

BEYOND SURVIVAL

Beyond Survival: Fostering Thriving Immigrant Communities in Santa Cruz through
Multi-Faceted Social Services

Thesis by

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Table of Contents:

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction and the Scope of the Problem

- A. Abstract.....
- B. Research Design.....

Chapter 2: Literature Review

- A. Introducing Social Well-being: A Sociological Approach to Well-being.....
- B. Social Support at the Community & Systemic Level
- C. Belonging, Interconnectedness, & Sense of Community.....
- D. Social Integration and Differential Inclusion.....
- E. Social Service Provision & Immigration
- F. Defining Thriving at the Individual Level.....
- G. Social Thriving: An Attempt at Conceptualizing Collective Thriving.....
- H. How I Define Individual and Collective Thriving.....

Chapter 3: Methodology and Data Collection

Chapter 4: Presentation of Findings

- A. Social Support at the Systemic Level: Access to Multi-faceted Services.....
- B. Social Integration and Differential Inclusion.....
- C. Belonging through Social Acceptance, Social Support, and Visibility.....
- D. Social Support at the Community Level: Mutual Aid, Solidarity, and Organizing.....
- E. Collective Thriving: Social Thriving through Systemic and Community-led Action.....

Chapter 5: Conclusion & Limitations of Design

Chapter 6: Next Steps & Recommendations

Appendices

References.....

“My mission in life is not merely to survive, but to thrive; and to do so with some passion, some compassion, some humor, and some style. Surviving is important. Thriving is elegant.”

—Maya Angelou

Introduction:

Maya Angelou's quotation above, which suggests that humans are not interested in merely surviving, but actually "thriving," begs the question, "what does it mean to thrive?" At the individual level, healthy thriving individuals are seen as those who experience overall well-being and a sense of success. Yet, because little agreement and scholarship exists around a solid definition of *thriving at the collective level*, it can be particularly difficult to envision what a thriving community looks like and what conditions are needed to thrive. Being able to understand what communities, especially those most vulnerable and marginalized, need in order to thrive would help initiate fundamental conversations around how service providers and policymakers can collaborate to eliminate barriers and provide crucial resources that foster thriving environments. This switch in approach also allows us to both understand and highlight the steps already being taken by community members to help alleviate both individual and communal obstacles, support one another, and create the necessary conditions for their community to thrive, in place of institutional or systemic aid.

Abstract:

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how service providers and the immigrant communities they serve define "thriving" and "obstacles to thriving," in order to better understand how social service provision can be modified to better accommodate the direct needs of immigrant families in Santa Cruz. By including both perspectives, I attempt to capture what both believe is needed to create equitable conditions for immigrants to thrive and highlight any possible agreements or disagreements. Drawing on 11 interviews with service providers and 52 interviews with immigrant family members, this work is based on an interdisciplinary analysis of

psychological and sociological theories on (social) well-being, belonging, social integration, social support, and access to social services. In the process, this paper examines how immigrant communities are uniquely impacted by intersecting layers of legal and structural violence, lack of access to appropriate resources, and discrimination in the workplace as well as the educational, legal, and health sector. Because this paper aims to identify gaps and assets in social service provision and advocate for increased accessibility of multifaceted social services, I have formulated a working definition of both individual and collective thriving that examines the transition from individual to collective thriving through social cohesion and both systemic and community-led action. This analysis is based on a qualitative in-depth analysis of immigrant families as both individuals and a collective, a shift in approach that shys away from individuals as the primary unit of analysis when operationalizing thriving.

Research Design:

Overarching Research Questions:

Throughout my research project, I intend to address the following questions: How do Santa Cruz social service agencies and immigrant families define what a thriving immigrant community looks like and what are the primary obstacles to thriving for immigrant families? What do immigrant families need to thrive? My follow up questions include: What types of social services promote or hinder thriving? What obstacles are faced in trying to promote thriving? What does it mean to thrive at the collective or community level?

Conceptual Framework (Key Concepts and Literatures):

In order to provide context for my research and better understand conditions that determine a thriving community, I will be analyzing how sociological and psychological

literature define what it means to thrive at the individual and collective level. In doing so, I will be reviewing literature on theories of well-being and social well-being, integration and differential inclusion, belonging, social support, social cohesion, and social thriving. I will then use this to formulate my own, operational definitions of individual and collective thriving within marginalized communities, notably immigrant families.

Literature Review:

A. Introducing Social Well-being: A Sociological Approach to Well-Being

While psychological literature focuses on a very individualistic approach to well-being, sociological literature attempts to steer away from that and center well-being around a more collectivist approach that highlights the different roles communities play in addressing societal challenges. In an attempt to create a sociological definition of well-being (a.k.a social well-being) that reflects positive social health, Keyes first defines well being as “the subjective evaluation of life via satisfaction and affect” that directly results from adjusting and adapting to society at large (Keyes 1998:121). Overall, social well-being can be illustrated through multiple dimensions including social integration, social acceptance, social contribution, social actualization, and social coherence. By measuring these different social dimensions of wellbeing that are grounded in classical sociological theory and social psychological perspectives, the study aims to argue that life is surrounded by social challenges as a result of being embedded in social structures and communities (Keyes 1998). Therefore, evaluations of overall well-being should acknowledge these different dimensions and the fundamental impact that institutions and society

at large have on an individual's ability to thrive. In regards to adolescent thriving, by supporting and nurturing an individual's sparks (self-identified passion for a certain skill or interest), amplifying their voice, and providing the relationships and opportunities necessary to reinforce and nourish thriving, individual levels of prosociality and social well-being increase (Scales, Benson, and Roehlkepartain 2010).

B. Social Support at the Community & Systemic level

Feeney and Collins conceptualize thriving as consisting of hedonic well-being, eudaimonic well-being, psychological well-being, social well-being, and physical well-being. They argue, “relationship support contributes to optimal well-being...given the circumstances and environments,” in which individuals are situated (Feeney and Collins 2015:115). Social support promotes growth and prosperity in those domains of wellbeing and not just in adversity-related situations. In looking at thriving through relationships, individuals who are more socially integrated and who experience valuable social support through deep and meaningful close relationships with others have better mental health and higher levels of well-being (Feeney and Collins 2015). Well-being is defined as “pleasant affect, life satisfaction, and satisfaction within specific life domains,” “having social and personal resources for making progress toward valued goals” and “the fulfillment of basic needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness that promote intrinsic motivation and growth” (Feeney and Collins 2015:115). In order to understand how relationships impact well-being and how people ultimately thrive, we must expand on existing literature and form theoretical models that illustrate “specific interpersonal processes that have implications for human thriving” and “conceptualize social support as an interpersonal process that functions to promote thriving” when experiencing

hardship or opportunities for growth (Feeney and Collins 2015:114). Both authors highlight the importance of supportive and meaningful relationships that promote and enhance well-being, and allow social well-being to occur regardless of whether or not adversity is present in an individual's life.

In the absence of substantial literature integrating social support with positive well-being or markers of thriving, Feeney and Collins have argued that thriving is not simply the absence of mental or physical illness or the result of an individual's ability to cope with stress and adversity. It is instead an individual's growth, development, and overall sense of prosperity and self-actualization which is enabled and cultivated by an individual's relationships with others (Feeney and Collins 2015). A state of thriving is only possible once an individual is able to "fully participate in opportunities for fulfillment, exploration, development, and personal growth through work, play, socializing, learning, creating, and pursuing hobbies" (Feeney and Collins 2015:116). It is crucial that individuals feel as though they are making meaningful contributions to their communities and society overall (Feeney and Collins 2015). Ideally, being able to flourish within both contexts, facing adversity and taking advantage of life opportunities, would then create a "maximally thriving individual." Within the context of thriving through adversity, social support helps reframe or redefine adversity as something that can be overcome while simultaneously providing a viable source of strength and sense of protection or safety that enables the individual to "exceed prior baseline levels of functioning," and thrive either due to or despite of their situation (Feeney and Collins 2015:116-118). Within the context of thriving through participation in life opportunities for growth and development, social support helps identify and reframe opportunities as positive challenges that then nurture the desire to create or

seize these opportunities, facilitate access to resources to set and meet goals, and provide the necessary comfort and reassurance needed to enable an individual to explore the world confidently and thus thrive (Feeney and Collins 2015). This level of support from others requires that an individual's support system be equipped with the necessary skills, resources (cognitive, emotional, and tangible), motivation, and dedication to supporting the individual.

It is only obvious to assume that as support systems service providers must also possess these qualities to ensure that they are taking an approach to social support that promotes thriving in the communities that they serve. When faced with the structural consequences of legal violence, undocumented mothers have an increased likelihood of falling back or relying on their social networks. According to Abrego and Schmalzbauer, community support and social networking help immigrant mothers become better prepared to tackle everyday challenges by helping them, “find work, and access social services, resources and information essential to their families’ well-being” (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:11). Lack of Spanish-speaking workers and workers familiar with the US immigration system in the social service sector contribute to existing barriers and lack of accessibility to resources and opportunities for non-English speaking immigrant communities. This, accompanied with legal violence, often places undocumented mothers uniquely at risk. Such situations cause immigrant families to avoid accessing social services in all sectors (healthcare, education, etc.) out of fear of being targeted by immigration officials or having records of service-use cited and used against them in legalization efforts in the future (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018). On the other hand, increases in ethnic representation and biliteracy in service providers, “allows undocumented mothers to better navigate daily life when they can access services to help meet their children’s needs” (Abrego and Schmalzbauer

2018:15). In this sense, social networks are fundamental to the well-being of immigrant families.

Similarly, lack of ethnic representation as well as established immigrant networks and safe spaces can make it increasingly difficult for immigrant populations to receive the support they need. Abrego and Schmalzbauer illustrate that immigrant women more specifically, “make meaning out of place and motherhood based on the resources they are able to access through networks” (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:15). In creating networks with other mothers and families, immigrant mothers find strength as well as “emotional and pragmatic mothering support” that helps them achieve their mothering goals even in geographic locations like Montana that may not be the most immigrant friendly (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:15). In other locations traditionally more receptive to immigration like Los Angeles, “densely built Latino enclaves facilitate network formation,” and in those that are predominantly undocumented promote solidarity and a sense of belonging that is crucial for undocumented families (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:15). Having tightly knit immigrant communities helps normalize the immigrant experience and creates space for members to share strategies for navigating their undocumented identity and finding resources to provide for their families.

C. Belonging, Interconnectedness, and Sense of Community

When analyzing the notion of belonging, Yuval-Davis argues that belonging is constructed on multiple analytical levels including social location, identification and emotional attachment, as well as ethical and political values. Belonging is not only a construction of collective identities and attachments but also the distinct ways in which an individual identifies as belonging to a particular collective. She defines the politics of belonging as the “dirty work of

boundary maintenance” that establishes a sense of “us” and “them” (Yuval-Davis 2006: 204). In this sense, politics of belonging articulate the power relations and structures around belonging that determine who belongs and who doesn't (Yuval-Davis 2006). Essentially, a person's location, experiences and definitions of self, and social values help to shape their unique perspective which constructs these larger, imagined communities on the scale of the nation that enforce distinct boundaries of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006). Distinct political projects of belonging establish categorical boundaries that position people either within or outside of different collectives (Yuval-Davis 2006). As such, politics of belonging involves determining whether others stand within or outside of this “imaginary boundary line” of the U.S. and other communities of belonging.

The politics of belonging are reflected through the concept of citizenship and how it creates barriers like administrative, legal, and structural violence that constrict feelings of belonging (to a larger collective) among undocumented immigrants (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018). Yuval- Davis argues belonging is about emotional attachment at the subject-level and defines it as feeling “at home” (Yuval-Davis 2006 :204). This can be a difficult feeling to acquire when pervasive immigration laws allow for the immigrant community to be glaringly mistreated which produces fear and anxiety while increasing vulnerability to exploitation (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018). By recognizing the place-specific structural challenges and limitations that undocumented mothers face, for example, you are able to see how their social location, identities, and personal values shape their feelings of belonging (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018). Undocumented mothers are able to create a sense of belonging in their communities and place themselves within certain categorical boundaries by constructing and assessing social

networks whether it be through churches or their child's education (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018). In other words, despite facing different forms of legal and structural violence, "undocumented women with children make place meaningful by taking advantage of those characteristics of their environment that allow them to fulfill their socially constructed roles as mothers" (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:11). The frameworks of motherhood, geography and illegality thus intersect to shape varying experiences of exploitation and multidimensional agency. How immigrant communities fare socially and economically depends largely on their physical location and environment because it can determine job opportunities, levels of safety and social acceptance (based on the history of co-ethnic communities), as well as state and local policies which can facilitate or block access to services.

More specific to an educational setting, feelings of social acceptance, belongingness, and community are crucial to fostering supportive school environments. Having a sense of community translates to a general feeling of belonging within a collective. Osterman argues that, "individuals have psychological needs, that satisfaction of these needs affects perception and behavior, and that the characteristics of the social context influence how well these needs are met" (Osterman 2000:323). Notably, "students' experience of acceptance influences multiple dimensions of their behavior," however, "schools adopt organizational practices that neglect and may actually undermine [their] experience of membership in a supportive community" (Osterman 2000:324). By promoting individualism and competition within school culture, organizational policies and practices systematically prevent and preclude the development of community among students and directly contribute to students' experience of isolation, alienation, and polarization (Osterman 2000). Essential to human growth and development, the

need for relatedness or the need to experience belongingness and sense of community are integral to maintaining overall well-being and healthy psychological development. If not met within the educational setting, these needs can lead to diminished motivation, impaired development, alienation, and poor performance (Osterman 2000). Because the need to experience belongingness is illustrated as a basic psychological need, schools are responsible for actively creating environments that address these discrepancies and foster belonging.

For the immigrant community, schools play a fundamental role in creating a sense of inclusion and/or exclusion which in turn determines feelings of belonging. Schools serve as “sites of stratification” that create, “unequal distributions of most of the positive aspects of schooling,” including feelings of inclusion and safety that result from being fully embedded in the school community by school-based agents like peers, teachers, and/or staff (Gonzalez 2016:73). This is reinforced through school sorting practices that label students according to ability and behavior in middle school and high school. This can result in educational inequalities, differential levels of opportunity and social support, and varying messages of belonging which can create predetermined academic trajectories for students perceived as college-goers or early-exiters (Gonzalez 2016). In this sense, academic success and failure remain contingent upon whether school officials actively create a culture that facilitates a positive and supportive environment for the student (Gonzalez 2016). For college goers, schools often cultivate a sense of belonging by providing a sense of integration, inclusion, safety, and positive reinforcement. This allows them to construct and internalize, “self-narratives of success that reinforce their placement within the schools stratification system” (Gonzalez 2016: 78-79). Gonzalez argues that college goers are conditioned at a young age by school staff and teachers to be future

thinkers and planners, which has allowed the pursuit of further education to push them forward despite their social position (Gonzalez 2016). On the other hand, students labeled early-exiters often do not experience the same level of social support, school-based resources, and positive reinforcement that would provide them a sense of stability and comfort in educational settings (Gonzalez 2016). This early labeling (based on preconceived notions of how committed, deserving, or capable students are) leads to the internalization of these beliefs which causes early-exiters to feel disconnected, isolated, and excluded from the school community (Gonzalez 2016). This in turn, discourages early-exiters from pursuing higher education and deflects attention and accountability from school environments for their failure to adequately embed early-exiters in the school community (Gonzalez 2016). In other words, school life informs students' personal, "expectations for the future and sense of belonging," which can simultaneously form 'optimistic attitudes' for college-goers and 'pessimistic outlooks' for early-exiters (Gonzalez 2016: 43). Furthermore, the ability to rely on personal and social resources within educational settings can have a fundamental impact on a student's ability to overcome school-challenges and thrive. For many immigrants, access to higher education becomes the primary mechanism in integration, determining their level of "success" in the U.S. When schools make an effort to support students and provide a sense of belonging, they serve as an essential wellspring of social capital.

D. Social Integration and Differential Inclusion: How are immigrants incorporated into U.S. Society? How does integration promote thriving?

When examining the vast exclusion of immigrants in U.S. society, literature on differential exclusion illustrates the ways in which immigrants, particularly Filipino immigrants,

have been deemed critical to the country's economy, culture, identity, and power solely because of their, "designated subordinate standing," in society. As a racialized group, the process of inclusion they underwent as "second class citizens" being able to travel freely to and from work in the U.S. simultaneously resulted in, "legal subordination, economic exploitation, and cultural degradation" (Espiritu 2003:48). As marginalized bodies, "the inclusion of Filipinos has been possible, even desirable, only when it is coupled with the exploitation of their bodies, land, and resources, the denial of equal socioeconomic opportunities, and their categorization as sub persons of a different and inferior moral status" (Espiritu 2003:46-47). An incredibly powerful take on inclusion and exclusion within the larger conversation around integration, Espiritu highlights how Filipinos have been deliberately inserted into U.S. society in servile positions as an indispensable yet highly exploitable labor force across U.S. history. Applicable to other migrant ethnic groups as well, segmented assimilation theory which relies on acculturation and assimilation has focused on Latinx migrants more specifically.

At the larger scale, the US approach to immigration promotes assimilation and acculturation. Acculturation can lead to the, "loss of protective cultural health beliefs, behavioral practices, identity and values, and responses to continued discrimination" (Abraido-Lanza, Guier, and Colón 2010:407). On the other hand, assimilation is the process in which immigrants and their families begin to resemble the majority group with the aim of being incorporated into patterns of economic and social success (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012). Consequently, giving up parts of their cultural identities. Segmented assimilation theory, which consists of downward assimilation and upward mobility, fails to recognize internal differences within ethnic groups as well as the importance of the national context in which immigrants find themselves in (Crul et al.

2012). Based on a 3 year study exploring the factors that promote thriving among Latinos facing multiple layers of adversity like chronic illness and limited social class resources, some cultural protective factors that foster health and well being include valuing and viewing family as a source of support and strength as well as sharing a sense of social acceptance when facing insurmountable difficulties in life. If these serve as cultural protective factors then acculturation and assimilation can have detrimental effects on overall well-being. Therefore, a different approach to immigrant integration in the U.S. is needed, one that does not promote the erasure of cultural differences within the immigrant community but instead embraces them as an important part of a socially cohesive society.

Local governments and organizations play a crucial role in the development and implementation of immigrant integration programs that support the ability for immigrant communities to attain the necessary social resources to thrive. By amplifying and providing space for immigrant voices to be heard, federal and state policymakers alongside civil society organizations support immigrants achieve economic mobility and social inclusion which in turn helps build more secure, cohesive, and thriving immigrant communities (Gambetta & Gedrimaitė 2010). Countries have a responsibility to promote social cohesion, including helping to fully integrate immigrant residents into their community (Gambetta & Gedrimaitė 2010). Therefore, in analyzing integration versus assimilation, it is crucial to observe the pragmatics of organizations, state agencies, and societal institutions and the ways in which they respond to the specific needs of immigrants and the cultural diversity of the communities they are meant to serve.

Literature on thriving and civic engagement among American youth focuses on what optimal development entails and what it means to be a healthy and thriving young person. By making mutually beneficial contributions to themselves and society, an individual “whose sense of self involve a combined moral and civic commitment to contributing to society in manners reflective of their individual strengths, talents, and interest,” is taking the necessary steps to become a thriving young person (Lerner, Dowling, and Anderson 2003:171-172). In other words, an individual who is engaging in mutual aid and solidarity with their community to the best of their ability is taking the necessary steps to support not only their own but their communities’ ability to thrive. With that being said, those who are able to reach optimal development and thrive are those who live in a society that values and supports their ability to contribute in this way (Lerner et al. 2003). In order for optimal development to occur, institutions and systems within communities must ensure, “democracy, social justice, and equity to all of its citizens” (Lerner et al. 2003:174). When a community’s environment is free of discrimination and provided the right to equal opportunity and freedom then the necessary conditions for thriving and social cohesion to occur are cultivated (Lerner et al. 2003). By establishing policies and programs that provide individuals a safe environment, education, and freedom from prejudice and discrimination, institutions are providing the necessary resources and space for individuals and their communities to thrive.

E. Social Service Provision & Immigration: How does integration entail access to social services? How is social service provision a form of social support?

Looking at the different ways in which organizations and nonprofits act as immigrants rights advocates, Els de Graauw (2016) examines how settlement houses, mutual aid societies,

and associations such as the Chinese Progressive Association have provided necessary social resources. These include, “english language training, job referrals, health care, and funeral benefits,” as well as teaching leadership skills, getting immigrant members organized for civic and political purposes, and pressuring local, state and federal officials to address immigration rights (Graauw 2016:25). An immigrant serving grassroots organization based in San Francisco, the Chinese Progressive Association has actively provided know your rights workshops for tenants and workers, provided personalized legal services, and helped organize communities in campaigns to help, “fight substandard housing conditions and illegal employment practices,” that have led to the enactment and implementation of numerous local labor laws meant to target exploitative employers and improve the lives of low-wage immigrant workers (Graauw 2016:25). In this way, “civic organizations are able to provide services that facilitate immigrants’ social, economic, and political mobility” (Graauw 2016:26). To promote immigrants rights and integration, these settlement houses and mutual aid societies have collaborated with local political party organizations, labor unions, and religious institutions. In doing so, they provided civic education and social services to the most underrepresented immigrant groups. Settlement houses like Hull House, which were often operated by college-educated American women, fought for immigration protections, neighborhood parks, libraries, night classes in public schools, public bathhouses, and better waste collection and disposal as a result of the harsh working conditions, housing, and sanitation in Chicago’s crowded immigrant communities (Graauw 2016). On the other hand, mutual aid societies, organized and run by immigrants themselves, aimed to provide a more direct line of support than institutions in order to help members survive and overcome moments of hardship like death of family/community members,

unemployment, displacement, and illness as well encourage civic and political participation (Graauw 2016). With the privatization of American welfare and with local political parties, religious institutions, and labor unions transitioning away from immigrant rights and integration, federal, state, and local governments have turned to non profit organizations as primary providers of social and human services for marginalized groups like the immigrant community.

By addressing legal violence and language, education, labor, housing, and voting accessibility and rights, immigrant-serving nonprofits engage not only in service provision but in advocacy and political activism as well. Via engaging in a “community empowerment-style of advocacy,” they can serve as dual mission organizations that use local political advocacy to empower and mobilize immigrants and ensure the provision of services that promote immigrant well-being (Graauw 2016:42). Through cross-sectoral and cross-organizational collaborations with other kinds of organizations like labor unions, non-profits have been able to influence local government policies in ways that advocate for immigrant rigths and immigrant integration like, “language access provisions for limited English proficient immigrants, stronger labor protections for low-wage immigrant workers, and municipal ID’s for undocumented immigrants (Graauw 2016:167). In doing so, coalition building leads to higher chances of implementing policy benefits for disadvantaged immigrant communities. By encouraging immigrant communities to participate in leadership development programs and advocacy campaigns, social service providers support a mindset shift that acknowledges a majority of what are viewed as personal problems are in actuality a result of systemic issues shared by others (Graauw 2016). Via engaging in community activism and organizing, individuals can help build collective power and begin tackling systemic issues that affect their communities. Therefore, a community

empowerment-style of advocacy and wide implementation of multifaceted social services tailored directly to immigrant communities are also crucial to establishing the necessary foundations for immigrant communities to transcend a constant state of survival, in order to thrive.

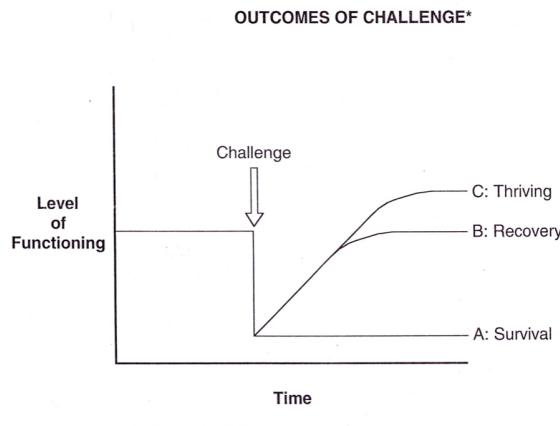
F. Defining Thriving at the Individual Level

Used predominantly and almost exclusively within psychological literature, what it means “to thrive” varies across contexts and is mostly only envisioned and conceptualized at the individual level. Charles Carver argues that thriving, whether physical or psychological, “may reflect decreased reactivity to subsequent stressors, faster recovery from subsequent stressors, or a consistently higher level of functioning” (Carver 1998: 246). As a result, psychological thriving is described as gains in skill, knowledge, confidence, or a sense of security in personal relationships. Carver defines thriving as this “better-off-afterward experience” that individuals undergo after one or many traumatic events, in which resiliency (defined as the ability to recover or return to baseline after challenge) plays a crucial role in allowing them to move forward (Carver 1998: 248). Similarly, Feeney and Collins argue that thriving is much more than returning to baseline or maintaining the status quo when facing adversity but instead translating these experiences as enablers for growth and development (Feeney and Collins 2015). This can present itself through, “heightened sense of mastery, increased self regard, a greater sense of purpose in life, and more meaningful social bonds” (Feeney and Collins 2015:115). Although psychological thriving can be triggered by a traumatic event or series of traumatic events and obstacles, it does not necessarily depend on this occurrence and can thus occur as a result of one’s ability to take advantage of opportunities for growth and development. This specific

articulation of thriving seeks to determine why certain individuals thrive in response to an event or circumstance while others become impaired by the same event. By relying on the idea that differences in confidence and mastery are self-perpetuating and self-intensifying, Carver suggests that, “personality variables such as optimism, contextual variables such as social support, and situational variables such as the coping reactions elicited by the adverse event,” are crucial to understanding thriving within the larger context (Carver 1998: 246). Hyperfixation on the individual and personality variables as a sole determinant for thriving (or lack thereof) downplays the structural, social, and contextual variables that may inhibit an individual from thriving.

According to the earlier study among Latinas with a variety of chronic illnesses, “thriving entails the effective mobilization of individual and social resources in response to risk or threat” (Abraido-Lanza et al. 2010:407). The term itself is conceptualized as a value-added model where individuals experience change and growth beyond equilibrium. The study operationalizes psychological thriving as finding strength, new insight, or meaning in life as the result of illness or challenge (Abraido-Lanza et al. 2010). Within this context, “thriving is a dynamic process of adaptation, influenced by numerous individual and social factors” (O’Leary and Ickovics 1995:206). Therefore, by knowing the factors that promote thriving, individuals can set the foundations for a paradigm shift that focuses on understanding, explaining and nurturing an individual’s self-actualization. Exemplified through the diagram below, thriving is illustrated as an outcome of challenge beyond survival and recovery. Survival indicates an impaired level of functioning as a result of a stressor while recovery implies a return to baseline levels of social and psychosocial functioning before the introduction of a stressor (O’Leary and Ickovics 1995).

Thriving is then ultimately defined as transformative growth beyond original levels of psychosocial functioning that promote flourishing in the individual's life despite stressors (O'Leary and Ickovics 1995).



*Adapted from Kahn (1992).

Based on a study of 121 Latinx undergraduates examining the role of spirituality, hope, social support, and cultural values in predicting resilience and thriving in Latina/o undergraduates, Consoli and Delucio argued that supportive family members, religion or spirituality, and cultural values are crucial in coping with adversities (Consoli, Delucio, and Noriega 2015). Models used to measure and conceptualize thriving argue that while similar and often used interchangeably, resilience and thriving have different predictor variables and therefore are distinct concepts (Consoli et al. 2015). This is helpful when attempting to distinguish the two phenomena within participant narratives. While hope was a predictor variable for both constructs, spirituality was only a significant predictor for thriving (Consoli et al. 2015). This highlighted that, “something beyond hope may be necessary for *growth* (as opposed to ‘continued development’) after adversity” (Consoli et al. 2015:304). Because spirituality came

up as a predictor for thriving, the data suggests that while family support and hope may be sufficient to achieve resilience, thriving requires more existential factors like the idea that an individual is a part of a system and therefore interconnected with others (beyond just being supported by others). Therefore, in order to thrive and not simply be resilient, an individual must possess an overall sense of belonging and feel connected to those around them in one way or another whether it be through some type of belief system or structure that gives meaning to their life. Data also indicated that cultural pride was only a significant predictor for thriving. Individuals who possess a, “greater sense of pride in their culture see themselves as a part of a larger group and find strength,” in that idea that they are part of a community (Consoli et al. 2015:313). In other words, a gained sense of interconnectedness or belonging to a cultural group or community helps to create the conditions for an individual to experience thriving.

In college settings, social connectedness through healthy interpersonal relationships and a sense of belonging on campus is fundamental to thriving. Focusing on the interpersonal aspects of thriving within college settings, Laurie A. Schreiner argues that, “healthy social connections/relationships, sense of community/connection to campus, openness to diversity, and desire to make a difference and contribution to the lives of others,” are key characteristics of flourishing college students (Schreiner 2010:3). By gaining social support from friends, family, and college faculty and staff, students are better prepared to overcome difficult life challenges and far more likely to engage and stay motivated in school. Fundamental to developing a sense of belonging on campus, students must feel that their personal needs are cared about, their contributions are valued by the institution, and the mission and goals of the institution reflect those of the students they represent. This occurs through, “effective programming and organized

social opportunities,” as well as a campus wide ideology centered around active learning engagement where students feel accepted, valued, and encouraged to express themselves (Schreiner 2010:4). A student's sense of community derives from their sense of belonging on campus and thus for social connectedness to occur, all members of the campus community have a fundamental role to play. This feeling of belonging is less associated with, “integration and fitting into the norms of the mainstream community,” and more about feeling as though there is a safe welcoming environment for every student on campus (Schreiner 2010:5). In order to thrive in community, individuals must be able to rely on other community members to help meet their needs and be willing to work in partnership with others toward common goals. A thriving student is defined as one that not only welcomes but embraces multiple perspectives and viewpoints which leads to higher levels of social agency (Schreiner 2010). Thus creating potential for collective thriving where an individual is more inclined to contribute to the community around them, promote social justice, and participate in actions that benefit the greater good (Schreiner 2010). Only then can one transition from thriving as an individual to thriving as a collective. As Schreiner states, “caring about others and working with others to make a positive difference in the world moves thriving students from an introspective focus on self to an engagement with the world around them” (Schreiner 2010:8). Recognized as social well-being, this marks the transition from a focus on individual to collective thriving in which the needs and goals of communities as a whole are highlighted and sought after.

G. Social Thriving: An Attempt at Conceptualizing Collective Thriving

Authors like O’Leary and Ickovics view thriving as stemming from resiliency and representing an individual’s ability to, “go beyond the original level of psychosocial functioning,

to grow vigorously, to flourish,” and experience a transformation after confronting and coping with hardship (O’Leary 1998:429). However, in order to do so, one must demonstrate resilience and a strong sense of social support through relationships. Coined social thriving, thriving can occur at the group level when the collective as a whole can organize and take necessary action to help its individuals overcome significant challenges like poverty, prejudice, or political oppression (O’Leary 1998). In order to understand resilience and levels of thriving within racial and ethnic minority families, one must first understand social inequities and recognize that their ability to keep surviving and going about their daily lives despite these systems of oppression set in place is in itself, “an extraordinary achievement that may represent thriving” (O’Leary 1998:434). O’Leary illustrates one particular instance of thriving at the collective level in her description of a community project named Creating Lasting Connections that was meant to reduce drug and alcohol use in a high-risk population. By intending to “promote health and well-being not only in individuals but in families and communities as well,” the program was able to empower the community and, “foster important value-added changes at the community, family and individual levels,” that taught communities how to better implement desired change and provide communities and families the tools to better confront life challenges (O’Leary 1998:435-436). Because families and friends are the main source of validation and social support, the author proposes the possibility of thinking about families and communities as moving beyond surviving and recovering to thriving as a collective. Other authors like Gaffaney (2017) argue that entire cities are capable of thriving by defining what well-being is for their cities specifically and working with their citizens to co-create a flourishing or thriving city together. He argues that the psychological health of the individual and collective are indicators of

well-being that impact the two interchangeably (Gaffaney 2017). Similarly, O'Leary argues that communities with collectivist values gather their strength and support from other members of their group and together are able to, "identify individual and social resources that can be mobilized," in response to severe threats and allow communities to move beyond recovery to thriving (O'Leary 1998:442).

In an attempt to transfer the focus from an individual point of analysis to a collective one, sociologists like Kim Blankenship (2010) point out the ways in which communities as a whole have responded to collective challenges. In doing so, she highlights how the gay and Black community responded to the AIDS pandemic of the 80's and how the ability to mobilize people is, "determined by the structures of power and influence in which the relevant populations are embedded" (Blankenship 2010:394). Once AIDS emerged as a crucial public health issue, the LGBTQIA+ community with a, "more extensive institutional and activist base preexisting AIDS," was better equipped to spark mobilization and a social movement in their community (Blankenship 2010:394). However, despite lower and working class groups of the Black community being the most impacted by HIV, there were no established institutions, subcultures, or activist groups needed to take on the same level of extensive response to HIV as the LGBTQIA+ community (Blankenship 2010:395). This illustrates how whole communities can be impacted by challenges and how their ability to thrive in response to these challenges varies depending on the resources made available to them. Blankenship argues that measures of thriving in communities include community-level variables like, "the extent to which they gain a political voice and begin to exercise influence over public discussion," of the challenges they face (Blankenship 2010:395). Thus, in applying a sociological lens to thriving, one must

understand social structures of power and influence to better understand the root of how a community responds to challenges. Blankenship also suggests that under a sociological lens, “self-centered indicators of individual change” such as self actualization are not exclusive measures of thriving. Instead, thriving can also be manifested through one’s commitment to community advocacy and politicization as a result of daily life challenges.

Earlier in my literature review, I mentioned how O’Leary and Ickovics refer to thriving as, “the effective mobilization of individuals and social resources in response to risk or threat.” However, as Blankenship points out, this suggests that individuals who possess the ability to mobilize resources are those most likely to thrive which would limit the ability to thrive to certain social groups who’s intersectional identities place them in a position of privilege to have access to said resources (Blankenship 2010). Therefore, those social groups who lack access to these resources by definition have a more difficult time or are excluded all together from the possibility of thriving while simultaneously being the social groups most likely to face challenges as a result of their individual position in the social hierarchy (Blankenship 2010). Therefore, the ability to thrive via facing challenges and the likelihood of facing challenges in and of itself are not independent of each other but rather interconnected. Additionally, an individual’s position in society would determine the kind of challenges they face which would suggest that what may be considered an extraordinary event in one situation may be considered the norm or routine in another (Blankenship 2010). For those who face adversity and challenges regularly, the distinctions between survival, recovery, and thriving as O’Leary and Ickovics define may be difficult to distinguish from one another the more deeply embedded these challenges are in the social structure.

H. How I define Individual and Collective Thriving

Based on the literature I engage with, I define the ability to thrive at the individual level as the ability to rely on personal and social resources to achieve an overall sense of belonging and well being that allow one to overcome life challenges and achieve self-actualization. Due to the lack of sociological literature on thriving, I aim to apply a sociological approach to the conceptualization of thriving within immigrant communities that builds on psychological literature. Because thriving is often operationalized using a psychological approach that highlights individuals as the primary unit of analysis, I aim to understand the ways in which an interdisciplinary approach to thriving that highlights both sociological and psychological measures may help us better understand what thriving communities look like and what conditions or resources are needed for marginalized communities to thrive.

Psychological literature argues that thriving at the individual level is measured as increased growth in response to a particular life challenge but how does this apply to marginalized communities who find themselves in a constant state of “challenge”. A constant state of survival. How then is growth, if any, measured? How do you determine what is considered a challenge when immigrant communities constantly find themselves battling a xenophobic legal system that places them at increased risk of victimization via exploitation, criminalization, and dehumanization? How can immigrant communities effectively utilize personal and social resources when the, “social, political, and legal production of ‘illegality’ ...restrains immigrants from securing basic rights and resources (Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2018:11)? This proposes a shift in focus from how individuals themselves may elicit thriving to how institutions as a whole may begin to create necessary and equitable conditions for them to

thrive. A shift in this default mindset- that the responsibilities of inducing thriving lie solely on the individual instead of society as a whole- highlights the extent to which different systems of oppression impact the ability of an individual and their community to transition from merely surviving to thriving. Therefore, I argue that the potential for collective thriving is a collaborative effort between individuals and society. It is not only the utilization of personal and social resources but the implementation of mutual aid and community solidarity, advocacy, and organizing as well as the reinvention of social services and legal policies (in an attempt to increase accessibility to multi-faceted social services and eliminate social, economic, and legal barriers) that create conditions necessary for marginalized communities to thrive. By increasing visibility and representation of immigrants in the decision making process (when it comes to policy making and service provision) as well as effectively accommodating the vast needs of immigrant communities through increased access to a multi-faceted set of services (educational, legal, economic, health- physical and mental, food/housing insecurity, etc), institutions create conditions that can elicit a sense of belonging, social support, and well-being in immigrant communities. From the literature found, I choose to center my definition of thriving at the individual and collective level around ideas of well-being and social wellbeing, social integration and differential inclusion, social cohesion, belonging, social support, and social thriving.

Methodology and Data Collection:

To measure the degree to which Santa Cruz County provides services that promote well-being, social-cohesion, and social-thriving within immigrant communities, I collected and conducted interviews with Santa Cruz-based service providers and mixed status immigrant families. I utilized service providers and immigrant families as my unit of analysis to capture

what is or isn't being done by civil society organizations to support the entirety of the immigrant community and provide them the necessary tools to thrive. In doing so, I captured variations in their vision for an immigrant justice agenda, personal definitions of thriving, and perceptions on adequacy of services provided. To gain access to more interviews and analyze a larger data pool, I worked closely with the We Belong Project as part of the initial cohort of undergraduate researchers who helped launch the research project in 2018-2019. Under the larger We Belong Project (a community engaged research project on immigrant justice in Santa Cruz), I worked with a cohort of undergraduates alongside Dr. Steve McKay and Dr. Leslie Lopez, conducting research with service providers and mixed status families on what it means for immigrant communities to thrive and have a sense of belonging. Sixty of the total sixty four interviews used throughout my thesis were designed, transcribed, and conducted by the rest of the undergraduate research team. Though the undergraduate research team within both courses of the We Belong Project varied in personal backgrounds, they consisted of largely Latinx students and a majority were from immigrant or mixed status families themselves.

Working with Dr. Leslie Lopez during the winter quarter, I was able to conduct an interview with a service provider from a Santa Cruz-based immigrant-serving organization. Though we were initially each assigned a service provider to contact and interview, I faced some difficulties getting a hold of someone who would be available to participate due to the time demanding nature of their work. Eventually, however, I was able to connect with a former youth-serving and legal aid agency employee and conduct an interview over the phone. By the end of the course, I was able to code and analyze 11 in- depth interviews, conducted by my peers and I, with different civil society organizations like local school programs, multi-service

agencies, and community initiated/led organizations in Santa Cruz. The local school programs worked with children and youth K-12-offering biliteracy and after school programs- while multi-service agencies and community initiated/led organizations expanded in range from offering know your rights training and English language learner courses to providing spaces for community event organizing to low-income members of the Santa Cruz community regardless of their immigration status.

Under Dr. Steve McKay in the spring, I engaged in community-based work with local non-profit and immigrant advocacy groups and conducted 3 phone interviews with members of a mixed status immigrant family around topics of belonging and thriving. Altogether, I coded and analyzed 52 interviews my peers and I conducted with mixed status members of immigrant families across California. Members ranged in age, immigration status as well as educational, socio-economic, and cultural background though the large majority were of Latinx origin. Although not all the family members interviewed are Santa Cruz-based, I feel confident that their insight on what thriving means within immigrant families provides me valuable context to make a general argument that calls for an increase of multifaceted services and mutual aid in the immigrant community.

Though my peers and I were already assigned an organization or agency to reach out to and interview, we used deliberative and snowball sampling to find immigrant family members to interview. I designed, transcribed, coded, and analyzed interviews with one service provider and a three member immigrant family using constructivist grounded theory which operates inductively to construct new theories or frameworks through the data collection process (Charmaz 2016). Derived from the existing literature noted above, I created a codebook with around 30 codes

emphasizing on markers of: well-being and social wellbeing, integration and differential inclusion, belonging, social support, social cohesion, and social thriving. Through inductive reasoning, I further explored related themes and patterns that didn't necessarily arise in the literature (Charmaz 2016). As I open-coded all 64 interviews with both immigrant family members and service providers, I developed a codebook of around 80+ codes. Final major coding themes used within my analysis can be found in my codebook in the appendix attached below.

I recruited the immigrant family I personally interviewed through the eldest daughter, who had moved out to Santa Cruz from L.A. to pursue her undergraduate education at UCSC. While recruiting and setting up my interviews with the others, I encountered some issues navigating which family members felt comfortable participating and what each felt comfortable disclosing throughout the interview. Initially considered partner work, the actual interview process became an individual task after both parents immediately raised concerns around being interviewed by anyone other than me. The family disclosed that they only felt comfortable being interviewed by someone they knew could personally relate to their background and experiences. As a result of my position as an undocumented person, I conducted all three interviews with the mother (undocumented), father (undocumented), and oldest daughter (DACAmented) on my own which helped eliminate fears of threat to their safety and confidentiality.

As the interviewer, this incited extensive self reflection about my own positionality in terms of what it personally meant to me to do this work while considering my own immigration status, as well as what it meant to my interviewees to be aware of my undocumented status and experience working with the undocumented community. As an undocumented member of a

mixed status family who has worked in immigrant-serving spaces, I resonate with Enriquez in that I too believe my positionality is crucial to assuring participants that I understand their experiences and am committed to doing, “justice with their stories,” and, “refuse to silence their voices” (Enriquez 2020: 6-11). Because I had already established a relationship with my interviewees and shared similar identities with them, they felt that I was better able to relate to them, earning their trust and establishing the necessary rapport that allowed me to interview their previously very closed off family members. Because of my positionality and personal bias, however, I do recognize my subjectivity on the matter of immigration and how while, “my positionabilities may grant a unique perspective that can make my work great... it also increases my personal and professional risk” (Enriquez 2020: 6-11). With that being said, because I am able to recognize my subjectivity, I am able to acknowledge and avoid my own personal biases getting in the way of my interpretation of data collected. I feel this makes my research even stronger because it allows me to work with my social networks to make this research possible in the most ethical and conscious way I can.

I chose to utilize interviews as my data collection method because primary qualitative data would better reflect the direct perspectives of both service providers and immigrant families. Doing so allowed me to understand the unique meanings and interpretations participants gave to their experiences and provided the opportunity to explore thriving within the immigrant community more in depth- in a way that cannot be documented through literature or other secondary means. A qualitative approach to understanding thriving not only allowed me to get at how participants feel or act and how they make meaning of their experiences but it also helps me understand why and what influenced those behaviors (Massey et al 1998). In an aim to bridge

the gap between social service providers and members of the immigrant community, the data collected could potentially help connect immigrant families with civil society organizations and the services and/or resources they provide.

Using popular themes in the literature to guide and formulate my interview questions, I was able to contextualize participants' narratives. By formatting them as open-ended questions as much as possible, it opened up the conversation for more open in-depth storytelling that encouraged personal interpretation of the topics discussed. This allowed me as the interviewer to get a better understanding of what interviewees wanted to share and discuss more in detail which led to more specific examples and clearer descriptions. Because I wanted to make the language used as accessible as possible to all my interviewees, I translated the interview questions to Spanish so I would have an English and Spanish version of the interview guide available. With that being said, I didn't account for the fact that certain words and concepts don't directly translate into Spanish so I had a difficult time conceptualizing words like thriving and belonging. I also tried to avoid academic jargon and million dollar questions as much as possible which helped generate a more authentic conversation and keep the interviews more concise and focused. By using a lot of follow up questions and probes, I was able to generate a deeper understanding of the stories being shared, make those necessary connections to the literature, and provide space for clarification and elaboration.

Because it is usually impossible to determine the sampling error or make inferences about populations based on the obtained sample, there may be issues maintaining validity and reliability. This is increased because I am not only relying on my own data but the data collected by my peers as well. In order to address these issues of reliability and maintain as much

consistency as possible within the data collection process, the same interview guide was used to interview all members of a given family and all interview guides followed similar themes. In terms of validity, I maintained structured interviews with questions directly relevant to my research questions to ensure that the responses truly help depict the perspectives of immigrant family members and service providers. I also made sure to account for personal biases that may influence findings by initiating respondent validation, maintaining meticulous record keeping (to ensure any interpretations of data are consistent and transparent), acknowledging biases in sampling, and facilitating ongoing critical reflection of methods (to ensure sufficient depth and relevance of data collection and analysis).

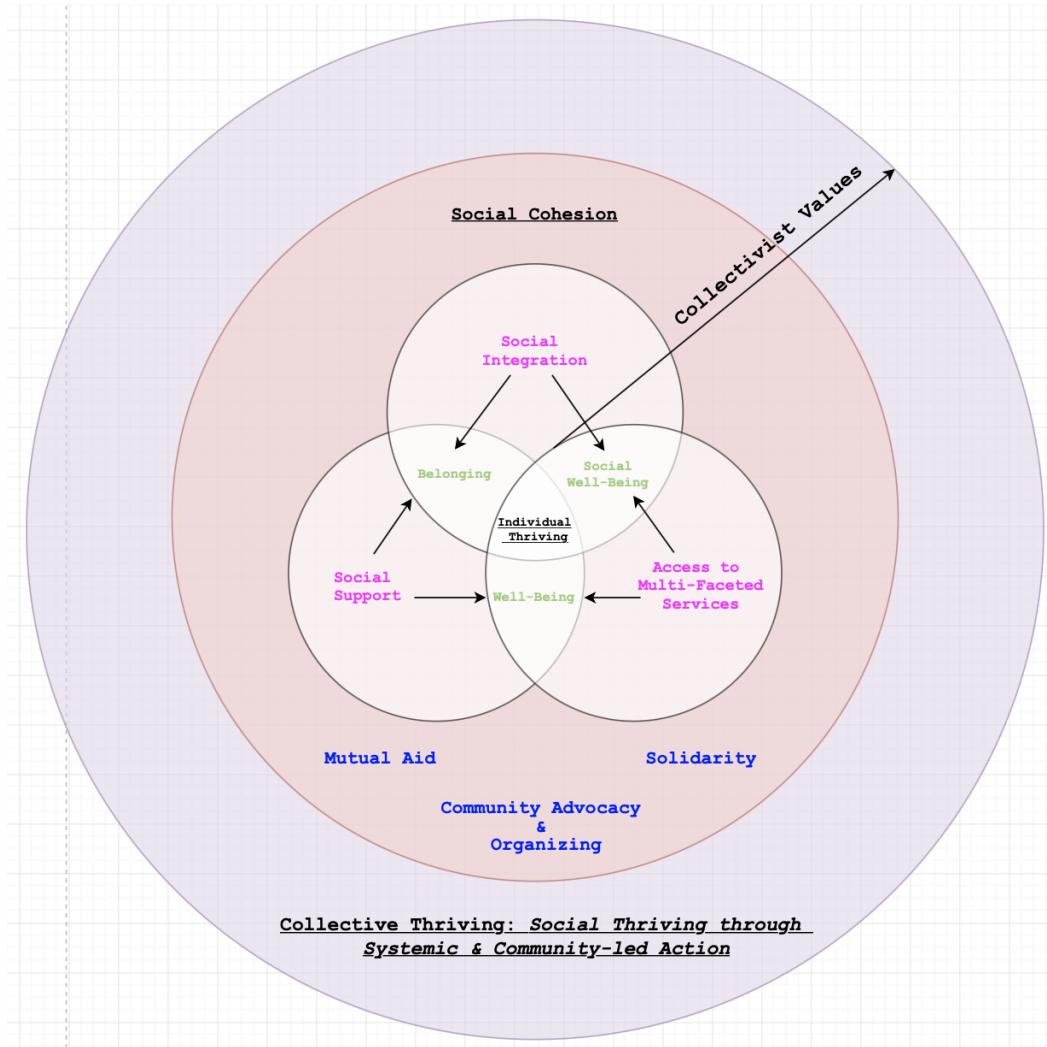
Since I conducted in person interviews and worked directly with service providers and immigrant family members, those who participated cannot be anonymous but they can be confidential. It is crucial to note that in engaging with immigrant families, the preservation of their confidentiality is fundamental. Accordingly, I have utilized pseudonyms, disguising any identifying characteristics to ensure the protection of all research participants. I have also made sure to avoid asking any personal questions that could incriminate this already hyper criminalized and vulnerable population or create any level of risk. Because I can speak both English and Spanish fairly well, I was able to eliminate the language barrier with the family I personally interviewed which allowed me to connect with them on a deeper cultural level and get more in-depth responses. *Even though I will be working with human subjects, since I collaborated with the Koret and P2R program as well as Oakes 153 and Socy 139T, I do not currently need to file an IRB to the University of California- Santa Cruz. For security and*

accountability measures, however, we have required all participants to sign an informed consent form and provide permission to be recorded.

Presentation of Findings:

Over the past two years, I have had the immense privilege of listening to the stories and experiences of multiple mixed-status family members and service providers who have provided me crucial insight into the unique challenges immigrant families undergo as a result of their legal status and the multiple forms of resistance they engage in. Both service providers and mixed status family members were interviewed about their feelings of belonging and exclusion pertaining to certain institutions or locations as well as what conditions they feel are needed for immigrant communities to thrive. For the purpose of confidentiality, both service providers and immigrant family members will be identified below by pseudonyms.

The following figure is a visual representation of my overall findings and analysis which I discuss in further detail below. The following testimonies of mixed status family members and service providers indicate how different factors like varying levels of social support, social integration, and access to multi-faceted social services may impact feelings of belonging and overall well-being which allow individuals to surpass a constant state of survival and thrive. As collectivist values increase in communities and individuals engage in mutual aid, solidarity, and community advocacy and organizing, communities begin to work towards conditions that promote the collective thriving of its members. In other words, collective thriving is defined as social thriving through systemic and community-led action.



Social Support at the Systemic Level: Access to Multi-faceted Services

"My objective is to be the bridge for low-income families so that they have access to social services in the community... It's about assuring community members they shouldn't be scared because of their legal status, that shouldn't be a reason to not seek support." -Agency Multi

I begin the presentation and articulation of my findings by examining the significant lack of multifaceted social resources (educational, legal, economic, health- physical and mental, food/housing insecurity, etc) directly tailored toward supporting the immigrant community. My interview with a service provider from Agency Youth illustrates the dynamic between organizations and the immigrant community in Santa Cruz.

As Belle Stated, “I also am surprised that there aren't more legal services ... There aren't more services or more non-profits that have services [catered to] the immigrant community, that serve the immigrant community in ways that are important for a community to thrive, in ways that go beyond just protection. That really [promote] being an active member and excelling in Santa Cruz.”

This significant lack of directly tailored resources within all sectors (including but not limited to education, legal/financial aid, healthcare, and food/housing insecurity) further enforces existing systemic barriers which prohibit the ability of immigrant communities to “recover”. Even within organizations with already implemented resources for immigrant communities, lack of effective community outreach (or engaging response to community outreach efforts) made seeking resources very difficult for immigrant community members. According to interviews with both service providers and immigrant family members, failure to effectively outreach to the immigrant community was predominantly due to extensive language barriers and lack of accommodations to a demographic of predominantly working class individuals that do not have the resources to engage in community outreach during the typical 9 to 5 timeframe.

As Multi-Service Agency illustrated, “There is no one to motivate us [adult immigrants] to say ‘Don't be afraid, let's go protest’ like the majority of students.

‘Or come and participate’... [service providers] put on meetings during times when most are working...in a language they can’t understand. Therefore, I think we should focus on having more patience and including the working population using a language they understand.”

For several service providers and immigrant family members, language barriers between agencies and community members, feelings of fear and mistrust in government/agency officials, and lack of representation of communities being served were the highest markers of feelings of exclusion and inaccessiblity of social resources. Fundamental to feeling a sense of belonging and social support, an overall sense of safety and trust at the community and systemic level is crucial for immigrant families to be able to feel comfortable enough to reach out to and seek support from cultural brokers and other community members. In other words, by building trust and establishing areas of social service provision as safe spaces, more public forms of resistance and vocalization occur. This is a result of creating spaces where community members feel comfortable enough to start much-needed discussions without fear of repercussions. Blankenship argues that measures of thriving in communities include community-level variables like, “the extent to which they gain a political voice and begin to exercise influence over public discussion,” of the challenges they face (Blankenship 2010:395). Though investigating the effects of legal violence was not the main focus of my research, data reflected fear of legal repercussions and government figures as a notable barrier to speaking up and communicating needs. Below are a series of examples of the ways in which fear and mistrust in the community have impacted community involvement and outreach.

Agency NGO stated, “There's a decline of people asking for food because they feel the public charge [policy] is something that might affect them...they don't want to ask for it even though the only requirement is your name and a zip code...people are not coming forward to ask for these resources that are obviously something that they need.” Similarly, Agency Multi shared that, “after immigration raids occurred, there was widespread panic. Everyone was scared of going out. Many of the day workers no longer sent their children over or came to ask for work. After certain hours of the day, they no longer left their homes.” In response to the same event, Schools mentioned “there was a time when I first started that parents would rather not drop off their kids, they would rather have someone else do it out of fear of [ICE] being there and taking them away.” A formerly undocumented college student stated, “there was a constant fear of police officers, getting into situations that could put your family members at risk...to be deported or sent away for even interacting with people of higher power.”

Within mixed status families, the fear of detainment, deportation, and separation is a recurring source of fear and anxiety among all members. For the families interviewed, the prevalent anti-immigrant rhetoric and unpredictable futures they encounter results in constant unsettling fear of not knowing if they'll see their family and friends again when they leave for work or go to school. The constant fear of detainment, deportation, or separation has prominent psychosocial effects on individuals that causes them to socially withdraw from society and not feel safe in their day to day life (Abrego 2018). Consequently, this prevents immigrants from

voicing needs out of fear of legal repercussions which can have detrimental impacts on their ability to advocate for conditions needed to thrive.

As Hank states, “there's a lot of fear in the undocumented community, the problem with that is people living in fear are not going to live their best life. ”

For both populations, lack of staff diversity, representation/visibility, and translation services created a cultural barrier between the two which heavily discouraged mixed status family members from actively seeking resources. Among those organizations who did offer translation services and attempted to be diverse, many were understaffed and under-resourced. Thus, resulting in overworked and burned out bilingual or ethnic service providers. Belle, for example, noticed that she often spent most of her time translating in Spanish for the monolingual immigrant community that reached out to the organization for their services. Because not enough staff were bilingual, this created a gap between staff and youth and their families who weren't able to communicate as effectively and thus take advantage of all the resources the agency offered. To eliminate this language barrier and address the educational needs of the spanish-speaking immigrant community, Belle started a bilingual literacy program that would allow staff to communicate more effectively with students and their families.

As Agency Youth illustrated, “I think the greatest barriers were language barriers and just not really valuing language competency and maybe even cultural competency as much as it should be valued in terms of hiring.” Additionally, “I was having to do a lot of translation even though that wasn't in my job description ...it really brought to light that the immigrant population was not being addressed or served as they should... parents weren't able to communicate with a lot of the

club staff because really only me and one other person was bilingual in spanish and I think there was only so much that I could do but I definitely really tried to build their Latinx volunteers in terms of recruiting and retaining volunteers who could speak spanish and were able to communicate well with parents and club members.”

In order to meet the specific and unique needs of immigrant community members, there exists a need for services that are specifically targeted to and tailored for the immigrant community who otherwise might not readily have access to these resources and opportunities. Below we see an instance in which lack of proper training and cultural competency among service providers makes it incredibly difficult for undocumented students to get access to the information and resources they need.

University Multi stated, “My counselor didn't know how to help me when I was filling out my financial aid because I'm undocumented...students have lost a lot of different opportunities that they could have taken advantage of because our local counselors are not getting the information that they should be [to support undocumented students]”

Thus, a call for an increase in accessibility to multi-faceted resources tailored to the immigrant community is a call for the creation of equitable living conditions, a level playing field for all community members to thrive, regardless of legal status. It is a call for the recovery of marginalized communities, to be provided equal access to existing services and opportunities to move beyond simply surviving.

Social Integration & Differential Inclusion

For many undocumented youth, the transition to adulthood becomes a transition to illegality. For interviewee Fiona, her transition to adulthood marked a consequential turning point in her life as she began to face barriers to everyday adult privileges or rites of passage despite her growing responsibilities. Growing up undocumented, Fiona understood the legal implications of her legal status like not being allowed to work or travel. She recalls being 16 and desperately wanting to work to help support her family but being told she couldn't legally do so, despite her family's dire financial situation. Even with DACA, once she started applying for college, she realized most scholarships required U.S. citizenship and she would be charged out-of state tuition because the institution viewed her as an international student. After earning her bachelor's degree and "doing everything right", she was still faced with limited career options as a result of her legal status. In many ways, these pivotal moments and turning points in her adult life became marked by legal limitations and exclusion. She found herself having to, "negotiate [her] membership in the national community as part of a group that is culturally integrated but legally excluded" (Gonzalez 2016: 6). These legal barriers stop them from integrating into society, which consequently results in an indefinite liminal state of being. Despite having DACA, Fiona was not afforded the same rights, resources, or proper integration that her citizen peers were given.

With that being said, as a college-goer with DACA, Fiona still experienced some degree of systemic support and feelings of inclusion in academic settings from mentors and staff who labeled and deemed her deserving enough (Gonzalez 2016). On the other hand, early-exiters much like others who don't fall under the Dreamer narrative, are not afforded the same level of

social support, school-based resources, and positive reinforcement that would provide them a sense of stability and comfort in educational settings (Gonzalez 2016).

Hank shares, "my highschool did a good job at nurturing those who had the top grades. The people who were in honors and AP classes were informed about the difference between the UC and Cal-states and the college application process. I don't think they applied as much attention to other students, students who were doing poorly, they categorized them as students that are either going to just go to work or end up in jail."

For undocumented youth, these different experiences of membership and belonging have shaped, "divergent responses to life-course changes." (Gonzales 2016:95). As a result of not being provided the necessary tools to excel and be properly integrated into academic settings, early-exiters often feel disconnected, isolated, and excluded from the school community and eventually society at large (Gonzalez 2016).

Among undocumented immigrants, inclusion is, "possible, even desirable, only when it is coupled with the exploitation of their bodies, land, and resources, the denial of equal socioeconomic opportunities, and their categorization as sub persons of a different and inferior moral status" (Espiritu 2003:46-47). In this sense, varying levels of systemic support and social integration among immigrants lies contingent upon society's ability to extract labor, knowledge, and resources that determine how valuable an individual or their community is perceived to be. Yuval-Davis argues that distinct political projects of belonging establish categorical boundaries that position people either within or outside of different collectives (Yuval-Davis 2006). This helps to explain why certain members of a singular community are afforded more resources and

rights than others while simultaneously still being othered and denied “full membership” altogether. If a state of thriving is only possible once an individual is able to “fully participate in opportunities for fulfillment, exploration, development, and personal growth through work, play, socializing, learning, creating, and pursuing hobbies”, then a constant state of othering and failure to socially integrate the immigrant community in effective meaningful ways is detrimental to the creation of conditions necessary to thrive (Feeney and Collins 2015:116)

Belonging through Social Acceptance, Social Support, and Visibility

“A lot of undocumented or even broader immigrant youth are monolingual... in order for someone to belong they have to be invited. There has to be a welcoming at some point and language is crucial. If you cannot speak in a space, you can not belong in that space” -NGO Youth

Yuval-Davis argues that belonging is not only a construction of collective identities and attachments but also the distinct ways in which an individual identifies as belonging to a particular collective. She defines the politics of belonging as the “dirty work of boundary maintenance” that allows for folk within an imagined community to establish a sense of “us” and “them” (Yuval-Davis 2006 :204). In this sense, politics of belonging involves determining whether others stand within or outside of this “imaginary boundary line” of the U.S. and other communities of belonging. Most strikingly, throughout interviews with both service providers and mixed status family members, belonging was defined as feeling supported, accepted, valued, safe and integrated at the systemic and community level. Below are some quotes that reflect this.

Agency NGO argues, “Belonging to me is a sense of feeling safe...feeling understood...it occurs when you no longer find yourself questioning whether you

belong.” Similarly, A (an undocumented student) states they think of, “ security and the ability to be vulnerable... I don't feel like I belong somewhere if people don't understand me or where I'm coming from.”

For the immigrant community, schools play a critical role in creating feelings of inclusion/exclusion which in turn impacts feelings of belonging. By reinforcing school sorting practices that label students according to ability and behavior early on, schools serve as “sites of stratification” that create, “unequal distributions of most of the positive aspects of schooling,” including feelings of inclusion and safety that result from being fully embedded in the school community by school-based agents (Gonzalez 2016:73). For college goers, schools often cultivate a sense of belonging by providing a sense of integration and positive reinforcement which then allows them to construct, “self-narratives of success that reinforce their placement within the schools stratification system”(Gonzalez 2016: 78-79). Exemplified more notably through an interview with a fellow “DACAmented” UCSC student, Fiona illustrated experiencing feelings of exclusion, being undocumented and Latina in a largely non-poc college and department. She shared that when it came to discussing issues of race and illegality in her courses, she often felt tokenized amongst her classmates. Fiona had strong ties to her largely immigrant community back home that provided her a strong sense of social support, social well-being, and belonging. However, feeling alienated by the large lack of Latino and immigrant visibility in Santa Cruz, Fiona found it difficult to connect with individuals who could understand the legal implications of her status.

With that being said, as a college goer, specific school programs and staff (particularly higher education programs) allowed her to imagine a future of possibilities beyond her illegality

and find a sense of belonging outside of the tightly knit immigrant community she lived in growing up. With the help of programs like “Gear Up” in high school that guided her throughout the college application process, A-G requirements, and helped her stay on track she was able to gain a general understanding of how higher education works and thus was better equipped to navigate it compared to others in her community who now look up to her for guidance and support. Once in college, despite her overall feelings of exclusion within the institution as a whole, Fiona found acceptance and a sense of belonging and community through programs and spaces like EOP and Undocumented Student Services where she was able to find other undocumented college-goers that she could connect with, find support in, and feel validated by. She shared that in being a part of an Extended Orientation planned through the university’s USS office, she found a group of people at UCSC, “a family”, that helped serve as a source of belonging within the institution. Being supported by culturally competent school teachers and counselors, college-goers receive the necessary social support to feel stability and comfort in school settings. For many service providers and mixed status family members, particularly undocumented youth in higher education, having spaces of visibility and representation where immigrant community members can come together and share resources or simply be in community is crucial to developing feelings of belonging.

One undocumented student named Nancy shared, "[These spaces] make me feel not as alone... being in an institution that I know historically has not been for people of color or undocumented people...it just makes me feel more supported because at least I know that I have a place to go to whenever I'm struggling and had I not had that, it would have been really difficult."

For Fiona, specifically, belonging seemed to derive from the visibility, social acceptance, and representation she felt when creating community with people she shared critical identities with. This occurred when she was given access to critical spaces and resources that facilitated her ability to connect with others that supported and guided her through her educational journey. For Agency Youth, specifically, visibility and representation of community members among staff creates a deeper connection to the space by facilitating and encouraging access to services being offered.

Agency youth asserts, “belonging in communities means being visible, being seen, being cared for in a way and so I think part of that does entail having appropriate services that address the needs of all members of the community.”

By being placed in specialized classes and smaller learning environments that provide better resources, increased access to valuable networks, and shield from the realities of public schooling, college goers are set up with the necessary tools for school success. In other words, being provided access to meaningful social support and crucial resources that go beyond simply meeting basic needs is fundamental to building the necessary tools to thrive.

Social Support at the Community Level: Mutual Aid, Solidarity, and Organizing

Despite facing numerous systemic barriers, strong feelings of social support, unity and solidarity encouraged many immigrant families to see the obstacles they faced as a source of strength and motivation to remain resilient. When asked what their biggest motivators and inspirations were, many immigrant families shared it was the sacrifices their family members and friends made by never giving up on each other or their dreams. They saw the success of those around them as a personal success. In other words, if one of them succeeded, they all did. This

supports the possibility of collective thriving as a result of collective resilience and resistance. By seeing loved ones work endlessly to support one another, individuals were motivated to participate in and encourage behaviors that promote solidarity and the importance of maintaining a strong support system.

E makes a crucial and notable distinction, however. Although resiliency can be a form of resistance for some, E argues that resiliency without active resistance is in and of itself a form of complacency, particularly among those in marginalized communities whose narratives are romanticized and hold the privilege to organize without the same degree of fear of repercussions. For clarification purposes, resistance in this sense is defined as forms of individual or collective organized and unorganized actions that seek to establish structural change and/or improve the conditions of an individual or collective. E argues that those who have the individual and social resources to participate in varying forms of resistance reserve the obligation to do so for others who do not hold that luxury.

E argued, "I have privilege because I have DACA, I can work. I am protected from deportation until it expires. But a lot of people don't have that. As undocumented people with privilege, just the privilege of being able to go to university, we need to use that. We can't just ignore everything that we've gone through... We can't just work hard and be a good immigrant until we get our papers because a lot of people buy into that narrative.This romanticization of being undocumented that is really pushed on by people that support dreamers, the dreamer narrative. There are millions of people that are undocumented without

any sort of protections or help, we need to be advocating for. It's not something that we can just ignore."

Particularly within the immigrant community, forms of resistance are reflected in acts of mutual aid (sharing of resources, information, and wealth), solidarity, and organizing. Outside of academia, immigrants often rely heavily on the social support and feelings of belonging that derive from within communities that value, appreciate, and accept their intersectional identities. Fiona's parents, for example, describe their sense of belonging as being deeply rooted in their local community in LA, a community that consisted of individuals with multiple shared identities including but not limited to ethnic background and socioeconomic/legal status. In times of need, several immigrant families stressed the importance of not only being able to look to family and friends for unconditional support but community members as well. Highlighted extensively throughout interviews with both service providers and immigrant families, acts of mutual aid, solidarity, and collective organizing among community members was crucial to the development of overall well-being and feelings of belonging. One specific family describes how when a family member passed away and they did not have the funds to cover funeral costs, their community came together and started a "kermes" where they all donated, prepared, and sold food to help fundraise.

Fiona shared, "We know that if in any scenario we or other people in my community need help, we'll be there for them because they were there for us. No matter our financial status, we'll always be there for one another. Like for example, when my grandmother died... my parents and I could not go to Mexico

... to see her in her last moments. My community understood because most of them have been in that situation before...We hold kermes where we raise money for that as well. We sell food, We set volleyball games and we sell tickets to play within our community. And if other communities want to join, we're always open for that...we have people who are like five towns away or in different states that come to us for help. And we never say no. Like it's always if you need help, we'll be there. And I think I've learned just a sense of community and understanding, acceptance. You should always be there when people are in need because you never know when you might need it...You learn humanity, you learn to care for one another. You learn to trust one another. You might not know them closely but you're selling food with them, working with them and you learn from one another. You learn a sense of togetherness. And in a sense, you find happiness when there might not be any because you know your community is there for you." In another instance, they shared, "my community knows that I'm a Daca kid and that I'm a peer advisor. Community members will tell their kids to come and talk to me and ask me whatever questions and I'm always open for it... And same thing with other people in the community...it's like you're family even if you don't know them that well." Similarly, Hank contends, "the most important thing people in the community need to do is just share information and opportunities with the community, specifically the parents. Information that our families are not able to provide for us."

Acts of mutual aid, organized and run by immigrants themselves, aim to provide a more

direct line of support than institutions in order to help members survive and overcome moments of hardship like death of family/community members, unemployment, displacement, and illness as well encourage civic and political participation (Graauw 2016). O'Leary argues that communities with collectivist values gather their strength and support from other members of their group and together are able to, "identify individual and social resources that can be mobilized," in response to severe threats, allowing communities to move beyond recovery to thriving (O'Leary 1998:442). For immigrant families, the sharing of resources, knowledge, and wealth is fundamental to maintaining lasting meaningful relationships and establishing a strong *thriving* community. Having a strong sense of social support from those around you was illustrated as key to strengthening feelings of belonging and well-being which then allow for social well-being to occur. For both service providers and immigrant families interviewed, acknowledging resiliency and collective power to bring about change is fundamental to effective community organizing.

Multi-Service Agency argued, "Something I would really like to highlight more is the knowledge our community members hold so that they know they have a voice in community matters and we can collectively make change."

This marks the transition from a focus on individual to collective thriving in which the needs and goals of communities as a whole are highlighted and sought after.

Collective Thriving: Social Thriving through Systemic and Community-led Action

"I believe thriving is not remaining stuck or complacent, rather resisting everyday to achieve your dreams." - Roberta (Undocumented Mother)

O'Leary and Ickovics view thriving as an individual's ability to be resilient and flourish beyond original levels of psychosocial functioning after hardship (O'Leary 1998). Under a sociological lens, "self-centered indicators of individual change" such as self actualization are not exclusive measures of thriving. Instead, thriving can also be manifested through one's commitment to community advocacy and politicization as a result of daily life challenges. Social thriving occurs at the group level when the collective as a whole can organize and take necessary action to help its individuals overcome significant challenges like poverty, prejudice, or political oppression (O'Leary 1998). Therefore, I argue the potential for collective thriving is one where social thriving occurs through both community-led and systemic action. It is a state in which a community demonstrates a strong sense of mutual social support and solidarity not only at the community level but systematically as well. Where individuals work collectively alongside community members and institutional identities to advocate for and support the necessary conditions for *all* members of a collective to thrive. As E shares below, this occurs by raising visibility of different immigrant experiences with the *clear* intention of raising consciousness, building social support, and organizing to enact actual political change that benefits *all members* of the immigrant community.

E, an undocumented college student, states, " a big part of [political change] should be movement building and raising consciousness.. letting undocumented folks know that they are safe to come out of the shadows because they have real support, not just people saying that they support us but understanding the [undocumented immigrant] struggle, how difficult it is, and what it means. "

In order to explore indicators of thriving within marginalized communities, an individual must first understand social structures of power and influence so they may better understand the root of how a community responds to challenges (O'Leary 1998). In other words, one must thoroughly understand the social inequities a specific community faces and acknowledge the measures they have taken to survive. In order to do so, institutional identities and their constituents must incorporate and highlight immigrant voices in the reinvention of social services and policy change.

Both service providers and mixed status family members alike argue for more representation and visibility of immigrant voices within all sectors of social service provision. More specifically, they call for social service provision to highlight and amplify immigrant voices in order to better address the needs of the immigrant community as a whole and practice proactive inclusion. I explicitly state *amplify* and not *give* because to say that service providers should give them a voice would suggest they do not already have one and promote the erasure of their collective struggles and efforts to claim space and be recognized. For decades, the immigrant community has actively organized and voiced their needs and concerns. Yet, they are not heard or provided the necessary tools to meet them. At a collective level, social thriving is connected to community organizing and collective action where promoting health and well-being means that individuals, families, and communities feel included in the designing of multi-faceted services where they are empowered to build desired changes that provides them the tools to better confront life challenges (O'Leary 1998:434). Much like E and Agency Youth argue below, representation and visibility of immigrant voices is crucial to effective community outreach, organizing, and advocacy.

Undocumented college student E states, "We have a lot of power in visibility... shaping our own narratives rather than [non-immigrants] talking about us."

Similarly Agency Youth argues, "it's important to build our own kind of movements and establish our own kind of missions with input from community members. I think starting these conversations is really important to have with those most affected...as more of an outsider I want to know what ideas...community members [have and] what they need to be able to thrive."

By incorporating and amplifying community input within social service provision, service providers are better equipped to serve the needs of the communities they are meant to serve which helps build a greater sense of community belonging and social support in the long run. Essentially, it is crucial for cultural brokers to not take up too much space but rather help facilitate the discussion of community needs by amplifying and helping to create the necessary conditions for immigrant voices to be heard.

Because as Agency Youth states, "It's important to not speak for but give voice to those who may not be heard otherwise... opening up a space for the immigrant community to share their own views... it's really important to hear it in their own words and through their own eyes."

By highlighting community input as the foundation for social service provision, service providers are able to advocate for an expansive-change type of agenda that provides more directly tailored services to the immigrant community and helps make a call for systemic policy change. As a result of the complex intersectional identities that immigrants have, both service providers and mixed status family members stress the importance of feedback and client

inclusion as a necessary means of understanding the unique needs of the communities they work with and establishing the conditions they need to thrive.

Conclusion:

By accommodating the direct needs of immigrant communities through increased access to a multi-faceted set of services (education, legal, health, food/housing insecurity, etc) that create a sense of belonging, social support, and well-being, service providers are better equipped to integrate and support the social inclusion of the immigrant community while centering collective action. Based on the data collected, service providers highlight the importance of increased access to legal services and job/educational opportunities for immigrant parents/adults. Immigrant families stress the importance of increased access to affordable healthcare and services that bridge the gaps between higher education and the immigrant community, specifically for undocumented youth. While service providers assert feelings of belonging derive from having visibility and representation (of the communities being served) in social service provision, immigrant families assert having a sense of social support and social acceptance as well as visibility, representation, and community engagement is crucial to developing a sense of belonging. Both service providers and mixed status family members stress the critical lack of multi-faceted resources tailored to immigrant communities, lack of equal access to existing services and opportunities, and lack of appropriate accommodations to community members are the biggest barriers to social service provision. They also highlight the importance of visibility and representation to their sense of belonging and finding a sense of social support through community action and organizing.

With the current pandemic, current policy and stay at home order impacts the most marginalized in society. The immigrant community, specifically, is left at the margins of public health policy. As the majority of essential workers, they are excluded from stimulus checks, unemployment, and most crucial social services. Thus, how can social service provision alone help a community that faces so many layers of legal and structural violence? With policies like Public Charge and ICE in place that enforce fear in the immigrant community, revisions to social service provision alone cannot help create conditions necessary for immigrant communities to thrive. Thus, actual systemic change at the law and policy level must also occur for immigrant communities to feel safe, valued, and supported.

In the absence of equitable access to basic human rights and resources, data demonstrated that mutual aid, community-led action, and solidarity were the highest markers of self-defined thriving among immigrant communities. In other words, in the absence of pro-immigration systemic action and change, immigrant communities themselves have worked collaboratively to create and provide the necessary conditions for community members to thrive. This was not directly or specifically acknowledged in any literature I found but is generally supported by literature on the importance of social support and heavily supported by data collected with immigrant families. It appears that in the absence of local government and institutional aid, immigrant families have attempted to collectively mobilize individual and social resources to respond to immediate threats or challenges any community member may face. In doing so, they attempt to alleviate the individual weight of systemic barriers for one another and contribute to the creation of conditions necessary for each member to thrive.

Though I initially assumed collective thriving relied primarily on systemic intervention through the reinvention of social service provision and legal policies, data collected illustrated a much more complex approach. The data highlighted how an increase in collectivist values at the individual, community, and systemic level ultimately produces the necessary conditions for collective thriving to occur. While revision of legal policies and access to multi-faceted services is crucial to overall social well-being, it is only a small facet of a much larger and more complicated process requiring social support at the community and systemic level which occurs through the social integration of immigrant communities and social cohesion through mutual aid, solidarity, and both systemic and community-led advocacy and organizing. This shift in approach highlights and acknowledges the work communities have always done to promote social well-being and thriving independently of institutional support while also acknowledging the work that still needs to be done at the systemic level to eliminate the social, economic, and legal barriers that threaten their sense of belonging and (social) well-being in the first place.

I find it crucial to note that the data collected and the theoretical perspective informing it were established before the pandemic and since then I have developed some critiques of my own theoretical framework. Though I initially predicted increased access to multi-faceted services to be one of the primary contributing factors to collective and individual thriving, as I've finished writing this paper in the midst of a pandemic and a plethora of civil right violations, I would like to expand on that narrow way of thinking and welcome the reader to imagine a world where there is no longer a need for social service provision because the conditions requiring it no longer exist. I dare the reader to imagine a society that functions beyond a constant need to fight for basic human rights and needs. A society in which its most vulnerable members do not actively

find themselves in a constant state of survival. Where we do not actively seek to merely survive but thrive, elegantly and powerfully alongside our communities. Thus, a call for increased access to multi-faceted services is a transitional step, a step towards the recovery of our communities but far from what we truly need to thrive.

Limitations of Design:

Although I would have liked to directly interview all social service providers and immigrant family members myself to provide a more concise analysis of how community members feel immigrant needs are being met, limited time and manpower would not allow me to cover such an expansive project on my own. Since I worked with organizations and service agencies specifically within the city of Santa Cruz, my findings can not necessarily be applied to other communities. I must also acknowledge that in looking into the experiences of immigrant family members across California, their experiences with local policies and resources may be different to those of local community members which may limit my ability to fully grasp or capture how the city of Santa Cruz more specifically is supporting the immigrant community and providing them a space to thrive. However, I do try to address this by avoiding location-specific questions and coding on different topics including but not limited to what general resources are available to immigrant families, what thriving looks like for the immigrant community, and what thriving means to them.

Next Steps/Recommendations:

Given our research with Santa Cruz based service providers, future research with mixed status families residing in Santa Cruz would be helpful to analyzing how Santa Cruz specifically is supporting immigrant communities. This would then more accurately help support changes in

local immigration policy and social service provision. If provided sufficient manpower, larger sample sizes of interviewees with more varied identities would also be helpful.

Based on collected data, social service provision must be altered to promote more community engagement, representation, and visibility of immigrant voices. As outsiders, activists, or researchers, it is crucial not to take up too much space but rather facilitate the discussion between communities so they may be able to voice their own concerns and needs. There is a fundamental need for equal representation in all facets of social service provision as well as a strong sense of belonging to help promote the proactive inclusion of immigrant communities. The overall lack of directly tailored multi-faceted resources further enforces existing systemic barriers that prevent the ability of immigrant families to achieve overall well-being. Therefore, service providers should continue to bridge gaps and cultivate feelings of trust, social well-being, social support, and belonging within immigrant communities. They should work alongside the communities they serve to create an agenda for collaborative change and advocacy for more directly tailored multi-faceted services and policy change that promotes social growth through collective action.

Appendix

SOCY 139T Interview Demographics: Mixed Status Families

Team #	Interview #	Interviewed by:	Coded By:	Age (if provided)	Pseudonym:	Hometown:	Ethnicity:	Documentation Status	Relation to other interviewees	Country of Origin	Gender Identity:	Family role (student, head of house etc)	Employment
1	1 jeff	jenni		16 joseph	Japan					Tampico, Tamaulipas	male		
2	1 danae and shayda	jenni		18 alan	los angeles	latinx	daca	brother		Tampico, Tamaulipas	male	student/worker	
2	3 danae and shayda	Jenni		Eunice	Los Angeles	latinx	undocumented	mother		Tampico, Tamaulipas	female	mother	
2	2 danae and shayda	jenni		21 Hannya	Los Angeles	latinx	DACA	daughter		Tampico, Tamaulipas	female	student	
3	1 Jenny	jenni		19 jane doe	Los Angeles	Hispanic	DACA and Permanent legal resident			Mexico	female	student	dinning hall worker yes
3	2 Jenny	Jenni		19 Carlos	Los Angeles	hispanic	DACA	brother		Mexico, Oaxaca	male		dinning hall worker yes
3	3 Jenny	Jenni		25 Clarissa	East LA	Hispanic/Latinx	DACA	sister		Mexico	female		yes
3	4 Lizbeth	Jenni		25 Mona	Santa Cruz	latinx/spanish c	DACA			Mexico	female		academic adviser
4	2 aaron	jenni		R		latinx	resident			Mexico guatemala			
4	3					latinx	resident (formerly undocumented)	mother		guatemala	female	mother	
5	1 adriana	jenni		25 I	Santa Cruz	Mexico	DACA	wife		Puebla, Mexico	Female	wife	legal firm
5	2 jenni	jenni		21 A	santa cruz	mexico	citizen	daughter			female		
5	3 jenni	jenni		J	san jose/ santa cruz	latinx	citizen	husband		mexico	male	husband	
7	1 jenni	jenni		15 Briana	latinx	citizen	sister						
7	2 Jenni	Jenni		22 sophia	Ventura	Latinx	DACA	brother		Mexico	Female		yes
7	3 jenni	jenni		andy	Ventura	latinx	DACA	sister		mexico	Female		
8	1 Luis	Claudia		Dolores	Burbank		Citizen			US	Female	student	
9	1 claudia	claudia		chula vista	mexican	citizen?							
	2 aguirre	claudia		missouri,santa monica	mexican	undocumented				Mexico	male	student	USS
	3 aguirre	claudia		ariana	chula vista	mexican	citizen	sister			female	student	
10	1 daniela	claudia		Tia	iowa	el salvador	immigrant (not clear status)	aunt		el salvador	female	head of house	yes
11	1 jenny	claudia				mexican	undocumented	mother		mexico	female	caregiver	yes
	2 jenny	claudia				mexican	daca	daughter		mexico	female	student	
12	1 madison	claudia		redwood city	mexican	DACA	son			mexico	male	student	
	2 madison	claudia		mexico	DACA	not sure				mexico	female	student	yes
	3 claudia			daniel	LA	mexican	naturalized citizen	brother		mexico	male	graduated and working	
13	1 jace	claudia		john	mexican	naturalized citizen	brother			mexico	male	student	yes
	2 jace	claudia		esmeralda	antioch	uruguay	undocumented	mother		uruguay	female	head of house	yes
	3 esteban	claudia		rico	antioch	uruguay	DACA	son		uruguay	male	student	
	4 jace	Claudia		james	san diego	mexican	citizen	unrelated		us	male	student	yes
14	1 Robert	Claudia		benny	antioch	uruguay	citizen	son		us	male	student	no
	2 amber	Claudia		dee	LA	mexico	citizen			US	Female	student	
	3 Amber	Claudia		berkeley/antioch		mexico	DACA			Mexico	female		
16	1 sophie	jenni		I	Guatemala	citizen				US	Female		
	2 mariah	claudia		B	LA	Mexican	DACA recipient			Mexico	male		
17	1 flora	claudia		20 rose		mexican	undocumented			mexico	female	father	yes
	2 patricia	claudia		michael		LA	DACA	daughter		mexico	female	student	yes
	3 jorge	claudia				mexican	undocumented	mother		mexico	male	head of house	yes
	3 2 jenny	jenni		19 Carlos	East Los Angeles	Hispanic	DACA recipient			Mexico, Oaxaca	male	student	
18	1 alexis	claudia		hank		mexican	citizen			US	male	student	yes
18	2 alexis	claudia		monica	los angeles	mexican	DACA			Mexico	Female		yes
18	3 Jennie	Jenni		22 Eric	Sacramento	hispanic	? unsure for now			Mexico	male	student	yes
19	2 jenni	jenni		21 Jane doe	OCC	latinx	undocumented			Mexico	female	student	
20	1 daniella	claudia		kamela	san ramon	peruvian	naturalized citizen			peru	female	student	
	2 jeff	claudia		Mom	lafayette	japan	resident			japan	female	mother	yes

OAKES 153 Interview Demographics: Service Providers

Organization	# of interviews done	Services
Agency Multi		1 Community Center
Agency Youth		2 Education Services
NGO		2 Immigration Services
NGO Youth		1 Basic Needs Services
Public		1 Community Center
Schools		2 Education
Service Multi		1 Community Center
University Multi		1 Higher Education Services

Code List:

Service Providers		Mixed Status/Immigrant Community	
Code:	Description:	Code:	Description:
Social thriving through Collective Action	Thriving through working together/organizing	Social thriving through Collective Action	Thriving through working together/organizing
Access to multifaceted social services/resources	Examples of services available/needed in all basic needs sectors	Access to multifaceted social services/resources	Examples of services available/needed in all basic needs sectors
integration	Anything having to do with being effectively incorporated into society; weaving yourself into the fabric of society; not assimilation	integration	Anything having to do with being effectively incorporated into society; weaving yourself into the fabric of society; not assimilation
belonging	personal definitions of belonging; The spaces where and the people with whom you feel yourself, comfortable, safe, etc.	Social support at Community vs systemic level	community: Finding support from family, friends, or community members; all of whom are not associated with an established organization or agency meant to

			<p>provide that service.</p> <p>systemic support: all of whom are associated with an established organization or agency meant to provide that service, policymakers,</p> <p>Impacts of support through relationships & how that fosters belonging or thriving; thriving through relationships</p>
Collective efficacy	A group sharing the belief that together they can organize and put into action the necessary steps to achieve their goals aka become a thriving collective.	surviving	Barely surviving; basic needs not being met/barely being met; Prioritizing immediate/basic needs over long term goals or dreams
thriving	Anything having to do with personal definitions of thriving	well-being	Satisfaction in different areas in one's life, having necessary social /personal resources to pursue goals, satisfied basic needs that promote e"intrinsic motivation and growth" or lack thereof
Social support	Finding support from family, friends, or community members; Impacts of support through relationships & how that fosters belonging or thriving	Social well being	Examples demonstrating individuals sense of belonging and social inclusion or lack thereof. Recollection of what would make them develop social well-being.
Thriving through collective action	Examples of groups of people thriving because they worked together as a unit	belonging	personal definitions of belonging; The spaces where and the people with whom you feel yourself, comfortable, safe, etc.
Community organizing	Organizing as a community of people	thriving	Anything having to do with personal definitions of thriving
Equal representation	Having equal representation in all spaces, esp organizations/ resource centers, community organizing/schools; can enhance social actualization	Thriving through collective action	Examples of groups of people thriving because they worked together as a unit
Having a Voice in Community spaces	Being given a platform to voice concerns/needs/ wants	Community organizing	Organizing as a community of people
Lack of Access to Social Services	Lack of access to services in different sectors	Equal representation	Having equal representation in all spaces, esp organizations/ resource centers, community organizing/schools; can enhance social actualization
fear	Impacts of fear in all forms in response to legal violence, structural racism, etc;	Having a voice in Community Spaces	Being given a platform to voice concerns/needs/ wants with service providers and community members
Bridging	Examples of individuals being intentional in bridging the gaps between services/resources and the community; being intentional	Lack of Access to Social Services	Lack of access to services in different sectors

Service providers as cultural brokers		Intersectionality	Anything related to having multiple identities that interact in a way that make a person's experiences unique
Collective action through collective voices	Working together as a group of people by using our voices to empower/strengthen our communities and organize	Human complexity	Anything that highlights how complicated human identities/lives are; immigrants live complex lives beyond their legal status
visibility	Feeling seen/heard in community spaces	Mental health	ANything having to do with mental health issues/concerns in the immigrant community
Building connections/relationships	Any examples of navigating how to build relationships/ connections in the community	fear	Impacts of fear in all forms in response to legal violence, structural racism, etc;
Language accessibility	-Any examples of having access to service providers who speak your language/programs -resource be made available in multiple languages to increase accessibility -accessibility in schools for students and parents	Collective action through collective voices	Working together as a group of people by using our voices to empower/strengthen our communities and organize
Empowering Communities	Examples of ways in which people are taking steps to empower communities; how community members are empowering themselves through community engagement	visibility	Feeling seen/heard in community spaces
hypervigilance	Being hyper aware of legal status and its consequences	Building connections/relationships	Any examples of navigating how to build relationships/ connections in the community
Santa Cruz Posing as Liberal	Santa cruz presenting itself as more liberal than it actually is; liberal image misleading	Language accessibility	Any examples of having access to service providers who speak your language/programs -resource be made available in multiple languages to increase accessibility -accessibility in schools for students and parents
Feeling unwelcome /exclusion/outcasted/othering	Examples of immigrant community feeling exclusion/othering	Empowering communities	Examples of ways in which people are taking steps to empower communities; how community members are empowering themselves through community engagement
Structural violence	Violence as a result of social structures or institutions set in place that harm individuals by not allowing their basic needs to be met ; Violence from institutions I.E. denial of medical care, inability to access education due to status, ect.	hyper-vigilance	Being hyper aware of legal status and its consequences
Job opportunities/	Losing job opportunities due to	Santa Cruz Posing as	Santa cruz presenting itself as

insecurity	legal status; not finding a job and impacts thereof	Liberal	more liberal than it actually is; liberal image misleading
Education Opportunities	Losing/not having access to educational opportunities and vice versa	Feeling unwelcome/exclusion/outcasted/othering	Examples of immigrant community feeling exclusion/othering
Staying informed/misinformation	Being informed/on top of current policy; instance in which people have been misinformed in regards to legal policy/ law/ current news	Structural violence	Violence as a result of social structures or institutions set in place that harm individuals by not allowing their basic needs to be met ;Violence from institutions I.E. denial of medical care, inability to access education due to status, ect.
isolation/hiding in shadows	Examples of immigrant community isolating themselves due to legal violence; Disconnect from a support system, loneliness, aloneness	Job opportunities/insecurity	Losing job opportunities due to legal status; not finding a job and impacts thereof
Creating spaces to voice concern	Creating necessary spaces for community members to voice their concerns	Staying informed/misinformation	Being informed/on top of current policy; instance in which people have been misinformed in regards to legal policy/ law/ current news
Making spaces accessible	Making existing spaces more accessible to community members	isolation/hiding in shadows	Examples of immigrant community isolating themselves due to legal violence;Disconnect from a support system, loneliness, aloneness
inclusivity/collective participation	Everyone working towards the same goal and actively participating	Places of Belonging	Existing places that foster feeling so belonging for community members
Housing insecurity	Lack of housing; housing too expensive; too many people in one home; risk of losing home	Housing insecurity	Lack of housing; housing too expensive; too many people in one home; risk of losing home
Places of Belonging	Existing places that foster feeling so belonging for community members	Community networking	Sharing resources among one another, reaching out to community members for support to reach goal
stability/security	The need to have stability or sense of security in one's life to foster a sense of thriving	stability/security	The need to have stability or sense of security in one's life to foster a sense of thriving
Cultural competence	Being able to understand, communicate, and interact with people across cultures . Being aware of positionality and appreciating cultural differences -understanding the undocumented experience to be better able to support undocumented people -understanding systems of oppression	Community support	Examples of receiving support from community when in need; community members working together to support one another
Community networking	Sharing resources among one another, reaching out to community	Uncertainty	Overall sense of uncertainty surrounding ones legal

	members for support to reach goal		status/future/higher education; how to address ice raids in community
Community support	Examples of receiving support from community when in need; community members working together to support one another	Immigration Legal Services	Having access to legal services/ lack of legal services
Uncertainty	Overall sense of uncertainty surrounding ones legal status/future/higher education; how to address ice raids in community	Language barrier	Language acting as a barrier for community members to access resources/ different opportunities in general and in higher education
Understaffed	organizations/resource center/agencies/ schools being understaffed and this having an impact on service provision	Social contribution	Community members feeling as though their contributions to society are valued and appreciated/ valuable contributions to society.
Creating partnerships/ Inter-Org Collaboration	resource center/agencies/ schools collaborating to provide necessary resources to address the needs of community	Effective resource	resource/service that has been found effective
Immigration Legal Services	Having access to legal services/ lack of legal services	racism/xenophobia	Example of individual, institutional, and structural forms of racism; institutions, policies, practices, beliefs, and behaviors that deny POC access to rights resources, power while actively providing them to non poc
Overworked Bilingual/POC Service Providers	Overworking/ Assigning additional task to bilingual POC service providers without compensation leading to burnout instead of hiring more culturally competent/bilingual staff	safety	Examples of practices/resources that create safe spaces or foster feelings of safety in the community; how feelings of safety foster belonging and thriving environments
Language barrier	Language acting as a barrier for community members to access resources/ different opportunities in general and in higher education	Social acceptance	Acceptance and trust from family/friends/community members being crucial to sense of thriving/belonging; allow for level of understanding; The ability to accept differences and diversity in other groups of people; thinking people are capable of being kind and hardworking
Diverse hiring	Need for more diverse staff	Social actualization	Feeling that you are capable of social growth and believing society has potential
Language competency	Knowledge of, understanding, speaking multiple languages	Inciting awareness	The need to incite general awareness about the experiences of immigrants; educating the public on immigration issues but also educating the immigrant community on immigration issues and how to navigate them
Amplifying immigrant	Highlighting the importance of	Importance of culture	Appreciation/ embracing of

voices	immigrant voices so they may be heard		Culture as fundamental to fostering belonging in communities
Community member/Service Provider engagement	Importance of community members engaging with service providers	Transgenerational impact of legal status	Impact of legal status across generations; children of undocumented individuals being impacted
Youth organizing	Examples of youth collectively organizing	Criminalization of families	Examples of families/immigrant community has been criminalized and stigmatized; esp for assessing resources
Social contribution	Community members feeling as though their contributions to society are valued and appreciated/ valuable contributions to society.	Legal violence	Impacts due to harmful immigration laws/ policies/ stigmatization/ and enforcement or zero tolerance policies; legal violence impacting one person impacts the whole community
Creating spaces that foster belonging/thriving	Actively working towards creating physical spaces that promote thriving	Ni de aqui/ni de alla	Not feeling like you belong here or in home country
Effective resource	Example of a resource that is currently really effective	Education as outlet/ source of hope/mechanism for survival	Examples of how the undocumented community has viewed education as the only way out; only way of surviving the system
immigrants/youth as survivors	Examples demonstrating immigrants as survivors of significant violence/trauma; resiliency and strength; resiliency stemming from need to survive	Teachers as agents of inclusion/exclusion	Teachers as support system advocating for students and pushing them towards higher education & vice versa (being source of exclusion by labeling certain students as troublemakers/low performers)
racism/xenophobia	Example of individual, institutional, and structural forms of racism; institutions, policies, practices, beliefs, and behaviors that deny POC access to rights resources, power while actively providing them to non poc	Racial tension/ discrimination	Examples of this within the classroom, workplace, in community
safety	Examples of practices/resources that create safe spaces or foster feelings of safety in the community; how feelings of safety foster belonging and thriving environments	Impacts of Anti-immigrant Rhetoric	Impacts of current anti-immigrant rhetoric on immigrant community in terms of mental health/job prospects
Social acceptance	The ability to accept differences and diversity in other groups of people; thinking people are capable of being kind and hard working	Transnationalism	Any ties to country of origin. I.E. Remittance, family 'back home'
Social actualization	Feeling that you are capable of social growth and believing society has potential	self-advocacy	Advocating for one's own rights

Good story	Example of good stories that stand out/demonstrate a good point	displacement	Effects of Constantly moving/being displaced due to legal status, eviction, landlord retaliation, fear, money, etc.
Legal violence	Impacts due to harmful immigration laws/ policies/ stigmatization/ and enforcement or zero tolerance policies; legal violence impacting one person impacts the whole community	mindset-motivation	Strong motivation-based mindset
Personal Bias in Service Providers	Catching the personal biases in agencies/ schools/ organizations that deteriorate quality of service provision	Early exiters	Undocu youth Not being provided the resources to excel in academic settings
Reimagining service provision	reshaping how service providers view the communities they're serving and how they're currently serving them	college-goers	Undocu youth provided social support and resources to excel in academic settings
Community created resources	Resources that community members have collectively formed for themselves from the need to survive and address their own needs	Family relations	How family relationships/perception of each other's lives have been impacted by legal status; Immediate/extended family, changing family dynamics, multi-generational effects, family structure
Ni de aqui/ni de alla	Not feeling like you belong here or in home country	Activism	Organized resistance
Abuse of power	People in positions of power abusing their power to further support systemic racism	Education	Education being viewed as outlet/ source of hope and motivation /tool for success
Positionality	-understanding privilege -Examples of how legal status can discourage people from engaging in activism/protesting/using their voice in fear of repercussions;	Resistance	Singular or non organized resistance
White allyship	Importance of positionality in community organizing; having allies who can use their privilege to advocate for people who cannot w/o risk	Whiteness	Being immersed in white community/culture, difference, ethnocentrism
Resources needed	Suggestions for resources needed that would help immigrant community	Assimilation/Acculturation	Shifting your values to the more dominant US based values
Education as outlet/ source of hope/mechanism for survival	Examples of how the undocumented community has viewed education as the only way out; only way of surviving the system		
Teachers as agents of inclusion/exclusion	Teachers as support system advocating for students and pushing them towards higher		

	education & vice versa (being source of exclusion by labeling certain students as troublemakers/low performers)		
Racial tension/ discrimination	Examples of this within the classroom, workplace, in community		
Impacts of Anti-immigrant Rhetoric	Impacts of current anti-immigrant rhetoric on immigrant community in terms of mental health/job prospects		
Proactive training	Using training/workshops to combat misinformation and combat fear/uncertainty in communities		
Personal Bias in Service Providers	Catching the personal biases in agencies/ schools/ organizations that deteriorate quality of service provision		

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20-35