Experiences of Uncertainty Among Latinx Immigrant Parents in the U.S.

EXPERIENCES OF UNCERTAINTY AMONG LATINX IMMIGRANT PARENTS IN THE U.S.

By

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ABSTRACT

A large body of research has demonstrated that uncertain threats increase emotional arousal, negative mood, and worry. However, uncertainty in the context of political climate has been understudied. The current qualitative study examined the experiences of uncertainty and their perceived effects among Latinx immigrant parents with diverse documentation statuses (undocumented, TPS, permanent resident, and U.S. Citizen) during a restrictive immigration policy climate. The findings revealed seven major themes: immigration policy changes, discrimination/racism, enforcement actions, anticipated consequences, distrust, fear/anxiety, and preventative/preparatory action. Findings indicate that the unpredictable aspects of threats to personal, familial, and community safety contributed to uncertainty and related adverse effects in restrictive political climates. This uncertainty about the likelihood, timing, and location of threats influenced feelings of anxiety, perceptions of trustworthiness and vulnerability, and behaviors to safeguard against potential threats.

INDEX WORDS: Latinx immigrants, Immigration policy, Uncertainty, Mental health, Unpredictability, Political climate

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DEDICATION

Le dedico esta tesis a mi viejo, por todo su apoyo y amor. Todo por vos, viejo.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The immigration policy climate, defined as "a composite of the existing laws, their enforcement and practice, and the debates surrounding these laws" (Philbin, Flake, Hatzenbuehler, & Hirsch, 2018, p. 30), shapes the lives of Latinx families in the United States (U.S.) (Rodriguez, Paredes, & Hagan, 2017; Sabo & Lee, 2015; Vesely, Letiecq, & Goodman, 2017). Regardless of legal status, a restrictive immigration policy climate can increase vulnerability for poor mental health outcomes (Torres, Santiago, Walts, & Richards, 2018). Studies indicate a positive association between psychological distress and a restrictive immigration policy climate, in which policies aim to reduce access to resources (e.g., employment eligibility and opportunities, health care, education) (Ayón, 2018; García, 2018; Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017; Salas, Ayón, & Gurrola, 2013; Vargas, Sanchez, & Juárez, 2017). Policy changes that occurred during 2017 were especially stressful for Latinx adults living in the U.S. A recent national survey found that a majority (67%) of Latinx adults reported that the policies under the current federal administration have been harmful to Latinxs (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Across studies of immigration-related stressors, threats to family safety and feelings of uncertainty are identified as particularly taxing (Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Rodriguez et al., 2017). Stress can occur when individuals perceive that situations or environments surpass, or threaten to surpass, their perceived resources (Matthieu & Ivanoff, 2006). Uncertainty, defined as the ambiguous, unknown, and unpredictable occurrence or outcome of a future threat or aversive event (Carleton, 2016; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013), can also generate stress and anxiety (Pervin, 1963). However, uncertainty has not been a focus of research in the context of the immigration policy climate. This focus with Latinx parents could be important given a recent synthesis of

social science literature elucidating the adverse impact of uncertainty and threats to family safety on Latinx children in immigrant families (Barajas-Gonzales, Ayón, & Torres, 2018). In addition to these threats in a restrictive policy climate, Latinx immigrant parents are challenged with navigating constrained resources and discrimination (Androff et al., 2011), while also raising their children. These challenges might be particularly salient for parents of adolescents, given that adolescents typically have developed the cognitive and socio-emotional skills to understand how the immigration climate is affecting them and their families.

Two components of uncertainty are unpredictability and perceived uncontrollability. Unpredictability refers to the unknown probability, location, timing and intensity of occurrence of an environmental feature or specific stimulus (e.g., deportation) (Grupe & Nitshke, 2013). Compared to predictable aversive events, those that are unpredictable have a larger negative effect on mood, physiological indices of reactivity (e.g., skin conductance), and state anxiety (Grupe & Nitschke, 2011). Uncontrollability is defined as the personal belief that individual actions will not change the probability or nature of a specific event (e.g., shifting immigration policies and actions) (Grupe & Nitshke, 2013). Scholars have found an inverse relation between the predictability and controllability of threatening events and the development and maintenance of anxiety disorders (Lohr, Olatunji, & Sawchuk, 2007; Zvolensky, Lejuez, & Eifert, 2000). Findings from laboratory-based studies of uncertainty typically use unpredictability and uncontrollability to operationalize uncertainty or use the terms, uncertainty and unpredictability, interchangeably.

A large body of research has demonstrated that uncertain threats increase emotional arousal, negative mood, and worry (Grillon, 2008; Neta, Cantelon, Haga, Mahoney, Taylor, & Davis, 2017; Tanovic, Pruessner, & Joorman, 2018). Intolerance of uncertainty (IU), a

dispositional tendency to find uncertainty aversive and threatening (Carleton, 2012), promotes the development and maintenance of anxiety-related symptoms (Carleton et al., 2016; Einstein, 2014; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013) and disorders (Carleton, 2012; Jensen, Cohen, Mennin, Fresco, & Heimberg, 2016). However, uncertainty in the context of political climate has been understudied. Given the relationship between uncertainty and psychological distress, it is important to understand how uncertain political contexts affect well-being.

This study highlights how Latinx immigrant parents' perceptions of immigration policies and actions intersect with their experiences of uncertainty. Using qualitative data from six focus groups with Latinx immigrant parents with different documentation statuses (undocumented status, legal permanent residency, Temporary Protected Status, or U.S. citizenship), the study builds on existing research to examine Latinx immigrant parents' experiences of uncertainty in the context of recent immigration policies and actions. Given immigration policy changes at the time of the study (e.g., termination of Temporary Protected Status for Nicaraguans and Hondurans; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017), perceptions of uncertainty may be experienced differently among Latinxs with different documentation statuses. This study examined what parents report they are uncertain about (e.g., deportation, shifting immigration policies) and how parents perceive the influence of uncertainty on their behaviors, emotions, and perceptions. The overall goal is to better understand the association between the immigration political climate and parents' mental health.

1.1 Uncertain Threat as a Stressor

Perception of uncertainty as a threat can be a psychological and physiological stressor. Findings from laboratory-based studies of uncertainty indicate that uncertain threat is positively associated with emotional reactivity, arousal, emotional anticipation, negative mood ratings,

physiological indices of reactivity, and worry (e.g., Grupe & Nitschke, 2011; Ladouceur, Gosselin, & Dugas, 2000; Neta et al., 2017). Much research on the association between uncertainty and anxiety has focused on heightened emotional reactivity to aversive events, such as electric shock. Compared to conditions of certain threat, anticipatory negative emotion is enhanced under conditions of uncertain threat (Grillon, 2008). For example, studies by Tanovic, Pruessner, and Joorman (2018) and Neta et al. (2017) used probability of shock or threat of shock paradigms, respectively, with adult participants and found heightened negative emotion and emotional arousal in anticipation of uncertain versus certain threat. The heightened emotional arousal elicited by this uncertain threat of an aversive physical event (i.e., shock) was associated with a tendency to negatively interpret ambiguous social cues (Neta et al., 2017). In restrictive immigration policy climates, immigrant parents may experience elevated negative emotion tied to an uncertain future or uncertain immigration enforcement.

Individuals who report a tendency to evaluate uncertain information negatively (e.g., as a source of danger that is disturbing or unacceptable) (Ladouceur et al., 2000) respond to these uncertain situations and events with anxiety-related cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses (Dugas, Gagnon, Ladouceur, & Freeston, 1998; Freeston, Rhéaume, Letarte, Dugas, & Ladouceur, 1994). Scholars find that anticipatory responses to perceived potential threat include worry, hypervigilance, anticipatory anxiety, and avoidance of uncertain threat situations (Grillon, 2008; Grupe & Nitschke, 2011; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013; Shankman, Robison-Andrew, Nelson, Altman, & Campbell, 2011). Using an experimental design, Ladouceur and colleagues (2000) conducted a study with adult students to test whether IU might increase worry. The researchers used a computerized gambling procedure to manipulate levels of IU. Compared to participants in a decreased IU condition, participants in the increased IU condition reported more worry. The

results suggest that IU has a role in the acquisition and maintenance of excessive worry (Ladouceur et al., 2000). Carleton and colleagues (2016) studied the association between self-reported IU and decisions in uncertainty-based behavioral tasks (e.g., the Risky Gains Task (RGT)). They found a positive relation between IU and risk-averse behaviors. Grupe and Nitschke (2013) proposed an Uncertainty and Anticipation Model of Anxiety (UAMA), which suggests that excessive anticipatory responding (e.g., hypervigilance, increased attention to threatening stimuli, behavioral and cognitive avoidance, heightened emotional and physiological reactivity) under conditions of uncertain threat is a common feature across anxiety disorders. Research on immigration policy climate has documented that Latinxs engage in anticipatory responding, such as worry (Roche et al., under review) and hypervigilance (Ayón, 2018; Ayón, Valencia-Garcia, & Kim, 2017), to reduce or avoid the impact of future threats tied to immigration policies and actions.

The limited research on political uncertainty, situations in which people face the threat of forced relocation and even a threat to their lives, indicates that this evokes fear, anger, and avoidance (Shamai, 2001). In one descriptive mixed-method study with Israeli families living in Judaea and Samaria during a politically uncertain situation (i.e., the Intifada and the years following the Oslo peace agreements), political uncertainty was tied to feelings of fear, anger, and hate among both parents and children (Shamai, 2000). Participants' descriptions of fear were closely related to anxiety. Some participants tried to cope with the political uncertainty by ignoring or avoiding it (e.g., trying not to talk or think about current or future incidents tied to political uncertainty).

1.2 Uncertainty and Restrictive Immigration Policies and Actions

Many Latinxs live with fear and anxiety regarding threats to family safety and the possibility of deportation (Rodriguez et al., 2017). A recent national survey found that, regardless of documentation status, a majority of Latinx adults (55%) worry about the possible deportation of themselves, a family member, or a close friend (Pew Research Center, 2018). Findings from studies with Latinx immigrant families suggest that the environment and enforcement of restrictive policies affect families' daily lives through heightened stress, reduced mobility, fear, and chronic uncertainty that permeates through various aspects of life (Ayón, 2018; Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Philbin & Ayón, 2016; Philbin et al., 2018; Salas et al., 2013). For example, immigrant Latino parents in Arizona described fear and hypervigilance tied to risk of being stopped and detained while driving without a license (Ayón, 2018). The constant threat of deportation is one way that restrictive immigration policies heighten uncertainty and emotional distress among immigrants (García, 2018; Vesely et al., 2017). Findings from Chavez and colleagues' (2012) qualitative study with Latinx immigrant families in north central Indiana indicate that restrictive immigration policies at state and federal levels incited fear, uncertainty, and isolation (Chavez, Lopez, Englebrecht, & Anguiano, 2012). Findings from Ayón and Becerra's qualitative study with first-generation immigrant Mexican parents in Arizona speak to the pervasiveness of this uncertainty: "The degree of uncertainty in [the participants'] lives seemed to be the most stressful aspect of their situations" (2013, p. 218). These findings suggest that uncertainty may be an ongoing stressor affecting Latinx families that deserves further attention.

1.3 Impact of Immigration Policies and Actions

Immigration-related events in the U.S. contribute to fear and uncertainty among Latinxs (Roche, Vaquera, White, & Rivera, 2018; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). In 2017, immigration policies and actions that affected Latinxs include announcements of interior enforcement of deportation of any undocumented individual with a nonviolent offense (including unlawful entry into the U.S.) (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2017), termination of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Nicaraguans and Hondurans (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017), and repeal of the Deferred Actions on Childhood Immigrants Arrivals Program (DACA; U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services, 2017). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2018), there are 58.9 million Latinxs in the U.S. (18.1% of the total U.S. population). Many Latinxs in the U.S. live in mixed-status families (i.e., families made up of both documented and undocumented individuals) (Torres et al., 2018). Scholars find that immigration policies targeting undocumented immigrants end up negatively affecting individuals who are not themselves targeted (Enriquez, 2015; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012), including children who are U.S. citizens. Even amongst Latinx children who are U.S. citizens, effects include monitoring police activity to manage risk, disrupted family dynamics, hypervigilance, shared economic instability, and familial stress and uncertainty (Chavez et al., 2012; Enriquez, 2015; Gulbas et al., 2016).

Restrictive policies can also contribute to discrimination against Latinxs (Ayón et al., 2017), limited access to health and social services (Philbin et al., 2018; Toomey et al., 2014), and compromised economic security (Ayón, Gurrola, Salas, Androff, & Krysik, 2012), making Latinx families in the U.S. more vulnerable to poor health outcomes (Androff et al., 2011; Artiga & Ubri, 2017; Dreby, 2012). For example, Quiroga, Medina, and Glick (2014) conducted a mixed-methods study with 155 undocumented and documented Mexican adults to examine their

experiences of anti-immigrant policies in Arizona. Across survey participants, most reported high psychological distress. In their interviews, participants described perceptions of vulnerability regarding immigration enforcement activities. In their systematic review of the literature, Martinez and colleagues (2015) found that anti-immigrant policies were tied to undocumented immigrants' experiences of negative mental health outcomes, such as anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Martinez et al., 2015).

A growing body of research on the impact of immigration policy has found that the hostile environment that occurs alongside restrictive immigration policies is detrimental to the mental health of Latinxs in the U.S. (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017). For example, Miranda, Schulz, Israel, and González (2011) examined associations between sociopolitical context ("the social, economic, political and historical circumstances," p.706) at the time of entry into the U.S. and depressive symptoms in older adult Mexican immigrants. Compared to participants who arrived during a time of relatively supportive immigration policies (e.g., the Bracero Program, 1942-1964), participants who arrived during a time of restrictive and anti-immigrant policies (e.g., after the Immigration Reform Control Act, 1965-1994) reported significantly more depressive symptoms. These findings suggest that policies give rise to a hostile environment that may influence psychological well-being later in life.

1.4 The Current Study

A large body of research has revealed an association between uncertainty and anxiety-related symptoms, but the literature on uncertainty in the context of political climate is sparse. Additionally, there are no studies that focus on how uncertainty might affect parents' behaviors and perceptions under the current sociopolitical environment. A qualitative approach is one valuable way to address this gap and can allow for an in-depth investigation into Latinx parents'

perceptions of their experiences of uncertainty. This approach is especially useful when the topics of study have not been addressed in a particular population and when existing theories may not apply to that population (Padgett, 2012).

The current study draws on focus group data from a larger mixed-methods study with U.S.-residing Latinx parents of adolescents that examined how parents perceived that immigration actions and news in 2017 had affected their lives. The focus on Latinx immigrant parents of adolescents is valuable, as proximal factors such as parental stress and parent-child interactions can indirectly influence youth's emotional and behavioral well-being (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2017). For this population, focus groups were determined most suitable as this format is particularly useful with historically marginalized groups (e.g., Latinxs) because participants may feel more secure and willing to share their perspectives in a safe setting with peers who may share similar experiences (Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2004). The study will address the following questions: (1) What contributes to uncertainty among Latinx immigrant parents? (2) What do parents report they are uncertain about? and (3) How do parents perceive that uncertainty, unpredictability, and uncontrollability affect their behaviors, emotions, and perceptions? By investigating these questions, the present study seeks to better understand the factors that affect Latinx immigrant parents' mental health.

2 METHOD

2.1 Participants

Latinx immigrant parents of adolescents were recruited in the fall of 2017 from a metropolitan area in Washington, D.C. Fifty parents took part in one of six focus groups, each with 8 to 9 participants grouped by documentation status. There were two focus groups with undocumented parents (n = 16 total, 32%); two with permanent resident parents (n = 18 total, 36%); one with TPS parents (n = 8, 16%); and one with U.S. citizen parents (n = 8, 16%). Most parents (76%) were born in Central America, 18% were born in Other Latin American countries (i.e., Colombia, Dominican Republic, Peru, Bolivia, Costa Rica) and 4% were born in the U.S. (see Table 1). Forty-six percent of the participants had at least a high school education. The average time parents had lived in the U.S was almost 20 years (*M* = 18.02, *SD* = 7.70). Among all parents, 18% reported that a family member had been detained or deported since the current U.S. president took office in 2017.

Table 1. Demographics of Focus Group Participants

	n [a] (%)	M (SD)	% Missing Data
Sex			.02
Female	36 (72.0)		
Male	13 (26.0)		
Country of origin[b]			.02
El Salvador	28 (56.0)		
Guatemala	7 (14.0)		
Honduras	3 (6.0)		
United States	2 (4.0)		
Other	9 (18.0)		
Number of years living in U.S.		18.02 (7.70)	.02
At least high school education[b]	23 (46.0)		
Family member deported or detained past year[b]	9 (18.0)		
Documentation Status			
Undocumented	16 (32.0)		
Legal Permanent Resident	18 (36.0)		
Temporary Protected Status	8 (16.0)		
U.S. Citizen	8 (16.0)		

Note: [a.] Some categories do not add up to 50 due to item-level missing data. [b.] 0 / 1 dummy coded variables where *0 = no* and *1 = yes*.

2.2 Procedure

Parents were recruited in their community by a bilingual (Spanish and English) consultant with expertise in data collection in the Latinx community. The consultant recruited participants from her existing network and used purposive sampling to ensure representation of diverse documentation statuses. To protect participants' safety, researchers obtained a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health, collected data anonymously and obtained verbal consent only. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the institution where the research was conducted approved all study procedures.

Participants were eligible if they self-identified as a Latinx immigrant parent, had at least one child between the ages of 12 and 18, and had participated in the survey portion of the larger mixed-method study (Roche et al., 2018). Participants who took part in both the survey and focus group received a $50 incentive; survey-only participants received $10.

To gather qualitative data, the consultant facilitated six audio-recorded focus groups, each lasting about 1 to 1.5 hours. The facilitator introduced the purpose of the focus group and used a semi-structured field guide (see Appendix A) combined with follow-up probing questions to assess parents' perceptions of how recent U.S. immigration policies and news have affected them and their families. After the focus groups were completed, four bilingual graduate students transcribed audio-recordings of the focus groups in Spanish and then translated the transcripts into English. The current study is a secondary analysis of these data and involves new coding and analysis of themes that were not a focus of the original study.

2.3 Data Analysis Strategy

The previous analysis focused on how immigration actions and news had affected parents, their children, and their families. Even though the semi-structured guide did not include any prompts about uncertainty, uncertainty spontaneously arose as a pattern of responses in relation to psychological distress in the original data analysis.

2.3.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, a six-phase method of qualitative analysis, was used to identify, analyze, and describe themes that may be present in the parent focus group data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Unlike other qualitative methods that have a standard theoretical framework and procedure (e.g., grounded theory), thematic analysis can be more flexibly applied. The analysis consisted of reading the focus group transcripts, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and describing themes. The phases are intended to be iterative rather than linear; phases may be repeated throughout analysis to ensure the results fit the research questions and data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). An essentialist epistemology was used throughout the analytic process, maintaining the assumption that experience is individual and subjective (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The focus group transcripts were examined to find patterns of meaning as they relate to uncertainty with regard to the political climate. A theme was identified as a pattern of responses relevant to the research questions. The researchers used an inductive approach to analysis, in which identified themes are grounded in participants' responses rather than a pre-existing theory (Thomas, 2006). This approach is warranted given the paucity of research on uncertainty in the context of political climate.

The primary researcher first read and re-read the focus group transcripts to become familiar with the data. Memo writing was used to record initial ideas, specific qualifiers about

particular themes, and the overall narrative of the themes. In this initial coding phase, two focus group transcripts (one with undocumented parents and one with permanent resident parents) were coded line-by-line. These two groups were chosen to explore the potential influence of documentation status on parents' perceptions of uncertainty. Next, codes were collated into potential themes and sub-themes. The themes and subthemes were established based on their significance to the research questions and were used to develop a preliminary codebook, which included the definition of each theme and subtheme and at least one example quotation from the text (Saldaña, 2013). Themes were established in relation to uncertainty, and thus, segments of text that were not in relation to uncertainty were not coded. The primary researcher and two additional researchers trained in qualitative methods then used this preliminary codebook to each independently code two different focus group transcripts. Afterward, the researchers reviewed each other's coded transcripts and met to discuss any discrepancies in coding, to reach consensus, and to modify the codebook accordingly. Themes and codes were revised as new themes emerged or existing themes no longer applied. After modifying the codebook, the primary researcher used the final codebook to code all six focus group transcripts using NVivo, Version 12. All of the coded data were re-evaluated to identify repeated ideas and any notable discrepancies. For this phase of data analysis, all passages assigned to a given theme were compiled and closely examined to ensure that the themes were internally consistent (Thomas, 2006). Collaboration with the research team continued throughout the later phases of analysis to reach consensus about themes and any interpretations that could be made of the data. Relationships among themes were considered in order to generate a thematic map of the analysis.

3 RESULTS

Seven major themes were identified from the thematic analysis. For clarity in reporting the results, the themes are organized around two categories: (1) perceived contributors to uncertainty and (2) effects and responses to uncertainty. The first category, which refers to reported factors that contributed to a sense of uncertainty, included four themes: *immigration policy changes, discrimination/racism, enforcement actions,* and *anticipated consequences*. The latter category, which refers to the ways parents perceive that uncertainty affects them, included three themes: *distrust, fear/anxiety,* and *preventative/preparatory action*. Themes were often related and often emerged within the same passage, suggesting that they co-occur. Themes are described with illustrative quotes in the following section.

3.1 Perceived Contributors to Uncertainty

3.1.1 Immigration Policy Changes

"Immigration Policy Changes" captures a pattern across the dataset in which participants describe unpredictable changes in immigration policies, the communication of these policies, and their pace. Across all documentation statuses (i.e., undocumented, permanent resident, TPS, and U.S. citizen), participants commented that the unpredictable and "sudden" immigration policy changes within the first few months of the Trump administration (e.g., cancellation of DACA, travel ban) and public announcements of intended policy changes contributed to a general sense of uncertainty among the Latinx community. Parents also used the word "uncertain" to describe the political climate more broadly. As one undocumented parent described, "…it is quite awful, and in terms of the president's way too, he makes laws—today is one thing and tomorrow another thing, so the whole environment is quite uncertain." Both this fluctuation in policies and the communication of these changes on various forms of media (e.g., news, social media)

contributed to parents' confusion of the likelihood and timing of policy changes and enforcement actions. As one citizen parent described, "What I think is that for example they put a lot of uncertainty to people. The same news scare people too much also something that may or may not be true or...and that is in the community."

In addition to news coverage, knowledge and rumors of family, friends, or community members' aversive experiences with policy changes (e.g., removal of residency for a non-violent offense) also contributed to uncertainty and a sense of compromised safety that was dependent on the Trump administration's unpredictable changes. For example, a resident parent stated, "I don't feel safe," and explained that this uncertainty regarding her safety was due to immigration policy changes, "…the changes in law that he [Mr. Trump] puts, that he's like a bipolar…He says one thing and tomorrow says another – and he makes law. What he thinks today he makes law. So with him you never know." Similarly, one undocumented parent summarized:

> From my point of view, there is a lot of confusion. One does not know exactly what to expect because, just as the president is very ambivalent, so are the orders he gives, and one day it's one thing that works and another day it's another thing that works, and one lives on rumors and not all rumors are true.

3.1.2 Discrimination/Racism

Participants described negative attitudes, rhetoric, and actions against Latinxs and immigrants in relation to uncertainty and unpredictable aversive threats in a broad theme termed "Discrimination/Racism." Across all documentation statuses, parents reported targeted actions against Latinxs based on negative attitudes towards Latinxs and immigrants. They often attributed these to Mr. Trump and the Trump administration. For example, Mr. Trump's anti-Latinx rhetoric and public communication of his negative attitude towards Latinxs was described

by one resident parent as, “generating violence and more discrimination towards our people.” Many parents also pointed to Mr. Trump’s public anti-immigrant rhetoric as another factor that influenced a general sense of uncertainty and perceptions of vulnerability to threats to protected status (e.g., TPS, DACA, permanent residence, citizenship). This was described by one resident parent who stated that, “and really one may be legal, but with this man [Mr. Trump] nobody is sure.”

Parents described how community members and authority figures who had negative attitudes towards Latinxs and immigrants prior to the current administration now felt empowered (e.g., “entitled,” “protected”) to engage in more overt discrimination and abuse of power against Latinxs and immigrants. For example, undocumented, resident, and citizen parents reported that abuse of power from employers against undocumented employees (e.g., threatening to call Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers, receiving inconsistent payment for labor) had intensified under the Trump administration. After describing that employers are compensating employees “what they want,” one undocumented parent concluded, “They are abusing too much with this new government.” Parents often linked Mr. Trump to current experiences of discrimination as well as anticipated threats of discrimination. All groups reported experiencing and anticipating discrimination because of “looking Hispanic.” This fed into a sense of compromised safety, in which, as a U.S. citizen described, the timing of unknown aversive threats was unpredictable, “But the government, the truth, at any given moment anything [can] happen. He [Mr. Trump] has no interest in helping...”

In addition, racism under the current administration was identified as a salient factor in the maintenance of uncertainty. For example, one undocumented parent explained:

> This is all about racism, really. It's not because one does not really have things [documentation], because the truth is everyone, the human being, usually the white person, like the president has given more freedom to all people to show more of their racism against Latinos and African-Americans. They discriminate against us because of our [skin] color, because we are Hispanic, because many times they say "no, they only come here practically to take our jobs."…As long as there is racism, as long as there is the power that is practically in place right now, that fear is always going to be there in the community. Even just to go out to a shopping center, to go to take our children to school, to go to work. There's always going to be that fear and that uncertainty.

Undocumented, resident, and citizen parents expressed anxiety about the unpredictable likelihood and timing of racial profiling of themselves and/or their children given knowledge of authority figures who "confuse" or "make a mistake with you," resulting in experiences such as detention of U.S. citizens and questioning by ICE officials or police. As a citizen parent explained, "…one is not out of danger anywhere. They can arrive at any time anywhere...they cannot distinguish who is the citizen or not. But they go by the profile of the person." Notably, parents were worried about the unpredictability of discrimination regardless of whether parents had personally been discriminated against.

3.1.3 Enforcement Actions

Participants also described feelings of uncertainty in connection with enforcement actions from ICE agents, police, or other law enforcement officials that they saw, heard of, and anticipated. Raids and deportations in public spaces where people live and work, such as in schools, churches, and community centers, were described as unpredictable in terms of the likelihood, timing, and/or location of occurrence. As one parent with TPS described, "…from

one moment to the next they go to work, that they will be deported." Inconsistent or contradictory information from different sources contributed to uncertainty. For example, a parent with residency described that a school counselor explained to her and her son that ICE was not allowed to hold raids in churches and schools, however, rumors among the neighborhood of raids in those locations maintained the uncertainty regarding the likelihood of occurrence. Across all documentation statuses, parents commented on the perceived uncontrollability of enforcement actions. As one resident parent expressed:

> …this president is like—cornering people. He doesn't even leave them a way out, because if he doesn't show up at a court he's a sure candidate to be deported and if he shows up right there [to court] they grab him right there, they grab him and deport him.

Additionally, seeing media coverage of illegal or covert strategies used by ICE agents, as well as seeing these strategies used in their own communities against Latinx immigrants, contributed to a perception of threats of enforcement as uncontrollable. The use of covert enforcement strategies was discussed most among parents without documentation and was not discussed among parents with TPS or citizenship. Parents without documentation linked covert strategies by ICE agents to uncertain threats of deportation. As one undocumented participant said, "they do not have documents and they opened [the door], because they said, 'oh it's the police, it's nobody,' because they [ICE agents] do not identify themselves as ICE, they come and identify themselves as any other person…". In the following exchange between two focus group participants, an undocumented parent described a covert strategy used by ICE and how this influenced her perception of safety:

> Respondent 1: I call it 'chaotic.' Because, currently with all the changes, they are quite drastic. Recently the last [change] that I could see was when they entered where two

> people were remodeling a house, a house practically—the house was occupied because there was furniture and they entered, they rang the bell, and the boy who was remodeling opened the door. When they opened the door, they were immigration agents and they were not…Respondent 2: (interrupts) identified. Respondent 1: with their vests or their uniforms, but were dressed completely like civilians. And I also have several videos that many friends have sent me that, in the same way, the cars they are using are civilian; any type of cars. And they [immigration agents] only carry the little plaque that says ICE. So, a lot, a lot of uncertainty, because they show up, they do what they want, practically, if you opened the door, well they enter and take whoever they want, as long as they do not have documents.

3.1.4 Anticipated Consequences

Participants described anticipated aversive/negative consequences of immigration policies and their enforcement in relation to uncertainty, captured by the broad theme "Anticipated Consequences." Participants primarily spoke of anticipated family separation, economic instability, and uncertain futures as consequences of uncertain threats in the current immigration policy climate. For example, one parent with TPS commented on the anticipated family separation and consequences of this, "The children are going to be left helpless/without protection, and that's the worst problem that exists right now in this country, with all the Central Americans." Across all documentation statuses, parents described anticipated economic instability for themselves, family members, close others, or community members without documentation and with DACA or TPS due to anticipated deportation, use of E-Verify in workplaces, and loss of protected status (e.g., cancellation of TPS and DACA). For example, parents with TPS and parents without documentation described the unpredictable occurrence of

an employer asking for documentation to live and work in the U.S. and the consequence of this action, “So, from one moment to the next…They ask for your papers and it’s in all the companies, the E-Verify, [employers] tell you, ‘No, we can no longer hire you.’”

After describing uncertain policies and enforcement of these, an undocumented parent summarized, “and I feel that this is affecting people a lot, because there is an uncertain future.” Another resident parent described her uncertainty regarding the future, “Well yes one feels, has worries because you say, ‘What will happen the day of tomorrow? What will be the day when these children grow up, grow older? How might the environment be? Will it be better, or worse?’”

3.2 Responses to Uncertainty

3.2.1 Distrust

Participants described perceptions of suspicion, doubt, and mistrust of others in a broad theme termed “Distrust.” Targeted actions against Latinxs and immigrants, rapid shifts in policies, and communication of policy changes reinforced distrust of Mr. Trump and the government (*See Figure 1)*. As one resident parent stated, “…everything is a lie, what the president says…” For example, Mr. Trump’s cancellation of DACA and news reports about this policy change were described by a resident parent as intentionally deceitful:

> So, he, this gentleman [Mr. Trump] says that he cancelled this program [DACA] on one date, but he already had that movement from before. So, what does that mean? That these people have less time to be able to, that is, to want to apply or fight time.

Parents described feeling that anyone could take advantage of them. As one undocumented parent explained:

> One has had to invest money on immigration lawyers to be 100% sure that one is not falling into a trap. And with that you also have to be careful because you do not know if that person is an immigration lawyer (giggles). In other words, you feel like there are vampire mouths everywhere wanting to suck on you, do you know what I mean? Everywhere.

3.2.2 Fear/Anxiety

The "Fear/Anxiety" theme captures the pattern of responses across the dataset in which participants describe feelings of fear, nervousness, and anxiety tied to uncertainty under the current immigration policy climate. Despite using the word "fear" to describe how the immigration actions and news were affecting them, the majority of parents' descriptions of the source of fear were in relation to future aversive threats (e.g., deportation) rather than immediate threats. As one undocumented parent summarized, "as a people there is always that true fear that anything can happen to us." For example, a resident parent described the nervousness they felt at the airport, given the anticipated and unpredictable likelihood and timing of being forced to sign a document that would annul their protected status as resident, "I was attentive, but no documents arrived, but one is nervous anyway. You do not know at what time, who is it going to be." This unpredictability contributed to anticipatory anxiety. As one undocumented parent described:

> A little bit of fear also for everything that is heard, that there are many things like raids and things like that are being seen. One is no longer—one is not so confident to say 'I'm going to go somewhere and nothing will happen' because now even in the supermarket and places like that, you hear that they are doing raids and things like that.

Overall, uncertainty was tied to emotional distress or anxiety. For example, a father described feeling distressed about the expected outcomes of the unpredictable timing of enforcement of restrictive policies, "I feel pained, this...many mixed feelings, because I think if I lose my job, I'm the one who supports my household, and my family will be left helpless, and if they deport me…" Both restrictive immigration policies and the unpredictable timing of enforcement of these policies, contributed to this distress and worry across all documentation statuses. As one undocumented father expressed, "…It makes you think. Sometimes you don't sleep thinking that they will come and find you with others at any time." Resident and citizen parents described anxiety for the safety of their family members. For example, a resident parent explained, "Well, I have family [members] that have TPS and others who have nothing, and I am worried about the situation…That they are going to take away the TPS, which already happened with people from other countries."

3.2.3 Preventative/Preparatory Action

In response to these uncertain threats and the uncertain political environment, parents described anticipatory behaviors to prepare or protect themselves and their family captured by the broad theme "Preventative/Preparatory Action." For example, some undocumented parents described getting dual citizenship for their U.S.-born children and renewing their children's passports so that they could travel safely in case of deportation. As one parent without documentation stated:

> Yes, from my point of view, they are planting a lot of fear and uncertainty because many families have taken options, getting passports to their children who were born here, and come to be determined to leave the country at any moment.

The uncertainty generated by the unpredictable timing, location, and likelihood of occurrence of enforcement actions made it difficult to know when or how to prepare to protect oneself against these threats. For example, a resident parent described being unsure of how to move forward with her son's visa renewal or retention application to effectively prevent being separated from him:

> There are times I say, 'I'm going to risk it. In God's name, everything is going to go well.' But the same fear kind of stops us and if one-well, do I keep going or do I not keep going? Or what will happen? And that is the concern.

Participants also described seeking information from lawyers, media outlets, and school counselors to clarify uncertainties, such as where raids could occur, the likelihood of their occurrence, and whether residency could, in fact, be revoked. For example, a resident participant described contacting her lawyer to verify whether she might be forced to sign a document at the airport that would annul her status as a permanent resident. An undocumented participant used a mobile service to be informed of enforcement activity. She described:

> I signed up with some *alert* networks, where they notify and let you know [where things are happening], in *this* area, in *that* point. But one has to be careful, because one has to check that they are confidential… it is important for people to take precautions, take measures, so that people are also prepared.

Parents also described limiting their time spent in situations or settings that could expose them to uncertain threats. As one undocumented parent described:

> Many people also prefer to stay in the shadows or in their homes. In my area, there were many moms, after the government took office, who did not want to leave. They felt,

practically- being inside the four walls of their home because of all the fear, anxiety of what could happen.

Overall, parents expressed that, even if the anticipated threat of enforcement might not occur, it was better to be cautious.

3.3 Integration and Summary

Relationships among themes were considered in order to generate a thematic map of the analysis. Figure 1 depicts the factors that participants reported contributed to a sense of uncertainty, the ways participants perceived that uncertainty affects them, and the relationships among these two categories. The arrows in the figure represent connections that participants made during the focus groups.

Participants sometimes talked about the themes within each category independently, but most often spoke of their interrelated nature. For example, participants talked about discrimination in its own right but also interpreted policy changes and enforcement actions under the Trump administration in terms of prejudice and discrimination against Latinxs and immigrants. In addition, participants spoke of anxiety and expected discrimination from others, which in turn, influenced their use of preventative/preparatory actions and perceptions of distrust.

Although the figure implies a casual chain, the themes are better understood as being mutually reinforcing. The fluctuation in policies and media coverage (immigration policy changes), knowledge and rumors of family, friends, or community members' negative experiences with unpredictable immigration-related threats (enforcement actions and discrimination/racism; e.g., removal of residency for a nonviolent offence, illegal or covert enforcement by ICE) appear to perpetuate a mutually reinforcing cycle of uncertainty, anxiety,

distrust, and associated actions in attempts to prevent possible threats in the environment that could occur someplace, sometime, by someone. For example, participants spoke of anxiety and perceptions of distrust, which in turn, influenced their expectation of discrimination from others. Participants across focus groups described the mutually reinforcing cycle even if the policy changes and enforcement actions were specifically targeting undocumented immigrants or had not been experienced first-hand.

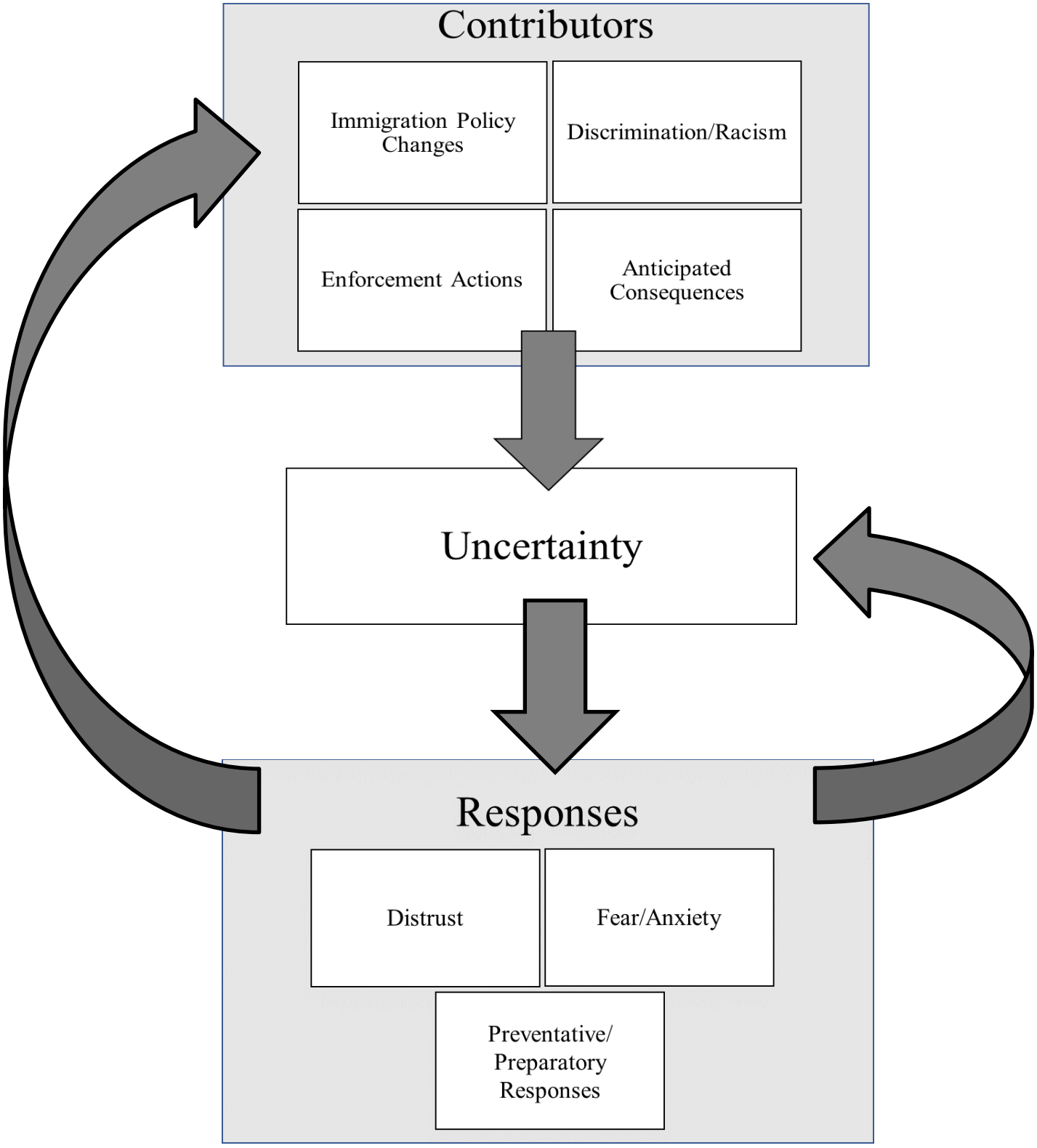

Figure 1. Final Thematic Map

4 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of uncertainty and their perceived effects among Latinx immigrant parents under the immigration policy climate during the Trump administration. Most of what is known about uncertainty comes from laboratory-based studies conducted using physical stressors (e.g., electric shock; Neta et al., 2017; Tanovic et al., 2018); uncertainty in a political context has been understudied. This study builds on other studies of immigration policy-related stressors that have noted the presence of uncertainty (e.g., Ayón, 2018; Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Barajas-Gonzalez et al., 2018; Chavez et al., 2012) by highlighting its importance in relation to psychological distress. Developing a richer understanding of the experience of uncertainty and uncertain threats in political climates can inform advocacy and intervention efforts.

Participants with diverse documentation statuses (undocumented, TPS, permanent resident, and U.S. Citizen) pointed to abrupt immigration policy changes, unpredictable timing of enforcement actions (e.g., deportation, removal of protected status), discrimination, and anticipated consequences of these threats as sources of uncertainty. Furthermore, participants expressed that the proliferation of anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx rhetoric across various media, and specifically from Mr. Trump, fomented a sense of uncertainty regarding safety for themselves, their children, and other family and community members.

Uncertainty about aversive threats to personal, familial, or community safety often co-occurred with descriptions of anticipatory anxiety. This makes sense given the unpredictable nature of the threats. Anxiety occurs in response to a potential threat of which there is a low degree of certainty regarding the likelihood, timing, or location of occurrence (Carleton, 2012; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013). Participants described the aversive immigration-related events as

threats which surpassed the perceived resources that they, their children, or community members had access to in order to cope effectively. Researchers have documented that uncertainty hinders effective and efficient preparation for future threats (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013) which in turn, contributes to anxiety (Carleton, 2012) and hypervigilance (Peters, McEwen, & Friston, 2017). Taken together, the findings suggest that the unpredictable nature of the threats to safety contribute to an uncertain environment and increased psychological distress

The restrictive immigration legislation and enforcement actions appeared to affect participants across documentation statuses. Immigration policies at the time of the study explicitly targeted immigrants without documentation and with TPS. However, participants who were not themselves targeted (those with permanent residence and citizenship) also described being negatively affected by the current immigration policy climate. The unpredictability of threats indirectly affected participants with protected status, as they expressed concern for family members and close others without documentation and with TPS or DACA. The findings suggest that participants, their children, and other Latinx community members were negatively affected by current and anticipated threats of enforcement and discrimination/racism in the broader community. Indeed, a growing body of literature has demonstrated that restrictive immigration policies contribute to psychological distress among Latinxs (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017; Martinez et al., 2015; Miranda et al., 2011), including individuals who are not themselves targeted (Enriquez, 2015; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Vargas et al., 2017).

Actions targeting Latinxs and immigrants reinforced and perpetuated mistrust and hypervigilance of threat cues to protect themselves and loved ones from threats to safety. However, given the unpredictable nature of the threats, participants expressed that the

anticipatory anxiety, worry, and hypervigilance persisted even in cases where the expected threat did not occur. As such, this uncertainty of threat may maintain an ongoing state of distress.

These findings converge with studies that suggest a restrictive immigration policy climate affects not only undocumented individuals but also the Latinx community more broadly, creating psychological distress and mistrust of government officials and government institutions (Enriquez, 2015; Menjívar, Simmons, Alvord, & Valdez, 2018; Quiroga, et al., 2014). This mistrust can affect Latinx families' access to health, social, and legal services (Gurrola & Ayón, 2018). Many children who are U.S. citizens live in mixed-status families (i.e., families made up of both documented and undocumented individuals; Torres et al., 2018), and their development is negatively affected by a restrictive immigration policy climate (Barajas-Gonzalez et al., 2018). For example, although U.S. citizen children are eligible for government-associated programs, parents without documentation may be wary of enrolling their children due to mistrust of these institutions and fear of deportation or family separation (Yoshikawa, Suárez-Orozco, & Gonzales, 2017). Given that Latinxs make up the largest racial/ethnic minority in the U.S. and are projected to make up 28% of the U.S. population by 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), the uncertain political environment has the potential to exacerbate mental health disparities and disparities in access to health, social, and legal services for many families and communities in the U.S.

Taken together, the findings suggest that the unpredictability and uncontrollability of aversive threats (e.g., discrimination, family separation) are creating conditions of uncertainty. Importantly, not only is uncertainty itself a potent stressor that has consistently been associated with psychological distress (Carleton, 2016; Grillon, 2008; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013; Monat, Averill, & Lazarus, 1972), but uncertainty also intensifies the negative effect of anticipated

threats and consequences by increasing the fear response (Einstein, 2014). Findings from neurobiological research suggest that prolonged uncertainty contributes to a harmful cycle that can strain body systems over time. For example, recent research on the long-term effects of stress related to uncertainty has shown that chronic stress can lead to disruption of the hypothalamic pituitary adrenal (HPA) axis, which is involved in body-regulation strategies. This disruption can influence disparate health effects for vulnerable populations (Peters et al., 2017).

4.1 Implications for Intervention and Research

Findings from this study can be used to promote awareness of how uncertainty in the context of immigration policies and actions may influence mental health. Across immigration-related stressors described in this study, participants pointed to the unpredictable, ambiguous, and uncontrollable nature of these aversive threats as prominent sources of psychological distress. Notably, in the context of these conditions of uncertainty, participants expressed that anticipatory anxiety, worry, and hypervigilance persisted even in cases where the expected threat did not occur. As such, uncertainty may perpetuate psychological distress and distrust. Studies are needed to directly examine how this mutually reinforcing process unfolds over time. Future research will benefit from incorporating quantitative methods to better understand uncertainty as a mediator between immigration actions, incidences of discrimination and mental health.

Given the study findings, addressing uncertainty may be a productive focus for intervention. For example, programs and organizations may help mitigate the adverse effects of uncertainty by creating settings that are welcoming and supportive to Latinxs. These organizations could offer up-to-date information about current and upcoming immigration-related policies, clear and accessible information about immigrant rights, and opportunities to connect with other immigrants. These settings could also function as an avenue to strengthen

social support networks. Strong social support networks have been found to be an especially important tool to buffer stress (Solberg &Villarreal, 1997), support Latinx immigrant families (Ayón & Naddy, 2013) and enable perceptions of personal control (Greenaway et al., 2015).

The results from this study also support previous research findings, which suggest the need for immigration policy reform to target structural factors (e.g., systemic biases in policies and practices) that can shape health equity (Gurrola & Ayón, 2018). Current findings highlight the importance of research from an ecological systems framework to carefully consider reciprocal interaction across levels (e.g., individual, community, political).

4.2 Limitations and Future Directions

The current study uses data collected from a sample of primarily Central-American Latinx immigrant parents in suburban Washington, D.C.; thus, findings may not generalize to other Latinxs, other immigrant groups, or other settings. Research indicates that outcomes vary based on the city or local community in which Latinxs live due to factors such as practices by local law enforcement agencies, discrimination, available resources and opportunities, and demographic makeup (Schwartz et al., 2015; Menjívar et al., 2018). The current study was conducted in a sanctuary city, so it may be that the negative effects of uncertainty would be magnified in areas with more restrictive policies and contexts. Future study of the experiences and effects of uncertainty in other cities and regions could provide a more nuanced understanding of how uncertainty and uncertain threats in various political contexts affect Latinx mental health.

The findings also might not apply to non-parents, such as older adults or youth, for whom different types of concerns or sources of uncertainty might emerge. Future studies may examine how uncertainty affects other populations. Since the interview guide was not developed with a

focus on understanding uncertainty, there may be additional or alternative insights about uncertainty that are not captured by this study. Future qualitative projects could directly ask Latinx immigrants about how they cope with uncertainty. For example, research suggests that an individual's beliefs about uncertainty can mediate their level of distress (Dugas et al., 1998; McEvoy & Mahoney, 2012). Compared to individuals who do not find uncertainty intolerable, individuals who report intolerance of uncertainty may experience more elevated distress and may use chronic worry as a strategy to simulate predictability and certainty (Ladouceur et al., 2000). It may also be that individuals who are exposed to chronic uncertainty at multiple ecological levels simultaneously (e.g., individual, community, political), experience similar distress due to the repeated and pervasive exposure to immigration-related stressors. A longitudinal study design with multiple measurement occasions could be used to model the mutually reinforcing processes among uncertainty, discrimination, and immigration actions. Multilevel studies could also provide more comprehensive information about which individual- and community-level factors may buffer the negative effects of uncertainty in a restrictive immigration policy climate.

4.3 Conclusion

The study findings indicate that the unpredictable aspects of threats to personal, familial, and community safety contribute to uncertainty and related adverse effects in restrictive political climates. This uncertainty about the likelihood, timing, and location of threats influenced feelings of anxiety, perceptions of trustworthiness and vulnerability, and behaviors to safeguard against potential threats. The unpredictable nature of threats can maintain anxious responding even in cases where the threat does not occur. Furthermore, emboldened racism under the Trump administration may serve to sustain feelings of uncertainty and related anxiety. Overall, these findings provide important insights into how uncertainty resulting from restrictive immigration

policies and actions may influence mental health. Interventions may focus on creating supportive settings for Latinxs, as this may help buffer the adverse effects of uncertainty. Results from this study contribute to a growing body of research on the influence of immigration policy and political climate on well-being.

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APPENDIX

"Thank you coming. Researchers at the [LOCATION] want to learn how immigration news and policies in the U.S. are affecting people like yourselves. Your participation is anonymous, and the researchers doing this study do not know your names. I will begin by reading aloud some questions and having you mark responses to the questions on a piece of paper. Next, we will have a group discussion about recent news and activities around immigration. You do not need to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. The total amount of time for our group meeting today is 1 ½ hours."

"For the group discussion, we would like to audio record the conversation because we will have a hard time getting everything written down during the discussion. The audio recording will be destroyed as soon as the researchers can write down the recorded conversation. Everything that is talked about today is private and we will not write down any one's name. Your participation is completely voluntary and you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to. There are no right or wrong answers to our questions – we just want to learn about your experiences. Before we begin, are there any questions? Ok… Let's get started."

"First, we will begin by having reading out loud questions on the paper we are handing out to you. You will mark the response to each question."

[RESEARCH TEAM HANDS OUT PARENT SURVEY AND READS THOSE QUESTIONS AND RESPONSE CATEGORIES]

"Now, we will have our group discussion. As you know, there is a lot of talk these days about immigration and deportation of immigrants in the United States. We want to know how the current news and activities are affecting your daily lives."

--- SOURCES OF INFORMATION ---

(1) **Let's begin by sharing what you are hearing about changes in immigration laws and activities these days. What do you know about these changes?**

Where have you been hearing about the immigration activities?

If RADIO not mentioned, No one has mentioned the radio – have you heard any news on the radio?

If Social Media not mentioned, "No one has mentioned things like twitter or facebook or snapchat. Have you, you family or others you know heard anything through those things?"

If TV not mentioned, "No one has mentioned the TV. Has anyone read anything in any newspaper on this?" Ask about specific newspapers.

If School not mentioned, "No one mentioned school. Has anyone at your child's school discussed this with you?"

If Church not mentioned, "How about at church – do people there talk about these issues?"

If neighbors and workplace not mentioned, "How about your neighbors or work places. Is there any talk about these issues?"

If Newspaper not mentioned, "No one has mentioned the newspaper. Has anyone read anything in any newspaper on this?" Probe by asking about specific newspapers.

(2) "**Does anyone know about specific activities of immigration authorities over the past few months here in this community or in the [CITY] area?**"

- Have you known of anyone stopped by immigration authorities? What were the circumstances around that?
- Who is being targeted by the deportation laws?
- How are immigration officials identifying people to deport?

Probe: Tell us more about what happened. Where did you hear about it?

If travel not mentioned, ask: "How about travel? Has anyone changed plans for travel outside of the United States?"

(3) **Next, I'd like to talk about how these changes around immigration have affected you, your family, and people you know. What changes have you noticed?**

- PROBE: FEELINGS ON BEING AFRAID, WORRIED, FEARFUL
- PROBE: CHANGES IN DAILY LIFE ROUTINES

Are there changes in how you are treated when you go out in public such as to the grocery store and other places?

If work not mentioned, How about at a place where you work or in looking for a new work?

If kids not mentioned, "What about your kids? Do they talk about specific things that have happened? Do they worry about certain things? Do you as a parent have specific worries about the children? Have you made any changes about your kid's activities (work on this)

- PROBE ON SPECIFIC WORRIES OR FEARS RELATED TO KIDS, "When you say your child is afraid – what are they saying and doing?"

--- THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE ---

Thank you all very much for this information – it is very helpful. Before we end, I'd like to spend a little bit of time hearing about how you think the actions around immigration will affect your future and the lives of children in immigrant families.

PROBE: No one has mentioned moving back to the country they came from. Is this something you or others you know are considering? Can you talk more about the reasons why or why not?

-- CLOSING --

Is there anything else that you think we should know in order to better understand this situation?

Thank you very much for your time providing this important information to us today.
We will now provide you a $60 gift card for your time today.