would have to go to work with my

dad whenever I was free from school or on the weekends while my friends had no idea

what working was or what doing manual labor was…. I used to watch TV shows that

were all in Spanish and my friends would watch cable television that was all in English

and would be in tune with some kind of pop culture, while I was not aware of anything

they were saying. If it was sports or entertainment, or just visiting the local store in the

town, I wouldn't have any idea of that because my parents would go to what they were

accustomed to.

B. Social and Educational Support Infrastructure

Another distinct structural characteristic of immigrant new destinations is the availability and accessibility of social service organizations and supplemental education services (Cadge, et al, 2013; Dreby and Schmalzbaur, 2013). Immigrant-serving providers are important as intermediary organizations in these contexts (Roth, et al, 2015) because they can provide a buffer against anti-immigrant state laws. However, many new destinations do not have many (or any) ethnic organizations, or even services providers that have established immigrant-serving programs (Cohen and Chavez, 2013, Roth and Grace, forthcoming). Mainstream organizations and service providers can step in to address the diverse needs of immigrants in new destinations, but their willingness and capacity to do so can be unpredictable (Marrow, 2009) and inconsistent from one place to the next (Cadge, et al, 2013; Everitt and Levinson, 2016).

1. Organizational Infrastructure

With lower numbers of immigrants, many new destinations also lack the organizational infrastructure, both public and nonprofit, to aid new immigrants in their integration. It is not entirely surprising that these locales would not have a plethora of immigrant rights or support organizations. However, even their schools are not well-resourced to fulfill the educational needs of new immigrants.

Fewer than half of our respondents had a computer with internet access in their homes. In addition, many respondents highlighted a range of educational deficits including a limited number of advanced placement (AP) courses in their schools, and little information about post-secondary options. The limited access to advanced school curricula was exacerbated by a lack of tutoring, educational assistance, and college readiness programs in the community. Given respondents' exclusion from federal and state financial aid, the absence of these kinds of supports is detrimental to their educational trajectories.

Melanie's parents had moved to South Carolina for employment when she was quite young, leaving her and her brother with their grandparents in Mexico. When Melanie was 10, the two kids moved to the U.S. to join them in a rural town with a school system that lacked any ESL program or bilingual specialist. With little English knowledge, the two struggled in school for several months before being sent to a new district in the nearest city with resources for native Spanish speakers. Melanie explained the burden that this hour-long commute to school placed on her father and the two kids:

> *He used to work at night and he used to sacrifice his morning and take us to school... We*
> *used to get up so early because we didn't attend a school in our county. We had to go to*
> *a different school because they didn't have an ESL program at that time. So the only*
> *school that provided the ESL program was the school was in Greenville, which was an*

hour away from our house so we used to wake up so early and have the bus pick us up

like at 5:30 in the morning so we could get there on time, and pick the rest of the kids...

This used to be in the country so at that time, they didn't have – it wasn't really a lot of

Hispanic kids in this area so everything was in the school, with American American

American. So I attended a different school, where they provided the ESL program.

2. Limited Knowledge among School Personnel

In all states, most respondents felt that they had at least one trusted mentor, whether a teacher, counselor, sports coach, or other staff member, to whom they could disclose their undocumented status. Very rarely did respondents feel alienated from all adults in their school. However, knowledge about how to advise DACAmented students on postsecondary options was certainly patterned by state. School staff can provide invaluable support and information in helping undocumented students learn of the college and scholarship opportunities available to them. However, for many respondents in suburban and rural locales in South Carolina and Georgia, this knowledge was lacking within their high schools. Sometimes school staff discouraged respondents from pursuing higher education or provided them with incorrect information. Even if teachers and counselors did encourage college dreams, these adults often were not fully equipped to help their undocumented students navigate the legal landscape around higher education.

Mar, who has lived in the suburbs of Atlanta since age 6, currently attends community college and works in retail. Although she took AP classes and excelled, Mar never felt that her school was well-equipped to help her navigate the challenges of being undocumented. She told us about her interactions with school staff concerning options post-graduation:

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I talked to two people, and they're like, "Well, you can't really do anything because there's a ban…" They didn't really have anything, because they didn't know or they were just bitchy about it. They were like, "Whatever. You can't go anywhere." Or they gave you super old, old scholarship manual.

Navigating the complex and uncertain legal landscape of higher education in Georgia alone added extra uncertainty and stress in Mar's high school years and beyond. Mar suggested that her experience might have been much smoother if she had additional support at school:

If someone actually cared about some of the kids that were undocumented, and they were actually there to guide you, that you could tell them everything, and they understood and they guided you through high school and to get ready for college and all that. If they wanted you to be more prepared, have counselors that people can count on, have meetings and be like, "Okay. Any of you undocumented, I'm here. I know this stuff. I've got it. Maybe I don't have all the questions, but I can guide you and we can work together." I didn't have that. None of us had it at all, so it was really hard.

3. The Role of Religious Institutions

While our new destination states of South Carolina and Georgia[5] may lack the plethora of organizations which support immigrants in traditional gateway cities, there is another type of institution which plays an important support role for many of our respondents in the South: the church. Several respondents cited their churches as an importance source of emotional support,

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[5] Many of the respondents in our Georgia sample are connected to one important group based in Atlanta, Freedom University, which seeks to help undocumented students in Georgia access higher education opportunities. However, there was certainly not the same number and range of groups as in the traditional gateway cities.

mentorship, and even financial support. Often, those respondents very involved in churches had even received assistance in their DACA applications by fellow church members. For those respondents living in less diverse areas with low numbers of immigrants, church was often a way to form community with the broader non-immigrant population.

Robert, who lives with his mother and stepfather in a rural town in South Carolina, described this sentiment:

I'm a very big churchgoer. I am a member of a Southern Baptist church here… They're very supportive. It's home and the community – we get along with everyone here. We have no problems. I mean other than just being the only Hispanic family in the neighborhood. I mean there's really not much difference… I am a part of the college and career ministry. I've been there – I've been a part of the church for about 5 years now and I'm heavily involved in the youth activities at church. I've been a small group leader. I've been a camp counselor for the youth. I'm involved in their bible quiz ministry. I'm a part of the safety team and I believe in service, so everything and anything that I am called to serve in, I will go fully for, so just kind of everywhere.

The central role that the church plays for many respondents in Georgia and South Carolina, particularly as compared to respondents in our other study states, suggests that religious institutions could be an important player in fostering integration in these new destinations.

III. Developed Environment

We might expect to see incorporation pathways to be least resistant in urban centers located in

states with more accommodating immigrant integration policies. Traditional ports of entry typically have more established ethnic-serving institutions, and key local organizations—such as schools—have the capacity to serve immigrant youth. Therefore, we would expect that incorporation would be easiest in these places. By contrast, rural communities in immigrant new destinations with restrictive immigration policies would be more likely to have blocked pathways to incorporation for undocumented youth. Yet, this area of scholarship is extremely underdeveloped. With the exception of limited case studies (Gonzales and Ruiz, 2014; Roth, 2015) and early conceptual work (Stein, et al., 2016), few researchers have focused on the adaptation of unauthorized youth in rural or suburban areas in comparison to urban settings in new destinations.

Nevertheless, one's developed environment plays a critical role in providing access to public transportation, critical services, and opportunities to participate in community life.

A. Social Supports

While migration trends suggest growing settlement in suburban and rural areas, many of these new growth areas lack the social service infrastructure that many metropolitan areas possess (Allard, 2009). And while access to providers in this areas is a problem for all, it is even more problematic for immigrants (Roth, Gonzales, and Lesniewski, 2015). Rural and suburban-based nonprofits face numerous and imposing challenges to serving low-income immigrants, including difficulty finding bilingual employees and funding to pay for them. These factors shed light on how complicated it can be to rapidly adjust to a growing and diverse immigrant population. Although, immigrants may live near several service providers, they are more likely to access only those organizations that have effectively lowered linguistic and cultural barriers.

B. Public Transportation

For our respondents in urban areas, where ample public transportation provides many options for getting around the city, the ability to obtain a drivers' license was symbolically important, but usually not life-changing. In contrast, in suburban and rural communities in South Carolina and Georgia, driving is a necessity for even the most basic tasks, and the fear that comes with driving without a license creates constant and crippling stress. For DACAmented young people in these states, the ability to obtain a license meant that they could get to and from work and school without the constant fear of being pulled over. Many of these young people also took on the responsibility for their undocumented family members, becoming a designated driver to get their parents, older siblings, and extended family to and from work as well.

Miguel, a 19-year-old living in an Atlanta suburb, discussed in great detail the stresses which a driver's license had eliminated from his life. When asked about the benefits of DACA, he responded:

> *The most significant benefits — it's my license. It's that I can drive freely around, without having to worry. I can drive my dad to work. Cuz yeah, there was a time when my dad would probably spend probably a whole month in jail, from jail to jail to jail, simply because he was an undocumented driver, going to work and back... My dad would be pulled over for this, pulled over for that, spend a week in jail for this, spend a week in jail for that... It did affect school, simply because I had to worry about getting everything paid on time. Had to make sure everything was still running the way it was, while me being in school... I had basically my family on my shoulders... After I got the license, those fears completely went away.*

The exclusion from driver's licenses creates a significant complication on the ability of undocumented immigrants to carry out basic life tasks. For those in rural and suburban new destination areas that lack reliable public transportation, the inability to drive legally can create substantial hardships.

DISCUSSION

While scholars have highlighted the numerous benefits of new destination areas for the adult first generation, less is known about how these circumstances shape the incorporation prospects of their children (although see Morando (2013) on the Mexican second generation in Georgia), particularly those navigating new growth communities with immigration status constraints. Particularly for undocumented young people, where one resides within the United States dramatically shapes a multitude of experiences based on local impediments and opportunities. Due to state, county, and municipal level policies, one's zip code can mean the difference between incorporation and exclusion. In addition, distinct and interlocking issues related to place—underdeveloped and inadequate social service and educational infrastructures, isolation, discrimination, and racial and ethnic segregation—can further constrain mobility.

How might these three factors—policy context, resources availability, and developed environment—combine to influence adaptive pathways for DACAmented youth? It is instructive to consider how traditional receiving context such as California compares with a new destination area like South Carolina. In California, because of state laws that are more accommodating toward undocumented immigrants, a DACA beneficiary might have access to a driver's license, in-state tuition, state financial aid and scholarships, as well as the ability to obtain an

occupational license to obtain employment in a job section in line with his or her education. Cities like San Francisco and New York, offer sanctuary to undocumented immigrants, and have dense networks of social service and educational agencies to assist them in their pursuits. However, the cost of living in some of these urban areas can limit options for affordable housing.

In South Carolina, by contrast, a DACA beneficiary may be able to obtain a driver's license. However, state laws, including restrictions from in-state tuition and state scholarships, may limit his or her access to many of the other resources and opportunities available to their peers in states like California. What's more, if this individual did not have DACA she or he would also face exclusion from public colleges and universities. Moreover, the potential burden of not having DACA is also greater in South Carolina. As a rural state, the ability to drive can determine one's access to employment options, but undocumented immigrants cannot obtain driver's licenses. For DACA beneficiaries with undocumented family members, they might be called upon to provide transportation for their loved one, or to manage the worry that their family member is taking a risk each time he or she drives without a license. Finally, it is also against state law in South Carolina for any city to declare sanctuary status, and three counties (York, Charleston and Lexington) have 287(g) agreements with ICE.[6]

Future questions about DACAmented youth and new destinations

How are new destinations continuing to change? Are they becoming more like traditional receiving contexts?

Everitt and Levinson (2016) find that even new destinations which have a more supportive organizational infrastructure and multicultural orientation to welcoming immigrant newcomers

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[6] Note: Orange County in California has also signed a 287(g) agreement.

can change over time. They show how organizations can lapse into preexisting institutional ideals, leading to diminished support for meeting the needs of immigrant newcomers (2016).

How do undocumented immigrant youth in new destinations experience discrimination? How is this experience mediated by local organizations?

The geography of immigrant new destinations in the south have undergone—and continue to experience—relatively rapid and dramatic change in their social, cultural and racial makeup. Given the political economy of race in the south, these changes mark a rupture of the status quo which has rippling implications across many social institutions, including schools, law enforcement and government. While there is empirical evidence of discrimination experienced by undocumented youth in traditional immigrant gateways, we contend that the current and historical context of the South is distinct and may allow us to better understand the range of strategies that youth bring to bear in response to these conditions.

How do new destinations differ from one another? Is there a useful heuristic for distinguishing one from the other?

The European Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) has developed a rigorous country-level comparative framework based on 167 policy indicators on immigrant integration. Manuel Pastor and colleagues (2012) created a similar index, or scorecard, of ten regions across the state of California. As with MIPEX, the California Immigrant Integration Scorecard project developed measures of immigrant integration by analyzing local policies, but they included other measures, including economic progress and warmth of welcome. We are unaware of a similar typology of new destinations as these contexts concern the adaptation of unauthorized immigrant youth. This would be helpful for advancing our understanding of how these places are different and why

these differences matter, developing a comparative logic that would be useful for policy makers.

What is the best scale at which to conceptualize (and study) new immigrant destinations?

In the case of undocumented youth and access to higher education, relevant policies are primarily relevant at the state level. However, *where* they live in a given state—whether it is a new destination or a traditional port of entry—also has bearing on integration. Therefore, we propose to compare the integration patterns of unauthorized youth in new destinations and traditional ports of entry, sorting them by similar geographies—rural, suburban or rural environments. We understand that contexts of reception and available resources will vary from one place to another, even within settings which share a common distinction as a new settlement or traditional immigrant gateway. Georgia is distinct from South Carolina in its state laws governing access to higher education, for example. However, urban/suburban/rural differences also matter.

What is the effect of DACA on the social mobility of youth in new destinations?

In addition to the benefits conferred through DACA, several states have passed laws providing additional access to DACA beneficiaries, otherwise unavailable to undocumented immigrants without DACA. While state governments cannot directly alter DACA itself, they can control the state benefits available to individuals receiving deferred action. Importantly, then, the population of DACA eligible young adults is stratified by DACA and non-DACA status and by where in the United States they reside.

This process is arguably most salient in the delay of informal employment in low-wage employment, as on-the-job hazards, precariousness, and vulnerability are often associated with

these types of jobs. Instead, by maintaining ongoing participation with the legal world of citizen and American-born peers and unrestricted adult pursuits, undocumented young people who transition to college can maintain a positive sense of belonging while preserving mental and emotional well-being.

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