"DANDO LAS GRACIAS A MIS PAPÁS": A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY AND CALLINGS ACROSS GENERATIONS OF LATINX IMMIGRANTS
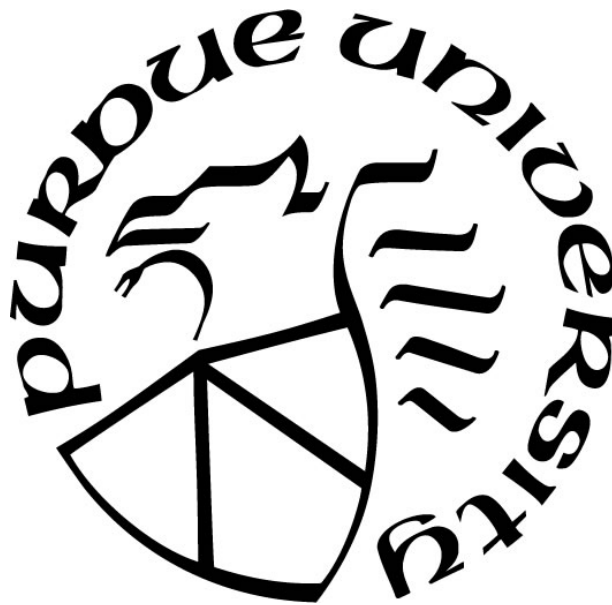
by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Brian Lamb School of Communication

West Lafayette, Indiana

August 2019

THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
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Dedicación

Para mis padres,

Amado Sánchez Hernández y María Sánchez Ramírez

para mis abuelos,

Melitón Sánchez Chávez y Eva Hernández Carvajal

David Sánchez Sánchez y Felicitas Ramírez Martínez

y para mis hermanas,

Eva Sánchez Sánchez y Amy Sánchez Sánchez

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mi madre y yo hablamos una vez sobre cómo sería nuestra vida si nuestra familia hubiera permanecido en México. Comparamos las oportunidades educativas y ocupacionales, las posibilidades de matrimonio y nietos, y los diferentes lujos que cada lugar nos hubiera brindado. Mi padre emigró en 1980 y mi madre en 1988. Si hubieran elegido quedarse en México, todas nuestras vidas serían muy diferentes, ni mejores ni peores. Independientemente de cómo se vería mi vida, no puedo pensar en una manera más apropiada de comenzar esta sección que agradeciendo a mis padres, Amado y Maria Sánchez, por sus sacrificios y apoyo durante el tiempo en que estudie por mi doctorado. No fue hasta la finalización de este proyecto que realmente empecé a entender todo lo que pasaron por mí y mis hermanas.

Cuando me mudé de mi casa para comenzar mi educación de posgrado, también dejé atrás a mis dos hermanas, Eva y Amy, que me pidieron saber mas sobre mi trabajo, se aseguraron de que estaba manejando bien mi estrés, recorrieron junto a mí todas las temporadas de The Office varias veces, y vieron programas de telerrealidad conmigo hasta que entrara la noche. También quiero reconocer a mis primos, tías y tíos, que son demasiados para mencionar, pero todos tienen un lugar especial en mis pensamientos y en mi corazón. En particular, gracias a Miguel y Brenda por ser siempre una presencia positiva en mi vida y en Davis, quien comenzó su propio viaje de doctorado al mismo tiempo que yo. A mi tía Marcelina, gracias por enseñarme sobre nuestra historia familiar y ayudarme a entender cómo esa historia continúa impactándome hoy. A mis abuelos, que nunca leerán esto, ¡gracias por las historias! Ojalá tuviera más tiempo para estar con ustedes. ¡Este proyecto es su logro también!

Mi comité también tuvo un papel muy importante para ayudarme a terminar. Mi directora, Dr. Patrice M. Buzzanell, ha sido la persona más influyente en mi vida académica.

Gracias por ser una presencia positiva en los momentos más difíciles de mi viaje de doctorado en el que luché contra el síndrome de impostor y luché por encontrar una conexión entre todas mis ideas. Gracias también por ayudarme a establecer y mantener metas y expectativas realistas y no juzgarme por establecer y no cumplir con plazos que yo misma creé. Al Dr. Joshua M. Scacco, gracias por hacerme preguntas difíciles (pero necesarias) sobre mis contribuciones y mi posición académica y activista. Dra. Felicia Roberts, no puedo agradecerle lo suficiente por su ayuda en la colección de mis datos y el desarrollo de mi metodología. Dr. Kevin Stainback, usted me enseñó mucho sobre la desigualdad en los Estados Unidos y me ayudó a desarrollar aspectos cruciales de mi proyecto. Todavía recuerdo una cita "corta" que programé con usted para repasar el aspecto cuantitativo de mi proyecto (que no fue incluido en la versión final) que se convirtió en una lección que duró una hora. Finalmente, aunque no es parte de mi comité, gracias al Dr. James McCann que aceptó hacer un estudio independiente sobre la inmigración para ayudarme.

Quiero continuar por expresar gratitud a algunas de las personas importantes con las que me encontré como estudiante en la Universidad de Marquette. En Marquette decidí aplicar para el programa de Ronald E. McNair Scholars. Este programa me expuso al proceso de investigación y me ayudó a dar los primeros pasos hacia una educación de posgrado. A mi director, Jeremy Fyke, gracias por permitirme sumergirme en el proceso de investigación, cometer errores, y ayudarme a navegar en mi primera conferencia académica. A Matthias Seisay y Eddie Guzman, que fueron directores de programas de McNair, les agradezco que me hayan apoyado en mi primera presentación de conferencia y que me hayan ayudado a no perder de vista mis metas académicas más importantes. También quiero reconocer a mi familia de Urban Scholars. Gracias, D.J. Todd, por reunirnos a todos, encontrarnos un hogar en el campus de Marquette, y ayudarme a refinar mis materiales para aplicar a programas de maestría. Para mis

amigos de Urban Scholar y Marquette (Izzy, Karen, Angelica, Carlina, Valeria, Casby, Nuri y Tommy), algunos de nosotros hemos perdido contacto pero ustedes estaban allí cuando tropecé y encontré mi posición en el mundo académico. ¡Les deseo a todos un camino exitoso!

He tenido la suerte de hacer nuevos amigos durante mi tiempo completando mi maestría y doctorado. Antes que nada, Ashton, gracias por ver partidos de fútbol conmigo y por apoyar al equipo nacional de México (y también por asegurarse de que yo estuviera enfocada en mi trabajo, ¡esa parte también es importante!). También tuve una serie de amigos que me escucharon desarrollar ideas: Devika, Bjorn, Phuong, Elisabeth, Emily, Lisa, Jojo y Melissa. Para Sarah El-Azab, siempre estaba feliz de comparar nuestras experiencias de inmigrantes y anticipaba nuestras discusiones sobre el capitalismo y la raza. Gracias a Emilly, China, Katie y Beth por su apoyo en el último año de mi doctorado, especialmente, por recordarme de dejar tiempo para actividades sociales. ¡Al honor! Pam y Jane, gracias por chequear que yo estara bien y hacer chistes sobre mi incapacidad para el boliche. A Lori, Deanna y Alli, gracias por mostrarme una cara amistosa cada vez que caminaba a la oficina.

Finalmente, aunque este espacio suele estar reservado para reconocer a quienes nos ayudaron completar el doctorado, también me gustaría usarlo para reconocer los problemas sociales en los Estados Unidos. A lo largo de este documento, y especialmente en mi discusión, discuto la contribución de las políticas de inmigración de los Estados Unidos a la muerte de los inmigrantes. La política de inmigración muchas veces se centra en la necesidad de proteger nuestras fronteras, lo que hace que sea fácil perder de vista de la verdadera crisis humanitaria que ocurre a lo largo de la frontera sur de los Estados Unidos. Espero que en el futuro, pueda abrir este proyecto y tener un clima social más positivo con el que comparar.

A mis participantes, gracias por compartir un pedazo de sus vidas conmigo. Prometo tratar tus historias con cuidado

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My mother and I once spoke about what our lives would look like if our family remained in Mexico. We compared educational and occupational opportunities, the possibilities of marriage and grandchildren, and the different luxuries each location would have provided us. My father migrated in 1980 and my mother in 1988. If they had chosen to remain in Mexico, all of our lives would be very different, not better and not worse. Regardless of what my life would look like, I cannot think of a more appropriate way to begin this section than by thanking my parents, Amado and Maria Sánchez, for their sacrifices and support throughout my graduate journey. It was not until the completion of this project that I truly began to understand everything you went through for me and my sisters.

When I left my home to start my graduate education, I also left behind my two sisters, Eva and Amy, who have asked me for updates on my work, made sure that I was managing my stress well, marathoned all seasons of the Office with me about a hundred times, and stayed up with me to watch really bad reality television. I also want to acknowledgment my cousins, aunts, and uncles, who are too many to mention but all hold a special place in my thoughts and in my heart. In particular, thank you to Miguel and Brenda for always being a positive presence in my life and Davis, who started his own PhD journey at the same time that I did. To my aunt Marcelina, thanks for teaching me about our family history and helping me understand how that history continues to impact me today. To my grandparents, who will never read this, thank you for the stories! I wish I had more time to be with you. This dissertation is your accomplishment as well!

My committee also played a very vital role in helping me finish. My advisor, Dr. Patrice M. Buzzanell, has been the most influential person in my academic life. Thank you for being a positive presence throughout the hardest times of my PhD journey in which I battled imposter syndrome and struggled to find a connection among all of my ideas. Thank you also for helping me set and maintain realistic goals and expectations and not judging me for setting and missing deadlines. To Dr. Joshua M. Scacco, thank you for asking me hard (but necessary) questions about my contributions and roles of scholar and activist. Dr. Felicia Roberts, I cannot thank you enough for your assistance in data collection and developing my methodology. Dr. Kevin Stainback, you taught me so much about inequality in the United States and helped me develop crucial aspects of my dissertation. I still remember a "short" meeting I scheduled with you to go over the quantitative aspect of my dissertation (that did not make the final proposal) that turned into an hour-long lesson. Finally, though not a part of my committee, thank you to Dr. James McCann who agreed to an independent study focused on immigration simply to help me to out.

I want to continue by expressing gratitude to a few important people I encountered as an undergraduate student at Marquette University. As a junior I decided to apply for the Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program. This program exposed me to the research process and helped me take the first steps towards a graduate education. To my advisor, Jeremy Fyke, thank you for allowing me to dip my toes in the research process, make mistakes, and helping me navigate my very first academic conference. To Matthias Seisay and Eddie Guzman, who were program directors for McNair, thank you for supporting me through my first conference presentation and helping me not lose sight of my larger academic goals. I also want to recognize my Urban Scholar family. Thank you, D.J. Todd, for bringing us all together, finding us a home on Marquette's campus, and helping me refine my graduate school application materials. To my Urban Scholar and

Marquette friends (Izzy, Karen, Angelica, Carlina, Valeria, Casby, Nuri, & Tommy), some of us have lost touch but you were there as I stumbled and found my footing in the academic world. I wish you all successful journeys!

I have been lucky to pick up (or be picked up) by new friends along the way. First and foremost, Ashton, thank you for watching soccer games with me and cheering for Mexico's national team (and also for keeping me on task as I finished my dissertation—that part is important, too!). I also had a series of friends who served as a soundboard as I developed ideas: Devika, Bjorn, Phuong, Elisabeth, Emily, Lisa, Jojo, and Melissa. To Sarah El-Azab, I was always happy to compare our immigrant experiences and looked forward to our discussions about capitalism and whiteness. Thank you to Emilly, China, Katie, and Beth for your support in the last year of my PhD, especially, and making sure I balanced my work life with social activities. To honor! Pam and Jane, thank you for checking up on me and making an appropriate amount of jokes about my inability to bowl and understand pop culture references. To Lori, Deanna, and Alli, thank you for providing a friendly face whenever I walked to the main office.

Finally, although this space is usually reserved to recognize those who shape the experiences of the dissertation write, I would also like to use it to acknowledge the social issues in the United States. Throughout my dissertation, and especially in my discussion, I discuss the contribution of U.S. immigration policies to the death of immigrants. Immigration politics often center around a need to protect our borders, making it easy to lose sight of the real humanitarian crisis occurring along the United States' southern border. I hope that in the future, I can open this dissertation and have a more positive social climate to which to compare.

To my participants, thank you for sharing a piece of your lives with me. I promise to treat your stories with care.

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ABSTRACT

Author: Sánchez Sánchez, Virginia PhD
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Degree Received: August 2019
Title: "Dando Las Gracias A Mis Papás": A Discursive Analysis Of Perceptions Of Policy And "Callings" Across Generations Of Latinx Immigrants.
Committee Chair: Patrice M. Buzzanell

U.S. rhetoric that embraces immigration is juxtaposed with the lived experiences of Latinx immigrants, the country's largest immigrant group. Intergenerational research shows how immigrants' social mobility depends on socioeconomic and environmental factors, impacting occupational attainment. Immigration policies portray immigrants negatively—contrasting deserving/good with undeserving/bad. This study uses d/Discourse (i.e., everyday talk/societal understandings) to investigate how immigrants from different generations make sense of policy, immigrant portrayals, and their lives through the lens of "calling." Here, calling is used to understand differences across generations, rather than positioned as an individual pull toward an occupation. Specifically, this study answered three questions: (1) What occupational and intergenerational d/Discourses are perceived by immigrants?; (2) Whose interests are served by these d/Discourses and who is marginalized?; (3) How do immigrants experience "callings" across generations? Semi-structured interviews were conducted with different generations of immigrants (N=36). Generational and intergenerational sensemaking themes are identified using d/Discourse, while critical discourse analysis is used to explain inequalities and in whose interests d/Discourses are created. The main theoretical contribution of this study suggests that callings can be enacted and fulfilled intergenerationally. Within immigrant families, first-generation immigrants often hold visions of who their children (second-generation immigrants) will become. This vision often includes high educational attainment, a prestigious occupation,

and documentation in the United States. Second-generation immigrants felt a pressure to perform well in school and validate the sacrifices made by their parents. They recognized that the visions for their future constructed by their first-generation parents were riddled with tensions. The occupational decisions of the second-generation immigrants often tried to find a middle ground between fulfilling their parents' vision but also practicing in occupations that they were personally interested in. Several barriers made the path to fulfilling intergenerational callings more difficult. Second-generation immigrants recognized the privileges they held that their parents did not, including language barriers and acceptance into the country tied to documentation and acceptance based on racial models in the United States. While first-generation immigrants accepted these challenges as part of their intergenerational calling, the second-generation struggled to do the same. Finally, in fulfilling intergenerational callings many immigrants unintentionally reproduced deservingness narratives. In short, this study contributes theoretically and practically by challenging immigrant portrayals and viewing callings as intergenerational but filled with internal and external challenges.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I knew about my legal status since I was little. Um, I had this notion of, if I become someone that this country cannot want, like I thought that going to college, everybody was going to want me, including this country and the government. So, my mom engraved it in me, like "you have to do really well in high school, you have to do really well." And I did. And it was just because I knew that I had to get to college and because that was going to kind of create that roadmap to get legal status and be the source of fixing my parents' papers. Which of course the end wasn't realistic until like, I didn't know how things worked, but that was primarily the reason why I wanted to go to school.

Elisabeth, generation 1.5, crossed the border around 7.5-8 years old

By the time Elisabeth's mother decided to migrate with her children from Mexico to the

United States, her husband had already been in the country for about two and half years.

Deciding to move the rest of the family to the country was a deviation from their original plan

which was that Elisabeth's father would work in the United States for a few years, enough to

assure that he, his wife, and three children could live comfortably in Mexico. But time was

passing and Elisabeth's mother, who was also dealing with a medical condition, grew desperate.

"From like a Monday to a Friday it all happened. It was very drastic," says Elisabeth about the

family's sudden migration. Elisabeth has blocked a lot of the details related to actually crossing

the border. She remembers crawling under a fence when her 5-year-old sister began crying in

fear of La Migra[1] and being surprised that such a young child even knew what border patrol was.

She also recalls the coyote[2] growing desperate because family members were taking too long;

she recalls him picking up the young crying children to run with them. She also remembers that

the path they took to get to the Midwest, where she is settled today, was very counter-intuitive

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[1] "La Migra" is a colloquial term used to refer broadly to border patrol or any immigration officers. The term is not associated with any specific immigration office or department in the United States. Instead, it is used to describe any immigration official that threatens the immigrant community.
[2] Coyotes are hired by immigrants who seek unauthorized entry to the United States.

because they traveled first to the California border and then to the Arizona border where they actually crossed. Despite her fragmented memory of crossing, these events would come to frame Elisabeth's experiences in the United States to this day.

Even though everyone in the family would be undocumented and faced additional challenges because of their status, Elisabeth's parents wanted one of their children to become a doctor, an occupation they viewed as high-earning, prestigious, and, most importantly, safe. To insure their career plan for her, they sent Elisabeth to schools that were well known and consistently told her "you have to do really well in high school, you have to do really well." As the opening quotation suggests, Elisabeth came to view high educational attainment as a path towards acceptance and eventually documentation for her and her parents. She went to college and completed a degree in Spanish Literature, despite her parents' wishes that she become a doctor. Her statement, "of course the end wasn't realistic" foreshadows her disappointment after graduating college and feeling stuck. She is currently protected under DACA and works cases for a criminal defense law firm, a position her parents heavily disapprove of because they believe it exposes her to too many risks. She finds her work meaningful but lacks motivation to pursue her larger goals. Although she wants to return to school to become a prosecutor, her status makes her doubt whether she is going to "be able to keep a job or apply to schools." Elisabeth does not "want to relive the way I lived before. It was like a form of shutdown, like a mental shutdown that I stopped pursuing those goals."

In this short glimpse into Elisabeth's life, she draws attention to a few assumptions about the life experiences of immigrants that are important for this research project. Elisabeth discusses a consciousness that exists among immigrant families and communities about the ways in which the experiences of first- and second-generation immigrants are markedly different and contrasted

by their struggles, risks, and attainment. Elisabeth's parents work in cleaning and construction but pin their hopes on their daughters for future social mobility, even if it means only the daughters are the ones to experience mobility. While first-generation immigrants, like Elisabeth's parents, work for an accomplishment that they cannot achieve, the children feel burdened by others' expectations and their roles in fulfilling their parents' journey. Elisabeth hopes to be the key to her own and her parents' status adjustment. The two trajectories are interconnected and describe a pressure felt by both generations of immigrants. These experiences, which are not easily understood by anyone not connected to immigrant communities and families, are the basis of this research project. Hence, the purpose of this study is to investigate how Latinx[3] immigrants across generations enact their occupational journeys, using the framework of callings, or feelings of being compelled to take a particular occupation path. Two secondary purposes are to understand how immigrants make sense of societal discourses about immigration and related processes or policies, immigrant portrayals, and government actions as well as to describe how they perceive that these factors affect their occupational attainment.

Evidence of positive immigration discourse is evident throughout the United States. Former President Ronald Reagan once proclaimed that "our strength comes from our own immigrant heritage and our capacity to welcome those from other lands" (APP, n.d., para. 1). Similar societal discourses of immigration can be found throughout U.S. rhetoric and history, including an excerpt from Lazarus' sonnet "The New Colossus" on the Statue of Liberty and former President John F. Kennedy's assertion in the title of his book that states that the United States is A Nation of Immigrants. However, this appreciation for immigration is not reflected in

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[3] The term Latinx (pronounced La-teen-x) refers to immigrants of Latin American origin.

the everyday talk and interactions that form immigrants' lived realities, particularly for Latinx immigrants, who comprise the largest group of immigrants in the United States (López & Bialik, 2017). For Latinx immigrants, their realities are affected by generational gaps, documentation status (i.e., resident, undocumented, citizen), and immigration policies.

As implied in the opening quotation, generational "gaps" shape the experiences of immigrants. Defining immigrants based on generations can be operationally problematic since various factors shape the experiences of first-generation immigrants (Rumbaut, 2004). For example, first-generation immigrants crossing the Arizona desert in search of better occupational opportunities have qualitatively different experiences than immigrants migrating for positions in Silicon Valley. Additionally, changing historical contexts lend themselves to different generational experiences (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). Within U.S. immigration research, cohorts are often categorized broadly as belonging to either the first-or second-generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004). First-generation immigrants refer to adults who move to a country after being socialized in another country. This term is often used more broadly to refer to anyone who is foreign born. The second-generation is made up of the children of first-generation immigrants, including those who are born and/or raised in the United States. People who migrated as children also are aggregated into the second-generation of immigrants because they are considered to have been socialized in the United States. An additional category, the third-generation, refers to the children and grandchildren of the preceding generations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004). These categorizations simplify the generations. Additional cohort categories exist within each of these broad groups that are differentiated by other factors. For instance, another approach to differentiating between these cohorts takes into account the ages and life stages of immigrants (Rumbaut, 2004).

Ages and life stages affect acculturation processes within immigrant families through factors such as educational attainment, social mobility, language adoption, and identity (Rumbaut, 2004). Broadly, Warner and Srole (1945, as cited in Rumbaut, 2004), find that immigrants who move between the ages of 25-34 do so to build their careers and families after having completed their education in another country. Those who are slightly older, at 35-54 years of age, tend to migrate in search of opportunities for their children. Those migrating after 55 years of age are usually following their children. Among those who migrate as children, generation 1.75, or those moving between the ages of 0-5, are socialized in the United States and often grow up to speak English without an accent. In contrast, generation 1.25, those migrating between the ages of 13-17, face experiences similar to those of first-generation immigrants. In the middle is generation 1.5 which is comprised of children arriving in middle childhood at ages 6-12 years. Thus, the age at which people migrate positions them for different educational opportunities, which likely affects future career choices.

Differences in educational accomplishment and occupational placement are apparent across generations. Although first-generation immigrants base their success in a new country on their children's occupational and educational attainment (Hirschman, 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), the conditions in which they live affect the trajectories of subsequent immigrants. Second-generation immigrants who grow up in tight-knit communities and/or whose parents achieve middle class status are more likely to attain a professional or entrepreneurial occupation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). In contrast, second-generation immigrants who grow up lacking financial or social capital[4] may remain in the working class and risk becoming involved in criminal activity,

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[4] Portes and Rumbaut (2014) explain that social capital is characterized by family structures and coethnic communities. Strong coethnic communities are more likely to reinforce marital values (facilitating in-tact families), speak an immigrant's native language, and provide access to resources that can aid community members in overcoming obstacles (e.g., job opportunities for immigrants, a customer base for small businesses).

consequences that extend into the third generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Portes & Zhou, 1993). These generational "gaps" describe social mobility and delineate differences in immigrants' occupational attainment. Thus, capital, family structure and community ties affect first, second, and third-generation immigrants. To return to Elisabeth's narrative, while her social mobility is being used as a judgment of success in the country, a lot depends on the how well she is set-up to succeed by their parents, or the first-generation immigrants.

Documentation status (i.e., undocumented, resident, citizen) also shapes the experiences of immigrants like Elisabeth. Extant research has demonstrated that undocumented immigrants enact strategies to avoid detection (e.g., avoiding certain occupations, relying on documented children for tasks; Scranton, Afifi, Afifi, & Gangi, 2016). In short, the consciousness that exists among immigrant families/communities about documentation status entails awareness of immigration policies that may jeopardize their lives (e.g., financially and emotionally destabilize the family; Dreby, 2015). Immigration policies have historical roots in discrimination and nationalism—they stand in contrast to the openness towards immigration often expressed in U.S. rhetoric. Ngai (2014) notes, "immigration policy is constitutive of Americans' understanding of national membership and citizenship, drawing lines of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 5). Hence, policy reifies our sense of what it means to be "American." One of the earliest policies to address a threat to American nationality was the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924[5], which centralized unauthorized immigration as a problem (Ngai, 2014) and created undocumentation as it is understood today (Ngai, 2003). Since then, policies have attempted to control unauthorized immigration (Sierra, Carrillo, DeSipio, & Jones-Correa, 2000) by militarizing the U.S. border and blocking undocumented immigrants' access to public benefits, as just two examples

[5] Earlier policies, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act, were also unjust and racist. However, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 is significant to this study because of its heavy focus on unauthorized migration.

(Newton, 2005). Recently, President Donald J. Trump has insinuated that DACA, which may grant undocumented youth a path to citizenship, would not be reinstituted unless funding for a wall along the U.S./Mexico border also is approved (Bender, Meckler, & Peterson, 2018). The zero-tolerance policy, which has separated parents and children along the U.S. border, has also been used to negotiate funding for the border wall (Rizzo, 2018). These immigration tactics suggest that immigration policies and nationality continue to be debated concurrently to this day.

Policies are more than just statements about who is and is not "American." They also communicate messages of deservingness, or about who merits acceptance into the country (Schneider & Ingram, 2005). Newton (2005) analyzed the hearings and debates surrounding the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act[6] (IIRAIRA). Newton found that while politicians often pointed to their ancestries as examples of "good" immigration, they spoke of undocumented immigrants as freeloaders and criminals. More recently, Potter (2014) found that a shift in the use of the word "illegal," from an adjective to a noun was driven in part by politicians' use of the term. Using "illegal" as a noun implied that immigrant identity was solely based on the embodiment of illegality. Framing immigrants as deserving or not, affects their occupational attainment and varies by immigrant generation. First- and second-generation immigrants, who are more likely to be undocumented, may lack access to certain occupations based on their documentation status, linking everyday talk and interaction with socio-historical and political-economic understandings, known theoretically as d/Discourses (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Gee, 2010). Hence, immigration is discursive, material, intergenerational, and contextually situated. It also is contradictory. Although immigration is embraced rhetorically,

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[6] This 1996 policy recommended border enforcement strategies, including the construction of barriers along the U.S./Mexico border, and denied undocumented immigrants access to public benefits (e.g., public education, healthcare). Several aspects of this policy have been considered unconstitutional and it has raised privacy concerns.

support for immigrants is seldom enacted. Furthermore, how immigrants talk about immigration is missing from public discourse of immigration.

This study employs two theoretical frameworks, organizational d/Discourse and callings, to explore what is said by immigrants and how d/Discourse shapes and is shaped by policies and generational gaps among first-, and second-generation immigrants. Callings are usually described as individual pulls toward an occupation (Dik & Duffy, 2009). Extant calling research has often focused on college age students (Ahn, 2005) or utilized affluent, white participants (Dik & Duffy, 2009). Additionally, this body of work has generally focused on identifying occupational outcomes using, primarily, quantitative methods (Dik & Duffy, 2009). This project addresses each of these gaps by utilizing a population of people lacking representation in calling research, using qualitative methods, and focusing on non-occupational outcomes (i.e., validating the sacrifices of their parents). The types of work taken on by first-generation immigrants, which typically consists of low-wage work or manual labor (see DeSilver, 2017), are not often the focus of calling research (Molloy & Faust, 2016) likely because they do not fit current conceptualizations of calling. Thus, the first goal of this study is to use calling as way to understand generational differences by exploring the idea that, rather than being individual pulls, callings can be intergenerational journeys that involve several forms of labor and non-occupational outcomes.

The second theoretical framework accounts for and identifies the challenges and barriers to the fulfillment of these callings. Organizational d/Discourse distinguishes little "d" discourse, or everyday talk, from big "d" Discourse, or societal understandings (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, Gee, 2010). These two forms of discourse influence and inform each other (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). The frequent pairing of immigration policy with threats to nationality has

become characteristic of immigration Discourse. This pairing is evident in the earliest immigration policies, such as the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 which established quotas for entry into the United States and blocked certain races and ethnicities from becoming eligible for citizenship due to a discomfort with how many people were crossing the U.S./Mexico border into the United States (Ngai, 2014). It is evident that Discourse impacts discourse as shown by the studies that point to how immigrant communities enact strategies to protect undocumented members in reaction the Discourses that result in strict immigration policies (Scranton et al., 2016). However, as Alvesson & Kärreman (2000) point out, more work needs to be done to investigate how discourses and Discourses interact. While synthesizing various articles and extant studies, as I have started to do above, helps piece together a description of immigration d/Discourses, it is not sufficient in fully describing the interaction that occurs. This study aims to address this gap in organizational discourse studies.

Regarding contributions, the communicative focus of this study contributes to intergenerational immigration research by seeking out how immigrants identify and make sense of various d/Discourses. By describing how the talk of intergenerational immigrants construct notions of callings at local levels that are not picked up by Discourses, this study challenges current immigrant portrayals. The analyses also redefine conceptualizations of "calling" to include those trajectories that are completed across generations. Examining how callings are enacted across generations is an area of research that has yet to be investigated. By interviewing participants across two immigrant generations pragmatic contributions have been identified that include understandings about occupational attainment and immigration policies that may be leveraged to better the Latinx community. Finally, this project contributes to the growing dialogues and debates about immigration in the United States. In the last few years alone, the

vacillating conversations about immigration have created tensions and fear in Latinx communities and uncertainties for organizations and communities relying on immigrant talent. Situated in organizational communication, the two theoretical frameworks and trends that precede this study in the field are described in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, the qualitative methodology is detailed. I note in Chapter 3 that my understandings are both scholarly and personal as I am second-generation in my own immigrant family.

The findings begin in Chapter 4, titled "The Sacrifice," which describes the ways in which each generation has made decisions in service of each other. This chapter is heavily centered around the experiences of the first-generation as most participants in one way or another suggested that the first-generation made a greater sacrifice. To represent this belief and provide a clear (and hopefully chronological) sequence of the migration process, this chapter opens with the border-crossing narratives that highlight the diversity of experiences people have getting into the country. For the most part, the participants of this study did not enter the country seeking asylum begging the question, why flee a country in which you are not being persecuted? This chapter seeks to offer a partial answer to that question based on the experiences of the first- and second-generation immigrants who participated in this study.

In understanding why these immigrants entered the United States and subsequently answering RQ1 and RQ3, Chapter 4 explores several themes. First, many participants had a parent who migrated to the United States first with the purpose of earning money to support their spouses and/or children who remained in their home country. Second, first-generation parents had specific visions of who their children would become. This theme explores the ways in which this expectation was communicated to second-generation immigrants. The most common expectation parents had was for their children to achieve high educational attainment. These

visions were also centered around specific careers or achieving a high socio-economic status. In short, they wanted to see intergenerational mobility. Finally, parents often migrated with the intention of helping their children to achieve a state of documentation. In short, this chapter explores the callings of first-generation immigrants.

In chapter 5, titled "The Validation," the second-generation of immigrants are focused on describing how they understood their own careers (RQ1 & RQ3). This chapter opens by describing the narratives of second-generation immigrants in academic and occupational settings. The second-generation immigrants I was privileged to interview for this study ranged in occupational goals and accomplishments. This chapter seeks to understand how having an immigrant background affects the occupational decisions made by second-generation immigrants.

The first theme described in this chapter deals with the overarching goal of validating the sacrifices of first-generation immigrants. Put simply, this theme narrates a pressure held within second-generation immigrants to do well in life because they perceived their parents have sacrificed so much to gain entry in the United States. The second theme described how having an immigrant background informed occupational choices and delineates a tension felt by second-generation immigrants regarding contradictory expectations that parents held for their children. This theme brings tension to the "vision" theme presented in the previous chapter. The third theme revolves around service, a seminal characteristic of callings. Specifically, the theme of "service to others" is revisited with an immigrant perspective that focuses on both occupational and personal outcomes regarding work.

The final findings section, Chapter 6, is titled "The Barriers." This chapter describes institutional barriers that prevented immigrants from achieving occupational attainment. The first

theme revisits narratives of deservingness and explains how deservingness is reproduced amongst immigrants. Immigrants enacted deservingness narratives in two major ways: 1) in explaining how immigration laws and policies should be changed, and 2) in taking actions to fit into the United States by contributing (or attempting to) and overcompensating. The second theme describes how race, colorism, and white passing privilege impact the identify of immigrants. For several participants, skin color changed their experiences of acceptance in the country, as well as, how closely they identified with their cultures and home countries.

Finally, the discussion presented in Chapter 7 reviews the findings of this study and explains how those results address gaps in previous research. In particular, the different aspects of the intergenerational callings of Latinx immigrants are addressed with attention being paid to the ways in which the callings are both harmful and beneficial. Theoretical and pragmatic implications are drawn out of this study and explicated in this chapter. In particular, calling research is expanded to include more diverse participants and occupations. This chapter also highlights limitations and future research directions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I describe the theoretical concepts and research that guide this study. First, I situate this study within the field of organizational communication by explaining how it extends various research trends. Second, I describe the two theoretical areas that guide this study: organizational discourse and callings. The relevance of these two concepts to understand immigration and to challenge deservingness narratives are elaborated on in this chapter. Third, I overview immigration in the United States, focusing specifically on Latinx immigrants, by describing contemporary immigrant controversies and issues. This chapter ends with the presentation of my research questions.

Organizational Communication

In 1985, W. Charles Redding identified the adoption of the label "organizational communication" as one of the most important moments in the field's history because it marked "the final acceptance of the blatantly obvious fact that the world is full of many kinds of organizations in addition to just those we call businesses and industries" (p. 18). An organization can be readily labelled, such as a school or business, or less easily categorized as an "organization" because of form and function, such as a government or country. My broader conceptualization of "organization" acknowledges that the field of organizational communication does not address only managerial concerns but problematizes organizing and organization more broadly (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007; Mumby & Stohl, 1996, 2007; Redding, 1985). Although it is hard to know who coined the term "organizational communication", it became popular in the late 1950s/early 1960s, in conjunction with the field's emergence (Redding, 1985) and before being recognized as a division by the National Communication

Association (NCA) in the 1980s. Despite the acceptance of the label and the recognition that organizations should be conceptualized broadly, scholars in the organizational communication field still struggled to find their identity.

The identity issues experienced by organizational communication scholars were rooted, in part, in conversations about the field's meta-theoretical assumptions. At around the same time that the discipline was officially recognized by NCA, it also experienced a meta-theoretical transformation through an increase in interpretive, critical, postmodern, and feminist work (Putnam & Mumby, 2014). The field publicly struggled to make sense of various competing perspectives at conferences hosted by the International Communication Association (ICA) and NCA (Putnam & Mumby, 2014). During a 1998 NCA panel, various scholars discussed the presence of multiple meta-theoretical perspectives and decided to focus on finding common ground, rather than debating the superiority of the perspectives. This change in tone led them to accept that "communication processes are the *stuff* of organizing" (pp. 3-4). In other words, scholars agreed about the centrality of communication in constituting organizations, not necessarily being contained in organizations.

This central idea, that communication is a process that creates organizations, moved the field away from a container metaphor that was widely accepted in the nascent stages of the field (Putnam & Mumby, 2014). It also allowed further discussion about what else unites organizational communication scholars. Mumby and Stohl (1996) suggest that the field is united by problematics that address voice, rationality, organization, and the relationships between organizations and society. The move away from the container metaphor is a central idea behind Mumby and Stohl's (1996) problematic of organization. In outlining these problematics, Mumby and Stohl (1996) pay attention to power and politics in organizing and creating knowledge. As

their problematic of voice implies, the concerns for all workers in an organization (not just managerial voices) should be emphasized as credible forms of knowledge. Mumby and Stohl's (1996) description of the problematic of the organization-society relationship implies that communication is deeply embedded in both organizations and their societies. The boundaries that distinguish one from the other are often difficult to capture (Mumby & Stohl, 1996; Putnam & Mumby, 2014), which makes the current effort to situate this study within organizational communication necessary but also provides space to engage in intergenerational immigration as an organizing process. In response to the various discussions about the field's meta-theoretical groundings, organizational communication scholars have begun examining concepts such as social justice and social movements to begin to understand the intersections between individuals' organizational and personal lives (Putnam & Mumby, 2014).

Recent trends within the organizational communication field have made room for studies like the present one. In this study, organizing occurs through communication processes (Putnam & Mumby, 2014), specifically discourses. This study takes on social constructionist and critical lenses by investigating how discourses amongst Latinx immigrants from two generations are understood and whom these discourses benefit. Discourses that address occupational messages and immigration policies are of relevance as they draw connections between Mumby and Stohl's (1996) problematics of voice and organization-society relationships. Specifically, understanding how immigrants themselves, rather than policy-makers or the media, make sense of policy aids in the development of knowledge about these policies by giving voice to the concerns of a marginalized group. This approach also draws attention to the ways in which immigrants view their roles within their families, communities, and larger political structures. Moreover, these

understandings contribute to current discussions related to the problematic of organization-society and the increasing interests in international research, trends noted by Putnam (2012).

To summarize, this project fits within the current trends of organizational communication that have accepted various meta-theoretical positions, broadened the definition of "organization," moved towards diverse forms of knowledge, and called for further examination of the relationship between organizations and societies. This study investigates both organizational discourse articulated by the United States government that addresses immigration policy and immigrant rights from the perspectives of Latinx immigrants. This study is unique in that it is positioned to provide analyses of organizational discourse from the standpoints of immigrants who are most affected by immigration policies. In sum, this study adopts a discourse perspective and examines immigrants' work and nonwork lives by reconstructing what it means to have a calling. These two theoretical constructs, discourse and calling, are defined next.

Discourse Analysis

Organizations are spaces in which individuals come to understand who they are through discourses (Tracy & Scott, 2006). Mumby and Stohl (1996) note that it is "through discursive practices that organizational members engage in the construction of a complex and diverse system of meanings" (p. 63). Discursive approaches lend themselves to understanding various aspects of relationships among individuals, organizations, and meanings derived from both. Thus, discourse is an area of study ripe with potential. The area of discourse analysis is broad and multi-perspectival (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; see also Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004). Several conceptualizations have been used within discourse studies—each with different assumptions about relationships between discourse and organizations. Often, discourse is not defined within a study (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Jian, Schmisseur, & Fairhurst, 2008). In

this section, I explain how discourse is defined in this study and how this term is used to understand immigration.

Defining Discourse

Discourse studies investigate language-in-use, or the notion that language creates reality (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Gee, 2010). The utilities of language extend beyond the ways in which language facilitates information exchange between two or more people. Instead, language enables people to act or engage in cultural rituals and make sense of their roles in various social settings. Hence, discourse is the "saying, doing, and being" of language (Gee, 2010, p. 16). Gee draws out differences between two approaches to discourse analysis. The first, descriptive, examines the grammar and structure of sentences. The second, critical, seeks to understand the role of language in creating societal structures. Scholars following this tradition hope to "speak to and, perhaps, intervene in, social or political issues, problems, and controversies in the world" (p. 9). However, Gee suggests that all discourse analyses should be critical because language is, by definition, political.

According to Gee, discourse analyses draw attention to social goods, or things that are valued in society. He uses the examples of winning or losing a card game and how students and parents communicate to children that they are "good students." Whereas these examples are of a lighthearted nature, the implications of how social goods are created by discourse take on a different tone when applied to immigration. Immigration policies, a form of governmental discourse, communicate the importance of another social good, nationality. Ngai (2014) notes, "immigration policy is constitutive of Americans' understanding of national membership and citizenship, drawing lines of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 5). Policies are also usually in response to a fear of a threat towards nationality, rather than actual immigration trends (Massey & Pren,

2012). Hence, policies reify our sense of what it means to be "American" and dictate who merits acceptance into the country (Schneider & Ingram, 2005) through the ongoing constructing of policy formation and enactment (see Canary, 2010). These political and organizational discourses have very real implications for immigrants. As suggested earlier, immigrants' occupational lives are shaped by immigration discourses. To better understand the extent to which discourse affects immigrants, I approach this topic by analyzing immigration through the lens of d/Discourse, or big "D" and little "d" discourse.

A d/Discourse approach distinguishes between everyday talk (discourse) and societal understandings (Discourse). Big "D" Discourses are recognizable frameworks adopted in specific settings (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Cooren, 2015; Gee, 2010). Gee defines Discourses succinctly as being "integrated with 'other stuff'" (p. 31). In other words, Discourses function through recognizable associations between various things (e.g., words, tools, beliefs). Studies of Discourse often take a historical approach to understand phenomena (Jian et al., 2008). For example, the enactment of a policy (e.g., DACA) follows a familiar, and very political, process. The frequent pairing of immigration policy with threats to nationality has become characteristic of immigration discourse. Among the earliest policies to do so was the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that established quotas for entry into the United States and blocked certain races and ethnicities from becoming eligible for citizenship (Ngai, 2014). This 1924 act also aided the construction of the concept of "illegality" and "undocumentation" that is in place today by establishing a visa system. As Ngai (2003) neatly summarizes, "legal status now rested on being in the right place in the queue—if a country has a quota of N, immigrant N is legal but immigrant $N+1$ is illegal—and having the proper documentation, the prized 'proper visa'" (p. 77). More recently, immigration discourse follows similar protocol as seen in President Trump's

constant calls for a wall along the U.S./Mexico border to stop criminals and drugs from entering the country (Bender et al., 2018). In short, the continued coupling of immigration policy and nationality can be considered a recognizable Discourse.

Lowercase "d" discourse functions at a more micro level, by analyzing interpersonal interaction events (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Gee, 2010). Little "d" discourses include conversations and stories that are exchanged at an interpersonal level (Gee, 2010). Rather than the policies enacted by government, discourses would include the conversations that take place amongst families threatened with deportation or the stories learned by second-generation immigrants about their parents' journeys into the United States. Big "d" Discourses often underlie and shape discourses, as is the case with families discussing or invoking deportation as structure, policy, and national, as well as, international politics, that is, Discourse. Studies looking at language brokering in Spanish speaking families (Guntzviller, 2015; Kam & Lazarevic, 2014), mentorship of undocumented students (Moreman & Persona Non Grata, 2011), and the individual and communal enactment of strategies to protect undocumented members (Scranton et al., 2016) provide insight into some of these discourses. However, the studies just cited do not approach the topic from a d/Discourse approach. Therefore, how these discourses contribute to the formation of policy, and other Discourses, is to date unknown.

The interconnected nature of d/Discourse draws attention to the fact that rather than representing two fixed categories, various discursive levels exist between these two poles (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). A conversation within a family (a form of discourse) can address the risks of deportation, how children's future careers might be affected, and financial struggles (i.e., invoking media framings, career, childhood, education, future, economy, and other varied Discourses). Identifying how these d/Discourses interact is a goal of this research. To account for

intergenerational immigrant differences and rationales for choices, "callings" are incorporated into this study.

Callings

Callings, or occupations to which a person is drawn to and finds meaning in, have been defined in literature as religious/spiritual and/or secular. The notion of having a "calling" in life was originally rooted in religiosity (i.e., being "called" by God to serve) (Dalton, 2001; Davidson & Caddell, 1994; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Scott, 2007). The religious grounding is due to callings being initially reserved for more powerful clergy members, though the concept soon expanded to include any work that served God (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Conklin, 2012; Molloy & Faust, 2016). Contemporary notions of calling, although not necessarily tied to religion, often still remain tied to spirituality. For example, Dik and Duffy (2009) begin defining callings by stating that they are "transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self" (p. 427). Researchers studying callings across various contexts have found that their participants believe in a transcendent motivation behind their own occupational decisions. In studying zookeepers, Bunderson and Thompson (2009) noted that for many, zookeeping was a calling found through "unusual circumstances" (p. 37) attributed to destiny. Several of Ahn, Dik, and Hornback's (2015) participants also described spiritual drives behind career changes with the purpose of meeting callings. This broad definition suggests that any job, not just those which serve God, may be considered a calling.

The key difference between secular and existential approaches lies in the motivation for pursuing a calling (Gazica & Spector, 2015). Rather than looking for an existential drive towards an occupation, secular approaches define callings based on a cluster of psychological

characteristics that indicate jobs to which people: (1) are drawn, (2) perceive to be enjoyable and have meaning, and (3) feel are connected to their identity (Berg, Grant, & Johnson, 2010; Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997). Implied by this conceptualization is that a secular calling can be existential—a person might find a religious calling fulfilling.

Perhaps one common thread across conceptualizations is that callings tend to be prosocial. That is, callings tend to be occupations often seen as socially valuable (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997) and other-oriented (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Dik & Duffy, 2009). A study of Chinese college students found that higher esteemed jobs were those that served others, specifically the student's own family and communities (Zhang, Dik, Wei, & Zhang, 2014). Davidson and Caddell (1994) encountered similar findings in a different study with Catholic and Protestant participants who were more likely to view work as a calling if it meant they worked with people as opposed to "things" and the job was in the public sector. Scott (2007) found that college-age students recognized that "a call to serve God meant serving others in tangible ways" (p. 268) and letting God work through the person by guiding them as a "transcendent voice that defines and convicts the self" (p. 268). In short, regardless of the motivation, people believe that their callings create tangible benefits for other beings.

The fact that callings can be existential, secular, and/or prosocial indicates additional influences in interpreting callings. The subjectivity of callings becomes evident when comparing several research studies. Ahn et al. (2015) interviewed people who had undergone a recent career change. They found that each person approached their sense of calling differently—callings were influenced by cultures, families, and individual experiences and backgrounds. In Molloy and Faust's (2016) study of callings across disciplines, participants described their callings as either processes or reckoning moments. Callings as processes have been described by other scholars as

well (see also, Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Conklin, 2012). Wrzesniewksi (2002) also observed that the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 prompted many people to reevaluate the importance of work in their lives and their individual contributions to the world. This introspection led many people to change careers—suggesting that callings are not fixed, rather they are the result of varying contexts and social conditions. Assessing the differences in how callings are approached in each of these studies facilitates the notion that callings are not tied to a single, linear, and determined career path (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Buzzanell & Goldzwig, 1991).

Defining calling has proven to be a difficult enterprise given the competing approaches and subjective nature of the concept. Rather than choosing between secular and transcendent definitions or focusing solely on prosocial occupations, this study allows participants to characterize the nature of their callings. Given the nature of this study, callings are viewed as discursive (i.e., as tied to everyday talk and arising from larger Discourses) and communicative. Molloy and Faust's (2016) explain that regardless of the context, callings are "fundamentally communicative" (p. 340) at their core. Similarly, Conklin (2012) refers to callings as constitutive, indicating the influence of various contextual factors. Extant literature has focused greatly on work outcomes and, for the most part, has used quantitative methods to draw connections between callings and outcomes (Dik & Duffy, 2009) largely ignoring how people actually communicate about callings (Molloy & Faust, 2016). In the next section, I provide an overview of the research on the personal and work outcomes. I also draw attention to the homogenous population that has become commonplace for calling research. This section ends with an explanation of how calling can be used to understand immigration and intergenerational differences.

Callings and Work Outcomes

Calling researchers have often tied the concept to occupational and personal outcomes. Callings have been associated with better health (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), higher levels of career maturity and an awareness of one's abilities (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007), and a greater sense that a person has found meaning in life (Steger & Dik, 2009). Students with a calling are more efficient when making decisions (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007) and may leave jobs if these jobs not fulfilling (Duffy, Dik, & Steger, 2011). Likewise, individuals with callings are less likely to miss work if the job is meaningful (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). However, whether or not a calling is benefitted from depends on the distinction between perceiving or living a calling. This difference has been explored in a recent wave of calling studies.

Scholars have entertained the possibilities that people could be searching for a calling, perceiving a calling, living a calling, or have no calling at all. Perceiving a calling refers to believing that you are called to an occupation, regardless of the barriers to attain that calling. Anyone who is living out a calling, currently works in the capacity they believed they were meant to fulfill (Dik & Duffy, 2009). Duffy et al. (2013) found that living a calling is the mediator between perceiving a calling and life satisfaction. A recent study by Duffy et al. (2017) explored the connection between perceiving a calling and living a calling with two outcomes: life meaning and life satisfaction. Unsurprisingly, perceiving a calling predicted living a calling and finding life to be more meaningful, especially for highly motivated individuals. By extension, those living out a calling and who found life to be meaningful also scored higher on measures of life satisfaction. Duffy and Autin (2013) tested work volition, or the perception that few barriers exist in a workplace and that workers have freedom of choice, and organizational support as mediators between perceiving and living a calling. Results showed that low work volition may

explain why some individuals are unable to move from perceiving to living a calling. Organizational support was not found to play a significant role leading Duffy and Autin (2013) to conclude that it is likely that those with high work volition by nature find themselves in more supportive organizations. Gazica and Spector (2015) expand calling literature by drawing out differences between answered occupational callings (i.e., living a calling), unanswered occupational callings (i.e., perceived a calling), and non-existent callings. They found that individuals with no callings, reported higher levels of work engagement and career commitment, as well as, less physical/psychological distress and intentions to quit. In other words, even individuals with no callings were better off than people who perceive but have yet to live out their calling. In short, perceiving and living callings are connected concepts, but conceptually tied to different personal, psychological, and work outcomes.

The link between perceived and lived calling, and more importantly the proposition that perceiving a calling can lead to living one out may be influenced by class differences. Often, those with higher socioeconomic status were more likely to believe they were living out a calling (Dik & Duffy, 2009). These socioeconomic differences are replicated in other research as well. Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) and Davidson and Caddell (1994), found that those individuals of higher socioeconomic status and with more schooling were more likely to refer to their jobs as callings. Duffy et al. (2017) also find that higher income is positively correlated with living a calling. Duffy and Autin (2013) found that individuals making more than $50,000 and with graduate/professional degrees (as opposed to college degrees) were more likely to advocate that they are living a calling. In Ahn et al.'s (2015) study of adults who underwent career changes to fulfill a calling, financial burdens were among the concerns brought up by participants. The differences across social classes in the likelihood of living a calling is an area ripe with research

potential (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy & Autin, 2013). The pursuit of a calling appears to be one reserved for the financially privileged.

Another possibility is that researchers have not ventured to explore how manual laborers and others in low-paying, low-responsibility positions make sense of their work as a calling (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Molloy & Faust, 2016). Although several scholars have explained that any work may be considered a calling (see Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Conklin, 2012; Dik & Duffy, 2009), to date, most of the research has focused on college students searching for a calling or employed adults currently living a calling (Ahn, 2015). Ethnic and class disparities are evident as well, with most studies utilizing affluent, white participants (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy et al., 2017). Duffy et al. (2017) recommends that moving forward, research should take into account individuals from underrepresented groups and those who are non-gender conforming. Duffy and Autin (2013) also suggest that to better understand callings, researchers should consider that callings may not necessarily be tied to occupational outcomes. They suggest that callings may be tied to things like parenting or volunteering. Hence, the suggestions made by extant research call for diversification of the concept across ethnic, class, gender, and occupational contexts.

The lack of representation of diverse groups is one of many problems with the concept. Berkelaar and Buzzanell (2015) overview additional concerns underlying modern conceptualizations of calling. Among their analyses of calling, Berkelaar and Buzzanell explain how a "calling" can: be restricting financially and psychologically for anyone who struggles to fulfill it, be used as a form of social control over employees and can unintentionally reinforce inequality. Berkelaar and Buzzanell lend support to the idea that while a "calling" can be transformative, allowing a person to connect with their work on a deeper level (Scott, 2007), it

can also be restricting (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007). In other words, as Molloy and Faust (2016) suggest, callings are both liberating and marginalizing. Understanding how this marginalization varies by context and impacts callings across contexts is an important goal. Molloy and Faust (2016) reflect on calling literature and suggest that critical organizational communication scholars should "unpack the implications of calling" (p. 351). In other words, the risks and negative aspects of calling should be studied.

Immigration as a context for calling

In the previous section, the lack of diversity across ethnic, class, and occupational contexts was presented as an area of research needing development. The potential for callings to be dark and marginalizing was also discussed. In the following section, I explain how the current study addresses these gaps by focusing on immigration and intergenerational contexts.

One noticeable contribution is the focus on Latinx immigrants, a group not usually at the center of calling research. Seeking out Latinx immigrants across generations directly address the calls for more research with underrepresented groups (Ahn et al., 2015; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy et al., 2007). This study also responds to the recommendation made by Molloy & Faust (2016) that occupations such as manual labor be studied using a calling framework. Additionally, the precedent set by various scholars who suggest that any work can be a calling (see Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Conklin, 2012; Dik & Duffy, 2009) pave the way for this study which focuses on immigrants from two generations. Noted earlier, educational and occupational attainment vary across immigrant generations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). The work commonly undertaken by first-generation Latinx immigrants would generally not fit the current conceptualization of calling. According to DeSilver (2017), immigrants in 2014 were most

commonly employed as personal appearance workers (e.g., manicurists, makeup artists; 63%), graders and sorters of agricultural products (60%), plasterers and stucco masons (59%), sewing machine operators (55%), and miscellaneous agricultural workers (52%). These occupations do not fit current conceptualizations of calling or the "ideal worker" (Acker, 1990; Buzzanell, 2018; Davies & Frink, 2014; Williams, 2000) who has a calling. McDonald (2018), even notes that conceptualizations of "ideal worker" often include that the worker is also a citizen or legal resident.

Each immigrant generation is more likely to attain a higher-paying occupation than the preceding generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). This study relies on the knowledge and experiences of two generations of Latinx immigrants, therefore, two generations of occupational mobility. Consequently, this approach lends itself to understanding how workers across occupational contexts (e.g., manual labor, entrepreneurial ventures) make sense of their callings.

Additionally, first-generation immigrants gauge their success based on their children, second-generation immigrants (Hirschman, 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). The difficult act of immigrating and the subsequent years of occupying working-class positions may be in service of their children and grandchildren. Stated differently, immigrating and working in manual labor may be seen as prosocial in that the work is completed by first-generation immigrants in service of their children. For second-generation immigrants, their occupational decisions may be in fulfillment of their parent's wishes and/or to validate the sacrifices of earlier generations. The ambivalence experienced by second-generation immigrants has the potential to complicate this relationship (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002). The benefits of having a calling, such as better health, may also be experienced by later generations since the manual labor taken on by first-generation immigrants has the potential for injury. In short, the prosocial nature of callings

(see Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997) may remain an important part of immigrants' callings that is tied to outcomes outside of work, as suggested by Duffy & Autin (2013). Hence, immigrants may have callings, but they are fulfilled across generations and are used in this study to account for generational gaps by drawing attention to different discourses occurring in different generations.

Immigration in the United States

The immigrant community in the United States is ethnically and racially diverse. To contextualize this study, I focus solely on the Latinx community. As opposed to Latino or Latina, the term Latinx calls attention to gender identities that do not fit neatly into the Latino/a binary. Thus, it is gender inclusive (Santos, 2017). The term is also geographically inclusive, since it can be applied to anyone of Latin American origin (Santos, 2017). However, despite the increase in use, the term has been met with challenges. One line of criticism suggests that Latinx is difficult to pronounce and that replacing the gendered suffixes in other words with "x" is an unnecessary challenge (Hernandez, 2017). These criticisms note difficulties in pronouncing other Spanish words with the modified suffix (e.g., amigxs, autxs). However, I contend that difficulty pronouncing a word is not a good argument against the adoption of a term that guarantees gender and geographical inclusivity. Additionally, comparing the replacement of gendered suffixes in other terms, such as amigxs, with Latinx is a faulty analogy. Amigxs does not create space for gender inclusivity, nor does it hold the same racial and ethnic connotations as Latinx. Adopting the use of the word Latinx does not necessitate the use of the "x" in other words (Santos, 2017); it is also more easily pronounceable than amigxs or autxs.

Perhaps stronger arguments against Latinx lie in how it has been adopted by members of this community. Hernandez (2017) suggests that the term is not used by working class immigrants but provides no evidence for this. Santos (2017) points to research showing that first-generation immigrants are more likely to identify with their home countries, hence, it is less likely that they would adopt the term. However, Santos also points to the terms growing popularity, proving that it is being used, and explains that a person can identify with more than one identity. At the Latina/o Communication Studies Division/La Raza Caucus Business Meeting at the 2017 National Communication Association (NCA) Convention, a proposal to change the division's name to Latinx Communication Studies was presented. Although the proposed change received initial support, a woman graduate student explained that women fought to have "/a" added to the end of Latino for many years. Changing Latino/a to Latinx, she felt, would erase that history. After some discussion, this issue was tabled.

Santos (2017) compared the term to a *jarana*, a small guitar-like instrument often played at protests. He situates *jaranas* as tools that unite communities in protest and believes that the term Latinx could be used similarly as a basis for organizing against intersectional oppression. Additionally, he points to Latinx being a contextual term used primarily in the United States. Therefore, Latinx does not have to replace Latino/a, rather it should be used differently. The term's potential as a way to organize prompts me to use it in this study. Additionally, its contextualization in the United States is appropriate in this study which focuses solely on U.S. policies. The interwoven nature of Latinx and its potential to unite communities provides insight into the relationship between an individual and a society, bringing to mind the problematic of organization outlined by Mumby and Stohl (1996) and Putnam (2012).

In addition to this rich context, Latinx immigrants are of interest for two additional

reasons. First, Latinx immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in the United States

(López & Bialik, 2017; Sierra et al., 2000). Mexico is the origin country for about 11.6 million,

or 27% of all U.S. immigrants (López & Bialik, 2017). Additionally, 94% of Deferred Action for

Childhood Arrivals (DACA)[7] recipients are of Latin American origin (Lopez & Krogstad, 2017).

According to the Pew Research Center, immigrants have a larger presence in the United States

than in any other country in the world (López & Bialik, 2017). Recent statistics show that in

2015, 43.2 million immigrants lived in the United States and made up about 17.1% of the

workforce (López & Bialik, 2017). Although these occupational figures are not broken down by

race or ethnicity, it is safe to assume that Latinx immigrants make up a large amount of the U.S.

workforce.

Second, likely due to their size and the proximity of their home countries to the United

States, Latinx immigrants are often the targets of political Discourses that criminalize them by

establishing ideas of deservingness, or who does and does not warrant acceptance (Newton,

2005; Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015). For example, politicians often depict immigrants as threats and

freeloaders to justify militarizing the U.S./Mexico border and denying undocumented immigrants

access to public benefits (e.g., public education, healthcare) (Newton, 2005). Immigration

policies are relevant because they are often motivated by fear and insecurity, rather than

immigration trends (Massey & Pren, 2012). Framing immigrants this way, as deserving or not,

has effects on their occupational attainment that may vary by immigrant generation. For

example, a policy like DACA opens pathways for many first- and second-generation

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[7] Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, is a policy first implemented through an executive order by the Obama Administration. It offered temporary protection from deportation and a few occupational opportunities for a portion of immigrants brought to the United States.

undocumented immigrants to find work and/or go to college, whereas a policy like Prevention

Through Deterrence[8] threatens a first-generation immigrant's journey to a country with more

occupational opportunities. The occupational consequences of these policies and how they affect

the generational "gap" are easy to infer.

The rocky relationship between immigrants and the United States can be described by

pointing to various policies that very clearly discriminate against Latinx immigrants. These

policies include the repatriation of Mexicans (regardless of citizenship) during the Great

Depression (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006), the use of DDT[9] to clean Mexican migrant

workers who were said to be dirty (Rothman, 2017), and more recently the debates surrounding

the recipients of DACA and Temporary Protected Status[10] (TPS) that address the contributions

of each to the United States (see Huber, 2016). However, the process through which these

policies came into existence provides a much clearer picture of the immigration context in the

United States.

The discriminatory nature of immigration policies is made clear throughout Ngai's

(2014) book on the foundations of immigration in the United States. Ngai provides detailed

descriptions on the policies that have been most impactful including the Johnson-Reed Act and

the Hart-Celler Act. The Johnson-Reed Act, known also as the Immigration Act of 1924,

determined which ethnic and racial groups were more desirable to create a quota system that

regulated immigrant entrance. This act was also the first to require that immigrants carry a

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[8] Prevention Through Deterrence militarized the most common entry points along the U.S./Mexico border forcing immigrants to cross through dangerous deserts. This strategy has contributed to the deaths of over 6,000 migrants, children included (Colibri Center for Human Rights, 2015).
[9] DDT is a chemical that was marketed as a pesticide after World War II—it is now banned in the United States. DDT is linked to an increased risk of cancer, liver damage, male infertility, and miscarriage. Low levels of exposure can negatively impact a person's health (Pesticide Action Network, n.d.).
[10] TPS grants protections to migrants who cannot safely return to their home countries due to natural disaster or ongoing armed conflict (USCIS, 2018).

passport, visa, or other forms of identification. A more recent act, the 1965 Hart-Celler Act,

reestablished quotas based on relationships an immigrant has to U.S. citizens. For example, a

brother to a U.S. citizen, is prioritized over someone with a less strong (or inexistent) connection.

Thus, this way of regulating immigration through quotas reinforced the racial demographics of

the United States.

The complicated relationship between the United States and immigrants continued into

the 1980s and 1990s when several policies came into existence that affected Latinx immigrants

(Sierra et al., 2000). During the Reagan era, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of

1986 recognized the positive impacts of undocumented immigrants. Their contributions were

rewarded with amnesty, or paths to citizenship. Unlike the previous policies which viewed

immigrants negatively, IRCA was geared at helping those that were seen as hard working and

family oriented (Newton, 2005). One common theme across these policies that were created in

the 1990s was to enforce the U.S. borders from immigrants who were seen to pose threats to the

economy and to the safety of U.S. citizens (Newton, 2005). These policies included the Clinton

Administration's Operation Gatekeeper in 1993 which increased the funding of the border patrol.

Other policies targeted immigrants already in the country by removing their access to public

benefits. For example, California's Proposition 187 (Prop 187) in 1994 sought to remove access

to public education and healthcare. Policies such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and

Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) aimed for both border enforcement and removal

of benefits. Another example, the Prevention Through Deterrence program, militarized portions

of the U.S. border (Colibri Center for Human Rights, 2015). This forced immigrants to cross the

desert areas of the U.S. border. The harsh conditions led to the death and disappearances of many

immigrants. Various organizations, such as Arizona's Colibri center, have launched efforts to

help find missing immigrants and raise awareness of restrictionist policies. Prevention Through

Deterrence continues to contribute to immigrant deaths today.

The controversies of deservingness continue today. On September 11, 2001, the United

States experienced some of the most devastating terrorist attacks in recent history. These attacks

created fear and prompted more action intended to secure the United States borders, thus

affecting immigrants (Massey & Pren, 2012; Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015). In response to the

increased policies and stigmas affecting immigrants, efforts to pass the Development, Relief, and

Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act), an act that had been presented a few months

prior to the terrorist attacks, became rampant. Those involved in this movement, mostly

undocumented youth, strived to separate themselves from the negative associations with

immigrants by using three framing strategies encompassed under the title "bounded Dreamer"

that: (a) emphasized the "Americanness" of Dreamers, (b) asserted that Dreamers were the "best

and the brightest" (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015, para. 4) and were ready to make a contribution to

the country, and (c) stressed the innocence of Dreamers having been brought into the country in

their childhood (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015). This strategy led to increased public support for the

Dreamers. However, as Nicholls and Fiorito point out, this framing reinforced the

"deservingness" narrative and incited criticism from outside and within the movement. As a

result, the activists reframed themselves as "unbounded Dreamers." This new frame allowed

Dreamers to emphasize multiple identities (e.g., American and Mexican) and recognized the

contributions of other immigrants, such as undocumented people who entered the country as

adults.

Research Questions

This chapter described current organizational communication trends that paved the way for this study. This project uses d/Discourse to understand how the messages communicated across generations and the effects of immigration policies influence immigrants' occupational attainment. To fulfill this goal and expand the definition of "calling" the following three research questions are posed:

RQ1: What occupational and intergenerational d/Discourses are perceived by immigrants?

RQ2: Whose interests are served by these d/Discourses and who is marginalized?

RQ3: How do immigrants experience "callings" across generations?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methods were used to identify d/Discourses, reconstruct callings by examining immigrants' work and nonwork lives, and examine how immigrants make sense of immigration policy. Qualitative approaches aid researchers in contextualizing their studies and understanding processes that shape their participant's lived experiences (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Tracy, 2013). This study, which is grounded in social constructionist and critical assumptions, postulates that the meanings of and beliefs about immigration policies and occupational practices may differ based on immigrant generation making qualitative approaches appropriate to answer the questions posed (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Additionally, qualitative methods contribute methodologically to calling research. A large portion of calling research has been conducted using a quantitative approach, prompting Molloy and Faust (2016) to call for more studies that look at how people talk about their callings. In this chapter, I describe the specific methodology that guides this study and aided me in answering my research questions.

Participants

Thirty-six interviews were conducted across two generations of immigrants (see Table 1). To qualify, participants had to: 1) identify as originating from a Latin American country or region, or they had to be Latinx, 2) speak either Spanish or English[11], and 3) be a first- or second-generation immigrant. Latin American countries were identified broadly as those in North, Central, and South America. Immigrants originating from Caribbean regions (e.g., Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico) were also invited to participate. Documentation status (i.e.,

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[11] Portuguese and French are also spoken in several Latin American countries, but participants were only interviewed in the two languages indicated in the text.

citizen, resident, undocumented) was not used to filter participants, but was noted and used to interpret interviews where relevant if the participant disclosed that information. The difficulties in categorizing immigrants based on the generations outlined above prompted me to clearly outline who counts as first and second. The following definitions were used:

First-generation: These immigrants arrived in the United States as adults after being raised and socialized in another country (18+) (Rumbaut, 2004). First-generation immigrants may include individuals who were born in the United States, but were taken to their parents' home countries at a young age only to return as adults.

Second-generation: Second-generation immigrants either immigrated as children (0-17) or are U.S. born children of first-generation immigrants (Rumbaut, 2004). For the most part, they have been socialized in the United States (Warner & Srole, 1945, as cited in Rumbaut, 2004). However, the age at which a child arrives can affect their experiences in the United States. Therefore, it is necessary to collect information about arrival in case it indicates differences in experiences and sensemaking processes. These differences prompted the further categorization of the second-generation into cohorts 1.25 (arriving as adolescents 13-17), 1.5 (arriving in middle childhood 6-12), and 1.75 (arriving in early childhood 0-5), (Rumbaut, 2004). Rumbaut (1997) suggests that generation 1.25, or adolescents emigrating between ages 13-17, may have similar experiences to first-generation immigrants. For this reason, the experiences of generation 1.25 are discussed as part of the first generation where relevant.

To recruit first- and second-generation Latinx immigrants, I employed convenience and snowball sampling. First, social media was used to recruit participants. A recruitment flyer approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB; see Appendix B) was posted to my personal Facebook and

Instagram accounts. Additionally, this recruitment flyer also shared with the Facebook page

"Latinx Scholars." Second, I personally contacted people whom I believed to be a good fit for

this project. Some people were approached in person or via email using a script approved by the

IRB (see Appendix C). By having this control over the recruitment process, I made sure that a

diverse set of participants from a variety of occupations, socio-economic status, and Latinx

groups are interviewed. A potential risk of this study would be recruiting only "success" stories,

a prospect I believe would lend itself to expanding "deservingness" narratives which is in

contrast with the goals of this project. Finally, I contacted organizations that serve the Latinx

immigrant community to help in the recruitment of participants and posted flyers in their

locations. Although I am a member of a Latinx immigrant community, I do not have the trust of

every potential participant. Aligning myself with community-oriented organizations allowed me

to gain access to more participants from different countries and occupying different jobs.

Table 1: Interview Participant Profile

Participant*	Demographic Summary			Occupational Summary		Interview Summary	
	Generation	Age During Migration**	Country of Origin	Current Occupation	Parents Occupation***	Interview Length	Pages of Transcript
Gabriela	1.5 & 1.25	7 & 15	Mexico	Doctoral Student	Mother: Cleaning	1:09:49	35
Ivelisse	1	35	Puerto Rico	Housekeeper (Nursing Home)	-	36:05	33
Guadalupe	1.25	15	Mexico	Kitchen Worker (Nursing Home)	-	50:56	35
Elisabeth	1.5	7.5-8	Mexico	Works for a Criminal Defense Law Firm	Mother: Housekeeper Father: Construction	1:02:36	40
Lydia	1.5	6	Cuba	Doctoral Student	Mother: Retail	1:18:36	40
Ernesto	1.75	1	Mexico	Doctoral Student	Mother: Child Care; Father: Carpentry	55:44	35
Evelyn	2	-	Cuba	Faculty Member; Therapist	Mother: Accounting; Father: Mechanical Engineer	59:54	33

Table 1 Continued

Fernanda	2****	-	Mexico	Undergraduate Student	Mother: Sales (Department Store)	46:53	32
Ximena	1.5	8-9	Mexico	Graduate Student	Both: Electricians	1:05:45	42
Martha	2	-	Mexico	Program Coordinator at a University	Mother: Clerk (Clinic)	0:46:08	29
Isabella	1.5	9	Puerto Rico	Unemployed; Student	Mother: Stay at home, Father: Engineer (Pharmaceutical)	45:34	26
Rubén	1.75 & 1.5	3 & 8/9	Mexico	Rideshare Drive; In-between jobs	Mother: Cleaning, Father: Landscaping	40:29	25
Amanda	2	-	Puerto Rico	Novelist	Mother: Social Worker, Father: Factory Worker	50:05	23
Diego	2	-	Colombia	Sales/Retail	Mother: Registered Nurse; Father: Worked odd jobs (janitor, maintenance)	1:12:17	40

Table 1 Continued

Jairo	1	22	Colombia	MA Student	Both: Professors	44:56	25
Santiago	1	25	Puerto Rico	Doctoral Student	Mother: Family Business; Father: Accountant	50:54	29
Lucero	2****	-	Mexico	Administration (University)	Mother: Registered Nurse; Father: Warehouse Management & Military	50:55	23
Agustín	1.75 & 1.5	1 & 8	Mexico	Undergraduate Student	Mother: Cleaning & Factory Worker; Father: Construction	53:53	33
Amaia	1.25	15	Dominican Republic	MA Student	Mother: Entry Level Position in a School & Caretaker; Father: Engineer	57:17	28
Aracely	2	-	Guatemala	Doctoral Student	Both: Blue-collar, industrial work & seasonal agricultural work	1:04:11	36

Table 1 Continued

Nicolás	2	-	Dominican Republic	Artist/Educator/ Entrepreneur	Father: Auto Mechanic	1:07:00	40
José Luis	2****	-	Mexico	Doctoral Student	Mother: Factory Work; Father: Field Work	1:07:50	37
Marisela*	2	-	Mexico	Doctoral Student	Mother: Community Refugee Immigration Services	1:11:13	36
Sarahi	2	-	Mexico	Entrepreneur in Finance	Mother: Factory Line Worker; Father: Factory Supervisor	1:11:20	43
Adriana	1.5	7	Mexico	Reproductive Health and Sexual Education	Mother: Medical (in Mexico); Father: Events Agency	1:19:51	39
Osvaldo	2	-	Mexico	Factory Work; Studying for Investment License	Mother: Stay-at-home Parent; Father: Auto & Trailer Repair	1:26:04	55

Table 1 Continued

María del Carmen	1	-	Mexico	Advocate (Women's Shelter)	Mother: Stay-at-home Parent; Father: Public Accountant & Professor	44:38	48
Melina*	2	-	Mexico	Secretary (Nursing Home)	Mother: Sewing Factory; Father: Factory Worker	53:26	28
Manuel	1	25	Mexico	Retired (Archdiocese)	-	1:21:25	46
Diana	1	18	Mexico	Painter (Artist)	Mother: Fast Food; Father: Landscaping	1:01:10	26
Josefina	1.5	9	Mexico	Caretaker (Nursing Home)	-	47:37	23
Lucía	1	19	Mexico	Bank Teller	-	50:09	24
Beatriz	2	-	Peru	Undergraduate Student	Mother: auto manufacturing line worker	52:20	27
Emely	1	-	Peru	Stay at Home Mother	-	1:08:16	39
Ruperto	1	22	Mexico	Foundry Worker	-	1:13:40	44

Table 1 Continued

| Silvia | 1 | - | Mexico | Cleaning | - | 1:24:19 | 47 |

* Participant: participants with an asterisk ("*") next to their name traveled back and forth between the United States and their origin country at least once.

** Age During Migration: Empty spaces indicate that the participant was born in the United States.

*** Parents Occupation: Not all participants described their parent's occupation. The information is filled in where available. Several participants indicated that their parents have held several occupations, the most recent occupations are provided in the table.

****These participants had at least one parent who would count as second-generation immigrants, making the participant a third-generation immigrant through one of their parents.

Procedures

Data Gathering Techniques

To ensure scientific rigor, I focus on increasing the dependability of the methodology of this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This means that, in order to account for the multiple meanings and truths that paint a picture of the findings, qualitative scholars should aim to provide clear methodology sections. This assures that, although findings may not be replicated, the procedures used to gain those findings would be clear to anyone who attempts to replicate the study.

Qualitative research can take many forms. This study relied heavily on participant interviews. Interviews aided me in tapping into the subjective experiences of Latinx immigrants (see Allen, 1995) by collecting their stories, accounts, and explanations (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Interviews were also useful in this study for other reasons. First, they allowed for the study of phenomena that are harder to access (Tracy, 2013). Within immigration studies, several contemporary issues in the United States are complex and difficult to observe. For example, researchers studying the growing awareness of family separations along the U.S./Mexico border likely face several predicaments trying to attain access to either the parents or the children who have been separated. Second, interviews facilitated access to the opinions of less powerful members of society (Tracy, 2013). This study could have easily been an analysis of the creation of immigration policies, but it would have only reflected the opinions of politicians and other people in positions of power. Third, interviews helped further conceptualize theories and other constructs because they required that the researcher provide space for participants to fully express their thoughts (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In doing so, participants were given power to create and contribute to epistemology by providing knowledge through their experiences and

describing how these experiences have informed their understandings. Given that one goal of this study was to identify d/Discourses recognized by Latinx immigrants, interviews are appropriate as they allow for an analysis of the language used by participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Additionally, one of my research questions asked how callings are experienced intergenerationally, a question that has not been asked in calling research and required further conceptualization.

Interview protocols were created in both English and Spanish (see Appendix A). Each interview guide asked participants to consider the role of the government in their lives and to identify what they believed to be important contemporary immigration issues. To reconstruct callings, first-generation immigrants were asked about their reasons for emigrating from their home countries and about occupational challenges they faced in the United States. Second-generation immigrants were asked about how they constructed their career paths or made occupational choices. Interviews were conducted until saturation was reached (see Deetz, 1982).

Interviews lasted between 36 minutes and 1 hour and 26 minutes long. Each interview was conducted either in person at a location convenient to the participant, over the phone, or via video chat (e.g., Skype, FaceTime). Participants were compensated $10 for their time in a payment of their choosing (e.g., Venmo, cash, gift card, Paypal). Compensation funds were provided by the Purdue College of Liberal Arts' PROMISE Award. This flexibility in interview location (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), was useful for interviewing undocumented immigrants who may not have the identifications necessary for travel. With participant permission, each session was audio recorded and transcribed. Two transcription services were used to facilitate this process, however, I also transcribed a few of the Spanish interviews. After receiving each transcription, I listened to the audio files to verify for accuracy, assign pseudonyms to each

participant, and mask any information that could lead to the identification of the participant

(e.g., organizations named). Each audio file was destroyed after undergoing this process.

Transcripts are kept indefinitely. In total, interviews resulted in 1,234 transcribed pages.

Data Analytic Procedures

This study is grounded in discourse analysis. To contribute to the existing literature on

immigration, I first conducted a thematic d/Discourse analysis to identify recurring topics. Next,

a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to explain inequalities, describe in whose interests

d/Discourses are created, and detail the power relations that have helped maintain inequality.

Although, Gee (2010) suggests that all discourse analysis is critical because language is political,

CDA refers to a theoretical and, as it is used in the present study, methodological framework. A

more detailed description of each analysis is described in the next two sections.

d/Discourse Analysis

The first analysis identifies d/Discourses by employing a constant comparative method

and finalizing themes using Owen's (1984) interpretive framework. Data analysis began as soon

as the first interview was collected in the form of memos and research notes. These memos were

kept in a password protected, personal computer. The primary function of these memos was to

assist in elaborating on and distinguishing between themes throughout the process of data

analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). During the interview process, these notes also indicated topics

or areas that I commonly asked about through follow-up questions. Thus, these memos allowed

me to make small adjustments to the interview guides based on previous interviews. For

example, after a few interviews I noticed second-generation participants often quoted their

parents as passing along messages such as "I don't want you to work as hard as I do" (quoted

from Gabriela). Since these statements occurred in several interviews, I began asking participants to explain what their parents meant and to consider what their parents were warning them against.

Part way through data collection (i.e., after I had collected about 20 interviews), I engaged with the interviews through a data immersion phase, or a phase in which I read transcripts multiple times, talked to others about what I was finding interesting, and asked myself open-ended questions about the data (Tracy, 2013). The memos written prior to this phase were reanalyzed. At this point, I scheduled meetings with my advisor, a writing group, and members of Latinx immigrant communities to discuss preliminary findings.

After this immersion process, a line-by-line open coding approach was used to begin analyzing each interview (Strauss, 1987). This open coding process was unrestrained (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) and loosely structured. Using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo, I open-coded each transcript. At this stage, I also handwrote notes that described aspects of the interviews that stood out. Next, I began categorizing and collapsing the codes into more meaningful units, a process called axial coding (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). When a consistent set of categories has been developed, I revisited my research questions and used Owen's (1984) criteria for identifying interpretive themes to determine which themes best answered the research questions posed by this study. Briefly, Owen suggests that themes should be chosen based on their recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness. Recurrence refers to observations of meaning being present frequently throughout texts. Repetition is an extension of recurrence that looks specifically for unique wording or syntax choices. Finally, forcefulness is the added emphasis participants use to nonverbally enhance their message. Examples of

forcefulness include pauses, whispering, and any changes in vocal inflection. Although some of these paralinguistic characteristics may be captured in a transcript, I relied on notes taken during interviews to identify forcefulness and made additional notes on the transcripts as necessary (e.g., when participants laughed, cried). Utilizing my researcher notes helped reduce biases created by outsourcing the transcription process to an external company.

Critical Discourse Analysis.

While the previous section described a purely interpretive analysis geared at identifying d/Discourses, CDA was used to determine who benefitted and who was marginalized by these d/Discourses. Fairclough (2013) explains that CDA occurs in three levels: 1) word level (e.g., "illegal" or "undocumented"), 2) discursive practices (e.g., drawing on other discourses), and 3) social practices (e.g., analysis of power, identification of norms and traditions). Furthermore, CDA focuses on "*the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance*" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). Paradigmatically, CDA is not positioned within one school of thought. Rather, it is concerned with investigating contemporary social issues from the perspective of less powerful society members (Van Dijk, 1993; 1995). Hence, in theme with Mumby & Stohl's (1996) problematic of voice the issues of those in power are not prioritized in CDA. Put simply CDA is concerned with the ways in which social inequality is communicatively enforced by dominant discourses.

Power, as defined in CDA, has to do with action and control (Van Dijk, 1993). More dominant members of society have the power to control the production and reception, or the creation and manipulation of discourse and their interpretation in society (Van Dijk, 1993). Van Dijk (1993) proposes that power actors in society often control resources, stylistic choices, and

access to certain discourses and communicative forms. In short, power is associated with the control of the context in which discourses function. This contextual control is significant because "[p]ower and dominance are usually organized and *institutionalized*" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 255). One way in which discourse and communication is organized is through limiting access to resources and events in which discourses are generated. This process can have lower consequence, micro effects, such as doctors or instructors controlling the processes by which patients make appointments or students can discuss their grades. However, the outcomes can also be more extreme, such as limiting access to political proceedings to only figures with more power or forcing people to become silent onlookers by changing the venue in which they can observe (e.g., accessing political proceedings on C-SPAN, rather than in person as active participants). One goal of CDA is to identify, not only who the dominant figures are, but how they enact power through discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). By looking for instances of these strategies, I identified and described how power is created and who created and enabled this process. The results of the CDA analysis are largely presented in Chapter 6: Barriers.

Meta-Theoretical Positioning

This project crosses two meta-theoretical frameworks: social constructionism and critical. Following the tenets of social constructionism, this project assumes that knowledge is culturally and historically specific and reproduced through language, or discourse (Allen, 2004). I embrace the tenet that knowledge is situated by focusing solely on Latinx immigrants and acknowledging that generational differences may frame how they make sense of the world. The critical tradition, which is concerned with injustice and empowerment (Craig, 1999), is reflected through the identification of powerful discourses occurring amongst various immigrant cohorts. Since Latinx

immigrants have been historically and contemporarily marginalized, understanding how policy affects their work and nonwork lives provided insight into the powers at play in their daily lives. These two meta-theoretical frameworks are reflected in the two analyses described above. I go into detail about each approach below.

Social Constructionism

The title of "social constructionism" provides clues to the paradigm's assumptions. Social, suggesting that it relates to communicative processes, and constructionism, referencing the creation of knowledge (Allen, 2004, p. 37; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In short, rooted in this metatheoretical positioning is the assumption that knowledge is constructed in the ways that humans communicate with each other. Furthermore, social constructionists believe that there is a connection between a social phenomenon (i.e., a construct) and the societal context (Allen, 2004, 2007). They believe knowledge is rooted in social processes (Hruby, 2001). Hence, it is communicatively constructed and specific.

One important social constructionist assumption has to do with identity—that identities are not essential (or inherited naturally and inevitably), rather, they are learned and created (Allen, 2007). In this study, I believe that immigrant identities, although I do not focus on identity exclusively, are affected by d/Discourse. Take for example the construction of undocumentation. Ngai (2003, 2014) traces it to the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924. Thus, Ngai traces undocumentation to a point of creation rather than viewing it as essentialist, or an inherent identity. Additionally, works by Potter (2014) and Newton (2005) prove that beliefs about immigrants are often traced back to governmental constructions of their identities as tainted and undeserving. Acknowledging the consequences of our language use is important since it is

through language that we reproduce those meanings (Allen, 2004). Or, to adopt language from immigration researchers, the difference between real and constructed borders is fixed in political discourse.

Another assumption of social constructionism is that historical and cultural context influences knowledge. Allen (2004) notes that one way in which meaning arises is through political processes—leading to the interests of some groups to be more valued and lent more credibility than others. Berger and Luckmann (1966) also contend the importance of social context by asserting that "what is 'real' to a Tibetan monk may not be 'real' to an American businessman. The 'knowledge' of the criminal differs from the 'knowledge' of the criminologist" (p. 15). Applied to this study, I can suggest that the knowledge and realities of immigrants, those labeled "undocumented" and "illegal" by Discourses, are different from the realities of the politicians serving in powerful roles to construct policy.

Critical

An emphasis on the importance of power, distinguishes critical approaches from social constructionist approaches (Mumby, 1997). For critical scholars, epistemology is tied to power, making it a central component for this perspective. Power, in discourse studies, refers to how discourses are created and controlled by those in dominant positions (Van Dijk, 1993). The critical approach is important in uncovering the structures that limit opportunities for immigrants to contribute to immigration discourse. Ngai (2003, 2014) and Harwood (1987) describe the United States history of creating and then trying to deter unauthorized immigration. In doing so, the U.S. government, and subsequently the U.S. media, have popularized narratives of immigrants (often confounding undocumentation with a specific ethnic group). For many

immigrants, I would argue that, a lack of power is tied to a lack of policies to benefit them.

Critical perspectives seek to empower and emancipate women and other marginalized groups by granting them epistemic privilege (Harding, 2004). Findings should "re-form that life in ways that are more equitable" (Wood & Cox, 1993, p. 285). This means that, unlike previous research which has focused on dominant societal figures, critical scholars dedicate themselves to highlighting the experiences of underrepresented groups. Scholars working under this perspective understand that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx & Engels, 1976, p. 39). Further, they believe that what has been considered *truth,* historically, ignores the standpoints and experiences of a large margin of the population. Applied to this study, what has been considered calling, has ignored the work of manual laborers and Latinx immigrants, more broadly. Or, to integrate the second theoretical framework, the images of immigrants threatening "Americanism" invoked by policies ignore the qualitative aspects of immigrant journeys (Ngai, 2003, 2014).

Wood and Cox (1993) provide additional principles for critical work. They theorize the role of the researcher in positioning themselves within a study. Research, Wood and Cox (1993) state, should be a conversation between researcher and participants. Part of accomplishing this conversation requires that the researcher release the reigns of conceptualization into the participants hands by not applying theoretical constructs but, rather, letting them express themselves first. Furthermore, viewing research as a conversation implies that we have responsibilities to ourselves, in maintaining an academic posture while conducting research ("sustain the tension"); to participants, by committing to listening openly and allowing their views to affect our own; and to other readers, by making our positionality clear so that any

potential biases and influences to a study are evident.

Reflexive Positioning

My social constructionist and critical beliefs also prompt me to think about my role as a researcher and how my background affects the research process. To provide some context about why I have taken up this project, I discuss personal characteristics and aspects of my background that influence my positionality. Additionally, I discuss the impact of my social position on my experiences with marginalization and privilege.

My interest in immigration as a research topic stems from my parents' journey into the United States from Mexico in the 1980s. Their main motivations for migrating were economic and occupational—they sought opportunities for work for themselves, in the present, and for their children, in the future. My parents utilized their personal networks to find work, housing, and a community. Due to their efforts, I grew up in a community comprised primarily of Latinx immigrants. My family mainly shopped at Latinx grocery stores and all of my classmates had similar experiences to mine. Like many of my peers, my parents worked low-wage, manual labor positions. I became my parent's primary language broker, a role that many second-generation immigrants take on. As their interpreter in many settings, I learned a bit about how my parents moved through the world and gained insight into how their treatment impacted my experiences. As I have ventured further into academia, I feel a distance between myself and this community with regard to my work. My colleagues are now primarily white. When I go to conferences, I most often see people with whom I identify cleaning hotel rooms and working in kitchens.

This positionality statement would be incomplete without acknowledging that although I am a Mexican-American woman and second-generation immigrant, I am also white-passing and

benefit from the privileges that come with passing as white. I often wonder how much my passing privileges have shaped my ability to enter and be accepted into academia. I also question what power and privileges I have gained and how these could be used to shine light on issues that are not often discussed and give voice to those who are often left on the margins. Although I have an immigrant background, I also benefit from several privileges because of my appearance. Discussing whiteness can be challenging. In my experience, many white-passing Latinx people get stuck discussing how, despite looking white, they are actually marginalized and have had their Latinx identity questioned. Although I have experienced challenges to my identity, I also believe they pale in comparison to the structural issues that challenge black, brown, and indigenous people of color. In this project I do my best to utilize my privilege as a Latina in higher education to listen to members of my community and present their stories in the most unbiased way I can.

In the next three chapters I present the analyses of my participants' narratives and experiences.

CHAPTER 4: THE SACRIFICE

[Cruzar] no fue difícil porque gracias a dios no nos tocamos con ninguna persona de inmigración. Fue difícil el que cuando nosotros íbamos a empezar a cruzar, la persona que nos llevaba nos dijo que solamente eran 6 horas caminando [risa] y caminamos por 2 días y 2 noches cruzando el desierto de Chihuahua a Arizona. Si, pero no tuvimos ningún problema, nada, solo pues caminar.

English[12]: [Crossing the border] wasn't hard because thanks to God we didn't run into anybody from immigration. What was a challenge was that when we were about to cross, the person who was guiding us told us that it would only take 6 hours walking [laughs]. And we walked for 2 days and 2 nights crossing the desert from Chihuahua to Arizona. Yeah, but we didn't run into any problems, none, we just had to walk.

Diana, first-generation, crossed the border at 18 years old

So it was very risky. And then my little sister was always crying. And when we were crossing actually crossing the border, my five year old sister somehow knew what La Migra was and so she started like pointing and crying like "they're going to come get us." Uh, and then the little ones started like crying and the coyote got upset. Just took them away. Kind of ran with them. Um, and yeah, I don't know how we made it because my sisters made a big scene right when the border patrol were driving by over a bridge. We were underneath the bridge. We were crossing underneath the fence.

Elisabeth, generation 1.5, crossed the border around 7 ½ to 8 years old

These two narratives provide insight into the journey that some immigrants take to enter

the country. Diana's (1, Mexico)[13] experience, in which a 6 hour journey unexpectedly turns into

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[12] By translating, I risk losing the emotions, colloquialisms, and nuances expressed by each participant. To make up for interpretation issues, both the translation and original quotations for each Spanish participant are included.

[13] The number and place in parenthesis refers to the immigrant generation and country/region of origin for each participant. This indication appears whenever a participant is introduced in a section.

a 2 day venture, is reframed positively to explain that the journey was easy because they did not have to deal with immigration officials. She describes the journey as "we just had to walk" and downplays the obvious fear of immigration officials with which she walked for 2 days and 2 nights. Even though Diana positively reframes her experience, the dangers and risks she feared come through her story very clearly. Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico), who crossed at a much younger age, is more straightforward about the fear that even children are socialized to understand. Her journey also points to the terror of being apprehended but adds the additional factor of traveling with young children. Both women had fathers currently living in the United States and were crossing with their mothers and siblings. Therefore, while both women ran into unexpected challenges, neither family unit crossed completely unaware of the challenges. Thankfully, both Diana and Elisabeth made it into the country, settling in the East Coast and Midwest, respectively.

The apparent dangers that come with crossing, for many, may beg the question: why would anyone risk crossing the US/Mexico border? This chapter explores and provides a partial answer to this question. The narratives of immigrants who utilized other forms of entry (e.g., tourism visas, student visas) are also considered in this study. The experience of an immigrant who, for example, overstays a visa is significantly different from someone who obtains permanent residency. However, immigrants may share commonalities in their reasons for migrating to the United States (e.g., their hopes for their children) while having different barriers to access or varying urgencies for which they needed to leave their home country. In this chapter, I answer the previously posed question, by describing some of the reasons for which migrants leave their country and describing the visions that first-generation immigrants hold for their children (RQ1; RQ3).

Reasons for Migrating to the United States

Immigration occurred for various reasons. First, migration was accepted as a temporary measure to improve the economic conditions in a person's home country. Many families also underwent a temporary separation in which one family member, usually the father, would travel to the United States for a short period of time in order to improve the conditions of the family back home. Various conditions would drive the rest of the family to migrate and reunite the family. Second, immigrants perceived a lack of opportunities for their children and chose to migrate. Finally, some families were actively fleeing something that put their well-being in peril. These motivations are discussed below.

Temporary Separation

The temporary separations featured in this theme distinctly describe families where at least one member travels to the United States with the intention of returning to their home country soon (i.e., a few years). This form of migration is undergone with the purpose of earning money and raising the financial wealth and comfort of a family in their home countries. Ruperto (1, Mexico), who was among the first people interviewed for this study, told me "The majority of the people who you talk to will tell you 'I just wanted to come and work for a year or two before returning home or take back a truck or something and return.'/ *La mayoría de las personas con las que tu platiques te van a decir. 'Es que yo quería venirme a trabajar un año o dos años y regresarme a hacer mi casa o llevarme una camioneta o algo y regresarme'*" Ruperto's forewarning described the situation experienced by several families who intended to reunite and had no plans to permanently migrate to the United States. Many families soon found out that

living separately presented unforeseen challenges and decided to reunite the family in the United States.

As previously stated, not many of the participants, or their families, migrated with the intention of staying in the United States. For many, migration was meant as a temporary measure to find financial stability in their home countries. Elisabeth's (1.5, Mexico) story is exemplary of others. She states:

> It all started with my father who wanted to come to the U.S. He was a *taquero*[14] in Mexico and my mom was fairly young. She was about 26, 27 and she had three kids and my dad couldn't provide for the family, so he came to the U.S. and um, we stayed behind for a couple of years, about two and a half years, you know, with the hopes that he was going to save up and come back. And that was a whole plan.

Elisabeth's family story contains a few characteristics that were shared by other immigrant narratives. Her story is about family separation and reunification in which a male breadwinner travels to the United States to earn money while a female caretaker remains at home with their children (Dreby, 2015).

As Elisabeth's story continues, it becomes clear that the distance between the family becomes too much to bear:

> But time was going by and my mom had a medical condition and so she couldn't drive. She couldn't do a lot so she needed help and so she's like, "you know what, I'm just going to come to the US because it doesn't seem like you're going to come back." And I was around seven and a half almost eight, when from like a Monday to a Friday it all happened. It was very drastic. It didn't, it wasn't like very well thought out. So on a Monday my mom decided that she was going to contact a *coyote*. She did. She got a quote, called my dad, and then by Friday we were crossing the border in Arizona.

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[14] Taqueros make and sell tacos.

Although Elisabeth's father continues to work in the United States, the family faces several roadblocks in Mexico surrounding health and transportation that complicate their daily life. Despite the health condition that Elisabeth's mother faces, she prefers to take the risk to cross the border and reunite the family after it becomes clear that it is not so simple to earn money in the United States and then return to Mexico.

One notable detail about Elisabeth's narrative is that her mother is the one who takes initiative to reunite the family. This was true for other immigrants, including Adriana (1.5, Mexico). Adriana shares her experience:

> I was seven years old when I got here. My sister was four. My dad had come a year before me and my mom. Um, the reason was because he was a cop in Mexico. I think he was also a body guard and a lot of his coworkers were getting killed at the time. So my mom wanted him to stop doing that type of work. He started working at my other aunt's factory. She has a recycling plastic factory, so he was there for a while, but then he decided to go to the US with my other aunt so he could work and give us money. But then he told my mom to come over and leave my sister and I with my grandma. But my mom didn't want to leave us, so she brought us with her without letting my dad know. So he didn't know until he saw us at the airport.

For Adriana, several things fell into place that lead to her father moving to the United States. Although he initially worked in an occupation that exposed him to several risks, the final motivation to migrate was financial. Presumably, the financial problems faced by the family began after her father left his job as a body guard which, although, dangerous may have provided financial security. Upon entering a safer workplace, the family faces financial problems implied by Adriana's statement that her father wanted to "give us money." Likely because he understood the difficulties related to traveling, and possibly the financial costs of raising a family in the United States, he calls for Adriana's mother to join him. Adriana's mother decides to use that as an opportunity to reunite the family.

Like Adriana and Elisabeth, many participants also experienced a disconnection between their expectations for migrating and their realities once in the country. Ruperto describes where he believes this disconnect is grounded:

> That is one of the biggest lies, I think, about the United States. That people only talk about the good aspects. Everyone who goes to [Mexico] goes and talks about the things that went well for them, but they don't talk about how one day you had to sleep in the street and you didn't eat because didn't have anything. You didn't even have $5 for anything. And that has happened to almost all of us.

> *Esa es una de las grandes mentiras que, yo digo, de Estados Unidos. Que la gente platica solo lo bueno. Todas las personas que van para [México] van y platican lo que les fue bien, pero no platican que algún día tuviste que quedarte a dormir en la calle y no comiste nada porque no tenías nada. No tenías ni un cinco para nada. Y si nos ha pasado casi a todos.*

Ruperto's examples call into question, not just what is included in people's narratives, but also what is left out. Notably, he says, nobody talks about the struggles faced in the United States. This quotation is important for two additional reasons.

First, Ruperto calls attention to the ways in which the immigrant community reproduces discourses of wealth and mobility generated in the United States. He points out that immigrants visiting their home countries "go and show off—they show up in a nice car or nice truck and spending money and showing off/ *van y presumen—llegan en buen carro o buena troca y gastando dinero y presumiendo.*" This image, Ruperto explains, often easily piques the interest of younger people who focus solely on how their lives could potentially improve. He recalls when he was younger and spoke to immigrants currently living in the United States about their work and pay. Ruperto explained that as the other person spoke he would mentally calculate "if I make so much in so much time I can save 2, 3 thousand, 4 thousand, 5 thousand, 10 thousand dollars and I will return and with that money make my home/ *si gano tanto en tanto tiempo puedo ahorrar 2, 3 mil, 4 mil, 5 mil, 10 mil dolares y me regreso y con ese dinero yo hago mi*

casita." Second, Ruperto describes how he constructed an image of how his life would change based on the stories told to him by immigrants visiting Mexico. Comparatively, these immigrants were more privileged than those unable to return for political reasons (e.g., undocumentation). Thus, the hopes and ideas that immigrants have are built from already privileged immigration accounts.

Ruperto, who crossed the border in 1987, is married and remains in the United States to this day. Later during his interview, he explains that although he originally wanted to return to Mexico, doing so became more difficult as he had children, they grew older, and it became clear that they would build their lives in the United States. He explains that he is never going to be financially wealthy but he makes up for it by encouraging his children to go to college and paying as much of their tuition as he can. Ruperto chooses to stay in the country for the opportunities available to his children. Many participants of this study described how themselves or their parents initially migrated to the United States for financial stability in their home countries, just like Ruperto, Adriana, and Elisabeth. For many of these same families, the reasons for migrating were reframed to focus on the opportunities for their children. Many second-generation immigrants are told that they are in the United States so that they can study and have successful careers.

Best Opportunities

Another subset of families fled their country to escape oppressive situations or with the specific purpose of seeking out opportunities for their children. Diana's (1, Mexico) family, for example, lived in a very small town. When Diana was 18 she migrated to the United States with her mother and 14 year old brother. Her father was already in the United States and they sought

to reunite with him. Diana explained that life in Mexico started to become very difficult once she

graduated high school:

> I finished high school and it was very difficult to get a job because, I actually graduated from a technical school[15]... I studied business administration but since we lived in a very small town we had to travel to bigger cities that were an hour or more away. So for me that meant I would have to leave and rent a place far away, and well, live hours away...from my mom and brother and well, no, that wasn't possible. The passage is very expensive and traveling everyday would be difficult. So I wasn't able to get a job where we lived. I would have had to leave and my mom told me it was very dangerous for me to go by myself without being familiar with the areas because we didn't have family outside of our town.

> *Yo salí de high school y era muy difícil conseguir el trabajo porque, de hecho, estudié una escuela técnica...yo estudié administración de empresas pero como en donde nosotros vivimos es un pueblo muy chiquito teníamos que viajar hacia ciudades mas grandes que nos quedaban de una hora o mas lejos. Entonces para mí era de irme y rentar un lugar por allá, este, y pues vivir horas... lejos de mi mamá y de mi hermano porque pues no, no iba a ver manera. El pasaje es muy caro. Y viajar todos los días pues es difícil. Entonces yo no, no conseguí trabajo ahí mismo en donde vivíamos. Tenía yo que salir y mi mama dijo que pues que era muy peligroso también que me fuera yo sola, este, sin conocer porque igual no teníamos familia afuera del pueblo.*

Like in previous stories, Diana's family left for economic reasons. However, the focus was on

Diana's future economic and occupational attainment rather than the family's comfort in

Mexico. Diana outlines the conditions that were inhibiting her from advancing including:

geographical barriers and a lack of work. The solutions available to her, traveling everyday or

moving to another town, were dismissed as impractical and would have further separated the

family.

Diana's mother, like Elisabeth's and Adriana's was the one who ultimately made the decision

to migrate with her children.

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[15] Diana is referring to "carreras tecnicas" which translate roughly to "technical careers." These are careers offered along side high school diplomas in Mexico that specialize in one field and prepare students to pursue their careers right out of high school (Vida Alterna, n.d.).

So she said to me "you know what? I think we are all going to leave because it is difficult here. You [and your brother] don't have a future here." And talking to my dad, because my dad never wanted us to leave. My mom, ever since we were little, would tell him that we should all come [to the United States] because we never got to see him. He would leave for years and would return for a month, then he would leave. So she said, "It's just that this isn't the life of a family." She'd say, "my children almost never see you" So when he finally agreed to it, we came. My brother was 14 and I was 18 at the time.

Entonces de ahí me dijo, "¿no sabés que? Yo creo nos vamos a ir porque aquí es muy difícil. Eh, ustedes no van a tener un futuro aquí." Y conversando con mi papá, porque mi papá, nunca quiso que nos fuéramos. Mi mamá, desde que éramos muy chiquitos, le decía que nos viniéramos que porque pues igual casi nunca lo veía. Se venia años y regresaba nadamas un mes y se volvía a venir. Entonces decía, "es que esto no es una vida de familia." Dice, "casi mis hijos nunca te ven." Y ya cuando el pues dijo que sí, nos venimos. Mi hermano tenía 14 y yo 18 en ese entonces.

In this quotation, Diana's mother speaks of migration as a solution for two problems. First, she believes that the United States, rather than a bigger city in Mexico, would bring better opportunities for her children. Second, moving to the United States would allow everyone to experience "the life of a family/*una vida de familia.*"

Other families fled their home countries to escape oppressive situation. This was the case for Evelyn (2), a current university faculty member and therapist, who referenced having a "history of domestic violence." Evelyn explained that "[domestic violence] is actually why my, my mom and her sister and her mom left Spain or left for Spain and left her dad behind in Cuba. That was their exit from that, that violent relationship." The family would eventually settle in the United States. Evelyn also shared that she would go on to marry and later divorce an abusive husband, but she also noted that leaving the relationship was significantly easier for her because she had no children and she also "kind of built on my experience with my mom and my grandma."

These immigration stories are important because they contrast representations of immigrants in the United States. Unfavorable representations of immigrants are often tied to immigrants being threats to American nationality or undeserving due to a lack of economic contributions. The more favorable representations of immigrants often frame them as people attempting to achieve the American Dream. Both categories of representations can arguably be harmful, and may not capture the actual reason for which immigrants head to the United States. The stories presented in this theme root immigration as tied to the advancement of a family, not the allure of the United States. Notably, immigration is spoken of as being "other-oriented," as a way to help others.

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Visions of the Second-generation

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Regardless of the original intentions in migrating, immigrants, primarily those from the first-generation, had a strict vision of what they wanted their children to become. The main goal that many parents stressed was education. Many parents also had specific careers that they wanted their children to pursue. Lastly, parents also sought for their children to be, or become, documented.

Education

The most commonly communicated expectation from first-generation parent to child emphasized the importance of education. When parents spoke about the opportunities they expected for their children, they were "typically connected to school" as Lydia (1.5, Cuba) explains. Ivelisse (1, Puerto Rico), when asked why she had left the island of Puerto Rico in favor of the United States responded "for school, for their studies; I wanted my daughters to open doors/*por la escuela, por los estudios; yo quería que las nenas se abrieran puertas*." Like

Ivelisse, parents were blatant in explaining to their children what they were expected to do.

Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) explains that the pursuit of education was "engraved" in her by her

mother who consistently reminded her "you have to do really well in high school, you have to do

really well." Lydia refers to this emphasis similarly by describing the pressure as a "sentiment"

and an "end goal." Ximena (1.5, Mexico) summarized her thought process when deciding what

path she would take after high school as follows: "yeah, I need to go to college or like what else

am I going to do?" Thus, education was framed as highly valued and the only viable path.

Gabriela (1.25, Mexico) shared a situation in which her mother made it clear that

education was highly valued:

> Somebody had told us about some woman who worked in one of the local orgs.
> And she had terrible advice. Her advice was to have me go work at a supermarket.
> And my mom was like, "I don't want you stacking tomatoes, you're going to go to
> school." So we left and I was just like bummed out and she was mad. She was
> like, *"Quíen se cree[16]?"* and she was all like mad at this woman for telling me to,
> you know, go work at the supermarket instead of like helping out.

Although this anecdote at first glance seems to suggest that Gabriela's mother is undervaluing

the supermarket position, Gabriela quickly clarifies that her mother "was never like, it's not like

any job is like below you, you know, 'you're too good for this.' No it was like, do what you gotta

do." The bigger concern that Gabriela's mother responds to is the immediate dismissal of her

daughter as someone with potential to be educated. The anger experienced by Gabriela's mother

is indicative of her desire to see Gabriela succeed.

The intensity with which parents communicated these expectations created pressure that

was felt by second-generation immigrants. In a very clear message, Martha's (2, Mexico) mother

told her, "I expect A's and B's." As a result, Martha and her siblings "were really high achieving

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[16] Who does she think she is?

academically cause like we're scared of our mom. Um, so we're like, we don't want to disappoint her. And so we were all known for our academic achievement." This example shows both the clarity in the educational messages passed from one generation to another and a consequence of these messages which come off as forceful.

Lydia (1.5, Cuba) described her high educational attainment as associated with pressure from her parents. Although she initially dismisses feeling forced to attain a high level of education by stating "it didn't feel like I was being forced to go that direction," she immediately questions the influence her family has had on her educational choices by explaining that "sometimes I wonder if I would have pursued a PhD if it weren't for my family." Lydia provides a new understanding to this pressure by theorizing what would have occurred if she had not gone to college. To emphasize the importance of education, Lydia explains how a lack of a degree would have disappointed her family. She states, "if I wouldn't have at least gotten like an undergraduate degree, I think my family would have just been, I think besides like hurting someone, it would have probably been the thing that could have disappointed them the most." Lydia adds emphasis to how serious her parents take education by equating the lack of a degree to "hurting someone."

Accommodations for education

To further emphasize the importance of education, parents accommodated children at home by removing household responsibilities. Before moving to California to pursue a PhD, Gabriela (1.25, Mexico) remembers her mother telling her "don't even worry about anything here at the house. I got that. I'll make sure that, you know, we have food, that we have this, that we have that." The removal of responsibilities is meant to alleviate pressure on the child in an effort

to get them to focus on their school work. Gabriela described how her mother "would turn off the TV when she saw me doing my homework. She wouldn't come into my room if I was doing my homework."

Other parents enacted similar strategies with their children. Lydia explains that her mother and grandmother continuously offered to "support you in one way or the other so that you can be at school, um, then that's, that's really the most important." Lydia says that her mother prevented her from getting a job until after she finished high school. She summarizes her mother's concerns in the following way "my mom never wanted me to get a job when I was in high school. Um, cause she's, she said she didn't want me to get used to making money and then feel like... I wouldn't go to college."

Guadalupe (1.25, Mexico) left school shortly after migrating to the United States. She was 15 at the time and although she entered the workforce to help her family, she did not want her children to do the same. She very precisely explains, "Oh no, I really didn't want [my children] working because I knew that if they worked, perhaps they'd only want to continue working like I did/*Oh, no, yo realmente no quería que [mis hijos] trabajaran porque yo sabía que si [mis hijos] trabajaban, quizás quedrían no más seguir trabajando como lo que yo hice."* Throughout her time in the United States, Guadalupe has worked two jobs consecutively to make ends meet. However, in doing this, she believes that she has facilitated opportunities for her children to study and go to school. When one of her sons gets a summer job against Guadalupe's wishes, she is relieved to learn that he was unwilling to do the work. She shares this story:

> A nephew of mine came from Mexico and was working during the summer—
> they get on roofs, on top of houses, to do that kind of work. And so, my son
> wanted to work with him that summer. So, he gets the job, but once he is there
> about to climb onto the roof he tells them: "No, I am not climbing up there. I am
> going to kill myself. I'm just going to go." And he didn't do that work. He says

that that helped him know that type of work was not for him.

Un sobrino mío vino de México y estaba trabajando en el verano—arriba, de que suben al techo, arriba de las casas, a hacer esa clase de trabajos, y entonces, mi hijo quiso trabajar ese verano con él. Y entonces, agarró el trabajo, pero él ya cuando estaba ahí que para subirse al techo, él les dijo: "No, yo no me voy a subir ahí, yo ahí me voy a matar, yo mejor ya me voy". Y él no, no hizo el trabajo ese. Y él dice que eso le ayudó a él para saber que él no era para esa clase de trabajo.

Several immigrants referenced an "immigrant drive" that was rooted in hard work and resilience. Just as Gabriela's mother told her, immigrants "do what [they] gotta do." For Guadalupe's son, this would imply that once he is at the workplace, he should complete his work. However, he does not and rather than expressing disappointment, Guadalupe is relieved that her son feels he is unfit for this form of manual labor and returns to the life of accommodations that his mother has created for him.

Education communicated as a warning

Parents viewed education, not only for the prestige and obvious attainment, but also as the better of two perceivable options. Often, messages encouraging education were framed as a warning that if children did not go to school, they would be forced to take on work that required physical labor, low pay, and/or little opportunity for advancement.

Gabriela's (1.25, Mexico) mother would encourage education gently, "we kind of had those conversations when I was, that time that I didn't want to go to school, uh, when I was in high school, she was like, 'I don't want you to have to work as hard as I do.'" The implication that going to school would lead to an easier job is likely tied to physical labor, rather than occupational difficulty—also evidenced through Guadalupe's (1.25, Mexico) example in the previous section where she preferred the route for her children that did not require manual labor.

Similarly, Ivelisse (1) warns her three daughters that "I tell them that I want them to study, to attend a university, because I don't want them to experience that same work as their mother/*Yo les digo a ellas que yo quiero que ellas estudien, que vayan a la universidad, porque yo no quiero que ellas pasen el mismo trabajo que pasa su mamá.*" Guadalupe also tells her children, "You have to study. Because, well it's more important, because if you don't you'll be working like your mom, two jobs/*Hay que estudiar. Porque, pues es más importante, porque si no van a estar trabajando como su mamá, dos trabajos.*"

Other parents add more details to their warnings by appealing to their jobs. Diana (1, Mexico) tells her children, "do you want to clean other people's dirty bathrooms or be out there breaking your back[17]...do you want that for yourself?/ *¿quieres limpiar baños sucios de otra gente o quieres andar a ya fuera partiéndote el lomo...quieres eso para ti?/*" Amanda, (2, Puerto Rico), also recalls a similarly worded message from her parents warning her that "you have to get an education. That's the only thing that's gonna get you out of the factory. They didn't want us to be in the factory." At best, these messages incorrectly set up an occupational binary for children to choose from. However, a closer look reveals that the children only had one path to follow. By vividly highlighting the negative aspects of manual labor (e.g., people's dirty bathrooms, two jobs) it is clear that only one path, education, is seen as viable.

Specific Careers

Entangled in the messages that emphasized the importance of education are underlying ideas about which careers are and are not desirable. Several parents told their children that the

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[17] "Partiéndote el lomo" is translated to "breaking your back." The direct translation for "lomo" is "loin." "Partiéndote el lomo" is a colloquial term among Mexicans, however, the direction translation of those words is not. To maintain the meaning that Diana was expressing, the term was replaced with an equivalent English colloquialism.

career they chose was up to them, but it is clear that this was not always the case. It was often not

enough just to be enrolled in higher education, but students had to select the correct careers.

Diego's (2, Colombia) parents, whom met in the United States as college students from

Colombia, understood the dedication it took to graduate. Diego was born while his parents were

college students. Although his mother eventually graduated and became a registered nurse, his

father dropped out and worked odd jobs. They wanted Diego to go above and beyond their

educational attainment. He explains:

> It seems like everybody's parents wants them to be a lawyer or a doctor. No
> interest in either of those things, you know. Mom and dad always had really lofty
> goals. It was like from the time, you know that I can remember they were talking
> about how like "go to school, get into high school, go to college, go there" and
> you know I didn't understand the words for it but I knew that they said that there
> was essentially like two or three phases of college. And I remember as a small kid
> thinking I don't want to do all that for that long. It sounds so long. You know, and
> I now know that they were thinking that, you know, if I was going to be a lawyer
> or was going to be a doctor, I was going to have a post bachelor degree of some
> kind and, and it wasn't something where being a doctor necessarily made me feel
> like that's what I want to do.

Diego's parents have an advantage that not many first-generation immigrants had—they were

experienced with the U.S. higher education system. His parents understood that college

acceptance was not the main marker of success. Rather, fulfillment to them came after the first

degree was accomplished. Because of this, Diego's parents do not communicate the same

message of education to him, but they are able to specify careers and the associated degrees; this

is something that Diego only begins to understand when he is much older. In some ways Diego

had a much clearer understanding than other children of immigrants about what college entailed.

To date, Diego has not yet graduated from college, but he plans to return and become a teacher.

Although Diego's parents had a better understand about what becoming a doctor entailed,

they were not the only ones who envisioned their children as doctors. Other parents sought for

their children to work in the medical field as nurses or doctors. Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) majored

in Spanish Literature in college against her parents' wishes. Although she completed an

undergraduate major of her choosing, she states that:

> They claim that they never really forced it upon me, but I felt the pressure that I
> needed to pursue like a medical field because that's like the, I dunno why we
> glorify it so much. I don't, maybe it's just the status and the money that they earn.
> Um, but that was kind of like their vision of who I was going to be.

Elisabeth explains that the medical field is overglorified amongst immigrants, which she

indicates by questions why "we glorify it so much." She entertains the idea that it could be due to

status and wealth. Her assumptions may be correct as these two things, status and wealth, are

mentioned by other immigrants and often used to measure mobility. Elisabeth went on to work

for a criminal defense law firm, an occupation that her parents heavily disapprove of and this has

led to the family avoiding conversation about Elisabeth's work.

If medicine was viewed as the pinnacle of success, on the other side of the spectrum were

artistic careers. For example, one of Ivelisse's (1, Puerto Rico) daughters was studying

cosmetology. Ivelisse expresses disappointment about this career, saying

> I didn't want the oldest to be a cosmetologist...No, because she is a very smart girl
> and she has always gotten A's on everything. I wanted her to be—well, I didn't
> want, because you shouldn't see yourself reflected in your children, but I wanted
> her to study a profession like nursing or something that wasn't [cosmetology]. No,
> no, that was not on my mind, but children are—they have their own minds and,
> well, they are the ones who choose.
>
> *Yo no quería que la grande fuera cosmetóloga.... No, porque ella es una nena
> bien inteligente, y ella siempre ha sacado toda A. Yo quería que ella fuera– no
> quería, porque no puedes verte tú reflejado en tus hijos, pero yo esperaba que
> ella estudiara una profesión como enfermera u otra cosa que no fuera
> [cosmetología]. No, no, eso no estaba en mi mente, pero, los hijos son– tienen
> mente propia y ellos pues son los que escogen.*

Ivelisse's apprehension is not tied to belittling cosmetology. Instead, she is concerned about her daughter not reaching the potential she sees in her children. This is a problem that Diego's mother also communicated to him.

Cosmetology was also mentioned by other participants, such as Martha (2, Mexico) who explained that her parents did not pressure her into a specific major but did point to ways in which her parents influenced her decisions. Martha explains that "choosing my major was entirely my decision," however, she explains which occupations were not in the scope of her parents' vision. She shares:

> Well, I initially when I was growing up I wanted to be like a cosmetologist and my mother was like, "no, you're not going to make money with that. You need an education." So she just wanted me to get a degree, like she didn't have like a specific, um, like one in mind. She just wanted me to have an education because she knew that that was giving me like a leg up in my future.

and

> Anything that would like be involved with like the arts because I like to draw and design stuff, but I also considered that, but she wouldn't support that because didn't see that as a stable career.

Despite explaining that her mother did not have a specific major, she clearly has ideas about what an "education" entailed. Diana was similarly discouraged from pursuing art by people who would mock her saying "she wants to be an artist, well she's not gonna eat*/no pues que quiere ser artista, no pos no va a comer.*" These statements indicated the perceptions that artistic careers were unstable. Martha's mother believes that education should ensure stability and, like Ivelisse, does not view cosmetology or art as providing that for her daughter.

These expectations further narrow the path that was prescribed to children as the correct path in the previous section. To parents, not all careers are the same, the money a career generates is important, and the career should provide stability. Also implied in these messages is

the devaluing of certain forms of education. Parents encouraged college, but not smaller training programs (e.g., cosmetology school).

However, there was a distinct generational difference in how various occupations were perceived. Amanda (2, Puerto Rico) and her husband pride themselves in being "able to encourage [our children] to go to top universities, uh, to be artists." Nicolás (2, Dominican Republic) also views artistry as a viable career. He graduated with a fine arts degree and has found success as an artist. Several of his family members had a talent for art, including his parents and distant relatives. He states, "my mom is super talented. She's really good at arts and crafts, but she never saw it as a way to make money. It was just something that you do to your house or for yourself. My father was a musician, but he never pursued it." For both of his parents, careers were tied to financial outcomes. His parents and family mocked this career direction for him leading him to create distance between himself and his family.

Documentation

Many parents also envisioned a future in which their children were documented in the United States. Silvia (1, Mexico) initially hid from her son his own undocumented status because she did not want him to become discouraged with any path he chose to take. Ernesto (1.75, Mexico) was brought to the United States at the age of 1. Ernesto's mother had given birth to two children before becoming pregnant with him and his twin brother. He explains:

> My mom was able to come over just hop the border there and have them through a midwife, natural citizens by birthright, and then hop back. Um, for me, I'm a twin, so my mom was incapable. She was bed ridden at like 7 months, so she couldn't, therefore, we were born in Mexico and my two older brothers were born in America.

Ernesto's mother views migration as a preemptive measure and means to have documented children. This would open up opportunities for them in the future. However, with Ernesto and his twin, she is unable. This puts them twins at a disadvantage when the family finally decides to move permanently to the United States.

Earlier, Elisabeth's (1.5, Mexico) occupational journey was described as one ending in tension with her parents. Her parents imagined her as a doctor and heavily disapproved of her current pursuit to become a prosecutor. Although Elisabeth originally graduated with a degree in Spanish Literature, she explains that she experienced a sexual assault that would change her direction in life and chose to report it. Originally, to protect her parents she hid both the assault and the fact that she had reported it to the police. However, she was about to take an internship out of state while the investigation was on-going and feared the police might show up at her parents. For this reason, she decides to tell them and explains the consequences of doing so: "my parents were very paranoid during that time. I was a little paranoid thinking like, you know 'what did I do? Is my name going to show up in places?'" This protective behavior in her family is common, she states, "we kind of just hide the hard things from each other because you don't want to make each other feel worse." However, the protective tendencies also help to explain why her parents felt unsure of Elisabeth's sudden occupational shift:

> They were very hesitant, um, cuz, being, you know, undocumented, they're like, "how are you going to practice?" Like, "I think that's more just dangerous" and "you're just putting yourself out there too much." "You're causing too much attention to yourself." Um, and so they were very angry when I told them that I was going to be working at the jail and that I was going to be working for a criminal defense law firm and I've had to testify at trials.

In short, the fear and desire for protection is tied to Elisabeth's status. Her parents would like Elisabeth to work in a career that protects her, rather than dealing with a structural mechanism (e.g., the justice system) that could jail her.

Conclusion

In beginning to describe intergenerational callings, this chapter points to ways in which the calling is initiated by first-generation, Latinx immigrants. Notably, while some immigrants migrate to the United States with an understanding that they are doing so to service their children in the future, others adopt that same reason as a means to reframe their motivation for staying in the country. In doing so, they have specific expectations about the opportunities available for their children (e.g., education) and work towards providing as many accommodations as possible for their children to succeed. This foundation provides a path for children, second-generation immigrants, to fulfill the callings. The ways in which second-generation immigrants find motivation to continue callings and the struggles they face are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: THE VALIDATION

My parents have always said education is the way to go. You know, it's through education that you're going to amount to be someone in this world and whatnot. So, in high school I have always attempted to do my best in school. Like I was typically seen as a nerd in my family because, um, my sister, she barely graduated. My older brother, he got his high school diploma two years later because he was dropped from high school. And then my other brother, the one who was incarcerated. He never went beyond the 11th grade. He was just a high school dropout. And so, in a way education was, me going to college was a way of me, you know, dando las gracias a mis papas[18]. *You know they sacrificed so much. And I just saw like all the pain and all the struggles we were putting them through that I would sometimes take the time to like reflect back like, "what the fuck am I doing with my life?" You know, they've given up so much. They've given up their families, you know, leaving their families to try to give us a better future and this is how we're repaying them. So that was one of the reasons why I said like, I need to go to college because I want my parents to feel proud of their children.*

José Luis, second-generation, born in the United States

The narrative that opens this chapter comes from José Luis, a second-generation immigrant originally from California who is currently a first year doctoral student. José Luis had an interesting journey into academia. Although he labels himself the "nerd in my family," José Luis admits to participating in criminal activity when he was younger. However, the sacrifices he says his parents made to ensure that he had many opportunities in the United States, prompted him to contemplate his life and question where he was headed. For José Luis, education becomes a clear way to validate the sacrifices of parents. This pressure that he feels is so strong it convinces him to change paths altogether.

This pressure was common across several immigrants' stories. The first section of this chapter explores this pressure. Additionally, first- and second-generation immigrants face

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[18] Thanking my parents

challenges to their health and due to a language barrier. These stories are presented and contrasted in this section.

An additional challenge for many immigrants had to do with the vision presented in the previous chapter. Although that theme presents a clear vision of who parents want their children to be, this chapter describes some of the contradictions inherent in the expectations of the parents. A subtheme of this section has to do with the lack of knowledge of the US educational system in the United States. Following this, I present the second-generation vision of themselves. This vision lines up with the parents' in several ways, but also contradicts it in crucial ways. Second-generation immigrants often sought a life of comfort that allowed them to care for their parents.

Validating the Sacrifices of Parents

The sacrifices made by parents were spoken about in two respects. First, making it into the country, or the act of migrating undertaken by parents, was viewed as an initial sacrifice. Second-generation immigrants often spoke about what was left behind or traded off by their parents. Second, the children of first-generation immigrants also spoke about the struggles that their parents endure in the United States. These struggles centered around difficulties with language and health. Many of these struggles are also challenges for second-generation immigrants, therefore, both generations are discussed in this section.

Parents make a trade

Just like José Luis (2, Mexico), many second-generation immigrants felt pressure to validate the sacrifices made for them. The act of migrating into the United States was viewed by many second-generation immigrants as an initial sacrifice. Ernesto (1.75, Mexico) was brought

to the United States we he was 1. He describes why his parents entered the country: "they felt that the best chance for their four kids, was to risk at all. Sell what little possessions they had and come over, come over across." In explaining how his parents decided to migrate in service of their children, Ernesto contextualizes his response to acknowledge what was left behind. Ernesto's parents did not just *enter* a new country, they *left* their possessions.

José Luis also points emphatically to things that his parents have given up. He expresses how "they've given up so much. They've given up their families, you know, leaving their families to try to give us a better future." Coming to understand the magnitude of his parents' sacrifices helped José Luis reorient his future towards an occupation that he believes can validate his parents.

Lydia (1.5, Cuba), who entered the United States at 6 years old, similarly spoke of how her mother underwent a major occupational shift in the United States. In Cuba, Lydia's mother worked as an aviation mechanic, an occupation she was unable to continue in the United States because "she didn't speak English and... for her to be able to continue to be an aviation mechanic in the US she would have had to go through the whole schooling all over again." Despite holding a job in Cuba, Lydia's mother did not perceive that Lydia would have a chance at a successful life in Cuba. Lydia faces a pressure she believes "is probably pretty common for other immigrant children." Growing up she is told by her mother and grandmother "we have to go through all these difficult things, but you get to have a better future. So, because of that, it's worth it." Hence, the previous generations accept the hardships they face, as long as it pays off in their children.

Repaying the sacrifice

Motivated by the sacrifices and trade offs made by first-generation immigrants, as well as the persistent messages about the importance of education, second-generation immigrants acted on this pressure by making decisions intended to pay back the sacrifice. Gabriela (1.25, Mexico), a doctoral student who instructs at the university level, spoke about how this pressure to repay manifested in her undergraduate students. She explained that it is common for second-generation immigrants to also be first-generation college students. It was common for them to say statements along the lines of "they made this huge sacrifice for me" and "they left their home for me, so I have to make it happen." "It" in this instance refers to success in their education; hence, there was a pressure to maintain good grades and do well in school generally.

Second-generation immigrants who sought higher education also did so in order to provide their parents with a notable, tangible, and prestigious way to be proud. Ernesto (1.75, Mexico) takes on his mother's perspective to express this sentiment clearly by explaining that "the thought of her son getting a PhD I think would make her feel, 'well all the crap was worth it.'" José Luis (2) also seeks a clear way for his parents to feel proud of his accomplishment:

> People tend to do a lot of social comparison and sometimes when we would go back to Mexico, or like at family gatherings from like distant relatives, it's a common thing that parents are going to brag about their kids and they're doing good things. And I would kind of notice that, you know, when some people talk about their kids, "*oh, que mi hija esta en la universidad no se que*[19]" or this and that, you know, they're bragging and bragging. Of course my parents say, "oh, you know, that's good. *Que bueno para ustedes*.[20]" All this other stuff. But then my parents couldn't really say that much about their kids and so that kind of like hurt me. I'm like, damn! At one point I felt like "I wonder if my parents are ashamed of us or embarrassed of us" and I did ask them, but they said no. They said no matter what route we might've taken, they're so proud of us because

[19] "Oh my daughter is at so-and-so university"
[20] "How great for you all"

they've seen growth in us and so forth. But still I was like... I want to give them those bragging rights.

For José Luis, his perceived shortcomings were made apparent in social settings. Not only does the vision of second-generation immigrants culminate in a pressure to perform, it also serves a ritualistic utility. Having something to brag about is a noticeable marker of success for first-generation parents.

Challenges to physical and mental health

Participants spoke about health in two ways. First, they described challenges they faced when accessing, or attempting to access, healthcare. Second, they described the ways in which their mental health was affected by the factors related to their immigrant background.

The path to seek medical care is often riddled with uncertainties, but for individuals who are undocumented it carries additional challenges. Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) elaborates "in my family, if we get sick, when we didn't have insurance we would just like kind of stick it out and hope for the best. But then like if you had to go to the hospital or the ER or the urgent care well we end up going, but we would end up paying a very high bill." As Elisabeth explains, undocumented immigrants not only struggle getting to the doctor's office, but also after receiving medical attention. She states,

> When you get a medication prescription you need, and if it's a controlled substance, um, typically you need a state ID to get it at Walgreens or at the pharmacy. And my parents don't have a valid state ID and so whenever they need to get medication, um, before I was a DACA recipient, like it was kind of like, we had to find somebody who would be willing to let us borrow their ID or go pick up the medication for us. And so, it was always having to tell other people to help us. And some people were very hesitant.

Elisabeth's examples show how something as important and simple as picking up a medication presents risks to undocumented immigrants that may compromise their health. She summarizes it

as "it's so minimal, but yet, it's so huge." This added layer of uncertainty also affects the individuals that immigrants reach out to for help. With the consequences of picking up a medication being unclear, it is hard for immigrants to find someone willing to help. Luckily, as Elisabeth tells me, there are ways to get help that are community generated, "I figured a few ways of getting some sort of help. Um, there's a few community clinics that, uh, if you tell them like I'm undocumented and you provide some sort of income that you can, that you qualify for some sort of help, they'll help you." However, she explains that when her parents started earning more money, they were denied many of the services that were community constructed.

Martha (2, Mexico) who is a citizen of the United States shared the following incident in which she required healthcare:

> I had fallen down the stairs or something and I had landed on my tailbone and I was obviously very injured... I was like a teenager at this point. And my mom took me to the, to the emergency room. And we went in and the nurse, like gave the paperwork to fill out and then later pulled my mom aside, before they would even see me and she asked if I was a US citizen. And my mom was like, "why do you need to know that? Like I'm going to fill out the paperwork. Like, why do you have to ask you that before even seeing my daughter?"

Martha, who moved from Chicago to a small town in Ohio, provides an example that ties in perceptions of immigrants with skin color and nationalism. In this example, Martha heavily focuses on the questioning of her citizenship being discussed before she receives treatment. It is possible that she believes her treatment would be different, or even denied, had she been undocumented.

In addition to physical health, mental health was spoken about using various metaphors that related to compartmentalization. For example, Gabriela (1.25, Mexico) likened mental health to an onion. She explains,

> It's almost like peeling an onion. When you're worried about your survival, there's no time to think about other things. For example, when I finally became a citizen and my mom had a pathway that was open for her, there was room to think about new things. I feel like I never really had time to think about the trauma of poverty because I was so preoccupied with, you know, being undocumented or with processing the sexual assaults. And so I feel like once one of those things was removed, then it was like, oh, okay, now I can start thinking about this other thing that I didn't realize was there.

Gabriela explains how traumas seemingly stack up leaving individuals to decide which traumas are more pressing at the moment. For Gabriela, the trauma that needs to be dealt with most immediately is the one that most directly affects survival. For her, the trauma of sexual assaults and "the added layer of being undocumented, that kind of takes priority." Being of undocumented status threatens her well being in several ways, but as Gabriela notes, removing this layer of trauma allows her to help her mother.

Evelyn (2, Cuba), a licensed mental health counselor who is currently a counseling educator, also spoke about the difficulties that immigrants face in addressing mental health. Evelyn's career has included a private practice, as well as, a hospital. She notes a difference in the patients treated in each location. In her words,

> When I worked in a hospital it was a lot of immigrants, I would say majority. I think that's because of the hospital population is always a little more [acute] need. You know, people that need to be inpatient are usually lower rungs of society and that is disproportionately going to be immigrants.

Evelyn's experiences suggest a socioeconomic difference. However, she also believes that in addition to the socioeconomic barrier, immigrants may also face cultural barriers and stigma, "there's this belief that if you, if you have enough faith, then you shouldn't need a therapist or that a therapist is a poor substitution for God or faith."

The trauma that participants spoke about was intergenerational, or traumas that are passed from one generation to the next. Gabriela spoke about an aunt who attained high

educational and occupational accomplishments and "ended up going to law school, so she's an attorney now." Her aunt's children "have had a really hard time at school." Gabriela theorizes that this struggle has to do with having more time to deal with trauma. She explains, "for my generation, like my sister and my cousins and myself, we haven't had really to worry about having food and home and saw that starts opening up mental space to think about the trauma. And so, I feel like for them it's been like that." Gabriela characterizes her traumas as revolving around undocumentation and sexual assault, but she also discussed a pressure that many first-generation college students have. She elaborates "there is that added stress that we put on ourselves. So it's like I'm the first one who got to go to school, like I really have to make this happen and I have to be perfect and everything, you know, and it's like there's no breathing room there and that is, just not sustainable."

For Elisabeth, as her mental state changed, so did her drive to accomplish certain goals. She states, "for a long time I thought that being a lawyer was like the grand milestone. Um, but as of recent, I really don't know. Um, I think I've just been really confused, um, for several reasons." These reasons fall along political and occupational lines. "With like the whole DACA thing being up in the air. Like that uncertainty of like, I don't even want to do anything if I'm not going to be able to keep a job or apply to schools." Her concerns are that her efforts are for nothing and her drive is wasted on an education that she might be unable to use. She sheds light on how this affects her mental health explaining, "I just almost don't want to relive the way I lived before. It was like a form of shutdown of like, like a mental shutdown that I stopped pursuing those goals." Not only does this uncertainty affect her mental health, but also manifests as an identity crisis in which Elisabeth knows:

> That's not the way I am. I mean, I've done it before where I was undocumented and I still got into college and I still did it... and then there was no DACA during that time. So I think I'm just like putting roadblocks, but that's my true answer. I really don't know where I'm going just because I'm so uncertain of what's going to happen.

Access to health care is so important, and the effects of it are so clear to immigrants that many believe it should be prioritized. Adriana (1.5, Mexico) believes one of the biggest immigration issues now is that the immigrant community does not talk about mental health. Elisabeth believes that health care should be "one of the first things before even addressing legal status of anybody." She adds that any movements to help the immigrant community should prioritize "more of a basic needs being met first and then working towards a bigger picture." Evelyn (2) provides the following reflection based on her clients

> The level of trauma that people undergo, even just getting to the border, let alone then trying to rebuild a brand new life and in a foreign country and learn a new language. Like that's how much stress. And then we blame them for not doing more or acting more white and it's like, come on!

Evelyn, Elisabeth, and Adriana all focus on what is being left out of public immigration discourse: trauma related to crossing into the country, standards of language attainment, and "whiteness." Elisabeth, specifically, believes this is so vital that it should come before legalization is offered.

Language

First and second-generation immigrants alike spoke of difficulties related to language. However, they spoke of language in different ways. First-generation immigrants described language attainment with regard to working—they often referenced a small vocabulary that met occupational needs. Second-generation immigrants spoke about how language acquisition affected their parents' daily lives in and out of work.

Ivelisse (1, Puerto Rico), who came to the United States from Puerto Rico at age 35, had studied at a university but due to her limited knowledge of the English language, she was forced to take on a different job in the United States. Although in Puerto Rico she worked as a secretary in a physical therapy center, in the United States she became a housekeeper, because "that's what I ended up doing. Because I didn't have the fluency in the language, of english to be able to work in what I had studied/*eso fue lo que me tocó. porque no tenía la fluidez del lenguaje, del inglés para poder trabajar en lo que yo estudié*." Slowly, Ivelisse began to pick up words and phrases. She described her increasing language proficiency in the following way:

> Well, one knows the basics: good morning, how are you? Well, when they sent you to do something, how was that called; for example, the broom, the *trapeador* or all those things that when you are in your country you would understand... that was the first thing, to receive orders

> *Bueno, uno sabe lo básico: buenos días, ¿cómo está? Pues cuando te mandaban a hacer algo, como era que se llamaba eso; por ejemplo, la escoba, el* mop *o todas esas cosas que cuando tú estás en tu país pues tú lo entenderías... Eso fue lo primero, recibir órdenes.*

The utility of the English language for Ivelisse, is tied to her work. She views the language as a practical tool in the workplace rather than a symbol of acculturation.

One of Guadalupe's (1.25, Mexico) first jobs in the United States was at a laundromat. Upon starting that job, she had an advantage over the other workers. She explains, "I was very lucky because since I spoke a little English I was paid, I remember, 10 cents more than the co-worker I had because I would tell her what the supervisor wanted her to do/ *tuve mucha suerte porque como hablaba el inglés un poco me pagaban, me acuerdo, que 10 centavos más que la compañera que yo tenía porque yo le decía lo que el mayordomo quería que ella hiciera.*" Guadalupe emphasizes that she only "spoke a little english" that allowed her to act as a liaison between her co-workers and supervisor. Guadalupe goes on to explain how, although her English

was never perfect, her manager took a liking to her and eventually gave her more responsibility and taught her how to complete other components of the job. Her job became much easier as workers ranked higher than her began helping her.

Experiences of discrimination were rooted to proficiency of the English language by second-generation immigrants. Many second-generation immigrants spoke of the ways in which their parents struggled due to their limited acquisition of the language. Lucero (2, Mexico) suggested that because first-generation immigrants often face discrimination for speaking languages other than English later generations begin to lose the appreciation for their parents' or grandparents' native language. In her words, the discrimination "kind of trickled down into, you know, a lot of us not speaking Spanish." Diego (2, Colombia) reflected on how his parents encouraged him to speak English with a "proper accent" by making sure "that I could say 'I think' with a 't-h' and not 'I fink' with an 'f.' And they would repeatedly tell [my brother and I], 'no, no, no, it's not 'I fink,' it's 'I think' even if for them it was difficult to not do that." Diego continues by explaining that this pronunciation, according to his parents, was tied to "stereotypes of people who came to this country." His parents sought to make sure that Diego "was respected as an American and they knew a lot of that was the way you spoke." Gabriela (1.25, Mexico) provides an example of how her mother was often treated. She states, "she has a stronger accent than I do. When she speaks, you know, people look at her differently than when I speak. I also do end up doing most of the talking because it makes me really upset...It's always infuriating when I see the way people look at her or talk to her." Gabriela points out how markers of language acquisition (e.g., accents) affect the ways in which others communicate with her mother. Although she does not elaborate on how exactly people look at both her and her mother differently, she insinuates that the difference is demeaning. It is unclear if she believes her

mother notices. Both Gabriela and Diego provide stories about how their parents' experiences in the United States framed the way they the importance of learning the language is presented to and perceived by second-generation immigrants.

However, Lucero also suggests that discrimination rooted in language disparity could be tied to societal and historical components. She shares, "I'm 44, so when I was a kid in the early eighties, you know, speaking Spanish wasn't thought of as a skill that you were supposed to strengthen as much. One of your goals was to speak English without an accent." Now, having fluency in both languages is seen, she shares, "as an asset as opposed to a detriment." Lucero calls attention to the social construction of discrimination by suggesting that changes in how language is spoken about can lead to varying understandings and experiences.

Contradictions

So far, it is clear that parents have a vision for their children that involves them achieving high educational attainment, occupying well-received careers, and protection through documentation. As much as possible, they try to protect their children to give them as much resources as they can so that they achieve these goals. Their children, the second-generation immigrants, have a desire to validate their parents sacrifices by successfully completing higher education and/or becoming employed in prestigious careers. However, the visions held by parents and the journey towards fulfilling these callings are riddled with tensions, contradictions, and unattainable expectations. This theme explores these contradictions and the moments during which second-generation immigrants came to understand them.

Generational/Occupational tensions

Evelyn (2, Cuba) has gained insight into these unattainable visions through her work as a therapist. In general, she says the most common problems she's helped immigrants work through involve, "learning how to kind of fit into the community and get a job and work." She also shares the following general assessment about her second-generation patients:

> One of the most distressing things I would see sometimes is the difference between first and second-generation...I would see teenagers every once in a while, especially if their parents were the ones who immigrated and they had expectations of being able to maintain their culture at a level that didn't seem to be realistic and so their teenagers would come up with different values or ideas and they were really struggling to reconcile that.

Evelyn's background enables her to understand generational differences related to maintaining culture. Other immigrants reported experiencing the problems that Evelyn pointed out. For example, Lucía (1, Mexico) explained that second-generation immigrants never understand the importance of cultural rituals, such as Día de los Muertos. Santiago (2, Puerto Rico) also described a third generation Puerto Rican male who takes photos with the Puerto Rican flag but prefers American food to Puerto Rican dishes. Evelyn, having treated several immigrants, has the vantage point to problematize these statements and connect them to unattainable expectations in the United States.

Elisabeth notes that cultural expectations affected the parents vision of who their child would become. She explains that her mother "wanted me to stay at home but also go out into the world." Although she focuses specifically on her mother, in other portions of her interview she alludes to these being expectations held by both parents, and possibly delivered primarily by her mother. She continues by stating that "[her mother] has that cultural, she used to have that

cultural vision of like controlling." Elisabeth's frustration with her parents is rooted in their

trying to make sense of two cultures. She continues by describing the contradictions:

> You're staying home. You're never having a boyfriend and you're going to have
> boyfriend after you finish college and then you are going to get married and
> you're, you're going to be a virgin the day you walk across the altar. You have to
> be this like amazing person and like in the medical setting...Two different
> expectations that just were very difficult to follow at the same time.

The two expectations that Elisabeth's parents seem to have, of her maintenance of traditional,

feminine gender roles and high educational attainment, fit into the tension that Evelyn outlines.

Elisabeth is expected to "maintain [her] culture" and "[come] up with different values or ideas."

Of relevance to this study is how expectations contradicted in regards to occupational

attainment. A few participants, though without noticing it made contradictory statements. For

example, Ivelisse expresses disappointment at her eldest daughter studying cosmetology but

when another of her daughters wants to switch her major, which at the time was related to

therapy, Ivelisse tells her "And I told her well that she should pick something that she would

like/ *Y yo le dije a ella pues que escogiera algo que a ella le gustara.*" Other participants made

similarly contradictory statements. For example, Martha claimed that her mother was content just

to see her in school, but also would not support Martha choosing careers in art of cosmetology.

Several participants connected these contradictory expectations to a lack of knowledge that

parents, and students, had about the ways the U.S. education system works. This is discussed in

the next section.

Lack of knowledge about U.S. education systems

Second-generation immigrants were often first-generation students who were navigating

grounds unfamiliar to their entire families. Upon entering college, many second-generation

immigrants reported feeling lost and lacking guidance. Their parents' visions relied on them to go to college but often did not consider everything that was required to succeed. However, a few participants reported experiencing difficulties in school much sooner.

Aracely (2, Guatemala) became aware that her parents lacked an understanding of how the education system functioned at a much younger age. She attended a magnet school in 8th grade for which she had to wake up early and take two busses. She recalls her parents sitting her down and asking, "why can't you just go to this public school that's, I don't know, a couple of blocks from our neighborhood. Why can't you go to this? It's easier. It saves you stress and all of that." This line of questioning helped her realize that her parents "just lack the awareness of the opportunities I could have with that versus going to like an underfunded public school, which I think I would have done fine." Although Aracely believes she could have done well in either setting, she goes on to explain that she does not believe she would have become a doctoral student. In her example, her parents look for easily identifiable markers of success (i.e., going to school in the United States) and seek to reduce the stress felt by their daughter. However, Aracely pushes back, citing the opportunities available to her. When Aracely chooses to pursue a graduate education, her parents were also hesitant "because it's not a thing that they grew up with" By providing information about her future and the mobility that comes with it, Aracely helps her parents see the value of additional degrees but ultimately she explains that her parents' hesitation is rooted in an unfamiliarity of education in the United States.

Gaining entry into higher education was also a difficult process. Amaia (1.25) credits one of her professors with helping her gain access to higher education:

> In the process of applying to college, my ESL professor was my biggest champion because I didn't know a lot about what I was doing, like applying to college and navigating this process. So he was, extremely helpful in that process, like finding

me a scholarship and applying to things because of course my family didn't know about them.

Her story highlights the importance of knowledgeable mentors in helping second-generation immigrants succeed in "navigating" their entry into academic settings.

Many expressed feeling lost when they entered institutions of higher education. Lucero (2, Mexico) shared how "[my siblings and I] were going to college. No ifs, ands or buts—going to college. But that was all of the direction we got." Like Lucero, many second-generation immigrants, expressed feeling both pressure to perform well in college but lacking guidance about what steps to take to be successful once they gained entry. Fernanda (2, Mexico) also expressed feeling lost in higher education. She states:

> I don't really know, again with like my parents not having gone to college and stuff, I don't really know what to do. People are getting internships and stuff and I'm still trying to focus on my schoolwork as opposed to like looking for internships. And I know a lot of my friends, like one of my friend's dad and mom are like, they went to college and stuff and they're asking people and communicating and I guess trying to find him an internship and stuff. And my mom, I mean with my family, like that's not as easy...there's not that much motivation for me being like, "oh, did you find a job? Did you find an internship?" It's kind of like, "just do your schoolwork, do good in school." But I don't know, it's been hard to balance both.

Fernanda's experiences uncover another tension—one between parents' expectations and the reality of being a student in the United States. Fernanda's parents understand that completing schoolwork will lead to higher grades and they expect that to lead to success in the future. However, Fernanda's entry into U.S. higher education leads her to discover that grades alone will not allow her to be successful in accomplishing her end of an intergenerational calling. She realizes that success after college may be tied to pre-existing resources (e.g., parent's network), thus, she has to work harder for these opportunities. In the end, she struggles to balance her need

to prove to her family that she is successful in college in a way that they understand (e.g., grades) while attaining the same opportunities to which her peers have access.

Entering colleges and universities was especially challenging for undocumented students. Gabriela's (1.25, Mexico) mother readily admitted not knowing how she would become educated, telling her "I don't know how you're going to do it. You can do it. I believe in you." Gabriela's mother recognized her own lack of knowledge about how the U.S. educational systems worked and veiled her vision of Gabriela going to school with encouragement. Being undocumented would present additional challenges for Gabriela as she tried to enroll in college. She shares one incident in her journey towards getting a degree:

> It was terrifying well, one, because I was undocumented. And then two, because I didn't, neither one of us knew the U.S. educational system and I didn't know what I was going to do. And so, I just kind of took a chance and ended up going to one of the community colleges in Minnesota and telling them like, "listen, I don't have papers, but I know I can go to school." The woman at the front desk threatened to call INS. And I was like, "well you know what, if you don't know the answers send me to someone who does cause I'm gonna go to school." And so, she ended up sending me to some other person who, um, who is also an immigrant and he was so sweet. He was just like, "okay, sweetheart like you see this application. Well, first of all, don't tell anybody again that you don't, you know, what you just told me, but this is how you can do it."

Although Gabriela's mother trusted her to figure out how she would access a higher education, Gabriela feels just as lost on her own. She shared how at the time that she was attempting to enroll in college it was common for people to hide their undocumented status. Therefore, it is seen as detrimental when she readily offers this information to someone at the school. Doing so exposes her to risks, as the person she is speaking to threatens her with the now defunct INS.

Guadalupe (1.25), although she did not attend college, recognizes how her children may struggle in college. She states:

> Well, the eldest I think are the ones who had the most trouble...when they were in the universities because, well as Latinos, that has a lot do with it, that sometimes they don't want, people of other races, don't want us to continue on the same path as them, to be equal.
>
> *Pues, los grandes yo creo que son los que tuvieron más problema para... cuando ya estaban en las universidades, porque pues por latinos, eso tiene que ver que no quieren casi siempre otras razas que uno siga igual que ellos, que sea igual.*

In this quotation Guadalupe discusses how "they" discriminate against Latinos. The "they" refers generally to those in more privileged positions and the fact that Guadalupe points to other races without pointing to specific groups suggests that this is an issue of power. This quotation is significant because Guadalupe is thinking about how different discourses transcend boundaries to affect people even when they are affected in other institutions. Although she has no experience in U.S. colleges and universities, she applies her experiences in other fields to what her children might be going through.

Second-Generation Occupational Visions

In contrast to the pro-education messages communicated by first-generation parents, fewer second-generation immigrants enthusiastically promoted higher educational attainment. Ximena (1.5, Mexico) expressed that she does not "think everyone should go to college" and elaborates by explaining that "it's really hard as an 18 year old to really know what you want and you get in debt and then maybe you do nothing with your degree." Ximena also goes on to compare her love of learning, her sister's struggles in college, and her father's success as an electrician. She concludes by explaining that the work her father does is often stigmatized and this leads people who may not be passionate for school, like her sister, into higher education. Ximena's example is representative of beliefs held by other second-generation immigrants who

often favored occupations that allowed them to service others and provided them with the means

to live comfortably. These two characteristics, service and comfort, are presented next.

Service

Many participants sought service-oriented occupations that addressed broader social

issues. Ximena (1.5, Mexico) wants to work in an occupation that allows her to address

environmental issues. She references abusive organizations as working "not out of concern for

the environment. It's obviously out of concern for fees and capitalism." Ximena hopes to find

herself working in a federal, nongovernmental organization (NGO), or nonprofit position. Her

goal, she explains, ultimately depends on whether or not she is able to adjust her status.

Another common theme was for participants to seek out occupations that would put them

in a position to help the Latinx immigrant population. Osvaldo (2, Mexico) is currently working

to complete his investment license. He explains that his ultimate goal is "to target the Hispanic

side because I feel like even in today's world, like the Hispanic parents of today don't have a

retirement, they rely on the kids as the retirement." Osvaldo not only wants to help Latinx

immigrants, but specifically he wants to address the intergenerational pressure felt by second-

generation immigrants.

Agustín (1.75, Mexico) explains how he combined two majors that would allow him to

help others. He states, "Human Services is kind of something you'd go for, for like trying to help

people and it goes really well with my criminal justice. I'm trying to become an interpreter for

courtrooms and having like a human services degree would help me in being able to do that." He

frames his major as one that would be chosen by those who already hold pro-social motivations.

Although he does not explicitly discuss wanting to help Latinx immigrants specifically, his

fluency in Spanish combined with his intent to become an interpreter suggest that this is his overall goal.

Comfort

The vision that first-generation immigrants had for their children has been described in this study already, however, the specific goals of second-generation immigrants have not been discussed. In general, second-generation immigrants very broadly described occupational goals associated with seeking comfort in life. This comfort was one that involved their families including their parents. Amanda (2, Puerto Rico) and Diego (2, Colombia) described the joy they received from being able to help their parents as they got older and to learn more about their parents' backgrounds. Ernesto (1.75, Mexico) expressed how he one day sought to purchase his mother a home or car.

Gabriela provides another way to view success. She shares:

what would bring me the most satisfaction would be to know that, uh, well, that right, that I was able to help along the way and that I didn't compromise my ethics... I didn't have to throw anybody under the bus to do it. I didn't have to, you know, I wasn't operating from a place of scarcity. I was operating from a place of abundance and knowing that there are enough resources for everyone.

She also explains that she seeks to be able to help other immigrants and her family. In other portions of her interview, she denounces capitalism—thus, informing her desire to "operate from a place of abundance rather than scarcity." For her, it is important to remember that her place in the United States is not gained from competing with others.

Conclusion

In the fourth chapter, intergenerational callings are launched. The fifth chapter goes into detail about how they are continued by second-generation immigrants. As shown, many second-

generation immigrants are cognizant of the challenges their parents overcame and seek to validate their sacrifices. Attempting to pursue the intergenerational calling presents challenges to immigrants' health and their acceptance to and navigation of education institutions. This chapter also presents the occupational visions of second-generation immigrants which, in addition to validating their parents' sacrifices, include pursuing careers that are pro-social in nature. The next chapter continues to explore barriers that immigrants perceive affect their callings.

CHAPTER 6: THE BARRIERS

Well I feel like [capitalism] is a huge part of the reason why we have policies the way that we do, you know? It has to do with the elites making decisions so that they can keep money or increase their accumulated finances. So I feel like that is what dictates, policy, but that is not what's sold to the public. What the public is told is a very different story. What is actually happening in practice is, you know, how can we exploit people more and creating a vast undocumented population creates a vulnerable population, which then creates a highly exploitable population. And so I feel like the real issue comes with a racialized classism. And, you know when you have all these narratives that are dehumanizing anyway, it all just functions together to justify exploitation.

Gabriela, generation 1.5, entered the United States at ages 7 and 15

Gabriela, like many of the participants in this study, was critical in discussing the intentions of the United States in creating policies. In her eyes, immigration policies are part of a larger system meant to increase and justify economic inequality. Her criticism also calls attention to the socially constructed nature of immigration discourse. Policies are constructed to criminalize certain behaviors that many participants pointed out are not, by their nature, necessarily wrong. Many participants described the act of migrating as an act for survival, something that was necessary, and a way to open doors for their children. However, as Gabriela states, "that is not what's sold to the public." Instead, the ways in which immigrants are portrayed can dehumanize and criminalize them leading to portrayals of good/deserving immigrants and bad/undeserving immigrants (Newton, 2005; Potter, 2014). This broad narrative of deservingness can affect immigrants as they work to fulfill their intergenerational callings.

Having provided an understanding of the goals of first- and second-generation immigrants, this chapter describes institutional barriers that prevented immigrants from

achieving occupational attainment. As Gabriela suggests, the barriers are rooted in capitalism, U.S. policy, and racialization. Gabriela also explains that "you don't need a formal education to know how to make sense of your life." The anecdotes presented in this chapter prove Gabriela's assertion to be true. Regardless of generation or occupation, most participants easily discussed the role of government and immigrant representations in their lives. In general, these findings are organized around two themes, deservingness and white-passing privilege.

Deservingness

In policy and in media, immigrants are often split into two categories: the good and the bad immigrant. Many participants in this study made reference to how these representations persisted to this day. Previous research has shown how deservingness is reproduced in the discourse used by politicians (see Newton, 2005), in social movements (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015), and through policies that are enacted to control immigration (Ngai, 2014). Critiquing narratives of deservingness was out of the scope of this project, however, this study focused on the many ways in which immigrants recognize and reproduce these narratives.

Participants were quick to denounce narratives of deservingness. Gabriela (1.75, Mexico) believes immigration reform is needed but offers the following warning for any changes that are considered:

> I feel like a comprehensive immigration reform would have to mean an adjustment of status for everyone, regardless of their financial situation and regardless of their criminal background. People who have records are often denied access. And so, I feel like that should definitely be a part of a policy—that people should qualify for an opportunity... There's always an increased militarization of the border or a criminalization of other groups. And so I feel like it would be important to make sure that that is not a part of whatever's being proposed. Um, you know, just like they did in 86. That's what criminalized undocumented status. I feel like those things would have to be a part of it.

Gabriela easily roots immigrant representations to historically reinforced patterns created through policy. With this understanding, she offers a call to action for all policy to avoid these deservingness tendencies. However, as the next few sections show, Gabriela's vision is a lot more difficult to accomplish.

Despite recognizing these narratives in the media and in policy, many immigrants reproduced narratives of deservingness through two primary ways. First, when asked to suggest ways in which to improve policies and/or conditions for immigrants, many suggested leniency and paths toward citizenship for immigrants who worked hard or wanted entry to the United States for work or for school. In other words, participants framed their suggestions based on immigrants' contributions to the United States.

Ivelisse, for example, suggests that immigrants attempting to enter the country to work or study should have paths that facilitate their entry. She offers the following to statements:

> To me it is unjust because, overall, we are all equals. And if they come to work, why not let them work? There are times when a lot of American people do not want to work. Because I have seen at work, at the places I have worked, that the Latino will work more than the American.

> *Para mí eso es injusto, porque a la larga, todos somos iguales. Y si ellos vienen a trabajar, ¿por qué no permitirle que trabajen? A veces hay muchas personas americanas que no quieren trabajar. Porque yo he visto trabajando, en los sitios en que yo he trabajado, que el latino trabaja más que el americano.*

And,

> Well I have also seen that with the youth...with DACA... They come here to study, why not let them study? It's unjust and there are so many young people in school, and they are receiving help and everything, and they don't want to study. And the [youth with DACA or Undocumented] have the desire to excel, why not permit them to do so?

> *Pues he visto también lo de los jóvenes...el DACA... Que ellos vienen aquí a estudiar, ¿por qué no dejarlos estudiar? Es injusto, y hay muchos jóvenes que están en la escuela, y los están ayudando y todo, y ellos no quieren estudiar. Y si*

[jovenes con DACA o indocumentados] tienen deseos de superarse, ¿por qué no permitir que lo hagan?

Ivelisse's emphasis on the injustice of limiting someone willing to work or study is noteworthy. Her statements "why not let them study/work" focus on the goals of the immigrant wanting to study or work, but also on their potential contribution. In distinguishing between youth who want to study, but receive no assistance, with youth who do not want to study, but receive plenty of resources, she further pushes this narrative that one group is more deserving of access to education.

Deservingness was also constructed in very subtle ways. María del Carmen (1, Mexico) explained that all refugees should be granted asylum. She also expressed the following with regard to the timing of the recent Central American refugee movements into the United States:

> It's very strange that [the Central American refugees] wanted to come when Trump is president. I mean, I don't know. I don't know the exact situation, but why didn't they do it before if they knew that Trump in fact would not welcome them? And, why did they still take the risk with their babies?
>
> *Se me hace raro que [los refugiados de Centroamérica] quisieron venir cuando Trump es presidente. O sea, no sé. Yo no sé exactamente la situación, pero ¿por qué no lo hicieron antes, si sabían que Trump de hecho no, no les iba a dar la bienvenida? Y, ¿por qué aun así se arriesgaron con sus bebés?*

María del Carmen goes on to express that "[the refugees] had to have confronted something in their country that made them say 'living in Tijuana in a camp is better than living in our country'/*algo tuvieron que haber enfrentado en su país, que dijeron: 'vivir en Tijuana en un campamento, es mejor que vivir en nuestro país.'*" In general, she positions herself as empathetic to and accepting of refugees. However, her previous comments prescribe agency to the migrants. María del Carmen questions "why did *they* do it" (emphasis added) knowing that Trump is president and would not welcome refugees. She acknowledges her lack of knowledge of the

situation, understands that there may be life threatening dangers in a refugee's home country, blames Trump for the conditions along the border, and believes that refugees should be welcomed. Despite this supportive stance, semantic portions of her statement suggest that she believes migrants and refugees have higher agency, and by extension blame, for the situations in which they find themselves. This underlying message fits neatly into deservingness narratives in an unintentional, and probably subconscious, manner.

The second way in which deservingness narratives were reproduced was through the tactics used by second-generation immigrants to gain acceptance in the United States and/or overcompensate. Unlike the previous examples, this subtheme often occurs unintentionally and in anticipation of challenges to come. For example, Adriana was able to attend college because she received a full-tuition scholarship. One of the requirements of the scholarship was that she volunteer two years of service with an organization. Adriana completed eight years of service instead. She exceeded requirements because she anticipated that being undocumented would put her at a disadvantage. Similarly, Martha, who has an administrative role at a university, advises all students to go to college because they are already at a disadvantage and do not want to give potential employers a reason to remove them from list of potential candidates for a job.

Amaia (1.25, Dominican Republic) struggles to stay away from narratives of deservingness because they "just degrade me further because [narratives of deservingness] tell me if I don't succeed I cannot be deemed as human." Throughout the course of her interview, she refers to the narratives as "a dangerous game", "horrible psychologically for my wellbeing", and "one of the hardest things to stay away from." However, she expresses that it can be impossible to succeed and not be connected to representations of good and bad immigrants because others will point out her success by stating "oh Amaia is so great. Look, everything you have

accomplished." By comparison, she states that if her work was "just mediocre" then she would not feel as affected by narratives of deservingness. However, as Amaia points out, the implication that to combat narratives of deservingness immigrants should be less successful is oppressive.

Although this subtheme sets up second-generation immigrants as having an active role in reproducing these narratives of deservingness, several participants called attention to the root of these categorizations. Adriana (1.5, Mexico) explained that immigrants are expected to be perfect. She stated:

> To be a good immigrant you have to have like a superpower. It's like, be good in school, be super good with the law, and be super American and proud to be in America, which is unrealistic for a lot of people—to be someone that is perfect and at times me and my sister felt that we needed to be perfect to be accepted here.

Adriana's was not an isolated feeling. Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) also explained that she felt a pressure to perform well in school. She states,

> I knew about my legal status since I was little. I had this notion of if I become someone that this country cannot want, like I thought that going to college, everybody was going to want me. Including this country and the government.

Elisabeth, like Adriana, described an external pressure tied to feeling othered and seeking acceptance. As immigrants who are undocumented, their only resource to gain acceptance becomes to play into this narrative of deservingness.

White Passing Privilege

In addition to generational differences, immigrants noted that their skin color subjected them to different experiences. Isabella (1.5, Puerto Rico) explained that her having lighter skin allows her to be white passing. She shares, "It's very easy for me to pass attention and not get

stopped and looked at a second time when I go through the airport security." She localizes her example to airport security, but later explains how being white-passing has afforded her several privileges. Other participants alluded to beliefs about race and immigrants. When asked how her immigrant background affected her experiences in the United States, Evelyn (2, Cuba) responded, "that's interesting because I'm blonde and blue eyed and uh, so I don't, I don't look visually different." Fernanda (2, Mexico) also discusses being able to pass when comparing her and her mother's treatment in the United States. She states, "[my mom and I] both actually look pretty, like, white. So, a lot of people when they meet us, they don't think we're Mexican... she doesn't really get treated very much differently than me." In this quotation, Fernanda is discussing how despite her mother having a lower understanding of the English language, something that was discussed earlier as effecting the experiences of immigrants, she is largely accepted in the United States because she can pass as white. These participants are not describing their own beliefs about skin color and immigrants, rather, they are explaining how this bias is held in the United States.

Marisela (2, Mexico) explains how deeply rooted biases regarding race and skin color have become and how it is politically enforced. She states that "the U.S. is not made for non-white immigrants, or non-white people" and compares the treatment of immigrants based by race. She states, "we've never accidentally deported a white U.S. citizen, but we have deported black and brown folk accidentally" and also compares the northern and southern borders, stating "no one's ever going after them or people coming in from the northern border which is considered more white." While her claim that the United States has never accidentally deported a white, U.S. citizen is hard to prove, the Secure Communities, a program aimed at deporting undocumented immigrants, has been accused of racial profiling and detaining U.S. citizens

accidentally (ACLU, n.d.). Additionally, her assertion that the United States treats each of its

borders differently was brought out by other participants as well, such as Manuel (1, Mexico)

who denounced Trump's plans to build a wall along the U.S./Mexico border, stating "it's

racism/*es racismo*" and questioning "why doesn't he build a wall between Canada and the

United States?/*¿por qué no construye un muro entre Canadá y los Estados Unidos?*"

Other participants provided examples to further this claim that in the United States race

and immigration are tied. Aracely (2, Guatemala) provided an example that ties together

language and perceptions of immigrants. She shared, "I didn't learn English until I was five and...

I'm assuming because they saw that I was brown, that they placed me in this track where I had to

learn Spanish to even learn English." Aracely and her parents speak an indigenous language, but

as Aracely explains, she was put into a Spanish-speaking track because her origins are in a

Spanish-speaking country. This creates difficulties for both the instructor and student, as Aracely

later explains. This barrier to literacy can limit occupational opportunities for people considering

alternate careers, as Aracely compares "can I go into academia or can I only go into an

occupation that doesn't require me to really use words in terms of like writing and English."

Martha (2, Mexico) who is a citizen of the United States shared the following incident in

which she required healthcare:

> I had fallen down the stairs or something and I had, um, landed on my tailbone
> and I was obviously very injured... I was like a teenager at this point. And my
> mom took me to the, to the emergency room. And we went in and the nurse, like
> gave the paperwork to fill out and then later pulled my mom aside, before they
> would even see me and she asked if I was a U.S. citizen. And my mom was like,
> "why do you need to know that? Like I'm going to fill out the paperwork. Like,
> why do you have to ask you that before even seeing my daughter?"

Martha, who moved from Chicago to a small town in Ohio, provides an example that ties in

perceptions of immigrants with skin color and nationalism. In this example, Martha heavily

focuses on the questioning of her citizenship being discussed before she receives treatment. It is possible that she believes her treatment will be different, or even denied, had she been undocumented.

The interactions between white people and immigrants occurred in very different context for first and second-generation immigrants. First-generation immigrants often interacted with white people in workplaces—settings where they had less power and had to take commands. For example, Elisabeth's (1.5, Mexico) mom works cleaning houses and has clients who generally treat her with respect. Elisabeth shared one incident in which her mother faced discrimination with a client's daughter, "the daughter was taking a Spanish class and she wrote a letter and left it on her desk and it said like, 'you should go back to your country, we don't want you here' and all these things. Obviously, it was like meant for my mom to be able to read." In this situation, Elisabeth's mother is in a position where she lacks power. Elisabeth explained that if she had been the one to receive the letter she would have done something about it because she is more respected in her workplace than her parents are in their respective workplaces.

In contrast, second-generation immigrants interacted with white people in (theoretically) less disparate situations in terms of power. Several participants described experiencing culture shock at predominantly white schools, where many were sent by their parents who believed the schools to be more prestigious. This was the case for Elisabeth and Gabriela who said that their schools were segregated and they often only interacted with other immigrants. As Elisabeth puts it, "we generally just like kept to ourselves because most of the kids were very rich." Similarly, Gabriela who settled in Minnesota, states, "going to Minnesota at the time that I did informed my experience and how much I resented people with money and...white folks, like it was pretty traumatic for me to go to high school, a high school that was predominantly white and mostly

affluent." Notably, both women had mothers who worked cleaning the homes of very wealthy families. Gabriela actually lived in one of the homes where her mother was hired to clean—this led to her enrollment in a predominantly white high school. Both women tied their experiences to race but also to socioeconomic differences. Elisabeth goes on to state that "it was not about much the race, but it was like the money status, I think, at that school. Or at least I felt that way."

Many immigrants tied white-passing privileges to an identity crisis. Ximena (1.5, Mexico) used the phrase "I was too Mexican to hang out with the white people and too white to hang out with the Mexicans." Throughout her time in the United States, Ximena has gone back and forth between feeling "too white" and feeling "too Mexican." She begins by describing how she felt when her parents moved towns and enrolled her in a middle school that was predominantly white:

> I was afraid of speaking to like white people. For lack of a better word. Like I was afraid my accent was thick...when I was younger, I remember this dramatic experience. It's fine now, but my mom made me do softball like fifth grade and the girls were making fun of me and they were making fun of my accent and they wouldn't talk to me. And I was just like, "what is this? Like I hate it. I hate it. Mom, don't make me go." And I was like, "I don't like white people." I almost decided I don't like white people like they're mean, they make fun of me and I don't know why. And I remember being here in middle school, I started to talk a little more to like, like it was honestly a fear of being not accepted and being like ridiculed for my accent or just not being white, which I am fairly light skinned. I'm tan compared to other Mexicans [who] are darker. I started talking to them more while still afraid of being rejected

In this example, Ximena fears rejection based on her accent and skin color. Later, as she begins gaining acceptance by her classmates, she experiences another identity crisis:

> And then high school was when I had another kind of crisis where I started swimming. So I joined the swim team, completely Caucasian, like all white people. Mexicans didn't really do sports. Even soccer, like it became this thing where like I was too Mexican to hang out with the white people and too white to hang out with the Mexicans. The Mexicans that were at high school, they kinda just hung out by themselves...And then I started feeling another identity crisis of

> losing my culture and being like, I've lost my Mexican-ness like I don't have anyone to speak Spanish with, except for my parents. Um, I don't know any other Mexicans and I don't like have a support system with Mexicans. So like none of my friends understood any of my issues. They didn't understand my DACA issues. They didn't understand my immigrant issues.

Similar encounters were described by several participants who note that being white-passing constructed their experiences in ways that allotted for power but also created distance from their culture. For example, Evelyn and Fernanda, who both have lighter hair and colored eyes described being able to pass with no one questioning their backgrounds. For second-generation immigrants, experiences with white-privilege often created tensions within members of their own culture.

Conclusion

In short, this chapter explores the ways in which deservingness and race play a role in shaping the experiences of immigrants at work and at school. Additionally, it explores how deservingness can unintentionally be reproduced within immigrant communities attempting to fulfill intergenerational callings and how race is experienced at work and at school. These findings point to the ways in which race and deservingness affect immigrants in various complex ways as they attempt to fulfill their callings.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

Gabriela (1.25) found the words to describe the purpose of this study that I had been struggling to formulate. She began by describing the conditions that led her, a formerly undocumented immigrant, to adjust her status and become a citizen. Citizenship changed her and her mother's lives. "Now we can breathe," she explained. Growing up undocumented and with an undocumented mother, had created many challenges for the family whose only way to make a living was through what Gabriela called the "informal economy." Practically speaking, this undocumented status meant that Gabriela and her mother lacked access to many things, most notably work, that required some form of documentation. "My mom's ability or inability to, um, access a form of the formal economy has also dictated how I've experienced it," says Gabriela, calling attention to the fact that regardless of her own documentation status, her mother being undocumented would affect her. When Gabriela became documented, a path was opened up for her mother. This story describes the experiences that I sought to study—to understand what informs the occupational attainment of immigrants across generations and how political restrictions affect immigrant families. Gabriela put it succinctly when she stated, "we experienced life as units, as family units."

To understand the relationship between parent and child within immigrant families, I applied a discursive approach to callings. Similar to Berkelaar and Buzzanell (2014), this study takes on a discursive approach to understanding callings. Such an approach allowed Berkelaar and Buzzanell (2014) to identify contradictions and challenges in calling discourses. Discursive studies allow people to make sense of their roles, for individuals to engage with cultural rituals,

and they reflect social goods (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Gee, 2010). The framework of d/Discourse allows for deeper investigation into the effects of historically and societally situated representations of immigrants, immigration, and work on the everyday talk of immigrants. By adopting an approach that specifically focuses on the relationship of societal understandings and everyday talk, this study identifies political and relational barriers to the fulfillment of intergenerational callings.

Extant research on callings have primarily sought to conceptualize the construct in order to come to an agreed upon definition. The concept has been described as either an existential, and somewhat mystical, pull towards a particular occupation (Ahn, Dik, & Hornback, 2015; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009; Dik & Duffy, 2009) or investigations have taken a secular approach in which psychological characteristics of callings are uncovered through research (see Berg, Grant, & Johnson, 2010; Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997). A point of contention for scholars seeking a consistent definition has been the source of callings. Although the earliest versions of callings described a transcendental summons toward an occupation, several recent studies have concluded that callings can arise from an internal pull (Duffy & Dik, 2013). Duffy and Dik (2013) conclude that the ongoing debate regarding the conceptualization of calling, in particular, the perceived source of calling needs more investigation. In addition to this challenge, previous studies have pointed to a variety of additional gaps in literature including investigations that look into: sources of calling (Duffy & Dik, 2013), the downsides or dark sides of calling, how calling is understood by diverse populations, and career outcomes that are not purely occupational.

More recently, Molloy and Foust (2016) put into focus the constitutive and communicative nature of callings. Their findings support Berkelaar and Buzzanell's (2015)

suggestion that callings are not necessarily linear and often can be messy and contradictory (see also Buzzanell & Goldzwig, 1991). This project follows this new direction of calling research by bringing attention to the ways in which callings become intergenerational journeys—with those who are called left to overcome certain barriers while falling victim to various additional constraints. This study presents a new way to understand callings, not as secular or transcendental, but as an intergenerational construction. To understand how callings are reconceptualized within this study, I begin by offering a summary of my findings. Next, I discuss the ways in which this conceptualization fits with contemporary notions of callings. From there, I address each of the gaps listed above. Following that, I address the practical contributions of study. I conclude this chapter by describing potential research directions and limitations.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this study are organized to present a story in a chronological manner. As the pieces come together, a narrative develops in which immigrant parents leave their home countries for a variety of reasons. For some immigrants, like Elisabeth's family, migration was originally viewed as a temporary family separation where a male breadwinner journeyed into the United States fully intending to work for a few years in order to financially stabilize the family. In families like Elisabeth's, migration became a way to reunite the family in the country which provided the best opportunities for their children. As the reality of financial restrictions set in, many realized that the best opportunities for their families and children existed inside the United States. Prompted by this realization, many families found a way into the country, whether authorized or unauthorized. Migration aided in the reunification of many families split across two countries. Other families, such as Adriana's, struggled to envision a future in which their

children lived successfully and happily, thus they chose to migrate. Still, another set of families were driven out by abusive spouses or other oppressive conditions.

Having resettled, the parents had a clear vision for their children. Many parents imagined their children as educated, prestigious, independent, and documented. To assure that their children accomplished this vision, parents communicated their expectations clearly, though sternly. Parents attempted to protect their children from alternate paths by accommodating to their needs and being clear about their financial capacities to provide an education. Children were absolved from household responsibilities, given a quiet place to study, and asked to succeed. Second-generation immigrants at times feared and resented their parents, but desired to validate the sacrifices of their parents which they viewed as significant and having led to consistent struggles in the United States.

Fortunately, the general consensus among second-generation immigrants was to validate their parents sacrifices. Many participants understood what was given up and left behind to be in this country. They also knew what their parents endured by staying in the country. However, the journey towards attaining the vision their parents created, and therefore validating the sacrifices, was riddled with tensions, contradictions, and unattainable expectations. Second-generation immigrants struggled to achieve the contradictory visions created by their parents which at times called for them to be happy but only left room for specific careers. For some, their parents expected them to fulfill traditional gender roles while also becoming independent.

In the process of validating their sacrifices and learning more about the United States second-generation immigrants came to understand the ways in which their parents are marginalized and they [the children] are always received better in the United States. The goals of second-generation immigrants begin shifting—while they still sought to validate their parents'

sacrifices, many became uncomfortable with the notion that they would be accepted by the country while their parents are not. Notable in its absence is the discomfort felt by the first-generation immigrants about this reality. While the second-generation is verbal about their discomfort with the treatment of immigrants based on generational differences, the first-generation maintains and reinforces their goal: for their children to be accepted in the United States, for their children to be safe, and for their children to be happy and successful. Second-generation immigrants are uncomfortable with parents bearing the weight of their success and prefer to live a more modest life in which financial security does not mean wealth, it means comfort and having the means to care for their parents. In short, the calling of first-generation immigrants is to sacrifice and protect their children. The calling of second-generation immigrants is to validate their parents. With this holistic understanding of the findings, I next discuss what they mean for theoretical conceptualizations of calling.

Intergenerational Journeys and Contemporary Notions of Calling

Dik and Duffy (2009) bring together three dimensions to describe callings: an external pull or summons toward an occupation, a connection between work and a sense of meaning or purpose, and a prosocial motivation that ties work to helping others. Since the source of callings are discussed later as a theoretical contribution, I focus on the remaining two characteristics.

Meaning/Purpose

Dik and Duffy (2009) elaborate on the second dimension by describing it as "being mindful of the purpose and meaningfulness of one's activity within a particular life role and how one's efforts may fit into a broader framework of purpose and meaning in life" (p. 427). In the intergenerational callings of immigrants, each person, whether parent or child, have a designated

role in fulfilling the calling. First-generation immigrants view their role as accommodating the needs of second-generation immigrants in order to allow them to study. First-generation immigrants viewed their roles somewhat sacrificially. Second-generation immigrants overwhelmingly indicated that they felt pressured and compelled to validate their parents sacrifices. Several participants came to a realization about the differences in how the country would accept them, in comparison to their parents.

Prosocial Motivation

Prosocial motivation in callings indicate work that serves a higher purpose or is other oriented. By nature, intergenerational callings are other-oriented. Each decision made by both parent and child tends to be connected to the overall goal of fulfilling the calling. Even in cases like Elisabeth's, who works for a criminal defense law firm, she still continues to work towards a future in which both she and her parents are documented.

Limitations

Although this application of callings is the first of its kind, this study falls short in a few notable areas. First, for an intergenerational calling to be fulfilled, the child, rather than the parent, is the necessary condition. This study did not seek to understand the occupational journey of second-generation immigrants whose parents were absent as they made decisions about their work. The participants who self-selected to partake in this study often had successful career paths. Many participants felt that their educational and occupational journeys were fulfilling their end of the intergenerational calling. The framework of calling is very western and very privileged. Although this study makes contributions in understanding some of the ways in which people can be excluded from having a calling, an overwhelming majority of participants is on

their way to fulfilling their callings. This study includes participants like Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) who is fulfilling a personal, but perhaps not an intergenerational calling, and Jose Luís (2, Mexico), whose involvement in criminal activities before he decided to enter grad school may be perceived as a deviation from the intergenerational calling. However, the stories of immigrants who did not fulfill an intergenerational calling are largely missing.

Second, in addition to calling attention to the ways in which participants were similar, first- and second-generation immigrants were different in very important ways. The categorizations used to describe participants in this study (e.g., Latinx, first- and second-generation) are intentionally broad, but do not indicate that the groups they apply to are homogeneous. The experiences of Isabella (1.5, Puerto Rico), for example, are framed by Puerto Rico's status to the United States. Puerto Rican participants differed in how they experienced and made sense of their own identities in relation to migration. In contrast, other participants faced struggles related to documentation, language, and race. Although, the majority of participants are of Mexican descent it is important to remember that different policies and struggles are experienced by each group. I have tried to my best to point out these differences throughout the findings but acknowledge that I may be unaware of some of these distinctions. Additionally, this project does not compare immigration policies that impact different groups of immigrants.

Theoretical and Pragmatic Implications

The summary in the previous section is meant to primarily describe how callings may be intergenerational and interconnected. To situate this study in current calling research I begin by discussing the ways in which this intergenerational approach fits current conceptualizations of

calling. Then, I discuss ways in which I address gaps in calling literature. Within each section, I discuss its relevance to calling research. Following that, I discuss practical applications of this research.

Sources of callings

The earliest definitions of callings, described occupations believed to be dictated by god, but more recent studies have pointed to internal motivations as fueling callings (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy & Dik, 2013; Hall & Chandler, 2005). These two orientations, the transcendental and the secular, have created a debate surrounding the best way to define the construct. Although Duffy and Dik (2013) conclude that the ongoing debate regarding the conceptualization of calling may only matter linguistically, rather than scientifically, they admit that sources of callings and their impact on the function of a calling in practice are not well researched. Hall and Chandler (2005) also suggest that more studies should seek to investigate the contexts that lead to secular callings. This study begins to do that by focusing on Latinx immigrants across generations.

The "pull" or "pressure" that characterizes intergenerational callings is co-constructed. That is, rather than being called by a higher summons or by internal convictions, the participants in this study react to each other and the contextual features of their situations. The calling is both internal, in that each member feels individually compelled to validate or sacrifice for the other, and external, in that without each other the calling would not be intergenerational.

Research with diverse populations

Another common research gap in calling research asks for investigations into more diverse populations. Previous research has found that individuals of higher socioeconomic status

are more likely to perceive that they are living a calling (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy & Autin, 2013), while manual laborers, for example, are less likely to do so (Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Molloy & Faust, 2016). With few exceptions, most research has focused on white, affluent participants (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy et al., 2017). In short, more research needed to be done across socioeconomic and cultural boundaries (Ahn et al., 2015; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy et al., 2007).

This study accomplishes this aim by recruiting from participants with diverse backgrounds and occupations. In intergenerational callings, the first-generation is less likely to identify their work as a calling. This difference in labeling was the case for Marisela (2, Mexico) who, unprompted, used the word calling to describe her work and explained that her parents do not view their work as a calling. Her parents view their work as a means to earn money that can be used to assist their children. In short, although they ultimately see their work as being tied to the success of their children, they do not quickly associate meaning to the work itself.

Although all participants identified as Latinx, they were diverse in their experiences entering the country, the policies that affected them, and even their acceptance based on white-passing privilege. These stories, in particular the narratives of people who were readily accepted based on their race also add an additional dimension to consider. Many white-passing participants pointed to their skin as one of the reasons which they were readily accepted. It is possible that these participants are more able to live out their callings because they are more accepted as white in the United States (see Bonilla-Silva, 2004). This line of reasoning also prompts us to consider how policies affect the possibility of fulfilling a calling and/or how they change a perceived calling, as is the case with Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) whose calling changed when she started noticing flaws in the justice system. In short, the fulfillment of calling and

perceptions of having a calling are impacted by race, policy, and additional factors that shape an individual's social location.

Non-occupational outcomes

Several calling studies have been conducted to test the impact on callings on various psychological factors including: better health (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), career maturity (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007), and a greater sense that a person has found meaning in life (Steger & Dik, 2009). However, Duffy and Autin (2013) also suggest that to better understand callings, researchers should consider that they may not necessarily be tied to occupational outcomes. The participants of this study experience callings tied to a variety of non-occupational outcomes as evidence by how they measure their success based on comfort, their ability to service others outside of work (e.g., parents), and acceptance. For undocumented immigrants, documentation was also seen as a non-occupational outcome of an intergenerational calling. Thus, the outcomes of a calling were often tied to factors outside work and not immediately accessible as they occurred intergenerationally.

Dark side of callings

Several scholars have written about the negative aspects of calling (see Berkelaar & Buzzanell, 2015; Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007; Molloy & Faust, 2016). Of relevance to this study are: the potential for calling to be used as a form of social control and the psychological effects for those who struggle to fulfill a calling. In this study, several participants struggled to navigate governmental, health, and education institutions. For many, there is ambiguity that is tied into each of the institutions that was entered that affected their success. Several participants were willing to unintentionally play into deservingness narratives, for example, to be successful in

college. This desire to succeed was fueled by a pressure to sacrifice for children, thus accepting several forms of discrimination, or to validate parents, therefore attempting to navigate the multitude of contradictory expectations.

Pragmatic Contributions

The growing number of immigrants in this country suggests an increased presence of immigrants and their descendants entering organizations (e.g., schools, workplaces) in the United States. I would caution any organization that seeks to support immigrants to consider the intergenerational traumas held by immigrants. At the very least, these findings indicate the need for access to mental health programs from workplaces and educational institutions that aim to support immigrant workers and students. Several participants described stress from their intergenerational callings that did not deter them from their occupational paths but created additional challenges. Participants who were undocumented also expressed feeling unwelcomed and connected this to their mental health. This study includes excerpts from these conversations but leaves out more graphic details (e.g., suicidal ideation and/or attempts) out of respect to the participants who shared these experiences. In addition to indicating the need for more access to and promotion of mental health care, these narratives also have implications for the way immigration is discussed. These implications are discussed next.

These findings also point to a potential political shift in how immigration policy is discussed. Conversations about immigration policies that focus on border security and deservingness ignore that these policies can have deadly consequences. This study's participants provided their own stories of struggling to maintain a healthy outlook. These stories, unfortunately, add to a pattern of policy contributing to immigrant deaths. The American

Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA; 2019) have maintained a record of deaths at adult

detention centers since 2005 and have documented over 30 deaths. The Colibri Center for

Human Rights (2015), which attempts to identify the bodies of immigrants found in the Arizona

desert also faults the United States for counting on immigrants' deaths in an inhumane policy

known as Prevention Through Deterrence. Prevention Through Deterrence redirected

immigrants' crossing journeys towards the most dangerous parts of the Arizona desert and have

contributed to the deaths of over 2,000 adults and children. The American Civil Liberties Union

(ACLU; 2016) found that ICE had bad medical standards and poorly investigated the deaths of

people detained in their facilities. They also reported that under the Obama administration 56

deaths occurred in ICE custody. This figure includes 6 suicides. Although these deaths are

different from those the mental health distress discussed by participants, I group these events

together because they draw attention to the very real consequences of immigration policy.

Many conversations center around the control of immigrants attempting to enter the

country (e.g., militarizing the border, building a wall) or adjustment of status (e.g., DACA).

However, the heavy focus on health also indicates that pro-immigration policies should mobilize

to find ways to help immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, gain access to health care

coverage in order to meet basic needs. Elisabeth (1.5, Mexico) expressed that access to

healthcare should come before conversations about citizenship and residency. Ruben (1.5,

Mexico) also explained that many people assume that undocumented immigrants want to stay in

the country. In reality, he explains, many undocumented immigrants stay in the country to work

but hope for a way to visit their home countries that is not necessarily U.S. citizenship. Elisabeth,

Ruben, and many participants call attention to the fact that many immigrants in the United States

do not necessarily desire policies that create paths to citizenship. When reconsidering how

immigration is talked about in the media, in policy, and in daily discourse, the outcomes of the country's immigration policies should not be neglected. Discussions of immigration policy should not separate policies from their inhumane consequences.

Research Directions and Conclusion

Based on these findings, I recommend three directions for future research. First, calling researchers should take into account the political, economic, and social contexts in which callings are conducted. In particular, an effort should be made to continue to understand how race and policies enable and restrict the fulfillment of a calling. Second, although I focus on Latinx immigrants, I believe the framework of intergenerational callings should be applied to other groups of people in which marginalization and oppression occurs. For example, in the United States, many impoverished communities are beginning to enter educational institutions. Many first-generation immigrants from these communities may face a pressure to perform well similar to the participants of this study. Finally, studies can also look into specific cases in which members of an intergenerational calling do not fulfill their calling.

Overall, by shining a light onto the experiences of immigrants as accomplishing intergenerational callings, new portrayals start to appear that combat narratives of deservingness. Rather than portraying immigrants as deserving, these findings point to immigrants as members of families and communities with complex goals and challenges. This representation of immigrants is more holistic as it puts a focus on the interrelation between the goals of immigrants and variety of institutional barriers in the United States.

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APPENDIX A. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH)

Introduction: Hello _____. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today! As I said over email, in this interview I want to talk about your experiences as a first- and second-immigrant. I have our conversation scheduled for an hour, but you are welcome to stay longer or leave earlier. Also, I was raised by first-generation immigrants so I completely understand that there are topics that are more sensitive. If you are uncomfortable with any of my questions, just let me know and we can move on! Do you have any questions now?

Grand Tour Question

Using your experiences, describe what it is like being a first/second/third generation immigrant in the United States.

FIRST-GENERATION:

Demographic Checklist	When did you first come to the U.S.?		Why did you come to the U.S?		How did you get here?	
What country did you come from?		How old were you?		How long have you been in the United States		Do you have children and grandchildren?	

SECOND-GENERATION:

Demographic Checklist (If appropriate)	When did you or your parent/grandparents first come to the U.S.?		Why did you/they come to the U.S?		How did you/they get here?	
What country is your family from?		How old were you?		How long have you been in the United States?		Do you have children and grandchildren?	

Segment 1: Questions about Immigration and Policy

1. What have been the best and worst parts about immigrating to the United States?
   a. What were some challenges that you did not anticipate?
2. If you were a politician, what changes would you make to immigration laws? What changes would you make to how immigration is discussed in the media?
3. What would you say are some of the most important immigration issues right now?
4. Describe how you believe the government's stance on immigration has affected your life. (in the past, present, and future)

5. Who would you say is involved in creating policies like U.S. immigration policies?

Segment 2: Questions about Work

1. Tell me about the kind of work you do.
2. Tell me more about your parents and grandparents work.
3. Do you consider yourself successful in life? Why or why not?
4. What makes it easier to get up and go to work in the morning?
5. Do you talk to your children/parents/grandparents about work?
    a. What do you say to them? Why?
    b. When do you talk to them? (or) When did you stop talking do them?
6. If your child told you they wanted to do the same work as you, what would you tell them.
7. If you were sitting with a child (e.g., son, daughter, niece, nephew) and they asked about work what would you tell them?
8. What advice have you received from your parents and grandparents about work?
9. Why do you work?
10. How has the government affected your job and/or ability to work?

Segment 3: Questions about Family and Community

1. Tell me about your family and community.
    a. In what ways have they helped you with your work?
2. What are some struggles you face as a first/second-generation immigrant?
3. What struggles do your children face?
4. What struggles did (or do) your parents, or grandparents face?
5. Do you know how your parents, or grandparents, got into the United States? If so, how?
6. Do you think that the government views you differently from how it views your parents and grandparents? In what ways? Is one generation viewed more favorably?

Closing:

1. Anything about immigrant experience that I missed?
2. What do you think is the most important thing we talked about today?

I just wanted to add, I grew up in family of immigrants, so I have an understanding about how scary and dangerous it can be to talk about these topics and experiences. For this reason, I am going to assign fake names to you and anyone or anything you mention. Do you have a preferred pseudonym? Why did you select that name?

GUÍA DE ENTREVISTA (ESPAÑOL)

Introducción: Hola _____. ¡Gracias por aceptar reunirse conmigo hoy! Como le dije por correo electrónico, esta entrevista me gustaria hablar sobre sus experiencias de inmigrante de primera/segunda/tercera generación. Tengo planeado hablar con usted por una hora, pero puede quedarse más tiempo o irse más temprano. Tambien quiero dejarle saber que mis padres son inmigrantes de primera generación, así que entiendo completamente que hay temas que son más sensibles. Si no se siente cómodo con alguna de mis preguntas, ¡hágamelo saber y podemos continuar a la siguiente pregunta! ¿Tiene alguna pregunta ahora?

Pregunta de "Grand Tour"
Usando sus experiencias, me puede describir cómo es ser un inmigrante de primera / segunda / tercera generación en los Estados Unidos.

PRIMERA GENERACIÓN:

Información demográfica		¿Cuándo vino usted a los Estados Unidos por primera vez?		¿Por qué vino a los Estado Unidos?		¿Cómo llego aquí?	
¿De qué país viene usted?		¿A que edad cruzaste?		¿Cuanto tiempo tienes viviendo en los Estado Unidos?		¿Cuanto tiempo tienes viviendo en los Estado Unidos?	

SEGUNDA O TERCERA GENERACIÓN:

Información demográfica (si es apropiado)		¿Cuándo vino usted o sus padres o abuelos a los Estados Unidos por primera vez?		¿Por qué viniste/vinieron a los Estado Unidos?		¿Cómo llegaste/llegaon aquí?	
¿De qué país viene su familia?		¿A que edad cruzaste?		¿Cuanto tiempo tienes viviendo en los Estado Unidos?		¿Cuanto tiempo tienes viviendo en los Estado Unidos?	

Segmento 1: Preguntas sobre Inmigración y Política

1. ¿Cuáles han sido las mejores y peores partes de ser inmigrante en los Estados Unidos?
   a. ¿Cuáles fueron algunos desafíos que no anticipo or esperaba?
2. ¿Si fueras un político, ¿qué cambios harías a las leyes de inmigración? ¿Qué cambios harías sobre cómo se discute la inmigración en los medios electronicos?
3. ¿Cuáles dirías que son algunos de los problemas o temas de inmigración más importantes en este momento?
4. Describa cómo crees que la posición del gobierno sobre la inmigración ha afectado tu vida. (en el pasado, presente y futuro)
5. ¿Quién dirías que está involucrado en la creación de políticas como las políticas de inmigración de los Estados Unidos?

Segmento 2: Preguntas sobre el Trabajo

1. Cuéntame sobre el tipo de trabajo que haces.
2. Cuénteme más sobre el trabajo de sus padres y abuelos.
3. ¿Te consideras exitoso/a en la vida? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
4. ¿Que hace que sea más fácil levantarse e ir a trabajar cada día?
5. ¿Hablas con tus hijos / padres / abuelos sobre el trabajo?
   a. ¿Que les dices a ellos? ¿Por qué?
   b. ¿Cuándo hablas con ellos? (o) ¿Cuándo dejaste de hablarles sobre el trabajo?
6. ¿Si algún día su hijo/hija le dice que quiere trabajar en lo mismo que usted, que les diría?
7. ¿Si estabas sentado con un/a niño/a (por ejemplo, hijo, hija, sobrina, sobrino) y te preguntaron sobre el trabajo, ¿qué les dirías? ¿Algún consejo?
8. ¿Qué consejos te dieron tus padres or abuelos sobre el trabajo?
9. ¿Por qué trabajas?
10. **¿Cómo ha afectado la política del gobierno a su trabajo y/o a su abilidad de trabajar?**

Segmento 3: Preguntas sobre Familia y Communidad

1. Cuéntame sobre tu familia y comunidad.
   a. ¿En qué maneras te han ayudado con tu trabajo?
2. ¿Cuáles son algunas de las luchas que enfrenta como inmigrante de primera/segunda/tercera generación?
3. ¿Qué dificultades enfrentan tus hijos?
4. ¿Qué luchas enfrentaron (o enfrentan) tus padres o abuelos?
5. ¿Sabes cómo llegaron tus padres o abuelos al los Estados Unidos? ¿Cómo?
6. ¿Cree que el gobierno te ve de manera diferente a como ven a tus padres y abuelos? ¿De qué maneras? ¿Quizas una generación es vista de manera más favorable?

Clausura:

1. ¿Hay algo sobre la experiencia de inmigrante de la cual no pregunte?
2. ¿En tu opinión, cual fue el tema más importante de la que hablamos hoy?

Solo quería agregar que crecí en una familia de inmigrantes, así que entiendo qué aterrador y peligroso puede ser platicar sobre estas temas y experiencias. Por esta razón, voy a asignar nombres falsos a usted y a cualquier persona o cosa que mencione. ¿Tienes un seudónimo preferido? ¿Por qué seleccionaste ese nombre?

APPENDIX B. RECRUITMENT FLYERS (ENGLISH & SPANISH)

SEEKING PARTICIPANTS

STUDY TITLE: "They crossed for me": A discursive analysis of perceptions of policy and "callings" across three generations of Latinx immigrants

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE?

The purpose of this study is to understand how first, second, and third generation immigrants make sense of the role of government in their daily lives, popular portrayals of immigrants, and their occupations.

WHO CAN PARTICIPATE?

If you, your parents, or your grandparents migrated to the United States from a Latin American country, you are eligible to participate.

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

You will participate in an interview lasting approximately 40-90 minutes. Interviews can be conducted in English or Spanish and will take place in person, over the phone, or via Skype/Facetime. You will be asked questions about your job, immigrant portrayals, and government influence in your life. All your personal information will be destroyed after your interview to maintain confidentiality.

WILL I RECEIVE ANYTHING?

Each participant will receive $10 for their time. Highlighting the stories of immigrants may help challenge negative portrayals of immigrants and help us understand how governmental/political moves affect immigrants.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:
Virginia Sánchez Sánchez
Doctoral Candidate,
Purdue University

Email: vsanche@purdue.edu

Each Participant will be offered
$10
for their contribution to this study.

BUSCANDO PARTICIPANTES

NOMBRE DEL ESTUDIO: "Cruzaron por mí": Un análisis discursivo de las percepciones de política y los trabajos a través de tres generaciones de inmigrantes Latinx

¿CUÁL ES EL PRÓPOSITO?

El propósito de este estudio es comprender cómo los inmigrantes de primera, segunda y tercera generación dan sentido al papel del gobierno en su vida cotidiana, a las representaciones populares de los inmigrantes y a sus ocupaciones.

¿QUIÉN PUEDE PARTICIPAR?

Si usted, sus padres o sus abuelos emigraron a los Estados Unidos desde un país latinoamericano, es elegible para participar.

¿QUE TIENE QUE HACER?

Participará en una entrevista de aproximadamente 40-90 minutos en inglés o español. Entrevistas se llevarán a cabo en persona, por teléfono o a través de Skype/Facetime. Se le harán preguntas sobre su trabajo, las representaciones de inmigrantes y la influencia del gobierno en su vida. Toda su información personal será eliminada después de su entrevista por razones de confidencialidad.

¿RECIBIRÉ ALGO POR MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Cada participante recibirá $ 10 por su contribución. Las historias de inmigrantes son importantes para ayudar a desafiar las representaciones negativas de los inmigrantes y entender cómo los movimientos gubernamentales/políticos afectan a los inmigrantes.

PARA MAS INFORMACIÓN:
Virginia Sánchez Sánchez
Candidata Doctoral,
Purdue University

Correo Electronico: vsanche@purdue.edu

A cada participante se le ofrecerán
$10
por su contribución a este estudio.

APPENDIX C. EMAIL RECRUITMENT SCRIPTS

English

Dear **[potential participant's name],**

My name is Virginia Sánchez and I am a doctoral candidate at the Brian Lamb School of Communication at Purdue University. I am currently conducting a study that investigates how first- and second-generation immigrants make sense of the role of government in their daily lives, popular portrayals of immigrants, and their occupations. I am interested in talking to anyone of Latin American descent who migrated to the United States, or whose parents and/or grandparents migrated to the United States.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and consists of an individual interview (either face-to-face, phone, or Skype/Facetime). The interviews will last 40-90 minutes and will be scheduled at your convenience. All of your personal information will be deleted after your interview. Pseudonyms will be used to conceal your name and the names of people, organizations, and locations mentioned during the interview. Each participant will receive $10 cash, gift cards, online transfer, or anyway to prefer. If you are interested in participating, know of anyone who may be eligible and interested in participating, or have any questions about this study, please contact me at vsanche@purdue.edu or **[INSERT PHONE NUMBER]**.

Thank you in advance for your consideration!

Sincerely,
Virginia

Spanish

Estimado [**nombre del participante potencial**],

Mi nombre es Virginia Sánchez y soy candidata doctoral en la Escuela de Comunicación Brian Lamb (Brian Lamb School of Communication) de la Universidad de Purdue. Estoy llevando a cabo un estudio que investiga cómo inmigrantes de primera, segunda y tercera generación dan sentido al papel del gobierno en su vida cotidiana, representaciones populares de inmigrantes y a sus ocupaciones. Estoy interesada en hablar con personas de descendencia latinoamericana que hayan emigrado a los Estados Unidos, o cuyos padres y/o abuelos hayan emigrado a los Estados Unidos.

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria y consiste de una entrevista individual (en persona, por teléfono o Skype/Facetime). Las entrevistas durarán de 40 a 90 minutos y se programarán según su conveniencia. Toda su información personal será eliminada después de su entrevista. Se usarán seudónimos para ocultar su nombre y los nombres de personas, organizaciones y lugares mencionados durante su entrevista. Cada participante recibirá $ 10 en efectivo, tarjetas de regalo, transferencia en línea, o del modo que usted prefiera. Si está interesado en participar, conoce a alguien que sería elegible e interesado en participar, o tiene alguna pregunta sobre este estudio, contácteme en vsanche@purdue.edu o [**número de teléfono**].

¡Gracias por su consideración!

Sinceramente,
Virginia

VITA

Virginia Sánchez Sánchez
July 2019

Education

Ph.D., Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN   January 2016-August 2019
        Major: Organizing for Change
        Minors: Immigrant Labor and Organization Policies & Communication Methods
        Dissertation: "Dando las gracias a mis papás": A discursive analysis of perceptions of
                policy and callings across generations of Latinx immigrants
        Advisor: Patrice M. Buzzanell
        Committee Members: Felicia Roberts, Joshua M. Scacco, Kevin Stainback (Sociology)

M.A., Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN   August 2013-December 2015
        Major: Organizational Communication
        Minor: Interpretive Methods in Communication
        Thesis: Constructing action-oriented organizations: Examining the relationship between
                individual and organizational identity
        Advisor: Stacey L. Connaughton
        Committee Members: Patrice M. Buzzanell, Ralph Webb

B.A. with Honors, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI   June 2009-May 2013
        Majors: Advertising & Corporate Communication
        Marquette University Honors Program
        Marquette University Urban Scholar
        Educational Opportunity Program
        Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program
        Project Title: 'Small hinges swing big doors': Social entrepreneurs and waves of grand
                change
        Advisor: Jeremy Fyke

Academic Appointments

August 2019	Assistant Professor, School of Communication and Journalism Auburn University
August 2017-Present	Graduate Lecturer, Brian Lamb School of Communication Purdue University
August 2013-June 2017	Graduate Assistant, Brian Lamb School of Communication Purdue University

Awards and Honors

Spring 2019   **Charles J. Steward Doctoral Fellowship | $750**
The Charles J. Stewart Doctoral Fellowship provides monetary support for doctoral students who are collecting and/or analyzing data for an independent research project. As a recipient of this award, I will use the funds to facilitate the transcription of interviews.

Fall 2018   **PROMISE Award | $500**
PROMISE awards promote research opportunities by supplementing departmental funds. As a recipient of this award, I will use the funds for recruitment of participants. My dissertation requires three interview sets (N=75). Funds from this award will be distributed to participants upon completion of an interview.

Summer 2018   **Charles Redding Fellow**
This fellowship was created by Professor Charles Redding to assist outstanding graduate students. Recipients receive funding for two summer months. As a recipient, I used these two months to attend an intensive writing workshop in which I refined my prospectus to prepare for defense.

Spring 2018   **PROMISE Award | $1,200**
PROMISE awards promote research opportunities by supplementing departmental funds. As a recipient of this award, I used the funds to travel to Prague for the 2018 Annual Conference of the International Communication Association. I presented original research that focused on instances of resilience in refugee narratives published on the popular photoblog Humans of New York.

Spring 2016-Fall 2017   **Purdue Doctoral Fellow**
The Purdue Doctoral Fellowship is used to recruit outstanding graduate students who will enhance the diversity of the student body through their diverse backgrounds, views, and experiences. The award includes two years of funding, a Graduate Tuition Scholarship, and a medical insurance supplement. As a recipient, I used the fellowship to focus on coursework that enhanced my doctoral research which focuses on immigration policy and immigrant rights.

Research Interests

Immigrant Rights, Immigration, Meaningful Work, Calling, Organizational Communication, Family Communication

Research

Publications

Sánchez Sánchez, V. & Lillie, H. M. (Forthcoming). And then the war came: Examining resilience processes in the narratives of refugees. (*International Journal of Communication*)

Clair, R. P., Carlo, S., Lam, C., Nussman, J., Phillips, C., **Sánchez, V.,** Schnabel, E., & Yakova, L. (2014). Narrative theory and criticism: An overview toward clusters and empathy. *Review of Communication*, 14(1), 1-18. (Lead Article)
  *Reprinted in an edited volume entitled Micro-Histories of Communication Studies: Mapping the Future of Communication through Local Narratives

Manuscripts Under Review

Sánchez Sánchez, V., Martinez, E.K, & Jackson, D.L. (2018). "Double syringe!": Using a popular TV show argument to illustrate the differences of objective and interpretive paradigmatic perspectives in action. (Invited to Revise and Resubmit: *Communication Teacher*)

Sánchez Sánchez, V., Rawat, M., Shields, A. N., Morgan, M., & Anderson, L. B. Catty women and confident men: A standpoint theory analysis of experiences of incivility and gender in nursing. (Under Review)

Manuscripts In Progress

Sánchez Sánchez, V. & Perreira, K. Families as fields: Proposing a Bourdieusian framework to answer the calls for more Critical Family Communication (CFC) Research. (Awaiting final comments from co-authors)

Sánchez Sánchez, V. Our call: A proposal for the integrated calling of the immigrant worker and the second generation immigrant.

Martinez, E.K, **Sánchez Sánchez, V.**, & Jackson, D.L. "What She Means to Say is…": Adapting Key & Peele's Obama Anger Translator to Demonstrate Mutedness. (Awaiting final review from first author)

Martinez, E. K., & **Sánchez Sánchez, V**. Reimagining the bunker: Increasing the stakes in role-playing and group decision making simulations.

Conference Presentations

Sánchez Sánchez, V. (2019, April). *Are you one of the good ones?: Unpacking the social divisions amongst immigrants with intersectional identities.* Presented to the 89th Annual Southern States Communication Association Conference as part of a proposed panel titled "An Interdisciplinary Investigation of Intersectionality," Montgomery, AL.

Sánchez Sánchez, V. (2018, November). *"Womentoring: Intersectionality- You keep saying that word-I do not think it means what you think it means."* Presented to the Women's Caucus of the 2018 National Communication Association Convention, Salt Lake City, UT.

> * This presentation was be part of a series of "Womentoring" panels sponsored by the Women's Caucus that focuses on active mentoring.

Sánchez Sánchez, V. (2018, November). *"They crossed for me": A discursive analysis of perceptions of policy and "callings" across three generations of Latinx immigrants.* Presented to the Roundtables on Research in Progress (RRiP) of the 2018 National Communication Association Convention, Salt Lake City, UT.

Sánchez Sánchez, V. & Perreira, K. (2018, November). *Families as fields: Proposing a Bourdieusian framework to answer the calls for more Critical Family Communication (CFC) Research.* Presented to the Family Communication Division of the 2018 National Communication Association Convention, Salt Lake City, UT.

Martinez, E. K., & **Sánchez Sánchez, V**. (2018, November). *Reimagining the bunker: Increasing the stakes in role-playing and group decision making simulations.* Presented to the G.I.F.T.S. session of the 2018 National Communication Association Convention, Salt Lake City, UT.

Sánchez Sánchez, V. (2018, October). *"They crossed for me": A discursive analysis of perceptions of policy and "callings" across three generations of Latinx immigrants.* Presented to the 2018 Organizational Communication Mini-Conference, New Brunswick, NJ.

Sánchez Sánchez, V. & Lillie, H. M. (2018, May). *And then the war came: Examining resilience processes in the narratives of refugees.* Presented to the theme sessions of the 2018 International Communication Association Convention, Prague, Czech Republic.

Sánchez Sánchez, V., & Lillie, H. M. (2017, November). *And then the war came: Examining resilience processes in the narratives of refugees.* Presented to the Roundtables on Research in Progress (RRiP) of the 2017 National Communication Association Convention, Dallas, TX.

Sánchez Sánchez, V., Rawat, M., Shields, A. N., Morgan, M., & Anderson, L. (2017, November). *"We don't hire bitches": A standpoint theory analysis of nurses' experiences of incivility and gender.* Presented to the Feminist and Women's Studies Division of the 2017 National Communication Association Convention, Dallas, TX.

Shields, A. N., **Sánchez, V.**, Rawat, M., Morgan, M., & Anderson, L. (2017, April). *Barbie just left the floor: An application of communication accommodation theory in the context of bullying/incivility.* Presented to the 2017 D.C. Health Communication Conference, Washington, D.C..

Sánchez, V. (2016, November). *Our call: A proposal for the integrated calling of the immigrant worker and the first generation immigrant.* Presented to the Ethnography Division of the 2016 National Communication Association Convention, Philadelphia, PA.

Sánchez, V., & Bergman, M. (2016, November). *The Marsha Corporation: Putting power distance in context.* Presented to the G.I.F.T.S. session of the 2016 National Communication Association Convention, Philadelphia, PA.

Bergman, M. & **Sánchez, V**. (2016, November). *The escaped prisoner: Teaching ethical approaches using Plato's allegory of the cave.* Presented to the G.I.F.T.S. session of the 2016 National Communication Association Convention, Philadelphia, PA.

Clair, R. P., Carlo, S., Lam, C., Nussman, J., Phillips, C., **Sánchez, V.,** Schnabel, E., & Yakova, L. (2014, November). *Narrative theory and criticism: An overview toward clusters and empathy.* Paper presented to the NCA Centennial! Celebration Series of the 2014 National Communication Association Convention, Chicago, IL.

Sánchez, V. & Fyke, J. (2013, November). *"It's not my organization": Reframing the social in social entrepreneurship.* Paper presented to the Roundtables on Research in Progress (RRiP) of the 2013 National Communication Association Convention, Washington, D.C.

Sánchez, V. (2013, June). *"Small hinges swing big doors": Social entrepreneurs and waves of grand change.* Paper presented to the 27th National Conference on Undergraduate Research, La Crosse, WI.

Sánchez, V. (2012, July). *"Small hinges swing big doors": Social entrepreneurs and waves of grand change.* Paper and poster presented to the 22nd Annual McNair Symposium at Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI.

Teaching

Purdue University

Summer 2019; Summer 2017	Instructor of Record, Introduction to Communication Theory (COM 102)
Fall 2018	Instructor of Record, Organizational Communication (COM 324)
Spring 2018-Fall 2018	Lead Recitation Instructor, Introduction to Communication Theory (COM 102)
Fall 2016-Fall 2017	Recitation Instructor, Introduction to Communication Theory (COM 102)

Summer 2016	Instructor of Record, Small Group Communication (COM 320)
Spring 2016; Fall 2014 -Spring 2015	Instructor of Record, Intercultural Communication (COM 303)
Fall 2013-Summer 2015	Instructor of Record, Fundamentals of Speech Communication (COM 114)

Marquette University

August 2012-June 2013	Wakerly Training Academy Certified Instructor; Adobe Photoshop, Illustrator, & InDesign Weekend Workshops

Invited Teaching Presentations and Talks

Communicative constitution of organizations: An introduction and overview. COM 102: Introduction to Communication Theory at Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, on November 15tth, 2018

Standpoint theory: An introduction and overview. COM 102: Introduction to Communication Theory at Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, on September 13th, 2018

Communication accommodation theory: An introduction and overview. COM 102: Introduction to Communication Theory at Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, on April 10th, 2018

Genderlect theory: An introduction and overview. COM 102: Introduction to Communication Theory at Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, on December 7th, 2017

Standpoint theory: An introduction and overview. COM 102: Introduction to Communication Theory at Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, on April 25th, 2017

Intercultural conflict: Applying Kim's model of intercultural conflict to the case of Maria. COM 212: Interpersonal Communication at Purdue University, IN, on September 16th, 2016

Service

University and Departmental Service

Spring 2018	**Advertising Committee Member**, Communication Graduate Student Association Conference
Spring 2018	**Grading Rubrics Workshop Coordinator** Brian Lamb School of Communication mentorship program

Fall 2017   **Instructional Mentor,** Brian Lamb School of Communication mentorship program (Mentee: Lillian Feder)

Spring 2017   **Advertising Committee Chair**, Communication Graduate Student Association Conference

Fall 2015-Spring 2016   **Graduate Student Representative,** Brian Lamb School of Communication

Spring 2016   **Submissions Committee Chair**, Communication Graduate Student Association Conference

Fall 2014-Spring 2015   **Public Information Committee Chair** Purdue Graduate Student Government

Fall 2014-Spring 2015   **Purdue Graduate Student Government Representative**, Communication Graduate Student Association

Spring 2015   **Advertising Committee Chair**, Communication Graduate Student Association Conference

2014   **Volunteer/Photographer**, Organizational Communication Mini Conference, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, September 13th-14th.

Disciplinary Service

2018   **Reviewer,** National Communication Association 2018 Annual Conference (Women's Caucus/Feminist Women's Studies Division; Student Section)

2018   **Student Representative,** National Communication Association Women's Caucus/Feminist Women's Studies Division

2017   **Reviewer,** International Communication Association 2018 Annual Conference (Theme Sessions)

2017   **Reviewer,** Central States Communication Association 2018 Annual Conference

2016   **Reviewer,** Central States Communication Association 2017 Annual Conference

Editorial Experience

Sánchez Hernández, M. (2017). *Raíces de un pueblo peregrino: Genealogías y breves reseñas del origen de Palos Altos, Jalisco y lugares aledaños (Vol I, II, III)*. Guadalajara, Jalisco: Grafisma Editores S.A. de C.V.
*Assisted author with copy editing of Spanish text and photographic restoration

Membership in Professional Organizations

National Communication Association (Since 2012)
International Communication Association (Since 2017)
Central States Communication Association (Since 2018)

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