THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AMONG IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES: PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS, IMMIGRANTS' EXCLUSION EXPERIENCES, AND THE RESCISSION OF DACA

by

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(Under the Direction of Mary A. Caplan)

ABSTRACT

In the United States, the foreign-born population had expanded to about 43.9 million by 2017, and this population is composed mostly of people from Latin American and Asian countries. Corresponding to the growth of non-European immigrant population from non-English speaking countries, U.S. immigrants' multi-dimensional difficulties, including economic difficulties, racial discrimination, and limited social networks, have been identified and come to fore. Since 1996, with the shift from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) legislation, immigrant eligibility criteria for public benefits have been drastically narrowed, and U.S. immigration policy has become more and more restrictive and driven immigrants into a corner. The central purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the various difficulties of U.S. immigrants under the lens of social exclusion and fortify our understanding of the dynamics of U.S. immigrants' social exclusion. Chapter 2 includes results from a secondary data analysis using a latent growth modeling approach to investigate U.S. citizens public attitudes toward immigrants, which is one of the crucial factors

of immigrants' social exclusion, and the trajectory of the attitudes. Chapter 3 includes findings of a qualitative meta-analysis to review previous qualitative research on immigrants' social exclusion experiences and synthesize them into four social exclusion dimensions, economic, political, social (relational), and cultural exclusion. As the result of the qualitative meta-analysis, Chapter 3 highlighted various barriers to immigrants' social inclusion and present how the barriers influence their social exclusion in the U.S. In Chapter 4, a rights-based approach to social policy analysis was conducted to assess the rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which would be one of the largest changes in the current U.S. immigration policy and deprive DACA recipients' eligibility to stay and work in the United States. Chapter 4 presented the expected human rights violations of DACA rescission based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and three international human rights treaties, which the U.S. has ratified. Consequently, this dissertation provides meaningful implications for social work practice, policy, and research to contribute to immigrants' social inclusion and social integration in the United States.

INDEX WORDS: Immigrants, Social exclusion, Human Rights, Public Attitudes toward Immigrants, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The United States, often called "a nation of immigrants," was built by successive waves of immigration (Lee, 2005, p. 121). Since the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the discriminatory quotas based on race or national origin previously used to deny immigration by some groups to the United States, immigration to the United States has undergone dramatic changes in volume, origins, and geographic distribution (Ewing, 2012). Representing about five percent of residents and comprised mostly of individuals from European countries in 1960, the foreign-born population had expanded to about 13.7 percent of U.S. residents by 2017, and this population is now composed mostly of people from Latin American and Asian countries (Batalova et al., 2020; Gibson & Jung, 2006; Grieco et al., 2012). Corresponding to the growth of immigrant population from Latin America and Asia, however, immigrants' social exclusion, including economic difficulties, discrimination, and a limited social supports network, has come to the fore (Ayón, 2016; Boyas, 2010; Camarota, 2016; Quesada et al., 2011).

Statement of the Problem

Immigrants to the United States are challenged by multifaceted social problems and undergo a lack of social supports. Quesada et al. (2011) defined "immigrants' structural vulnerability" as "a product of class-based economic exploitation and cultural, gender/sexual, and racialized discrimination," which exist in the U.S. (pp. 339-340). Such structural vulnerabilities can be analyzed by using a social exclusion perspective, which considers that discrimination, economic difficulties, and limited social supports are connected to multi-

dimensional institutional and cultural dynamics in society. Migration Policy Institute's data shows that there were approximately 6.6 million, who accounted for 15.3 percent of 43.9 million immigrants to the U.S., with family incomes below the federal poverty threshold in 2017 (Batalova et al., 2020). According to Batalova et al. (2020), in 2018, approximately 18 million children who accounted for 26 percent of the 69.5 million U.S. children under age 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent. Of them, 8.5 million children of immigrants lived in low-income families, with family incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold (Batalova et al., 2020). In addition, the American Community Survey reveals immigrants' lack of access and lower utilization of primary health care. It indicates that in 2016, approximately 20 percent of immigrants were uninsured, compared to seven percent of those born in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

Social exclusion is generally defined as the process in which individuals are blocked from economic resources, social services, or political opportunities (Jordan, 1996; Taket et al., 2009; Room, 1995). Silver and Miller (2003) noted that the social exclusion framework seeks to identify the multi-dimensional structures and dynamic processes of inequality. Such a lens allows an examination of immigrants' full experience, covering not only poverty but also the lack of social supports, limited social participation, and inadequate access to social rights (Room, 1995; 1999; Sen, 2000). The social exclusion framework involves immigrants' isolation and alienation, which indicate relational conflicts between individuals. In addition, the framework addresses racial, religious, and political segregation and social judgment, which are attributed to relationship breakdown between an individual and society.

The extent of immigrants' social inclusion or exclusion can be explained as a result of their interaction with the host society, and the attitudes of the host society toward immigrants are

crucial to shape their ethnic identities and establish intergroup relations (Berry, 1997; Fussell, 2014). Recent national surveys provide a common result indicating native-born Americans' negative attitudes toward immigrants. According to a Pew Research Center nationally-representative survey, 37 percent of respondents reported "immigrants are making the U.S. worse off overall" (Lopez et al., 2015). In another national poll, 41 percent of native-born Americans reported negative attitudes toward immigrants describing them as a "burden on the country" (Goo, 2015). These anti-immigrant sentiments of the majority society can lead to the failure of adaptation or difficulty in the acculturation of immigrants and potentially shape their negative ethnic identities and deficient intergroup relations (Berry, 1997; Candelo et al., 2017; Fussell, 2014).

In addition to the native-born Americans' anti-immigrant attitudes, policy barriers to accessing welfare benefits contribute to immigrants' social exclusion, which is defined as the condition of relationship breakdown between an individual and society (FitzSimmons et al., 2004; Room, 1999; Walker & Walker, 1997). Immigrants have less access to social services programs than U.S.-born citizens, and this limited access reflects additional barriers against immigrants to the U.S. (Capps et al, 2009; Friedberg & Jaeger, 2009; Perreira et al., 2012; Ross & Hill, 2003). Since the shift from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and the legislation of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) in 1996, immigrant eligibility criteria for public benefits have been drastically narrowed (Coutin, 2005; Hagan et al., 2011). Moreover, under the Trump administration, U.S. immigration policy has seen either the proposal or implementation of policies such as, "building a wall on the southern border with Mexico," "cutting legal immigration," "deporting millions of unauthorized immigrants," and "banning

refugee admissions from certain Muslim-majority countries" (Pierce & Selee, 2017, p.2). The Trump administration's zero-tolerance policy has already resulted in the separation of unauthorized migrant parents and children (Pierce et al., 2018), and hundreds of parents and young people covered by Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) have already been apprehended (Cervantes & Walker, 2017; Rein et al., 2017). This means that immigrants to the U.S., who have been eliminated from most social programs, are now at an unprecedented risk of social exclusion from American society by forced deportation and family separation.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

Since the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs of the European Community passed a resolution to overcome social exclusion in 1989, the discourse of social exclusion has expanded beyond the boundaries of Europe (Aasland & Flotten, 2001; Mathieson et al., 2008; Sen, 2000; Silver, 2006). For example, the International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) started an international project, "Patterns and causes of social exclusion and the design of policies to promote social integration" in support of social exclusion as a global concept (Gore & Figueiredo, 1997, p. 3). However, social exclusion research in the U.S. has been scant, while a number of studies on social exclusion of immigrants have been conducted globally (Moffatt & Glasgow, 2009; Rawal, 2008; Sen, 2000). Silver (1994) noted that in the United States, the term social exclusion calls to mind "exclusionary immigration policy, exclusionary zoning, and exclusionary social clubs," but the language of exclusion is used relatively rarely (p. 541). Silver and Miller (2003) argued:

> *The U.S. still imagines poverty strictly as a deficiency of income for basic necessities. In contrast, the European Union has continually revised its thinking about social deprivation, adopting a view of poverty relative to rising average living standards and,*

more recently, building a framework for thinking about non-monetary aspects of deprivation. (p. 1)

Likewise, Moffatt and Glasgow (2009) said that the focus on a unidimensional income-based measure of poverty helps explain why social exclusion is not a common discourse in the United States. Few U.S. studies have only recently taken a multi-dimensional approach to poverty and considered the concept of social exclusion. (Bolton et al., 2016; Caplan et al., 2017; Scharlach & Lehning, 2013). As mentioned, in the United States, immigrants, who have been dropped from most social programs, are now at an unprecedented risk of social exclusion from American society by prevalent anti-immigrant sentiments and current exclusive policies. Immigrants' exclusion experiences, such as isolation, alienation, discrimination, and segregation, cannot be fully covered under the traditional concept of poverty and should be examined under the lens of social exclusion. Namely, it is required to conduct inquiry on immigrants' multi-dimensional difficulties using the social exclusion framework to add to knowledge regarding the dynamics of social exclusion among immigrants to the U.S.

Theoretical Framework

The social exclusion framework will be the central theoretical background and foundation of the three studies in this dissertation. Social exclusion is generally defined as the process in which individuals are blocked from economic resources, social services, and/or political opportunities. Because social exclusion rests on a multi-dimensional notion of participation in society, involving a combination of physical, material, relational, and societal needs over a period of time (Barnes, 2005; Berghman, 1995; Room, 1995; 1999), this framework allows an examination of the multifaceted aspects of immigrants' social lives, covering not only income-based poverty but also the lack of social supports and empowering networks, limited

social participation, and inadequate access to basic social rights. Many scholars maintain that social exclusion operates via the denial of resources, goods and services, and rights by majority group (Burchardt et al., 1999; Duffy, 1995; Hills et al., 2002), and it hinders the ability of excluded individuals to participate in political, social, and economic relationships and activities in ways that are beyond their control (Levitas et al., 2007; Taket et al., 2009).

The concept of social exclusion was initially used by the French economist and high-ranking civil servant, Pierre Massé (1964); another French socialist politician, René Lenoir played a pioneering role in popularizing the concept of social exclusion (Keller, 2014; Laderchi & Savastano, 2013; Sen, 2000). Lenoir (1974) identified the 'socially excluded' as 'the handicapped,' 'suicidal people,' 'aged invalids,' 'substance abusers,' 'delinquents,' and other 'deviant groups.' The early social exclusion perspective was used to explain the effects of extreme economic restructuring on social solidarity and to assist in developing policies to achieve social cohesion (Sen, 2000). In the 1980s particularly, with the growth of unemployment after the Oil Shocks, the discourse of social exclusion intensified not only in France and Britain but across the rest of Europe, pointing out the failures of public policies (Silver, 1994; 2006). Both Sen (2000) and Silver (2006) argued that a social exclusion perspective has the advantage of explaining the effects of public policies on social solidarity and assisting in developing policies to achieve social cohesion, precisely due to the emphasis or multi-dimensionality. This discourse has provided a way of shifting the focus to diverse inequalities in society and the structures and processes that underpin them (Saunders, 2008). Giddens (1998) equated inequality with exclusion and argued that inequality should be interpreted in a broad sense including all forms of political and social rights.

The human rights perspective has also promoted greater attention to and stimulated

discourses about social exclusion. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2012) explains the relationship between poverty and social exclusion and human rights as follows:

> *Poverty and social exclusion could also be caused by shortcomings in relation to the protection of human rights. In other words, people may end up living in poverty because their human rights have been inadequately protected however, in contrast, poverty can also lead to the inadequate protection of human rights.* (p. 2)

According to Walker and Walker (1997), rights-based language places a burden on society to ensure participation of all its members and lessens the temptation to blame the excluded. Room (1995) also used rights-based argumentation to explain social exclusion as the denial of civil, political, social, and economic rights. Such a rights-based approach to social exclusion has much to recommend it, and many human rights theorists have connected the concept of social exclusion with a violation of human rights (Beall, 2002; George, 2013; Islam, 2015; Mapp et al., 2019; Renner et al., 2007; Walsh, 2006). Klasen (2001) provided three advantages of a rights-based approach to social exclusion. First, it depicts social exclusion as a violation of social rights. Thus, a rights-based approach is helpful to enable participation and integration of all its members. It also highlights the role of political, economic, and social factors in creating and maintaining social exclusion (Klasen, 2001). Second, a rights-based approach does not demand uniformity of outcomes. In other words, a rights-based approach can provide an important distinction between an individual's choice not to participate in mainstream society, and his or her inability to do so (Taket et al., 2009). Third, a rights-based approach acknowledges the diversity of people in their ability to make use of available opportunities. Thus, society is required to consider this diversity as an important component involved in ensuring that all begin from an

equal starting point and enjoy equal opportunities.

However, in a U.S. context, a focus on poverty as the unit of analysis means only looking at income and assets as the basis for the quality of life; social exclusion, otherwise, focuses more on social relations and the extent to which people can participate in social affairs and attain sufficient power to influence decisions (Pierson, 2010). This perspective is regarded as a further departure from the existing standpoint intensively and narrowly focused on income-based measures of poverty (Atkinson & Hills, 1998; Fitzpatrick, 2011). In comparison to poverty and deprivation measures, social exclusion rests on a multi-dimensional notion of participation in society, involving a combination of physical, material, relational, and societal needs over a period of time (Barnes, 2005; Berghman, 1995; Room, 1995; 1999). Table 1 shows that social exclusion takes on a broader significance and is concerned with the relationship between the individual and society and the dynamics of that relationship. In other words, the strength of the concept lies in the fact that in distinction to mainstream notions of poverty, which are primarily concerned with economics, social exclusion acknowledges deprivation in many spheres (Francis, 2000).

Table 1.

Comparison of Poverty, Deprivation, and Social Exclusion

Poverty	Deprivation	Social exclusion
One-dimensional	Multi-dimensional	Multi-dimensional
Physical needs	Physical needs Material needs	Physical needs Material needs Societal participation
Distributional	Distributional	Distributional Relational
Static	Static	Dynamic
Individual Household	Individual Household	Individual Household Community

Note. Reprinted from *Social exclusion in Great Britain: An empirical investigation and comparison with the EU*, by Barnes, M., 2005, Gower Publishing, Ltd.

Social exclusion is also defined as the condition of relationship breakdown between an individual and society (Room, 1999; Walker & Walker, 1997). This perspective of social exclusion can be demonstrated via the ecological perspective (see Figure 1). This framework uses concepts from biology as a metaphor and emphasizes both individual and contextual systems and their interdependent relations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Sands, 2001). Therefore, the ecological framework offers a powerful guide to showing how social exclusion occurs across each level of a given environment. Figure 1 depicts the multi-dimensional and dynamic processes of exclusion and presents how social exclusion operates through multi-level interactions.

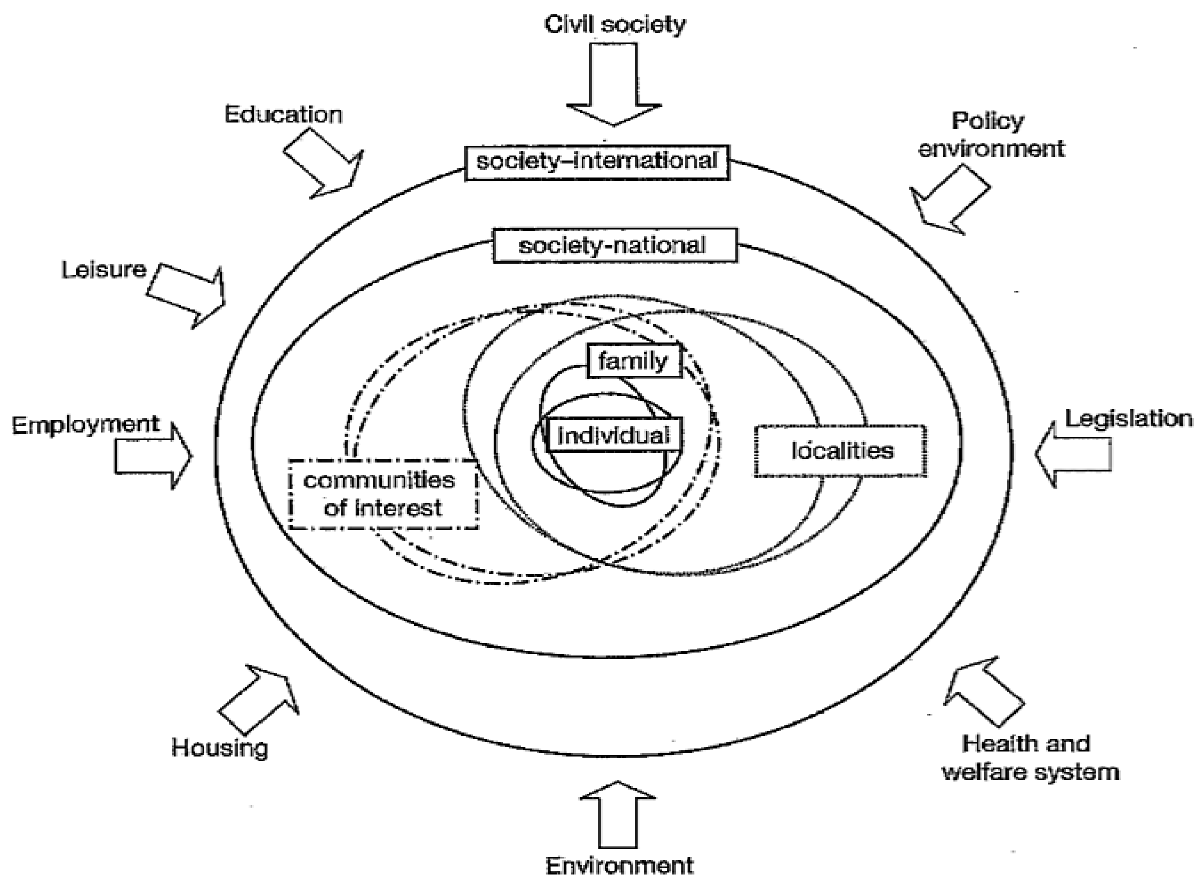

Figure 1. A Framework for Analysis of the Production of Relations of Exclusion. Reprinted from *Theorising social exclusion* (p. 11), by Taket, A., Crisp, B. R., Nevill, A., Lamaro, G., Graham, M., & Barter-Godfrey, S., 2009, London, Routledge.

In order to understand the mechanisms of social exclusion, theorists have proposed typologies of paradigms. Silver (1994) classified three paradigms: the *solidarity paradigm* which explains exclusion as a break in social bonds between the individual and society and disintegration of solidarity, common values and norms, insisting on some form of moral reintegration of the excluded; the *specialization paradigm* which considers exclusion as an outcome of discrimination, and the lack of freedom to participate in social exchange, giving rise to a focus on skills development, labor market attachment, and the strengthening of social networks and social capital; and the *monopoly paradigm* which more critically views exclusion as fundamental inequality and restriction in access to goods and services for the excluded other than the dominant groups, resolving social exclusion through guaranteeing citizenship rights (Labonté et al., 2012, p. 21; Silver, 1994, p.540).

Levitas (2005) is another scholar who has offered clarity regarding how to best conceptualize social exclusion. She proposes a framework with three discourses of social exclusion: RED (the redistributive discourse; parallel to Silver's *monopoly paradigm*), MUD (the moral underclass discourse; parallel to Silver's *solidarity paradigm*), and SID (the social integrationist discourse parallel to Silver's *specialization paradigm*). RED closely correlates to traditional social democratic values and policies. It considers poverty and inequality as the major cause s of social exclusion. The policy implications include the necessity to provide adequate levels of income to those unable to work due to a disability, caring responsibilities or age (Cook, 2009). RED also emphasizes social, cultural and political participation as well as economic participation (Labonté et al., 2012; Levitas, 2005). Otherwise, MUD attributes social exclusion to the moral or behavioral deficiencies of the excluded. This viewpoint is criticized for ignoring structural factors in order to blame the excluded (Cook, 2009). MUD denounces the existence of

welfare state benefits and argues that such measures have caused a deviant behavioral response, prompting individuals to choose lives of dependency rather than the independence that can be achieved through paid employment. SID narrows down the definition of social inclusion to participation in paid work. Similarly to MUD, it ignores structural issues and eschews increasing social expenditure to raise people out of poverty. This approach defines the excluded as those not engaged in paid work and prevents consideration of inequality within the "included" group (Cook, 2009). Thus, SID asserts there is no need for policies to address inequalities between classes, genders or ethnic groups relating to wage and working conditions.

Long term unemployment and the consequences of economic restructuring were key concerns of the European Observatory's work on social exclusion in the 1990s (Room, 1995), and this concern with the labor market remains central to the National Inclusion Plans across the EU (Pantazis et al., 2006). Politicians and governments recognized and utilized that SID can garner public support in the belief that inclusion into the labor market is the only viable option without addressing discriminatory processes. As a result, much policy of European countries in the 1990s was implicitly or explicitly rooted in the SID approach in which labor force attachment forms the key element, and paid work is represented as the primary or sole legitimate means of integrating individuals of working age into society (Levitas, 1999; Pantazis et al., 2006). The dominance of the SID approach draws attention to 'economic exclusion,' which is frequently used interchangeably with social exclusion (Labonté et al., 2012). Most studies on social exclusion emphasize labor market attachment and welfare to work programs even when other dimensions of social exclusion are considered. Likewise, most policy interventions addressing social exclusion often involve programs to increase employment opportunities (Labonté, 2003).

Table 2

Four Major Indicators of Social Exclusion

Indicator set	Dimensions
CASE indicators (Burchardt et al., 1999)	· Consumption activity · Savings activity · Production activity · Political activity · Social activity
Laeken indicators (Atkinson et al., 2004)	· Material/economic resources · Economic participation · Education/knowledge · Health
SEU's dimensions (Barnes et al., 2006)	· Social relationships · Cultural activities · Civic activities, · Access to basic services · Neighborhood exclusion · Financial products · Material goods
B-SEM (Levitas et al., 2007)	· Material/economic resources · Access to public and private services · Social resources · Economic participation · Social participation · Culture, education, and skills · Political and civic participation · Health & wellbeing · Living environment · Crime, harm, and criminalization

Based on Silver (1994) and Levitas' (2005) typologies of social exclusion paradigms, several studies have thus far been conducted to establish the dimensions, components, and indicators of social exclusion. As such, Table 2 is a presentation of four major social exclusion

indicators: the Social Exclusion Indicators of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE; Burchardt et al., 1999), the Leaken Indicators (Atkinson et al., 2004), the Social Exclusion Unit's (SEU) dimensions (Barnes et al., 2006), and the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM; Levitas et al., 2007). In addition, Pierson (2010) outlined five components of social exclusion: (1) poverty and low income, (2) lack of access to the jobs market, (3) thin or non-existent social supports and networks, (4) the effects of the local area or neighborhood, and (5) exclusion from services. Hoff and Vrooman (2011) and Vrooman and Hoff (2013) developed an instrument to measure social exclusion based on four dimensions: (1) limited social participation, (2) lack of normative integration, (3) material deprivation, and (4) inadequate access to basic social rights. Despite these efforts, however, there are still controversies related to which dimensions are most relevant, how they interact with each other, and which factors comprise these dimensions and the influence they exert on each other (Buchardt et al., 2002; Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007; Silver & Miller, 2003). Corresponding to these controversies, Fangen (2010) emphasized the necessity of developing "a new social exclusion perspective" which is suitable for the analysis of a heterogeneous, multicultural and complex society (p. 134).

To address the controversies regarding how to measure levels of social exclusion, diverse approaches have been adopted. First, for example, several scholars have gravitated toward the interactionist perspective and focused on the intersection of variables such as ethnicity, gender, and class background (Hitlan & Noel, 2009; Lenney, 2006; Modood, 2007; Sapey, 2001). Second, to further determine and clarify the dimensions of social exclusion, qualitative research has examined various groups and communities (Dunn, 1999; Haddon, 2000; Kieselbach, 2003; Raffo & Reeves, 2000; Weil et al., 2017). Another approach is the transnational perspective which pays attention not only to migrants' incorporation into new societies as they resettle but

also to homeland ties they sustain or strengthen even as they settle abroad (Haller & Landolt, 2005; O'Reilly, 2007; Wimmer & Schiller, 2003; Wong, 2000). Lastly, studies using advanced statistical methods such as structural equation modeling (Bayram et al., 2012; Bäckman & Nilsson, 2010; Currie & Delbosc, 2010), survival analysis (Perz et al., 2008), and social network analysis (Heikkinen, 2000) have contributed to testifying to the multifaceted and dynamic characteristics of social exclusion. Embracing these previous attempts and approaches, this dissertation will focus on revealing the dynamics of social exclusion among immigrants to the U.S. through the three studies, including secondary data analysis, qualitative meta-analysis, and policy analysis. Such methodological diversity will allow reflecting the diverse nature of social exclusion surrounding immigrants to the U.S., rather than solely measuring their level of social exclusion quantitatively.

Overview of Studies

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify the dynamics of social exclusion of immigrants in the U.S. and provide practical and policy implications to achieve immigrants' social inclusion and cohesion. In order to serve the purpose, a series of three research manuscripts will be conducted. The first study will use the three individual year data sets of the General Social Survey (1996, 2004, and 2014) to discern the trajectory of public attitudes toward immigrants and examine socio-demographic factors of the attitudes in the United States. This secondary data analysis will also predict the rate of change in public attitudes toward immigrants by employing latent growth modeling (LGM) methodology. The second study will conduct a qualitative meta-analysis and synthesize previous investigations on U.S. immigrants' exclusion experiences including discrimination, isolation, and human rights violation. This meta-analysis will identify several barriers to immigrants' social inclusion and how the barriers influence their

social exclusion. Lastly, the third study will address the rescission of DACA, which would be one of the largest changes in the current U.S. immigration policy. A rights-based approach to social policy analysis will be used to assess DACA rescission and its anticipated violations of international human rights treaties which the United States has ratified.

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CHAPTER 2

THE TRAJECTORY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES: LATENT GROWTH ANALYSIS APPROACH[1]

[1] Lee, S. To be submitted to *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Abstract

This study examined U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants and investigated the patterns of attitude change from 1996 to 2014. To address how attitudes toward immigrants have changed over time among U.S. citizens, a latent growth model was tested using a maximum likelihood estimation. The three individual year data sets of General Social Survey (1996, 2004, and 2014), which included a specific topical module on immigration, were used for this study. The total sample size was 3,639, all of whom reported being U.S. citizens. The findings indicate that the general attitudes toward immigrants have significantly changed for worse from 1996 to 2014 (intercept = 2.510, slope = -.025, $p < .001$), and that respondents' annual household income statistically significantly influenced the trajectory of attitudes toward immigrants ($\beta = .003$, SE = .001, $p = .023$), which means that poorer households having more negative attitudes toward immigrants. This study's results warn of growing anti-immigrant sentiments and the potential risks of such social divisions.

Keywords: Attitudes toward Immigrants, Anti-immigrant Sentiments, Social Exclusion, Latent Growth Modeling

Introduction

One year after the Civil Rights Act passed, the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the discriminatory quotas based on race or national origin previously used to deny immigration by some groups to the United States (Ewing, 2012). Since then, immigration to the U.S. has undergone dramatic changes in volume, origins, and geographic distribution. As of 1960, the foreign-born population represented about 5 percent of U.S. residents and was comprised mostly of individuals from European countries (Batalova et al., 2020; Grieco et al., 2012). By 2017, the foreign-born population was estimated to account for 13.7 percent of residents and composed mostly of people from Latin American and Asian countries (Batalova et al., 2020; Grieco et al., 2012). It is well established that immigrants from these countries experience economic difficulties (Hagan et al., 2011; Held et al., 2018; Kwong & Mak, 2009), discrimination (Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018; Elis et al., 2010), and limited social supports from the broader society (Chung, 2011; Crea et al., 2018; Gray, et al., 2015; Roth, 2017).

However, public and political attitudes toward immigrants have oscillated between perceiving immigration as a valuable resource and as a major challenge (Batalova et al., 2020; Ewing, 2012). Immigration to the United States was not numerically restricted or regulated before the first federal act to exclude criminals, prostitutes, and Chinese contract laborers was passed in 1875, known as the Page Act of 1875. Since then, the U.S. has continued to favor limiting immigration, either by placing qualitative limits on the types of immigrants allowed to enter the country or quantitative limits on their numbers (Simon & Alexander 1993; Simon & Lynch 1999). Particularly after the terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001, which resulted in the deaths of almost three thousand people, attitudes toward immigrants have become substantially more negative (Branton et al., 2011; Esses et al., 2002; Walter et al., 2016).

Flores (2018) argued that anti-immigrant sentiments have been growing in the U.S. since the early 21st century in response to social and political changes, and these sentiments have been shaped by political elites' negative immigration-related statements.

Public attitudes toward immigrants have been investigated in many immigration policy studies and linked with specific policy outcomes (Citrin et al., 1990; Erikson et al., 2002; Erikson et al., 1993; Hero & Preuhs 2007; Schildkraut, 2001; Tolbert & Hero 1996). Esses et al. (2002) provided three fundamental reasons why public attitudes toward immigrants are important. First, public attitudes strongly influence formulating and implementing public policy, such as immigration legislation. Governments pay attention to public attitudes and reflect these attitudes on new legislation or law revision. Second, public attitudes toward immigrants influence "individuals' day-to-day behavior, which may have a large effect on the success and satisfaction of immigrants and the overall social climate in the host nation" (Esses et al., 2002, p. 71). Favorable attitudes toward immigrants are likely to give rise to equitable treatment of immigrants, whereas negative attitudes are likely to result in discrimination (Dovidio et al., 1996; Esses et al., 2002). Third, Esses et al. (2002) explained that "the collective vision of national identity" can be affected by public attitudes toward immigrants, and consequently, the attitudes may influence "the perception of who is (and who is not) considered a member of the national ingroup" (p. 71). Likewise, Hedrick (2017) emphasized the importance and leverage of public attitudes toward immigrants from the stage of policymaking to policy implementation. This study aims to examine that the anti-immigrant sentiments have continuously risen and assessed which socio-demographic factors affected the trajectory of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants in the United States. This study addresses two specific research questions, as follows:

1. What is the trajectory of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants from 1996 to 2014?
2. Which socio-demographic characteristics significantly influence the trajectory of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants?

Background

This section will provide a few immigration demographics on types of immigration status, immigrant population growth, and immigrants' regions of birth. Also, this section will outline the term of attitudes toward immigrants and review previous research on public attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S.

Immigrants to the United States

In the United States, there are four categories of immigration status: citizens, residents, non-immigrants and undocumented. Immigrants who belong to U.S. citizens were either born in the U.S. or who have become "naturalized" after three or five years as permanent residents. Next, there are people who have been granted authorization to live and work in the United States on a permanent basis. There are also conditional residents who have been married less than two years before they received their green card. These immigrants are categorized as residents. Third, people who fall into this non-immigrants category are in the country legally, but only on a temporary basis as students (F-1 visa), business visitors or tourists (B1/B2 visas), fiancées (K-1 visa), or individuals granted temporary protected status. Lastly, immigrants who are in the country without permission, or illegally, are called undocumented. Undocumented immigrants are not authorized to work, and they have no access to public benefits such as health care and a driver's license.

According to the Migration Policy Institute (2019), representing about 4.7 percent of residents in 1970, the immigrant population had expanded to about 13.7 percent of U.S. residents by 2017 (see Figure 2). Based on census data, Pew Research Center estimated that 45 percent of

immigrants (20.7 million) were naturalized U.S. citizens, 27 percent of immigrants (12.3 million) were permanent residents, and 5 percent were temporary residents in 2017 (Radford, 2019). Almost a quarter of all immigrants (10.5 million, 23%) were unauthorized immigrants accounting for 3.2 percent of the nation's population (Radford, 2019).

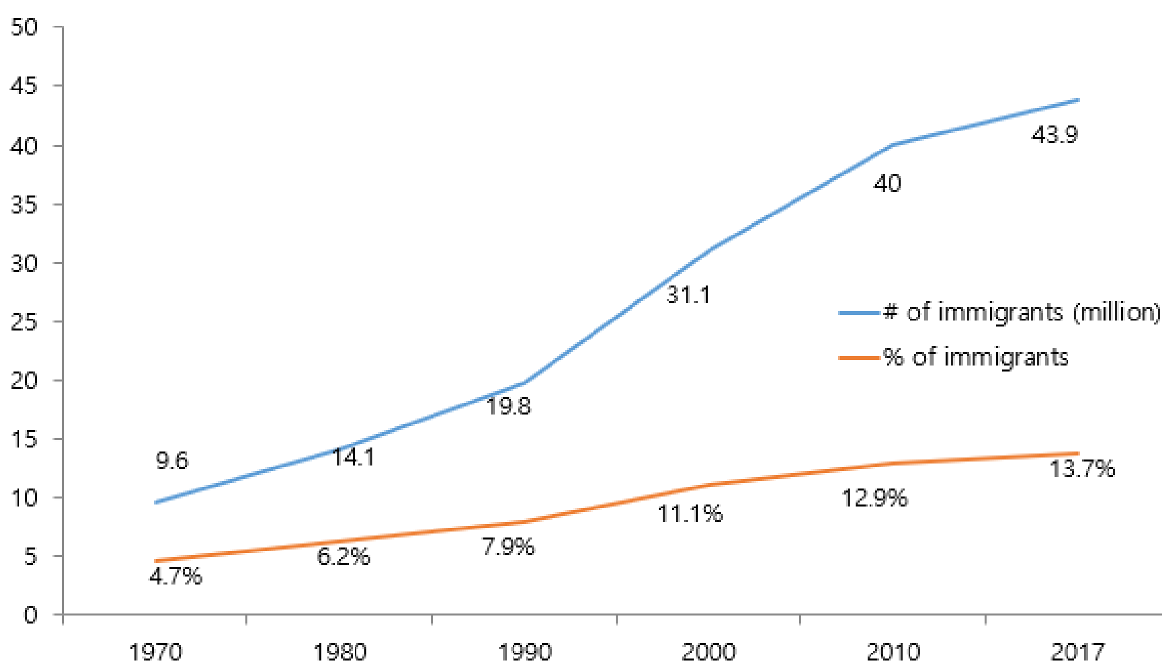


Figure 2. Immigrant Population in the United States between 1970 – 2017. Retrieved from Radford, 2019, *Key findings about U.S. immigrants*.

By race and ethnicity, immigrants from other American and Asian nations began to immigrate to the U.S. in large numbers in the late 20th and early 21st centuries in contrast to immigration trends in the 1970s, when most immigrants were from European countries (see Figure 3). Although Mexico is the top origin country of the U.S. immigrant population in 2017 (11.2 million), more Asian immigrants than Hispanic immigrants have arrived in the U.S. in most years since 2010 (Radford, 2019; Migration Policy Institute, 2019; see Figure 3). The next largest origin groups were those from China (2.9 million), India (2.6 million), and the Philippines (2 million). Immigration from Latin America has slowed after the Great Recession, particularly

for Mexico, which has seen both reduced flows into the United States and increasing flows back to Mexico (Migration Policy Institute, 2019; Radford, 2019).

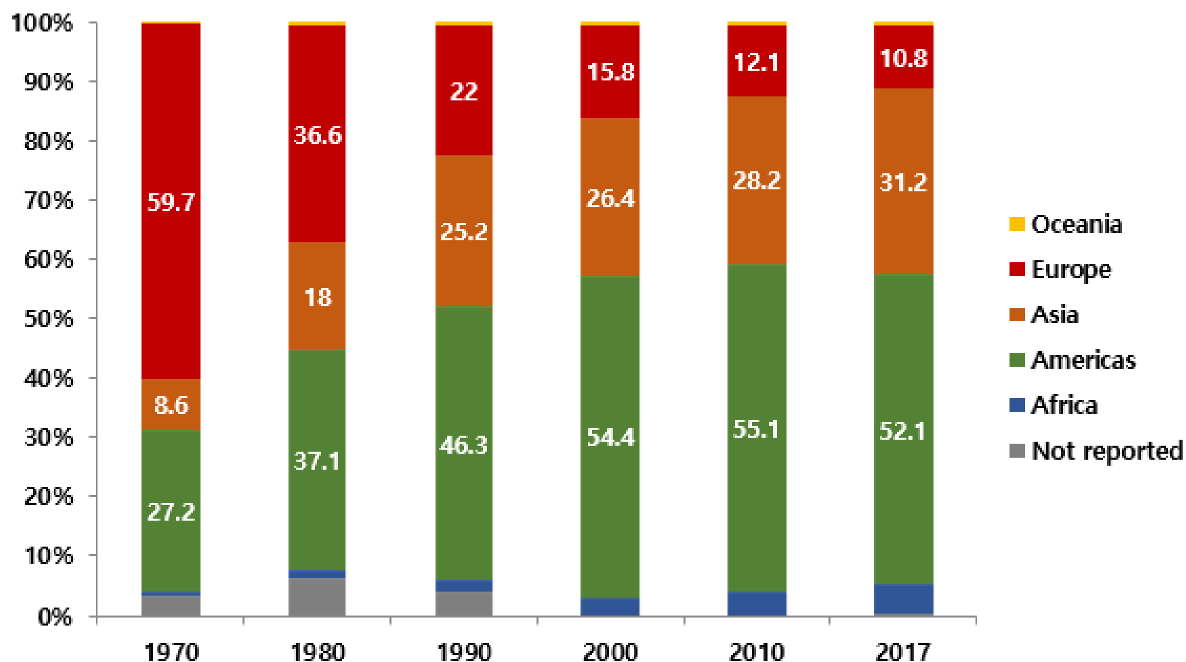


Figure 3. Regions of Birth for Immigrants in the United States between 1970 – 2017. Retrieved from Migration Policy Institute, 2019, *Regions of Birth for Immigrants in the United States, 1960-Present.*

Public Attitudes toward Immigrants

Some scholars addressed attitudes toward *immigrants* and attitudes toward *immigration* as synonymous concepts (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001; Simon & Lynch, 1999), but many other scholars explained the differences between them (Bauer et al., 2001; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Meuleman et al., 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Ward and Masgoret (2008) asserted that attitudes toward immigrants may follow dynamics that are very different from those of attitudes toward immigration. According to Meuleman et al. (2009) distinguished them from each other as public views are toward immigrants, and public reactions are to immigration. Quillian (2006) also noted that scholars have preferred to investigate attitudes toward immigrants in the vast

literature on racial prejudice, rather than on immigration per se. As such, this study will use the term of attitudes toward immigrants and focused on public views toward immigrants.

In studies on public attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S., scholars identified that public attitudes toward immigration in the U.S. had become increasingly favorable since the economic recession of the early to mid-1990s and could be described as quite favorable before the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (Environics, 2000; Essess et al., 2002; Jones, 2001 Moore, 2001). According to a Gallup poll, which was conducted in June 2001 across a representative sample of Americans, 62 percent of the respondents reported that immigration is “a good thing” for the country today (Jones, 2001). In addition, a majority of respondents supported keeping immigration at its present level (42%) or increasing immigration (14%); otherwise, 41 percent of respondents supported decreasing immigration (Jones, 2001). However, as a result of the terrorist attacks, these attitudes changed dramatically and negatively (Branton et al., 2011; Essess et al., 2002; Walter et al., 2016). According to a Pew Research Center nationally-representative survey (Lopez et al., 2015), 37 percent of respondents reported that they believe immigrants are making the U.S. worse off overall. To be specific, 50 percent believed that immigrants are negatively affecting the economy, 50 percent believed that they are exacerbating crime, and 34 percent believed that they are having a deleterious impact on social and moral values (Lopez et al., 2015). Another national poll (Goo, 2015) indicates 41 percent of native-born Americans reported harboring negative attitudes toward immigrants describing them as a “burden on the country,” and that they are taking away jobs, housing, and health care.

Jaret (1999) analyzed anti-immigrant attitudes in the U.S. in the late 1800s and 1900s and theorized that during times of national crisis and threat, anti-immigrant attitudes and support for more restrictive immigration policies were evident. Likewise, Fetzer (2000) found that

cultural and economic threats significantly affect negative attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S. On the other hand, Winkler (2003) stated that contacts with people from other countries and patriotism had much greater effects on public attitudes toward immigrants than economic factors. Staerklé et al. (2005) examined that in the U.S. majority members hold more negative attitudes toward immigrants than minority members. In addition, there have been many studies which focused on immigrants' characteristics that could be considered deleterious to the host population, such as limited English proficiency (Adida et al., 2010; Sniderman et al., 2004), closed-minded attitude (Adida et al., 2010; Brader et al., 2008; Valentino & Iyengar, 2011), low economic status (Harell et al., 2012; Ostfeld, 2017; Sniderman et al., 2004), and low levels of education (Adida et al., 2010; Hainmueller & Hiscox 2010; Harell, et al., 2012). Of course, not all immigrants possess such characteristics (Aleksynska & Tritah, 2015; Cortes, 2004), but information produced and shared from studies such as these may contribute to citizens' negative perceptions.

Theoretical Framework

This study has two theoretical frameworks: one acculturation theory and the other Blumer's (1958) prejudice theory. Acculturation theory demonstrates why the attitudes of the host (or majority) society toward immigrants are important to the acculturation of immigrants, and how such attitudes potentially shape immigrants' ethnic identities and intergroup relations (Berry, 1997; Fussell, 2014). In addition, Blumer's (1958) theory of prejudice provides group threat and contact hypotheses which can apply to public attitudes toward immigrants to the U.S. The subsections below review these theories and previous investigations.

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological change, and Berry (2007) stated

that "cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individuals on the basis of educational or occupational background" (p. 172). Therefore, shifting one's home culture toward the values and behaviors of the host culture is one form of acculturation (i.e., assimilation), but this uni-dimensional conceptualization does not fully capture the variety of acculturative changes (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Yoon et al., 2013). Ward and Geeraert (2016) argued that an individual's orientation to both the heritage and settlement cultures should be considered (Knight et al., 2014; Stoessel et al., 2014). As the acculturation process begins with intercultural contact, it is fundamentally important to understand the nature and characteristics of the heritage or home culture and the settlement or host culture, including their compatibility or distance (see Figure 4; Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

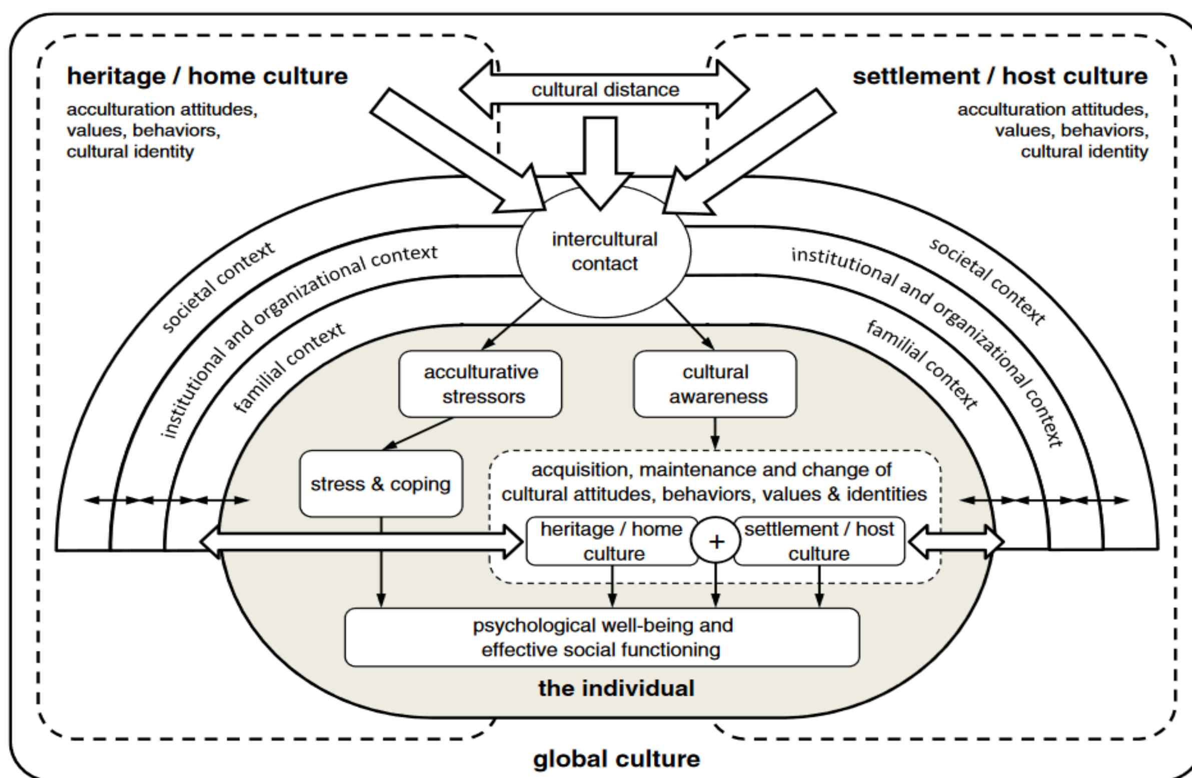


Figure 4. A Process Model of Acculturation. Reprinted from Ward, D., & Geegraert, N., 2016, Advancing acculturation theory and research: The acculturation process in its ecological context. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 8*, p. 99.

According to Benet-Martínez (2012), increasing distance or dissimilarity between cultures not only makes it more difficult for immigrants to achieve integration but also increases acculturative stress and negatively impacts psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. This means that the process of acculturation can cause certain groups of immigrants, who have limited social networks and lack necessary life skills, to be marginalized (López et al., 2002). According to Leong and Chou (1994), assimilation and integration may allow immigrants to realize not only the strengths but also the weaknesses of their new environment, while separation and marginalization are more likely to perpetuate the perceptions of problems related to social exclusion. Candelo et al. (2017) argue that higher levels of social exclusion and lower levels of identification can impede individuals' social assimilation into a new society. Similarly, Akerlof and Kranton (2003) suggest that an individual's identity and social inclusion are two crucial components of the social integration process and examine that the non-dominant group's identity significantly affects their level of social exclusion.

Malti et al. (2012) and Williams (2016) noted that anti-immigrant sentiment is one of the most crucial factors influencing immigrants' social exclusion. Such negative attitudes of the majority society can lead to immigrants' failure of adaptation, negative ethnic identities, and deficient intergroup relations (Berry, 1997; Candelo et al., 2017; Fussell, 2014). Several studies have found that anti-immigrant sentiments impede immigrants' successful adaptation (Bhatia, 2012; Branton et al., 2011), negatively affect immigrants' health status both physically and mentally (Androff et al., 2011; Salas et al., 2013), and cause immigrants' higher likelihood of isolation, lower sense of belonging, and lack of social networks (Bask, 2005; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014).

Blumer's (1958) Theory of Prejudice

Public attitudes toward immigrants can be explained as a relationship between in-group and out-group members in Blumer's (1958) theory of prejudice. According to Blumer (1958), prejudice occurs in an in-group when existing members feel they are threatened by an out-group, regardless of whether the threat actually affects them. Simply put, it is the perception of the threat that matters. The threat consolidates in-group members' sense of entitlement to rights, their elevated status, and their alienation from the out-group (Fussell, 2014). Earlier research by Blalock (1967) explained that the larger the size of an out-group, the stronger the sense of threat perceived by the in-group (see Figure 5). This threat hypothesis has been empirically examined and confirmed in several studies (Bobo, 1983; Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Giles & Evans, 1986; Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989; Quillian, 1996; Taylor, 1998; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). The most common threat that native-born residents are concerned with is economic (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Citizens perceive immigrants as competitors for scarce jobs and fear that they will cause lower wages, undermining the negotiating position of native workers. (Bonacich, 1972; Borjas, 1987; Card, 1990; Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Based on the group threat theory, both Czaika (2015) and Yu (2019) argued that native-born Americans may believe that large numbers of immigrants will threaten their job prospects and general welfare.

Another hypothesis of the prejudice theory is the contact hypothesis (see Figure 5). The contact hypothesis proposes that interaction between in-group and out-group members in a situation in which they have equal status and pursue a shared goal reduces racial prejudice (Allport, 1954; Fussell, 2014; Pettigrew, 1998). Several studies have shown individuals who have cross-racial friendships and live in more racially and ethnically integrated neighborhoods

report lower levels of prejudice (Emerson et al., 2002; Ellison et al., 2011; Eric Oliver & Wong, 2003). Likewise, Branton and Jones (2005) found that the racial diversity of a county significantly affects non-Hispanic Whites' attitudes toward a racial policy. However, they also identified that the most important determinant is native residents' levels of education, namely that native residents whose education level is higher are likely to have more supportive attitudes and less racial hostility (Branton & Jones, 2005). In addition, Alba (2009) pointed out that the in-group's negative attitudes toward out-group members can be heightened or mitigated by the in-group's various characteristics. For instance, the macro-level economic prosperity of the host society and declining birth rates among the majority group can positively influence in-group and out-group relationships.

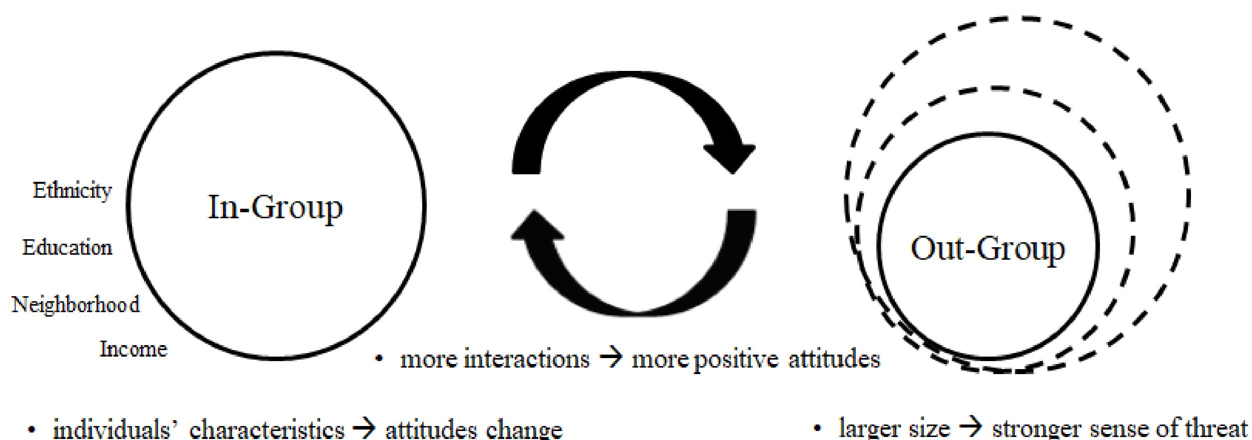


Figure 5. Theory of Prejudice: The Group Threat and Contact Hypotheses.

Methods

This secondary data analysis used a structural equation modeling (SEM) technique, latent growth modeling (LGM) approach to examine how U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants have changed and identify the effects of respondents' socio-demographics on the attitudes' trajectory. SEM methods allow researchers to investigate the relationships between

observed and latent variables and examine cross-group similarities and differences (Brown, 2006; Kline, 2011; Okech et al., 2015). Before SEM, measurement error was assessed separately and not explicitly included, and this separation has been one of the major obstacles to demonstrating and improving theories in social work research (Guo et al., 2009). SEM allows to estimate measurement error and adjusts theoretical parameters accordingly (Guo et al., 2009), which means that measurement error is subtracted from parameter estimates. In this regard, the application of SEM contributes greatly to developing knowledge for the social work profession because it integrates measurement and substantive theory (Guo et al., 2009).

LGM, which is also known as a latent curve model, enables an examination of the shape of the mean trend over time and predicts its rate of change (Jung, 2007). As Preacher et al. (2008) said, LGM is appealing "not only because of its ability to model change but also because it allows investigation into the antecedents and consequents of change" (p. 2). Some of the strengths of the LGM approach encompass an ability "to test the adequacy of the hypothesized growth form," "to incorporate both fixed and time-varying covariates," "to correct for measurement error in observed indicators," and "to incorporate growth on several constructs simultaneously" (Duncan & Duncan, 2004, p. 336). Therefore, utilizing the LGM approach, this study not only can analyze the trajectory of public attitudes toward immigrants over time and predict the rate of change, but also can examine the adequacy of the research model and measurement which heightens the validity of results.

Data and Participants

The data for this study come from the General Social Survey (GSS), which is conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and gathers a nationally-representative sample of non-institutionalized U.S. adults aged 18 and older. The GSS uses an empirically

reliable multistage sampling design that incorporates techniques that focus on primary sampling units and block-level quotas for households in order to conduct a set of face-to-face interviews (NORC, 2019). To represent a cross-section of the country, there was a random selection of households across the U.S. along with a randomly selected adult member of the household. The GSS is considered to produce more accurate results than other polling methods, illuminating controversial and topical social questions since 1972 (NORC, 2017).

Three individual year data sets of the GSS (1996, 2004, and 2014) were used, particularly because they were the only data sets that included a specific topical module on immigration. The 1996 GSS conducted in-person interviews with a sample of 2,904, with a response rate of 76%. Of the 2,904 participants, 44.2% (N = 1,285) self-reported as U.S. citizens. Next, the sample size of the 2004 GSS was 2812 adults age 18 and above with a response rate of 70%. Of the 2,812 respondents, 41.5% (N = 1,168) self-reported as a U.S. citizen. The 2014 survey had a sample size of 2,538 respondents and a response rate of 69.2%. Of the 2,538 participants, 46.7% (N = 1,186) answered that they were a U.S. citizen. Consequently, the total sample size of this study was 3,639, all of whom reported they were U.S. citizens.

Measures

Socio-Demographics

The study assessed several sociodemographic factors as independent variables: age (in years), race/ethnicity including White/Caucasian, Black/African American, and Other, gender (male = 1, female = 2), marital status including married, widowed, divorced, separated, and never married. Income was derived from a categorical measure asking participants for their annual household income with 6 income brackets (less than $5,000, $5,000 – $9,999, $10,000 – $14,999, $15,000 – $19,999, $20,000 – $24,999, and $25,000 or more).

Attitudes toward Immigrants

The dependent variable was examined using the U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants index that included measures using five questionnaire items. Respondents were asked, "How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?" The statements are as follows:

1) The number of immigrants to America nowadays should be reduced.
2) Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America.
3) Immigrants are generally good for America's economy (reverse-coding question).
4) Immigrants increase crime rates.
5) America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.

Responses were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (Agree strongly) to 4 (Disagree strongly). All five items were combined to create and index score. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes toward immigrants. In this study sample, the five-item measurement of attitudes toward immigrants was found to have an alpha coefficient of reliability between .746 and .748 among the construct with all three data sets.

Data Analysis

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) as the University of Georgia on December 13, 2019. First, socio-demographic data were analyzed, and Cronbach's alpha was examined to estimate the internal consistency using SPSS 22 (IMB, 2013). Also, LGM analysis was conducted in Mplus7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2015). Mplus enables to analyze ordinal and continuous data simultaneously and make use of all available data, even for cases with some missing responses, through the estimation of Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) (Muthén & Muthén, 2015; Schafer & Graham, 2002). A latent growth model examined the shape of the mean trend of attitudes toward immigrants over time and predicted its rate of change.

Also, the model identified the effects of respondents' socio-demographics on the attitudes' trajectory.

To determine the adequacy of the model, model fit was evaluated by multiple fit indices, including the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and its 90% confidence interval (Steiger, 1990), the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) (Hu & Bentler, 1999), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) (Bentler & Bonett, 1980), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) (Bentler, 1990). The thresholds for model fit across these major fit indices have been well-established in prior studies, and include: 1) RMSEA $\leq .08$; 2) SRMR $\leq .08$; 3) TLI $\geq .90$; and 4) CFI $\geq .90$ (Chen, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2011; Raykov, 1998). The model fit analysis indicated that the data for this study were suited for this latent growth models: $\chi 2$ (df) = 1.177 (1) (p = .278), RMSEA = .012 (90% CI: .000 – .077), SRMR = .011, TLI = 0.909, CFI = 0.970.

Results

Sample Characteristics

The socio-demographic characteristics for the three individual year data sets of the GSS (1996, 2004, and 2014) are shown in Table 3. Respondents for the full sample were all over the age of 18 and fell into one of six ordinal categories, as presented in Table 3. The average age of the GSS 1996 samples was 44.75 (SD = 16.619), the GSS 2004 samples 45.73 (SD = 16.400), and the GSS 2014 samples 49.69 (SD = 17.582). For all the three data sets, there were more females, ranging from 53.7% – 56.7%, than males, ranging from 43.3% – 46.3%, and almost 80% reported their race as white (range from 77.2% – 82.5%). The highest percentages of respondents answered that they were married (range from 44.1% – 53.0%) and had household incomes of $25,000 or more (range from 55.7% – 69.1%) for the GSS 1996, 2004, and 2014 data.

Table 3

Three-year Sample Characteristics

	GSS 1996 (*n* = 1,285)		GSS 2004 (*n* = 1,168)		GSS 2014 (*n* = 1186)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Age						
18 – 24	124	9.6	108	9.2	81	6.8
25 – 34	288	22.4	244	20.9	208	17.5
35 – 44	285	22.2	220	18.8	193	16.3
45 – 54	249	19.4	241	20.6	217	18.3
55 – 64	140	10.9	182	15.6	228	19.2
65 and over	195	15.2	172	14.7	253	21.3
Prefer not to answer	4	.3	1	.1	6	.5
Gender						
Male	556	43.3	507	43.4	549	46.3
Female	729	56.7	661	56.6	637	53.7
Race						
White/Caucasian	1060	82.5	951	81.4	916	77.2
Black/African	178	13.9	154	13.2	176	14.8
American	47	3.7	63	5.4	94	7.9
Marital status						
Married	600	46.7	619	53.0	523	44.1
Widowed	127	9.9	80	6.8	101	8.5
Divorced	211	16.4	179	15.3	192	16.2
Separated	54	4.2	40	3.4	41	3.5
Never married	292	22.7	250	21.4	327	27.6
Prefer not to answer	1	.1	-	-	2	.2
Household income						
Less than $5,000	47	3.6	49	4.2	52	4.5
$5,000 – $9,999	89	6.9	52	4.5	46	3.9
$10,000 – $14,999	120	9.3	54	4.6	66	5.6
$15,000 – $19,999	85	6.6	66	5.7	47	4.0
$20,000 – $24,999	99	7.7	63	5.4	62	5.2
$25,000 or more	716	55.7	781	66.9	820	69.1
Don’t know	48	3.7	41	3.5	40	3.4
Prefer not to answer	81	6.3	62	5.3	53	4.5

Descriptive Statistics of Attitudes toward immigrants

Reliabilities of the measurement and its descriptive statistics are presented in Table 4. As a rule of thumb, many scholars have required reliability of 0.70 or higher with 0.60 as the lowest acceptable threshold (George & Mallery, 2003; Gliem & Gliem, 2003; Taber, 2018). Morey et al. (2018) found evidence of reasonable reliability coefficients for the five-item measurement of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$). Likewise, in this study sample, reliabilities were acceptable with Cronbach's α ranging from .746 to .748 among the construct with all three data sets (see Table 4). The mean score of attitudes toward immigrants was 2.520 (SE = .023, SD = .724) in 1996, 2.314 (SE = .024, SD = .745) in 2004, and 2.095 (SE = .024, SD = .743) in 2014 (see the Table 5).

Table 4

Reliabilities and Descriptive Statistics of Respondents' Attitudes toward Immigrants

	Cronbach's α	Mean (SE)	SD
Public attitudes (1996)	.748	2.520 (.023)	.724
Public attitudes (2004)	.749	2.314 (.024)	.745
Public attitudes (2014)	.746	2.095 (.024)	.743

Table 5 presented each of the five questionnaire items measuring respondents' attitudes toward immigrants and their descriptive statistics. It was found that with all the five items, U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants have tended to become unfavorable over time (see Table 5 and Figure 6). For all the three data sets, respondents had the most negative attitude with item 4 (Immigrants increase crime rates), or item 3 (Immigrants are generally good for America's economy). Otherwise, respondents reported the highest score with item 5 (America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants) in three years. It means that relatively more U.S. citizens opposed taking stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants. However, item

five had the biggest drop in score between 1996 and 2014, and this change indicates that more and more U.S. citizens supported to deport immigrants without documentation.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics of Respondents' Attitudes toward Immigrants by Item

	GSS 1996 (n = 1,285)		GSS 2004 (n = 1,168)		GSS 2014 (n = 1186)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1. The number of immigrants to America nowadays should be reduced.	2.91	1.026	2.71	1.038	2.48	1.055
2. Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America.	2.32	1.091	2.19	1.136	2.00	1.089
3. Immigrants are generally good for America's economy.*	2.03	.950	1.80	.993	1.63	.933
4. Immigrants increase crime rates.	2.01	1.047	1.84	1.045	1.63	1.023
5. America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.	3.16	.996	2.90	1.055	2.65	1.113

*: reverse-coding question

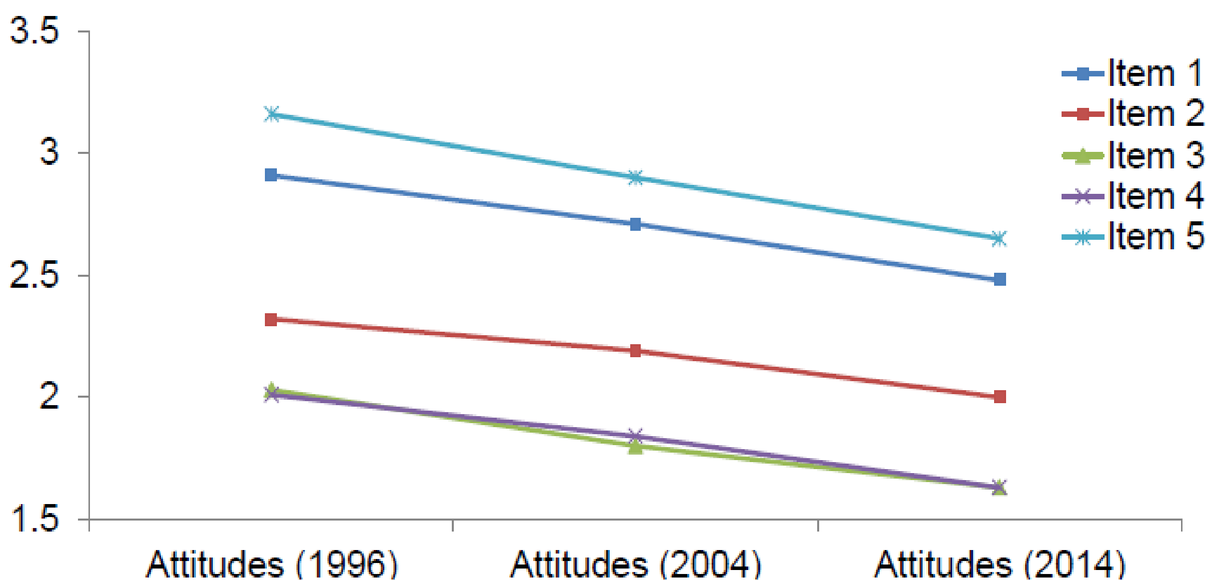


Figure 6. Average Scores of Five Questionnaire Items Measuring Respondents' Attitudes toward Immigrants

Latent Growth Model

Figure 7 shows the latent growth model of this study. As the descriptive statistics of attitudes toward immigrants presented, the tendency of anti-immigrant sentiments, which have become severe over time, was found. The LGM analysis was conducted to examine whether the trajectory is statistically significant, and which individual characteristics significantly affect the trajectory. This study captured growth patterns with two latent variables (intercept and slope) that represent the trajectory of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants in 1996, 2004, and 2014 (see Figure 7). Multiple fit indices indicated that the data for this study fit this latent growth models well: χ^2 (*df*) = 1.177 (1) (*p* = .278), RMSEA = .012 (90% CI: .000 – .077), SRMR = .011, TLI = 0.909, CFI = 0.970 (see Table 6).

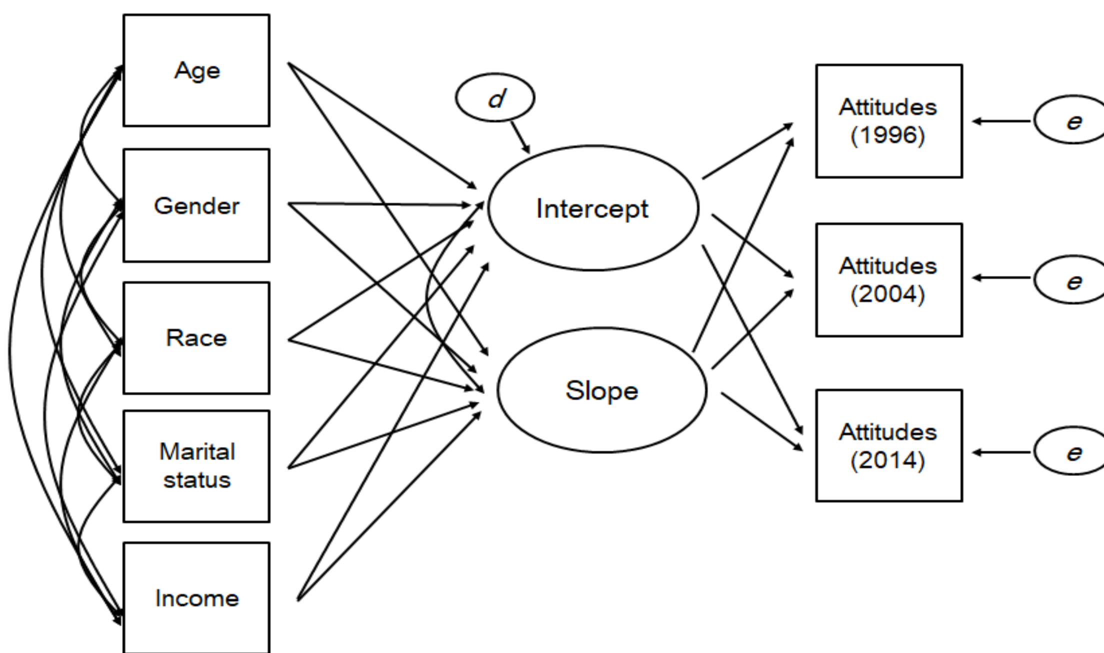


Figure 7. Research Design for Latent Growth Analysis

Table 6

Goodness-of-fit Indices of the Latent Growth Model

χ^2 (*df*)	CFI	TLI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)
1.177 (1)	.970	.909	.011	.012 (.000 | .077)

Table 7 provides the results of the LGM that examined the trajectory of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants during the period from 1996 to 2014. The results show that the attitudes of native-born Americans have significantly become negative over the period (intercept = 2.510, SE = .020, $p < .001$; slope = -.025, SE = .002, $p < .001$). Figure 8 shows the average attitudes toward immigrants and estimated the trajectory of the attitudes. When examining sample means, presented as a blue line, attitudes toward immigrants has become negative from 1996 to 2014. However, when examining the estimated average trajectory of the attitudes, presented as a red line, anti-immigrant attitudes have become more severe and worse since 2004, comparing to the previous change from 1996 to 2004.

Table 7

Latent Growth Model of Attitudes toward Immigrants

	Mean	SE	*p*-value
Intercept	2.510	.020	<.001
Slope	-.025	.002	<.001

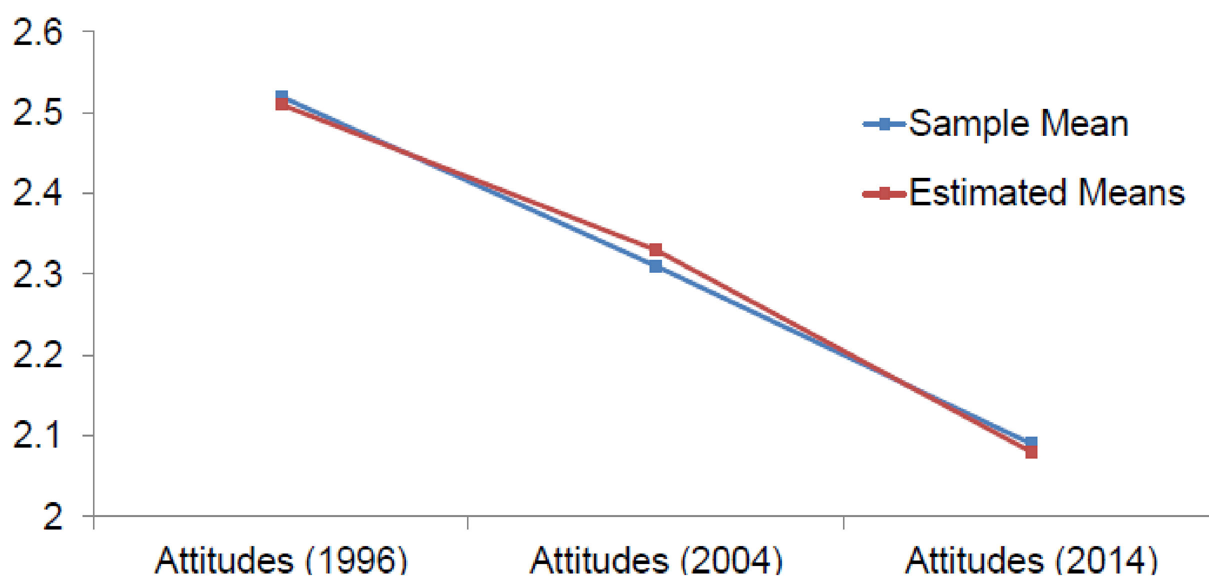
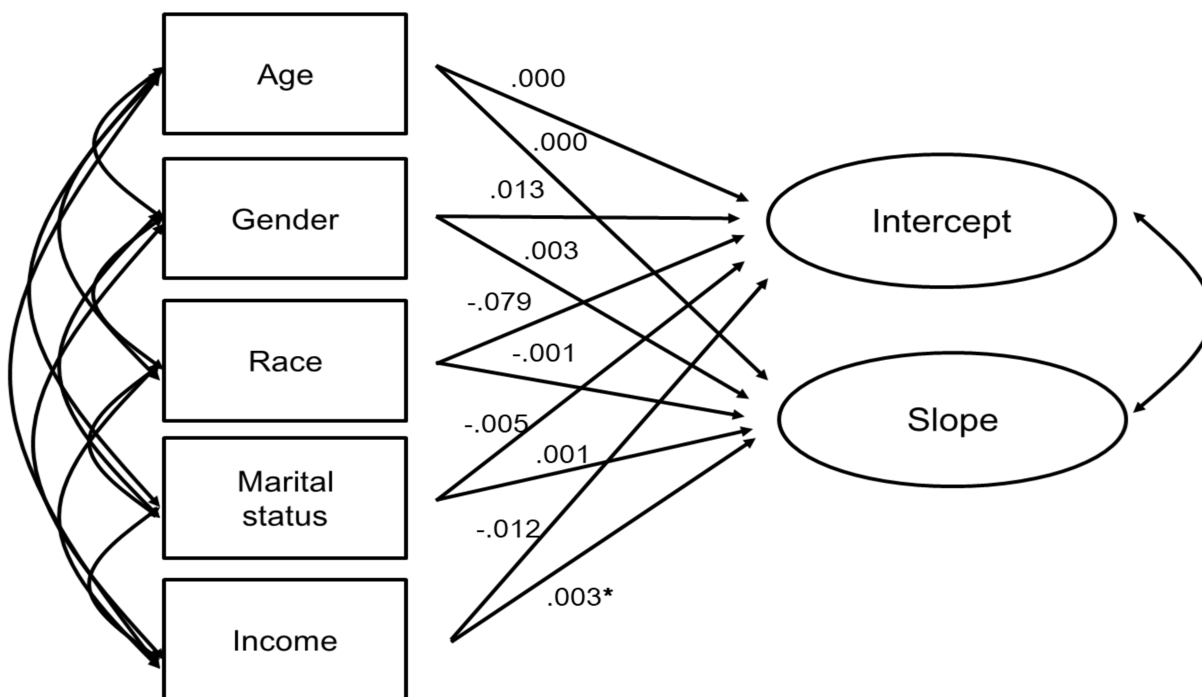


Figure 8. Sample Mean and Estimated Trajectory of Attitudes toward Immigrants

Lastly, Figure 9 shows the effect sizes of socio-demographic factors on the intercept and slope of attitudes toward immigrants. Age, gender, race, marital status were not significant factors of the attitudes' trajectory. On the other hand, respondents' annual household income significantly affects the slope of the attitudes (β = .003, SE = .001, p = .023). This means that among U.S. citizens whose income level was higher, their attitudes toward immigrants have become relatively less negative than those of individuals who had lower income.



Note: $^{*}p < .05$

Figure 9. Effect Sizes of Socio-Demographic Factors on Latent Growth Model

Discussion

The number of non-European immigrants from non-English-speaking countries in the U.S. has continuously increased since the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the discriminatory quotas based on race or national origin. Blumer's (1958) prejudice theory explains that the greater size of an out-group can result in the stronger the sense of threat perceived by the in-group. The result of this study that U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants have negatively

changed since 1996 supports the threat hypothesis. LGM analysis, which was used for this study, allows us not only to examine the shape of the mean trend over time but also to predict its rate of change (Jung, 2007). Namely, this study suggests that the anti-immigrant sentiments will continue to intensify without appropriate measures for increasing awareness of prejudice and achieving social cohesion.

Next, the contact hypothesis of Blumers' (1958) prejudice theory could not be confirmed by this study. The hypothesis proposes that individuals who have more interaction between in-group and out-group members are likely to have lower levels of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Fussell, 2014; Pettigrew, 1998). However, except respondents' annual household income, other socio-demographic characteristics including age, gender, race, and marital status, which may influence the frequency of interaction with immigrants, did not significantly affect the trajectory of attitudes toward immigrants. These results could be because the respondents' income level is more closely tied to the frequency of interaction with immigrants than other factors.

Lastly, the finding of this study that among individuals whose income level was higher, their attitudes toward immigrants have become relatively less negative than those of individuals who had lower income is in line with previous studies which identified that native-born residents perceive immigrants as competitors for scarce jobs (Bonacich, 1972; Borjas, 1987; Card, 1990; Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001) and believe that large numbers of immigrants will threaten their job prospects and general welfare (Czaika, 2015; Yu, 2019). However, immigrants accounted for 17 percent (27.6 million) of the 161.8 million persons in the civilian labor force in 2016, and the percentage of the foreign-born in the labor force more than tripled from 5 percent to 17 percent between 1970 and 2018 (Batalova et al., 2020). There have several studies on immigrants' positive economic contributions (Council of Economic Advisers, 2007; Li, 2000;

Nadadur, 2009; Stone, 2017). Moreover, according to Greenwood et al. (1996) and Papademetriou and Terrazas (2009), immigrants' negative influence on the wages and employment opportunities of native workers is small and not significant. To correct these negative stereotypes and misconceptions about immigrants, further investigations are required.

Limitations

While this study reports important findings regarding U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants, there were a few limitations in this study that should be noted. First, this study utilized only the three GSS data sets which included a specific topical module on immigration. Except for the GSS 1996, 2004, and 2014, other GSS data sets did not ask about participants' attitudes toward immigrants. Namely, the three GSS data sets end in 2014, and the results of this study do not present the change of public attitudes toward immigrants in the United States. In addition, for LGM analysis, at least three-time points are required, and more time points provide greater latitude when specifying a conditional LGM analysis that involve various predictors of the trajectory (Duncan & Duncan, 2009). Third, the three individual year data sets of the GSS included skewed samples toward individuals who had more than $25,000 annual household income. Also, this study only included samples who self-reported themselves as U.S. citizens, and over 77 percent of the respondents were white. Therefore, the results may not represent the entirety of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants. Third, this study could not fully cover potential factors and determinants of U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants because this study used secondary data. Between 1996 and 2014, there have existed numerous exogenous factors in the U.S., such as the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Iraq War, and the global economic recession, which might be strongly connected with the anti-immigrant sentiments in the U.S. Future research should be directed toward using data that include more comprehensive variables

and exploring additional underlying factors that verify research results. In conclusion, future studies can use data that have multiple waves more than three and include more socio-demographics such as employment status, health status, and religion. Furthermore, future studies might utilize qualitative methods to explore the anti-immigrant sentiments and their influence on immigrants' acculturation.

Implications and Conclusion

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to building evidence that anti-immigrant sentiments have been growing in the U.S. since 1996, and that this anti-immigrant tendency among U.S. citizens could continue to intensify. The findings of this study provide practical and policy implications for several stakeholder groups within social work and across related disciplines. First, this study can help social work scholars and researchers generate research ideas and conduct studies on public attitudes toward immigrants and their social exclusion in the U.S. As noted, this study has several limitations, and follow-up studies are required. Social work researchers can examine public attitudes toward immigrants in different ways referring to this study. Also, this study identified the decreasing trajectory of public attitudes, which shows that anti-immigrant sentiments in the U.S. would become more severe over time. It means that immigrants to the U.S. would be also more likely to face various social exclusion, such as discrimination, segregation, and isolation. Thus, studies on the growth of anti-immigrant sentiments and their effects on immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. are requested.

Second, this study can be useful for social work educators and activists. The results of this study present that U.S. citizens whose income is low are more likely to have negative attitudes toward immigrants. Also, it is identified that U.S. citizens were particularly anxious that immigrants might take jobs away from them, might be harmful to America's economy, and might

increase crime rates. However, in fact, many studies have examined that immigrants contribute to the U.S. economy in many ways and native workers' jobs and wages as well (Borjas, 2001; Card, 2005; Myers & Liu, 2005; Sherman et al., 2019). In addition, many studies in the U.S. have found that immigrants are less likely than natives to commit crimes and that rising immigration leads to reducing crime (Lee et al., 2001; Moehling & Piehl, 2009; Ousey & Kubrin, 2014; Waters & Pineau, 2015). Social work educators and activists are required to correct biased views and misconceptions about immigrants to the U.S., which may be prevalent among low-income individuals.

Thirds, policymakers can utilize this study for future immigration policies or social programs for immigrants. As Esses et al. (2002) noted, negative attitudes toward immigrants can lead to narrow immigrant eligibility criteria for social benefits and raise policy barriers to the settlement of newcomers. Consequently, the unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants can be potential risks of immigrants' social exclusion and severe social divisions. The results of this study advise caution against the growth of anti-immigrant sentiments and requires policy intervention for increasing awareness of prejudice and bias against immigrants.

Public attitudes toward immigrants interact with the collective vision of national identity. To be specific, the attitudes influence the perception of who is (and who is not) considered as a member of the national ingroup (Esses et al., 2002). According to acculturation theory, public attitudes toward immigrants potentially shape immigrants' ethnic identities and intergroup relations (Berry, 1997; Fussell, 2014). This study exposes the growing presence of anti-immigrant sentiments among U.S. citizens which is likely to result in immigrants' social exclusion and potential social division. In this regard, this study provides an empirical

foundation for future research on immigrants' social exclusion and can be a leverage to trigger the discourse of social exclusion in the U.S.

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CHAPTER 3

QUALITATIVE META-ANALYSIS ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES[2]

[2] Lee, S. To be submitted to *Qualitative social work*

Abstract

Corresponding to the growth of the immigrant population from Latin America and Asia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, immigrants' difficulties and challenges have been reported in the United States. Drawing on the lens of social exclusion, this study consists of a qualitative meta-analysis with a total of 22 social work studies. The PRISMA method was utilized to select studies, which interviewed immigrants on their exclusion experiences and were published in social work journals between 2000 and 2019. Previous investigations were aggregated and synthesized into four dimensions: economic exclusion, political exclusion, social (relational) exclusion, and cultural exclusion. Results from this study highlight various barriers to immigrants' social inclusion and present how the barriers influence their social exclusion in the U.S. In conclusion, this study provides implications for policymakers, social work service providers, and social work researchers to achieve immigrants' social inclusion.

Keywords: Immigrants, Immigrants' Social Exclusion, Barriers to Social Inclusion, Qualitative Meta-analysis

Introduction

Social exclusion is defined as the condition of relationship breakdown between an individual and society (Room, 1999; Walker & Walker, 1997). The concept of social exclusion encompasses a considerably wide range of social conflicts and economic problems. In general, scholars characterize that social exclusion embraces the denial of resources, goods and services, and rights, and the hinders the ability of individuals to participate in normal relationships and activities in ways that are beyond their control (Burchardt et al., 1999; Duffy, 1995; Hills et al., 2002; Levitas et al., 2007; Taket et al., 2009). Sen (2000) and Littlewood (1999) explained that social exclusion addresses the reinforcing processes of accumulated social disadvantages. The concept of social exclusion and its characteristics indicate that immigrants would be one of the most vulnerable groups to social exclusion.

Since Parker (1928) associated social exclusion with immigrants in his seminal article "Human migration and the marginal man," the social exclusion framework has been used to explain how immigrants experience segregation along with multi-dimensional aspects of social life. Sen (2000) and Silver (2006) argued that the social exclusion perspective has the advantage of explaining the effects of public policies on social solidarity and assisting in developing policies to achieve social cohesion, precisely due to the emphasis or multi-dimensionality. Such a lens allows an examination of immigrants' full experience, covering not only poverty but also discrimination, lack of social support, and limited social participation (Room, 1995; 1999; Sen, 2000). In Europe, many studies have pointed out the tenuous political status of immigrants (Dumont, 2008; Laurie & Petchesky, 2008; Morales, 2016) and the extremely unequal distribution of resources across ethnic groups within countries (Esses et al., 1998; Gradstein & Schiff, 2006; Richmond, 1988). Furthermore, multi-dimensional factors of social exclusion, such

as low access to or lack of social services for immigrants (Davies et al., 2009; McLaren, 2003; Negi et al., 2013; Prislin et al., 1998; Shah et al., 2006), immigrants' limited social networks (Boyas et al., 2018; Fangen, 2010; Liu et al., 2012; Ryan et al., 2008), and immigrants' reduced opportunities for higher education and quality employment (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010; Boyas et al., 2009; Fangen, 2010; McLaren, 2003; Rydgren, 2004) have been examined through the social exclusion framework.

However, social exclusion research in the U.S. has been scant, while many studies on immigrants' social exclusion have been conducted globally (Moffatt & Glasgow, 2009; Rawal, 2008; Sen, 2000). U.S. studies have only recently taken a multi-dimensional approach to poverty and utilized the concept of social exclusion. (Bolton et al., 2016; Caplan et al., 2017; Scharlach & Lehning, 2013). Silver and Miller (2003) noted that the U.S. still addresses poverty as narrow construct, strictly as "a deficiency of income for basic necessities" (p.1.). In addition, Moffatt and Glasgow (2009) argued that the focus on a unidimensional income-based measure of poverty, which comprises the U.S. approach to measuring poverty rates, explains why social exclusion discourse is not common in the United States.

With the growth of immigrant population from Latin America and Asia since the late 1990s, immigrants' economic difficulties (Hagan et al., 2011; Held et al., 2018; Kwong & Mak, 2009), discrimination experiences (Ayón, 2016; Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Ellis et al., 2010), and limited social networks (Boyas, 2010; Chung, 2011; Crea et al., 2018; Gray et al., 2015; Negi et al., 2013; Roth, 2017) have been examined in the U.S. Moreover, around the same period, there have existed several national crises and threats, such as the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Iraq War, and the global economic recession, which aroused anti-immigrant attitudes and support for more restrictive immigration policies (Esses et al., 2002; Golash-Boza, 2015; Hines,

2006; LeBrón et al., 2018). Under the official conceptualization and measurement of poverty, immigrants' various and multi-dimensional exclusion experiences cannot be fully examined. Therefore, using a social exclusion framework, this study aggregates and synthesizes evidence from previous qualitative studies on U.S. immigrants and their various exclusion experiences, with the aim of fortifying our understanding of the social exclusion dynamics among U.S. immigrants.

Background

Immigrants to the United States

One year after the Civil Rights Act passed, the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the discriminatory quotas based on race or national origin for denying immigration to the United States. Since that point, immigration in the U.S. has undergone dramatic changes in volume, origins, and geographic distribution. Immigrants from Latin American and Asian nations moved to the U.S. in large numbers since the late 20th, which stands in contrast to immigration trends in the mid-19th century, when most immigrants were from European countries (Radford, 2019). Migration Policy Institute's (2019) data shows that 43.9 million immigrants lived in the United States in 2017, accounting for 13.7 percent of the nation's population. The immigrant population from Latin America and Asia was estimated to account for 83.3 percent of total immigrants in 2017 (Batalova et al, 2020; Radford, 2019). Mexico is the top origin country of the U.S. immigrant population in 2017 (11.2 million) followed by China (2.9 million), India (2.6 million), and the Philippines (2 million) (Migration Policy Institute, 2019; Radford, 2019).

Valdez et al. (2013) said that immigrants have multiple and interconnected motivations to remain in their home country, including personal concerns as well as those rooted in their families, communities, and contemporary sociopolitical circumstances. Nevertheless, immigrants

are often forced to move due to economic restructuring (Lundholm, 2007). The most common reason for immigration is to escape poverty and to seek better economic opportunities. According to Pew Research Center, in 2017, almost 29 million immigrants were working or looking for work in the U.S., making up 17 percent of the total civilian labor force, and an additional 7.6 million immigrant workers were unauthorized immigrants (Radford, 2019). The percentage of foreign-born in the labor force more than tripled from 5 percent to 17 percent between 1970 and 2017 (Radford, 2019). Student migration is another major pattern in the United States. According to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), 2 million immigrants resided in the country during 2015 with various temporary visas, and 38.5 percent of them (770,000) were foreign students and their families (Baker, 2017).

There are also refugees and asylum seekers who came to the United States to escape conflicts and violence, such as war and political persecution. According to Radford (2019), since the federal Refugee Resettlement Program was created in 1980, about 3 million refugees have been resettled in the U.S. For fiscal 2019, the annual refugee admissions ceiling was set at 30,000, and 30,000 refugees were resettled in the U.S. (Batalova et al., 2020). This represents a 33 percent increase from the number of admissions in fiscal 2018 (22,491). However, the ceiling for fiscal 2020 was set at 18,000, the lowest in history (Batalova et al., 2020). Also, in fiscal 2019, an estimated 84,000 affirmative asylum applications were received by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), which were 20 percent fewer than the 105,472 in fiscal 2018 and 40 percent fewer than the 139,777 in fiscal 2017 (Batalova et al., 2020). After asylum petitions adjudicated, 38,687 individuals, including principal applicants and their spouses and/or unmarried children under age 21, were granted asylum after seeking protection upon in fiscal 2018 (Batalova et al., 2020).

Difficulties and Challenges of Immigrants to the United States

As mentioned, the most common reason for immigration is to escape poverty and to gain better economic opportunities. Also, there are many refugees and asylum seekers who come to the U.S. to escape war or political persecution. However, immigrants to the U.S. are often challenged by multifaceted social problems and undergo a lack of social supports. Immigrants have less access to social services programs than U.S.-born citizens, and this limited access reflects additional barriers against immigrants to the U.S. (Capps et al., 2009; Friedberg & Jaeger, 2009; Perreira et al., 2012; Ross & Hill, 2003). According to the Migration Policy Institute (2019), there were approximately 43.9 million immigrants to the U.S. in 2017, and 15.3 percent of them (6.6 million) were with family incomes below the federal poverty threshold. In addition, Batalova et al. (2020) reported that in 2018, there were 26.9 million children under age 18 living in low-income families, with family incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold, and 32 percent of them (8.5 million) were children of immigrants. This shows that children of immigrants were more likely to be in low-income families (47 percent of the 18 million) compared to children of U.S.-born parents (36 percent of the 51.5 million) (Batalova et al., 2020).

Corresponding to the growth of the immigrant population from Latin America and Asia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, anti-immigrant sentiments have been growing in the U.S. (Flores, 2018). According to Goo (2015), 41 percent of native-born Americans reported harboring negative attitudes toward immigrants describing them as a “burden on the country,” taking away jobs, housing, and health care. Ayón (2016) pointed out that the increased anti-immigrant sentiment nationwide and the recent passage of anti-immigrant legislation, such as Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, 2010),

exposed immigrants to heightened levels of discrimination and oppressive conditions. In one illustrative example, Quesada et al. (2011) underlined Latino migrant laborers' *structural vulnerability* and health problems in the United States. They defined *structural vulnerability* as "a product of class-based economic exploitation and cultural, gender/sexual, and racialized discrimination" and argued immigrants' economically and culturally depreciated status in the U.S. is aggravated by "legal persecution" (pp. 339 - 340). They pointed out that increased enforcement of immigration laws has exacerbated personal insecurity, labor market discrimination, residential segregation, and most importantly health inequality (Quesada et al., 2011).

Previous investigations indicate that the segregation toward immigrants to the U.S. has manifested as an individual-, community-, and societal-level exclusion. Many studies identified a variety of immigrants' exclusion experiences including racial discrimination (Ayón, 2016; Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006), labor market discrimination (Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Quesada et al., 2011), limited social network (Ayón, 2011; Chung, 2011; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014a; 2014b; Roth, 2017), and exclusion from social services (Hanna & Ortega, 2017; Kwong & Mak, 2009; Roschelle et al., 2018). Both the United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) and World Health Organization's (WHO) specify that social exclusion is a multi-dimensional process which consists of four main dimensions, such as economic, political, social (relational), and cultural exclusion (Levitas et al., 2007; Popay et al., 2008). First, economic exclusion covers not only poverty but also non-monetary aspects of deprivation, such as exclusion from the labor market and limited access to social resources (Peace, 1999; Room, 1995; 1999; Sen, 2000). Second, political exclusion covers disempowerment, lack of political

rights, and alienation from/lack of confidence in political processes (Levitas et al., 2007). Every form of marginalization by limited political and civic participation is classified in political exclusion (Georgiou, 2003). Next, social (relational) exclusion means the status that an individual has non-participation in common social activities and socially isolated (e.g., exclusion from family and the community) (Levitas et al., 2007; Pierson, 2010). Lastly, cultural exclusion includes processes that individuals are marginalized from the symbols, meanings, rituals, and discourses of the dominant culture (Madanipour, 2015). Examining previous research, this study synthesized immigrants' exclusion experiences using the four dimensions of the UN DESA and WHO to establish an integrative interpretation of immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S.

Methods

To provide full description of the dynamics of social exclusion among U.S. immigrants and strengthen our understanding of the dynamics, this study synthesized previous qualitative studies on immigrants' social exclusion and their findings conducting a qualitative meta-analysis. Generally, qualitative methods tend to produce more in-depth and comprehensive data than quantitative methods (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research is relatively more interpretive, subjective, and diagnostic in nature than quantitative methods (Berg, 1989; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Paterson et al., 2001). Meta-analysis integrates and evaluates results from previous studies on a particular topic (Abdellah & Levine, 1994; Moher et al., 1999). Noblit and Hare (1988) explained meta-analysis as the synthesizing of data. Taken together, qualitative meta-analysis is a research method that synthesizes a group of previous qualitative studies and their findings. Qualitative meta-analysis follows the same replicable procedures of quantitative meta-analysis, with the researcher analyzing textual reports and creating new interpretations in the analysis process, instead of a statistical data analysis (Ke, 2009; Park & Gretzel, 2007;

Paterson et al., 2001). Timulak (2009) also explained that the goal of qualitative meta-analysis is to provide a more comprehensive description of a phenomenon investigated in a group of studies. This study used a deductive approach to explore various kinds of immigrant exclusion experiences, specifically in the domains of economic, political, social (relational), and cultural exclusion to present social exclusion dynamics among immigrants to the U.S. The following sub-section outlines the search strategy and generic-descriptive interpretive approach.

Search Strategy

To determine the articles that would be included in the final review, the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) method was utilized. The PRISMA method is the recognized standard for reporting evidence in systematic reviews and meta-analyses (Moher et al., 2009). PRISMA helps researchers improve the reporting of systematic reviews and meta-analyses and permits replication of review methods (Moher et al., 2009). As the first step in the PRISMA method, a list of all social work journals was established. To consolidate the list of social work journals, the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) database was used, which is managed by the Journal Citation Reports (Clarivate Analytics, 2018). A total of 24 journals were categorized as social work journals by the SSCI.

Using the SSIC database, the following search terms were used to select final articles: *immigrant*, *social exclusion*, *isolation*, *alienation*, *discrimination*, *qualitative research*, and *qualitative study*. Also, the following inclusion criteria of this meta-analysis included: (1) a qualitative design; (2) published articles between 2000 and 2019; (3) published articles of social work journals as categorized by the Social Science Citation Index; (4) investigation of immigrants’ exclusion experiences in the U.S.; (5) presence of verbal interaction between the

researcher and the participant; (6) English-language articles. The application of these criteria yielded 22 articles for analysis (see Figure 10).

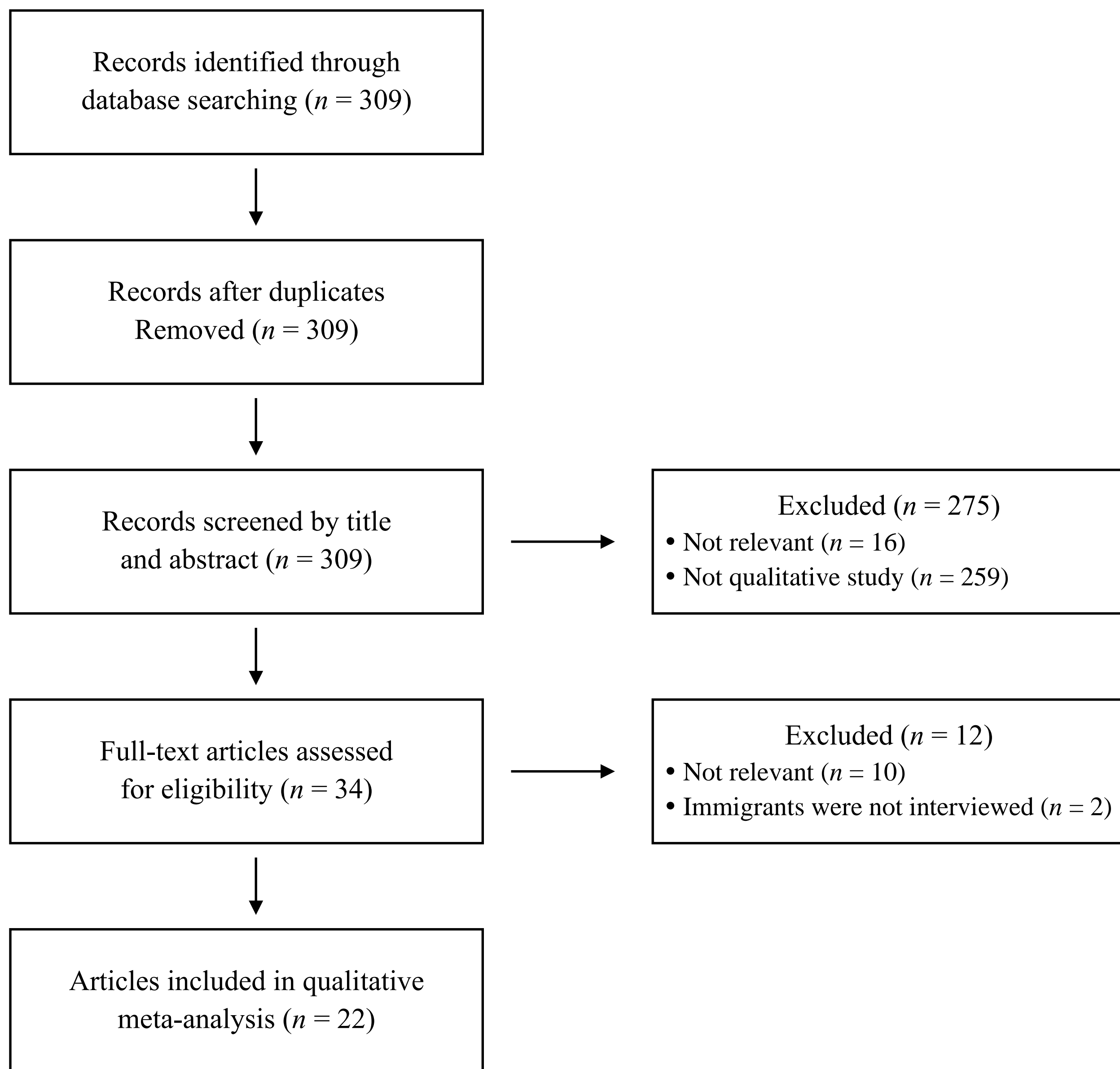

Figure 10. Article Inclusion Process Using the PRISMA Flow Chart

Generic-Descriptive Interpretive Approach

This meta-analysis used the logic of the generic-descriptive interpretive approach to qualitative research. The generic-descriptive-interpretative approach offers a conceptual framework that attempts to capture both descriptive and interpretive studies (Elliott & Timulak,

2005; Timulak, 2009), and the framework consists of four steps (see Figure 11). Following this framework, the first step of the analysis was data preparation. Interviews and interpretations of collected qualitative studies on immigrants' social exclusion were gathered. Next, meaning units, the smallest units of the data, were delineated (Timulak, 2009). Third, through the comparison of the meaning units among themselves, several categories were created (Elliott & Timulak, 2005). This study categorized meaning units into several domains, such as "economic exclusion," "political exclusion," "social (relational) exclusion," and "cultural exclusion," based on the UN DESA and WHO's definition (Levitas et al., 2007; Popay et al., 2008). Lastly, the main findings were abstracted, which means that findings which describe or interpret the whole phenomenon were identified (Elliott & Timulak, 2005).

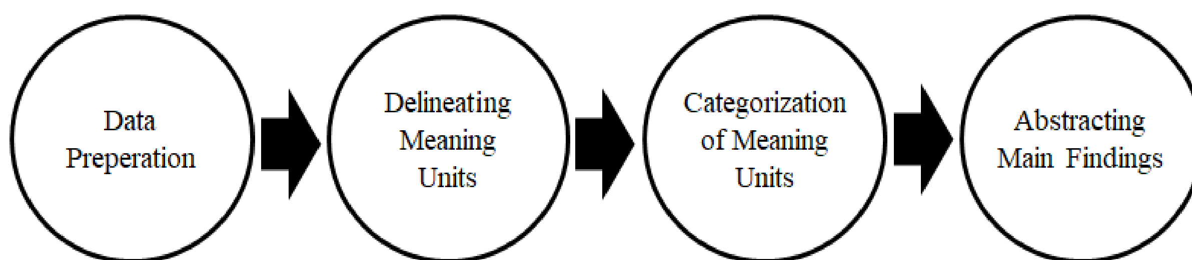

Figure 11. A Framework of the Generic-Descriptive Interpretive Approach

Findings

A total of 22 studies, which focused on immigrants' exclusion experiences and conducted in-person interviews, were published in 14 social work journals between 2006 and 2019 (see Table 8 and Table 9). Of note, there was no research that involved in-person interviews on immigrants' social exclusion and published in social work journals before 2006. Almost 60 percent of the studies (n = 13, 59.1%) were published since 2016. Table 9 lists the social work journals and the number of publications per journal. *Children and Youth Services Review* had the

highest number of publications (n = 4, 18.2%). *Family Relations*, *Journal of Social Service Research*, *Journal of Social Work*, *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, *Journal of Women and Social Work*, and *Social Work Research* each published 2 studies.

Table 8

Year of Publication of Studies Included in Qualitative Meta-Analysis (n = 22)

Year of publication	Frequency (%)
2006	1 (4.5)
2007	-
2008	1 (4.5)
2009	1 (4.5)
2010	-
2011	2 (9.1)
2012	1 (4.5)
2013	1 (4.5)
2014	2 (9.1)
2015	-
2016	3 (13.6)
2017	2 (9.1)
2018	5 (22.7)
2019	3 (13.6)

Table 9

Social Work Journals of Publication for Studies Included in Qualitative Meta-Analysis (n =22)

Journal	Frequency (%)
American Journal of Community Psychology	1 (4.5)
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry	1 (4.5)
Children and Youth Services Review	4 (18.2)
Family Relations	2 (9.1)
Journal of Community Psychology	1 (4.5)
Journal of Gerontological Social Work	1 (4.5)
Journal of Social Service Research	2 (9.1)
Journal of Social Work	2 (9.1)
Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research	2 (9.1)
Journal of Women and Social Work	2 (9.1)
Social Work in Health Care	1 (4.5)
Social Work in Public Health	1 (4.5)
Social Work Research	2 (9.1)

Table 10 is a summary of the characteristics of the studies included in this qualitative meta-analysis. More than half of the studies interviewed immigrants who were of Mexican-origin or from Latin American countries (n = 13, 59.1%). The sample sizes of the studies ranged from 7 to 62 (μ = 30.32, SD = 16.577). Every study interpreted and analyzed its interviews and identified a range of two to six themes concerned immigrants' exclusion experiences and coping strategies. For example, Girgis (2018) interviewed 30 Egyptian immigrants and articulated three key themes related to the dynamics of immigrants' social exclusion: Push factors for leaving Egypt; Migratory loss and grief as a risk factor for adjustment; Acculturative stress compounds loss and grief (see Table 10).

Table 10

Studies Included in Qualitative Meta-Analysis (n = 22)

Author(s)	Year	Journal	Type of research	Participants	*n*	Themes
Ayón	2011	Children and Youth Services Review	Not specified	Latinx immigrant parents	19	· Parent's social network · Role of social network throughout parent's involvement with the public child welfare system
Ayón	2016	Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research	Constructivist grounded theory	Latinx immigrant parents	54	· Comfort Children: Securing Their Safety · Learning About Nativity and Documentation Status · Parents Advocate and Advise Children · Ethnic Pride: Valuing Heritage, Language, and History · Don't Put People into Boxes: Valuing Diversity
Ayón, Ojeda, et al.	2018	Children and Youth Services Review	Constructivist grounded theory	Latinx immigrant parents	52	· They do not forget where they come from · Familial interactions and unity · Community cultural events · Sharing my stories: engaging in dialogue · Transmitting and preserving the Spanish language · Negotiating and integrating two cultures
Ayón, Wagaman, et al.	2018	Journal of Social Service Research	Constructivist grounded theory	Latinx immigrant parents	54	· Levels of Awareness: Raising Consciousness · Reflective on Issues of Discrimination and Race · Acknowledging Value in Self and Taking Action · Cyclical Process
Bacallao & Smokowski	2013	Social Work in Public Health	Not specified	Undocumented Mexican immigrants	26	· Monolingualism as a Mechanism for Assimilation · Discrimination as a Mechanism for Assimilation
Benuto et al.	2018	Children and Youth Services Review	Narrative model	University students who had DACA status	8	· Immigration process · Liminality · Resiliency
Chung	2011	Journal of Social Work	Narrative model	Chinese immigrants who attempted suicide	31	· The interplay of acculturation stressors, negative life events and help-seeking behavior · The interplay of mental illness, help-seeking behavior, and social resources
Cleaveland & Frankenfeld	2019	Journal of Social Service Research	Not specified	Latina immigrants	62	· Length of stay · Occupation · Prior Victimization

Table 10 *Continued*

Author(s)	Year	Journal	Type of research	Participants	N	Themes
Daftary	2018	Social Work Research	Grounded theory	Latinx immigrants	19	· Privileged Identities · Unawareness of Privilege · Racial Implications
Girgis	2018	Journal of Gerontological Social Work	Phenomenological method	Egyptian immigrants	30	· Push factors for leaving Egypt · Migratory loss and grief as a risk factor for adjustment · Acculturative stress compounds loss and grief
Hanna & Ortega	2016	Journal of Social Work	Grounded theory	Mexican immigrants	7	· We are working people · I am not an animal · Fear · Internal strength
Hanna & Ortega	2017	Journal of Women and Social Work	Grounded theory	Mexican immigrants	7	· Experiences and Conditions in Mexico · Real Opportunities of the United States · Restricted Opportunities of the United States · Love of the United States
Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al.	2014	American Journal of Community Psychology	Not specified	Latina immigrants	28	· Experiences of Social Isolation · Barriers to Establishing Social Networks in the US
Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al.	2014	Journal of Community Psychology	Not specified	Latina immigrants	28	· The Ambivalent Experience of "Me Mand´o a Traer" · The Experience of "Me Mand´o a Traer" in the Context of Parent-Child Reunification
Kwong & Mak	2009	Social Work in Health Care	Grounded theory	Chinese immigrants	39	· Perception of Quality Health Care · Communication—To Ask or Not To Ask · Physicians' Attitude and Health Practices · Health Care Delivery System Factors · Referrals, Follow-up, and Screening Results
Lovato	2019	Children and Youth Services Review	Phenomenological method	Latinx youth and mothers who experienced a forced family separation	27	· Experiencing trauma · Fearing additional family separation · Behavioral changes · Academic disruptions
Parra-Cardona et al.	2006	Family Relations	Grounded theory	Mexican immigrant women	13	· We are very satisfied with life · Work Hard · Experiencing Discrimination and Exploitation · Move Fast! . . . and Wait (Rapid Relocation) · Moving Up in Life (Being all together)

Table 10 *Continued*

Author(s)	Year	Journal	Type of research	Participants	N	Themes
Roth	2017	Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research	Case study model	Undocumented immigrant youths	36	· Trust, When the Conditions are Right: Choosing to Disclose · Choosing Not to Disclose: The Costs of "Passing" as Legal
Shaw et al.	2019	Journal of Women and Social Work	Not specified	Muslim female refugees	36	· Trusting God to Solve Problems · Prayer and Other Religious Practices Enable Coping · Fear and Persecution Limit Religious Practice
Treas	2008	Family Relations	Grounded theory	Older adult immigrants from 15 countries	54	· Here and There: Transnational Attractions · Travel Patterns and Immigration Status · Older Adults in Immigrant Families
Tummala-Narra et al.	2016	American Journal of Orthopsychiatry	Narrative model	South Asian adolescents	16	· Connection to Family · Community, and Heritage · Challenges to Acculturation · Stress Accompanying the Navigation Across Cultural Contexts · Coping and Resilience
Xu & Brabeck	2012	Social Work Research	Narrative model	Latinx immigrant parents	21	· Service Use and Undocumented Status · Service Use and Social Networks · Service Use Experience and Parental Efficacy

Analysis of Immigrant Social Experiences

Studies in the dataset interviewed immigrants to the U.S. and detailed their various experiences of social exclusion. All participants were non-European immigrants from non-English-speaking nations such as Mexico, Venezuela, Egypt, and China. An analysis of the study shows barriers regarding immigrants' social inclusion as well as how the studies' results fall into four distinct but overlapping types of immigrants' social exclusion, based on the UN DESA and WHO's categorization. Consequently, this study presents how the barriers to social inclusion influence each type of social exclusion that immigrants to the U.S. from the dataset experienced.

Barriers against immigrants' social inclusion

Several studies in the dataset captured and focused on the barriers against immigrants' social inclusion. Ayón, Wagaman, et al. (2018) explained that limited English proficiency, documentation status, and lack of awareness of U.S. service systems all served as hindrance to social inclusion. In the 22 selected studies, the most mentioned obstacle was the language barrier (Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Chung, 2011; Dalftary, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; 2017; Girgis, 2018; Kwong & Mak, 2009; Treas, 2008; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). Chung (2011) pointed out that the language barrier was an underlying factor that influenced participants' social isolation and poor living conditions. For example, a participant in Girgis' (2018) research, a 72-year-old former accountant in Egypt, reported his frustrations about how the language barrier negatively affected him:

> *I did not have the language [proficiency] to resume practicing my profession here. I did not understand people. I did not understand the American accent, slangs or expressions, especially when people spoke quickly. I said excuse me several times to grasp what they*

were saying . . . when I could not respond appropriately, people just made fun of me. (p. 363)

Also, a participant from Mexico in Bacallao and Smokowski's (2013) study talked about the language barrier:

I think my biggest obstacle was the language. It is still the language. I still struggle with English. I think that's why I don't feel American. I say to myself, "I shouldn't be with them. I don't understand many of the words they're using. (p. 7)

Another barrier that was revealed in previous studies was cultural in nature (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Benuto et al., 2018; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006; Shaw et al., 2019). In the study by Benuto et al. (2018), immigrants faced a certain liminality, not feeling accepted by the culture of their home country while simultaneously feeling rejected by the culture that they immigrated to and now lived within. One university student, who had DACA status said, "I dealt with two completely different cultures, at home versus at school" (Benuto et al., 2018, p. 201). Also, one Mexican adolescent participant told his experience of cultural barrier:

I went to school the next day after I got to the U.S. looking like a cowboy from Mexico. Aaahh. I went through that day and I wouldn't even take off my sombrero. Everybody was laughing at me. Then I started wearing shorts and running shoes to school. (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013, p. 6)

Lastly, studies in the dataset revealed that policy negatively affected immigrants' social inclusion in the United States (Ayón, 2011; Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; 2017; Kwong & Mak, 2009; Lovato, 2019; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). Particularly with unauthorized immigrants, the policy barrier was strongly interconnected

with their economic exclusion in the American labor market (Ayón, 2016; Chung, 2011; Hanna & Ortega, 2016). In addition, many participants reported oppressive policies that severely lowered the probability of attending universities (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013). For example, state policies often charge unauthorized immigrants out-of-state tuition and deny financial aid options, even when youths have spent the majority of their lives in that state. Furthermore, participants discussed a deep fear of the police, of being deported, and of being separated from their families (Hanna & Ortega, 2016; 2017; Lovato, 2019). A participant in Hanna and Ortega's (2016) study described:

> *You know if you get a ticket or something, they will stop you and ask for your [immigration] status, and if you don't have a current identification or use an identification from your country, you go directly to immigration [detention].* (p. 55)

Such barriers, which were intertwined and interconnected with each other, hindered immigrants' successful acculturation and contributed to their various exclusion experiences.

The next subsections will describe how the results from the studies in the dataset were categorized into four dimensions following the UN DESA and WHO's classification (Levitas et al., 2007; Popay et al., 2008): (1) Economic exclusion; (2) Political exclusion; (3) Social (relational) exclusion; and (4) Cultural exclusion.

Economic exclusion

Although the most common reason for immigration is to escape poverty and to seek better economic opportunities, many participants in the selected studies reported economic difficulties and employment difficulties (Ayón, 2016; Chung, 2011; Girgis, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014a; 2014b; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006). For example, one Chinese immigrant participant in Chung's (2011) study said:

> *I only earned $700–$800 a month – very low wages, given that I worked 13 to 14 hours a day. . . When I went out, I wanted to buy things but wouldn't dare spend any money. . . Sometimes we had to eat crackers for dinner because we couldn't afford rice.* (p. 619)

Unfair wages and discrimination in the labor market, particularly for those who were unauthorized to work in the U.S., were mentioned as discriminatory acts encountered by respondents, "They pay less because I didn't have my papers" (Hanna & Ortega, 2016, p. 55), "Even if they are good people and want to give you a job, they can't. The police will give them a fine because they are not supposed to give us jobs" (Ayón, 2016, p. 459). In addition, many participants in Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al. (2014a), and Parra-Cardona et al. (2006) reported that they felt pressure to cover their expenses in the U.S. and to send money to their relatives in their home countries. With this double burden, even if immigrants worked hard every day, all your life, they hardly escaped poverty. One Latino immigrant worker in Parra-Cardona et al. (2006) worked two jobs each summer, totaling approximately 96 hours a week, to support his family.

Political exclusion

Immigrants' political exclusion was not highlighted in selected studies as much as other types of exclusion, however it is clear from this analysis that it existed. Ayón, Wagaman, et al. (2018) pointed out that immigrants to the U.S. may not be able to advocate themselves and improve their oppressed status within the exiting socio-political context. For instance, the passage of anti-immigrant legislation and increased anti-immigrant sentiment have placed immigrant families in a place of uncertainty and limited their political and civic participation (Ayón, 2016). It was demonstrated that multiple barriers to immigrants, such as racial discrimination, limited English proficiency, and lack of political information, disempowered and alienate them from political processes and participation (Hanna & Ortega, 2017). Particularly,

some participants in Hanna and Ortega's (2017) study said that "the knowledge that unauthorized immigrants are often not granted a pathway toward citizenship despite the contributions they make to the U.S." made them disheartened (p. 368). Particularly, many unauthorized immigrants reported that their restricted opportunities:

> *I know there are many people that . . . have given a lot here [in the U.S.], and you [an unauthorized immigrant] don't have the right to anything. . . Like when you are a teenager and you are [unauthorized], you can stay only to high school. They don't give you an opportunity"* (Hanna & Ortega, 2017, pp. 367 – 368).

Moreover, half of the selected studies identified unauthorized immigrants' fear of possible family separation and deportation, and the fear refrained them from seeking services, building social networks, and participating in political activities (Ayón, 2016; Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Benuto et al., 2018; Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Daftary, 2018; Hanna & Ortega , 2016; Lovato, 2019; Roth, 2017; Treas, 2006; Xu & Brabeck, 2012).

> *Many people are scared to go out in the street, people who are immigrants, they are scared to go out in the street now, because the police will stop them . . . My peers are scared now. They are afraid that if they get together that immigration will get them. That if they are having a little meeting that immigration will raid them.* (Hanna & Ortega, 2016, p. 56)

Social (relational) exclusion

This subsection addresses how immigrants in the studies experienced social or relational exclusion, which is defined as an inability to take part in valued activities and limited social relationships (Ocean, 2005; Reid, 2004; Sen, 2000; Stewart et al.,2009). In several studies, participants emphasized the importance of family as a key source of support (Ayón, 2011; 2016;

Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). However, some immigrants reported stressors related to changes in family structure and roles post immigration (Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). Some participants, who left family members in his or her home country, reported feelings of loneliness and isolation (Chung, 2011; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014a; 2014b). For example, one participant in Chung's (2011) research said, "There was no one who could help me in America. I had to rely on myself for everything" (p. 623).

In addition, most immigrants reported difficulties in making social relations outside of the family as well. One participant in research by Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al. (2014a) stated, "I want to advance, be able to study, to work, but I don't have anyone. I don't have acquaintances." Similar to other types of exclusion, immigrants' unstable status, limited English proficiency, and various policy and cultural barriers exacerbated their social isolation. A Latina immigrant described, "In my country I had a lot of friends. They used to tell me their problems and we joked together. Here I go from home to work and from work back home, and on my day off I sleep" (Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014b, p. 77). Also, a participant from Mexico in Bacallao and Smokowski's (2013) study said:

> *I feel very different here [in the U.S.] with my Mexican culture because when I am at home, it is almost like being in Mexico for me, but when I leave my house, it is different. When I go out, I see that the people are not like me, they speak a different language, they look different.* (p. 8)

Cultural exclusion

Finally it was found that immigrants were forced to abandon their culture including language, religion, and dress culture (Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Benuto et al., 2018; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016; Shaw et al., 2019). Some Latinx parents

reported that maintaining the Spanish language was difficult, and their children felt ashamed to speak Spanish in the classroom since the state's restrictive immigration political context and schools' implement English-only policies (Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018). One child in Bacallao and Smokowski's (2013) study shared his experience:

> *I went to school the next day after I got to the U.S. looking like a cowboy from Mexico. Aaahh. I went through that day and I wouldn't even take off my sombrero. Everybody was laughing at me. Then I started wearing shorts and running shoes to school.* (p. 6)

Shaw et al. (2019) interviewed Muslim female refugees on the difficulties of living with fear and persecution due to religious identity in the U.S. Because of fear, participants reported being unable to openly practice their religion through prayer, mosque attendance, and participation in the religious event (Shaw et al., 2019). Tummala-Narra et al. (2016) also identified South Asian participants' experiences of being bullied and marginalized concerning South Asian food, language, and religion.

Social exclusion processes

Synthesizing previous findings, this study identified how the barriers to immigrants' social inclusion functioned and interrelated with the four types of social exclusion (see Figure 12). Much of immigrants' economic exclusion was reported as discrimination in the labor market, such as verbal abuse, excessive work, and prohibition of speaking Spanish (Chung, 2011; Girgis, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006). Many immigrant workers reported receiving low wages and were working in very poor conditions (Chung, 2011; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006). Particularly, immigrants who had limited English proficiency and unauthorized immigrants were likely to exposed to economic exclusion. Because of the language barrier, some immigrants could not get job information or communicate

with other workers well (Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006; Hanna & Ortega, 2017). Also, unauthorized immigrants feared possible family separation and deportation and had trouble in seeking work (Ayón, 2011; Hanna & Ortega, 2016).

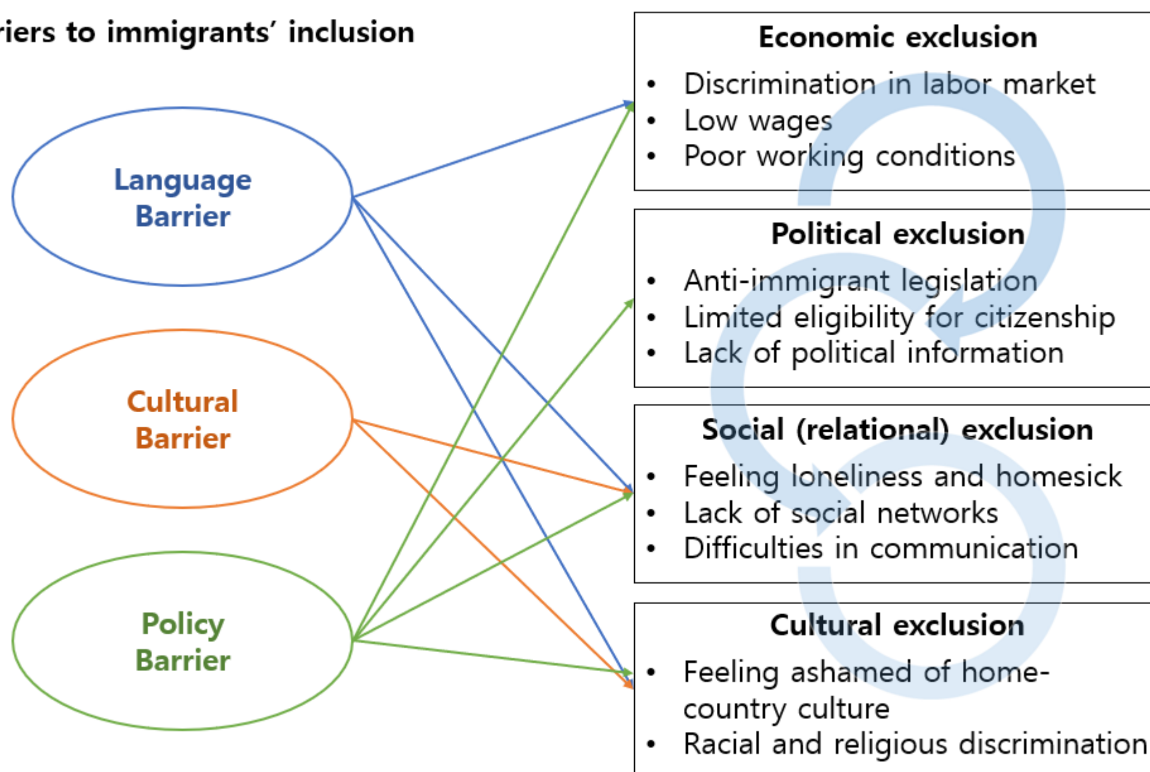

Figure 12. Barriers and Social Exclusion of Immigrants to the United States

Immigrants' political exclusion, defined by the United Nations as a state in which individuals are unable to participate fully in political processes (United Nations, 2016), was not directly mentioned in the selected studies. However, immigrants' disempowerment, lack of political rights, and alienation from political processes were implied in many selected studies (Ayón, 2016; Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Benuto et al., 2018; Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Daftary, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Lovato, 2019; Roth, 2017; Treas, 2006; Xu & Brabeck, 201). For instance, the passage of anti-immigrant legislation and increased anti-immigrant sentiment also has limited immigrants' political and civic participation (Ayón, 2016). Particularly, unauthorized immigrants reported feeling despair about

the knowledge that they are often not granted a pathway toward citizenship regardless of their contributions to the U.S. (Hanna & Ortega, 2017).

Social (relational) exclusion was prominently reported by immigrants who left family members in their home country (Chung, 2011; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014a; 2014b). All three of barriers, language barrier, cultural barrier, and policy barrier, underlay and deteriorate immigrants' social (relational) exclusion. Immigrants reported feeling difficult to establish and develop social relations in the U.S. because of their limited English proficiency (Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014a; 2014b; Treas, 2008; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016) and culture differences (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014b; Shaw et al., 2019). Particularly, because of the fear of forced deportation, immigrants even scared go out in the street and were socially isolated (Hanna & Ortega, 2016).

Lastly, like social (relational) exclusion, participants' cultural exclusion was strongly linked with all three barriers. In several studies, immigrants were forced to abandon their culture including language, religion, and dress culture (Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Benuto et al., 2018; Tummala-Narra et al., 2016; Shaw et al., 2019). The barriers limited opportunities that immigrants understand and learn a new culture of their new homeland. Lack of communication and racial discrimination prevented immigrants from being culturally included and participating in community events. In particular, students faced were exposed to bullying and felt that this experience interfered with school (Ayón, 2016; Ayón, Ojeda, et al., 2018; Ayón, Wagaman, et al., 2018; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013). Furthermore, because of some federal, state, and institutional policies that restricted financial aids to undocumented students, they essentially had no opportunity to get a higher education (Benuto et al., 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2017).

Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that immigrants face qualitatively more social exclusion if they are non-European immigrants from non-English-speaking countries, such as Mexico, Venezuela, Egypt, and China. Language and culture barriers may underlie immigrants' social exclusion and negatively influence immigrants' social relations and participation in civic and social activities in the U.S. Language and cultural differences were reported to disrupt immigrants' acculturation and result in their social isolation in previous research which interviewed service providers supporting immigrants in the U.S. (Held et al., 2018; Roschelle et al., 2018). Also, many scholars pointed out that language is a significant factor which determines access to social resources within an immigrant community (Boyas, 2010; Esses et al., 1998; Gradstein & Schiff, 2006; Held et al., 2018).

The findings of this study also suggest that the policy barriers have a wide range of influences on immigrants' multi-dimensional exclusion. Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, in the U.S., there have been more supports for restrictive immigration policies based on anti-immigrant sentiments, such as immigration raids and restrictive ID policies (Ayón, 2016; Flores, 2018; Golash-Boza, 2015; Hines, 2006; LeBrón et al., 2018), and immigrant eligibility criteria for social benefits have been narrowed (Esses et al., 2002; Harris, 2006). Moreover, policy barriers militate against immigrants' opportunities for higher education and quality employment (Boyas et al., 2009; Fangen, 2010; McLaren, 2003; Rydgren, 2004). However, immigrants to the U.S. may be reticent to lead social change efforts and overcome their multifaceted problems because of their tenuous political status (Dumont, 2008; Laurie & Petchesky, 2008; Morales, 2016). Particularly in recent studies, undocumented immigrants reported their fear of forced deportation and family separation coincided with DACA rescission (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Roth,

2017; Xu & Brabeck). Because of such fear, undocumented immigrants, who are not legally allowed to work and excluded from almost all social programs in the U.S., could find it harder to freely express themselves and therefore participate in social, economic, civil, and political events (Daftary, 2018; Held et al., 2018; Negi et al., 2013; Roschelle et al., 2018; Treas, 2006).

In summary, the findings of this study reveal that several barriers mutually influence and are interconnected with immigrants' social, economic, cultural, and political exclusion. Immigrants' fundamental human rights such as the right to work, and even their families and lives in the U.S. are threatened. As noted, social exclusion research in the U.S. has been scant (Moffatt & Glasgow, 2009; Sen, 2000), and only a few U.S. studies have recently taken a multi-dimensional approach to poverty (Bolton et al., 2016; Caplan et al., 2017; Scharlach & Lehning, 2013). However, the multifaceted social problems and barriers, which immigrants to the U.S. have been facing, cannot be fully covered under the traditional concept of poverty. In order to address immigrants' multi-dimensional challenges, it is required to develop the unique American social exclusion discourse. Namely, more research using the social exclusion framework, more policies under the lens of social exclusion, and more social work services based on the social exclusion perspective are required to be discussed, implemented, and fostered.

Limitations

The study has a few limitations that should be discussed. First, the data of this study were limited to the information from the 22 selected studies. Following the PRISMA method, this study searched social work journals to draw practical and policy implications for immigrants to the United States. Nevertheless, there could be some omitted studies that provided meaningful findings. Also, half of the included studies only interviewed Latinx participants. Thus, this meta-analysis could not fully reveal and find the social exclusion of non-Latinx immigrants. This

means that follow-up studies that focus on non-Latinx immigrants and their social exclusion or conduct comparative research between Latinx and non-Latinx immigrants, are necessary. Third, this study only examined qualitative studies. Examining quantitative studies and providing statistical evidence would be other ways to build knowledge regarding immigrants' social exclusion. Lastly, this study utilized the exclusion dimensions of the UN DESA and WHO and collapsed the data into the dimensions. However, social exclusion is a broad and multi-dimensional concept. Immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. might not be entirely covered or appropriately assessed by the classification. Therefore, this study might overemphasize some and overlook other information.

Conclusion

The social exclusion framework is concerned with the degree to which people are isolated and alienated from their social milieu and which shows relational conflicts between individuals (Pierson, 2010). Thus, the social exclusion framework has the advantage of explaining the effects of public policies on social solidarity and assisting in developing policies, precisely due to its multi-dimensionality (Sen, 2000; Silver, 2006). However, in the United States, social exclusion is not a common discourse, and there have been few studies based on the social exclusion framework. In contrast to many previous studies on immigrants to the U.S., which only focused on their economic difficulties or separately examined their problems such as discrimination and social isolation, this study presents multi-dimensional exclusion of immigrants and identifies the barriers to social inclusion and the process and dynamics of immigrants' social exclusion.

The findings of this study provide implications for many different stakeholder groups within social work and across related disciplines. First, this study could be useful for

policymakers who are seeking more effective ways to achieve social cohesion and protect people with minority status. As recent statistics presented, in the U.S., the number of non-European immigrants from non-English-speaking countries has increased. In this study, it is well demonstrated the extent to which they were socially excluded and how the language, cultural, and policy barriers are interconnected with their social exclusion. Policymakers can prepare and establish policies to cope with the barriers. Also, this study can provide evidence for policy revision. Policymakers can modify some existing policies that contribute to immigrants' social exclusion. For instance, in Arizona, Georgia and Indiana, state policies do not allow unauthorized immigrants to pay in-state tuition fees with no financial aid options. In addition, undocumented students cannot legally receive any federally funded student financial aid, including loans, grants, scholarships or work-study money. This study determined that these exclusive policies functioned as barriers to social inclusion of immigrants.

Second, social workers, service providers, and social activists supporting immigrants to the U.S. can improve and develop their services and programs. This study identified that many immigrants experienced exclusion attributed to the language and cultural barrier. Service agencies can alleviate barriers by providing more social programs, such as English tutoring, culture education, and translating and interpreting services. Moreover, immigrants often reported the fear of deportation and apprehension, family issues, and feeling lonely. Social workers can relieve immigrants' depression, anxiety, and sense of isolation with case management and counseling. Social activists and civic groups can provide legal aids and advocating supports for both undocumented and documented immigrants against anti-immigrant legislation and some policies that threaten their rights. Promoting mutual aid among immigrants and community-

building would be also effective to embrace immigrants and support their social inclusion (Connolly et al., 2019; Goel et al., 2014; Ramos, 2016).

Additionally, this qualitative meta-analysis could be useful for social work researchers who research issues affecting immigrants to the U.S. and their social exclusion. Through a qualitative meta-analysis, this study presents the comprehensive description of immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. and its characteristics rather than just utilizes the social exclusion framework discussed outside of the U.S. However, as mentioned, this study has several limitations, and from the limitations, social work researchers can draw the directions of future studies. Future studies should carry out a meta-analysis with large samples, examine the social exclusion of non-Latinx immigrants, and provide quantitative proofs and statistical findings that explain immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. and its processes. Thus, it is advised that researchers develop scales or measurements to quantitatively investigate immigrants' social exclusion. Ultimately, it is hoped that this study brings more attention to the social exclusion discourse in the U.S. and can contribute to immigrants' social inclusion.

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CHAPTER 4

A RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO THE RESCISSION OF DEFERRED ACTION FOR CHILDHOOD ARRIVALS[3]

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Abstract

This study conducted a rights-based policy analysis to assess the rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which provides a reprieve from deportation to young people who came to the United States as children. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and three international human rights treaties, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), which the United States has ratified, were utilized for this study. More than 650,000 DACA recipients are facing the risk of losing eligibility to stay, work, receive a Social Security Number, driver's license, and other professional certificates. DACA recipients are also threatened by potential risks of DACA rescission, including unfair treatment and discrimination in the labor market, suppression of free speech, and limited participation in social, economic, civil, and political movements, which might be influenced by the fear of forced deportation. The findings of this study indicate that DACA rescission would violate many articles of the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT. In conclusion, this study urges to establish policy modification and improvement to advocate of undocumented immigrants' human rights in the United States.

Keywords: Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, a Rights-based Approach to Social Policy Analysis, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Human Rights Treaties

Introduction

The United States has been categorized as a “reluctant welfare state” (Jansson, 2008) that only intervenes in the lives of its citizens to ameliorate abject poverty, provide for basic needs, and deliver a residual level of social security (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ferrera, 1996; Korpi, 2010). As such there are policy barriers to accessing residual welfare benefits including a lack of awareness, the perception of stigma, the inadequacy of benefits, and unnecessary administrative burdens (FitzSimmons et al., 2004). Research suggests that immigrants to the U.S. have much less access to social services programs than U.S.-born citizens, and this limited access reflects additional barriers against immigrants to the U.S. (Capps et al., 2009; Friedberg & Jaeger, 2009; Perreira et al., 2012; Ross & Hill, 2003). In 1996, with the shift from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) legislation, increased enforcement of immigration laws has erected barriers to immigrants seeking to meet the eligibility for social services (Coutin, 2005; Hagan et al., 2011). These restrictions from social services and public benefits might contribute to immigrants’ social exclusion, which is defined as the condition of relationship breakdown between an individual and society (Room, 1999; Walker & Walker, 1997).

Moreover, since the terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001, which resulted in the deaths of almost 3,000 people, the U.S. federal government has drastically narrowed immigrant eligibility criteria for public benefits, while national security has become a top priority for law enforcement (Harris, 2006). Most infamously, a “special registration” system called the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) and a “voluntary interview” program that singled out foreign-born Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians was implemented in 2002 (Ewing, 2012, p. 7). Also, since the 2016 election, U.S. immigration policy

has undergone a series of changes and seen either the proposal or implementation of policies such as, “building a wall on the southern border with Mexico, cutting legal immigration, deporting millions of unauthorized immigrants, and banning refugee admissions from certain Muslim-majority countries” (Pierce & Selee, 2017, p.2). The actions on immigration taken by the Trump administration have continued to raise the issue in political and public debates. On September 5, 2017, President Trump ordered the rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), leading to an immediate suspension in the acceptance of new applications and renewals. His “zero-tolerance” policy has resulted in the separation of unauthorized migrant parents and children (Pierce et al., 2018). Cervantes and Walker (2017) and Rein et al. (2017) pointed out that hundreds of parents and young people covered by the DACA program have already been apprehended. Undocumented immigrants and their family, who have excluded been from social services and public benefits, are facing forced deportation and family separation that directly violate the right to respect for family life, one of the most fundamental human rights (Candappa, 2002; De Zayas, 2005; Starr & Brilmayer, 2003). In many current studies, unauthorized immigrants reported their fear of possible family separation and deportation, and that the fear refrained them from seeking services, building social networks, and participating in political activities (Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018; Benuto et al., 2018; Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Daftary, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Lovato, 2019; Roth, 2017).

The remainder of this study is organized as follows. First, background on DACA, the rescission of DACA, and the UDHR and core human rights treaties will be provided. Second, the methods section will give a detailed explanation of a rights-based approach to social policy analysis and specify the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT articles used for this analysis. Next,

the findings of this study will be reported by each human rights treaty. Lastly, this study will conclude with a discussion of the findings, limitations, and implications.

Background

Marshall (1973) emphasized the necessity and importance of a social system for the guarantee of citizenship. He characterized citizenship as being defined by three dimensions: civil rights, political rights, and social rights, and underlined the role of the welfare state to protect these rights (Marshall, 1973). However, the concept of citizenship serves to “define members and exclude non-members, or at least to differentiate the population into full members, denizens (those with residence and some other rights, but not political rights), and aliens” (Jordan, 1996, p.104). Taking a step further from Marshall’s perspective, the human rights tradition disassociates rights from membership in a bounded community by envisioning rights as universal (Basok et al., 2006; Teeple, 2005). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was unanimously affirmed by the United Nations member states in 1948, articulated, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (Article 1) and “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (Article 2). However, there have been many conflicts and disputes over undocumented immigrants to the U.S. and guaranteeing their human rights. This section outlines DACA and its rescission, which is connected with undocumented immigrants’ human rights (Ceballos, 2019; Stark, 2018; Suárez Ávila, 2017), and the UDHR and core human rights treaties.

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

Changes in federal U.S. immigration policies in the 1980s and 1990s increased settled undocumented population and family settlement (Gonzales et al., 2014). For example, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) was a drastic transition to immigration control and significantly curtailed immigrants' rights. The law created sanctions against employers who deliberately hired unauthorized immigrants, and increased funding for border enforcement. It created the H-2A visa category for temporary, seasonal agricultural workers, but IRCA did not raise limits on legal immigration to match the growing demand for immigrant labor in the U.S. Also, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), passed in 1996, expanded the definition of what constitutes an "aggravated felony" for immigration purposes (Johnson, 2001). The law applied this new definition retroactively to include even non-violent offenses committed long before passage of the law, required the mandatory detention of non-U.S. citizens who were newly defined as "aggravated felons," created an "expedited removal" process to speed the deportation of immigrants without a formal hearing, established three- and ten-year bars to re-entry for immigrants unlawfully present in the U.S., and ramped up border enforcement (Edwing, 2012, p. 6).

Due to the unique challenges that unauthorized immigrants face, including the threat of deportation, lack of legal work authorization, and insufficient documentation for banking, loans, and driver's licenses, the extensive political debate has occurred over what immigration policies should be implemented to support unauthorized immigrants without incentivizing additional illegal immigration (Pope, 2016). As a result, the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM) Act was first proposed in 2001 to provide a pathway to citizenship to undocumented immigrants who migrated as children. When it could not pass Congress, on June

15, 2012, President Obama signed the executive order creating the DACA program which directed the Department of Homeland Security to defer deportation from the U.S. for eligible undocumented youth and young adults, who meet the following guidelines stated by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS): arrival in the U.S. before 16 years of age; continuous residence in the U.S. since arrival; under 31 years of age as of June 15, 2012; current enrollment in school or high school/General Educational Development (GED) completion; or being an "honorably discharged veteran" of the U.S. military; no felony or significant misdemeanor convictions and does not "pose a threat to national security or public safety."

There are two specific benefits of DACA approval, relief from deportation and work authorization. Individuals with DACA receive deferred action from deportation and are authorized to stay in the U.S. Along with this deferred action, DACA recipients are legally allowed to work in the U.S. Additionally, DACA recipients receive a Social Security Number so that they can legally open a bank account and build a credit history and legally obtain a driver's license. DACA has produced various benefits for undocumented immigrants who have applied and been admitted to the program, such as obtaining a new job, increased job earnings, getting an internship, opening the first bank account, getting the first credit card, getting a driver's license, and gaining access to healthcare (Dickson et al., 2017; Gonzales & Bautista-Chavez, 2014; Gonzales & Terriquez, 2013; Gonzales et al., 2014). The status is renewable, lasting two years at a time.

Furthermore, the DACA program helps undocumented students access higher education. In the U.S., regardless of their immigration status, children are given the right to elementary and secondary education (K-12) by the Supreme Court's Plyler v. Doe decision (Plyler v. Doe, 1982, 457 U.S. 202). Likewise, no federal law prevents U.S. colleges from admitting undocumented

students. Namely, undocumented students can access post-secondary education, except in two states, Alabama and South Carolina, where undocumented students are not allowed to attend public colleges and universities (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). However, most undocumented students could not afford the cost of higher education including tuition and other living expenses (Gonzales, 2010). In Arizona, Georgia and Indiana, state policies do not allow unauthorized immigrants to pay in-state tuition fees with no financial aid options. Such policies may actually close university doors to undocumented students including DACA recipients (McPherson et al., 2019; National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). Before DACA went into effect, another barrier for undocumented students was the lack of access to on-campus jobs and work-study programs (Gonzales, 2010; Gonzales & Bautista-Chavez, 2014). In addition, most undocumented students were not eligible for any financial aid and could not gain access to in-state tuition (Malik, 2015). The DACA program eases DACA students' financial burden by allowing them access to on-campus jobs and internships, although these barriers remain in effect for some undocumented students who are not now and some who never were eligible for DACA (Dickson et al., 2017; Gonzales & Bautista-Chavez, 2014). Also, DACA contributes to broadening eligibility criteria for in-state resident tuition rates (Dickson et al., 2017; Malik, 2015). As a result, 19 states, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, and Washington, have provisions allowing for in-state tuition rates for DACA beneficiaries, and seven states, California, Colorado, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, and Washington, further allow undocumented students to receive state financial aid as of 2019 (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019).

By the end of 2012, over 100,000 unauthorized immigrants' DACA applications had been approved (USCIS, 2012), and over 650,000 were enrolled in the program as of September 2019 (USCIS, 2020). Mexico (523,970, 80.3%) was the origin country with the most DACA recipients, and the next highest countries were El Salvador (25,130, 3.8%), Guatemala (17,040, 2.6%) and Honduras (15,650, 2.4%) as of 2019 (USCIS, 2020). According to USCIS (2019), it is estimated that more than half of DACA recipients were ages 25 or younger (344,510, 52.7%), and women made up a slight majority (346,640, 53.1%) of DACA recipients, while 47% (306,200) were men. In addition, most DACA recipients (497,130, 76.1%) have never married, 143,180 (22.0%) were married, and the rest were divorced (10,070, 1.5%) or widowed (330, 0.1%) as of September 2019 (USCIS, 2020).

Rescission of DACA

DACA is an executive order. It is not a law and does not provide lawful status or legal permanent residence for any undocumented immigrant. It means that the DACA executive order can be terminated by another executive order. On January 23, 2017, the Trump administration released a draft executive order, titled "Ending unconstitutional executive amnesties" (Yglesias & Lind, 2017), and on September 5, 2017, President Trump announced his decision to end DACA, leading to an immediate suspension in the acceptance of new applications and renewals (Shear & Davis, 2017). Although the draft executive order has not yet been signed under the Trump administration, and renewals are being accepted, DACA recipients' future has become uncertain and unstable. Trump's campaign was built around the promise to aggressively crackdown on illegal immigration by building a wall along the southern border and deporting all undocumented immigrants (Sands, 2017). President Trump wrote on Twitter in 2019, "Many of the people in DACA, no longer very young, are far from 'angels. Some are very tough, hardened

criminals." Although ongoing challenges in court, which continue to be under way as of the writing of this paper, have resulted in a continuation of renewals, DACA recipients fear that the U.S. Supreme Court would side with the Trump administration in its effort to end a program (Liptak, 2019). In the past years since 2016, the justices have let the administration deter poor immigrants receiving or deemed likely to need food stamps, Medicaid, or housing vouchers for more than a year, deny asylum seekers, and redirect military funds to build a wall along the southern border (Wolf, 2020a; 2020b). Furthermore, the Supreme Court has heard oral argument on the legality of President Trump's order to end the DACA program since October 2019. According to several media reports, the Supreme Court's decision to hear the cases signaled a potential approval of phasing out DACA (Liptak, 2019; Wolf, 2019).

President Trump's executive order terminating DACA threatens about 650,000 DACA beneficiaries with deportation, losing jobs, driver's licenses, professional certificates, and the chance to pay in-state tuition for college. Thronson (2016) argued that implementation of immigration laws must be balanced against the international human rights treaties and the international human rights obligations of the U.S. A number of nonprofit organizations and civic groups have denounced the President's decision and issued statements that oppose DACA rescission. The American Academy of Pediatrics statement (Stein, 2017) noted:

> *To punish individuals who were brought to the United States by their parents as children, some even as babies, and characterize them as lawbreakers, is immoral and unjust. As they grew into young adults, these children have served our country in uniform, they have graduated from our colleges and universities, they have invested in our communities and they work in our cities and towns. They are valedictorians and entrepreneurs. One even sacrificed his life trying to save others during Hurricane Harvey.*

According to the U.S. Human Rights Network's (2018) report, the uncertain future of DACA, which "shields status holders from deportation proceedings and provides them with access to higher education and employment," directly reflects that "the United States has taken a dramatic step away from the real public commitments that it has made toward human rights" (p. 4). Human Rights Watch has also repeatedly documented the devastating impact of Trump administration's policy on DACA recipients, their families, and communities (Human Rights Watch, 2017a; 2017b; 2019; 2020).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Core International Human Rights Treaties

The Second World War and numerous traumatic events associated with the war prompted the creation of the UDHR (Mapp et al., 2019). After the war, governments around the world cooperated to foster international peace and prevent conflict (Amnesty International, 2017). This resulted in the founding of the United Nations in June 1945 and dramatic growth in the international legal protection of human rights. Consequently, the UDHR was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1948 (Amnesty International, 2017; Baderin & Ssenyonjo, 2016). The UDHR asserts the existence of inalienable human rights that all humans naturally possess and provides a comprehensive way to discuss the full gamut of economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights. According to Farer and Gaer (1993), the UHDR places explicit limits on the ways in which governments can treat their citizens, challenging the "natural right of each sovereign to be monstrous to his or her citizens" (p. 240). In addition, the UDHR is considered as the first step in the process of formulating the International Bill of Human Rights, which consists of the UDHR, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The

Declaration reaffirmed the meaning of the words, "fundamental human rights" and "fundamental freedoms" appearing in the Charter of the United Nations of 1945:

> *Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom* (the UDHR's Preamble)
>
> *Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms* (the UDHR's Preamble)

In this respect, the UDHR is regarded as an instrument of customary law (Arambulo, 1996; Harrington, 2012; Ssenyonjo, 2011). However, the UDHR is not a treaty that is non-binding on the international community. It means that the Declaration does not have the status of international law (McPherson, 2015; 2018).

Since the adoption of the UDHR, the international community has agreed to a series of treaties to enshrine human rights (Harrington, 2012). According to Skogly (2010), various human rights treaties are the main criteria for human rights obligations. Some of the treaties include provisions that present specific content to extraterritorial obligations, while others do not give a specific mention in the treaty text but have been interpreted to contain such obligations (Skogly, 2010). In most cases, the State Parties who have signed on these human rights treaties are obliged to respect and guarantee the rights, which are listed in the treaty, and required to report to the Human Rights Committee about achieved improvements and difficulties in the domestic implementation of guarantees in approximately every five years.

The United States embraces the rights, which are included in the U.S. Constitution, as a founding national ideology as shown in the Declaration of Independence (U.S. 1776), "all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" (para. 2). The U.S. also played a leading role in birthing the UDHR (Black, 2008; Luscombe, 2018; Melish 2009) and has asserted its voice on human rights loudly and urged other countries to adopt policies and practices that respect human rights (Brown, 2000; Ignatieff, 2005; McPherson, 2015; Scheffer, 1999). For example, the U.S. supported the creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (Brown, 2000). Also, in the fall of 2004, the U.S. 108th Congress passed, and President Bush signed H.R. 4011 (P.L. 108-333), the North Korea Human Rights Act which criticizes North Korea's systematic violation of human rights. The Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013 stated that the U.S. "advocates around the world for governments to adopt policies and practices that respect human rights regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender, race, sexual orientation, or disability" (Kerry, 2013, para 6). However, the U.S. has declined to follow the international trend in human rights and ratified only three human rights treaties (see Table 11): (1) the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), (2) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and (3) the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment of Punishment (CAT). Ignatieff (2005) adopted the concept of American exceptionalism to describe "the complex and ambivalent pattern" of U.S. human rights leadership (p. 1). The U.S. Constitution, which focuses on civil and political rights but makes no reference to social and economic rights, clearly corresponds to this exceptionalism (Ignatieff, 2005; McPherson, 2015; Midgley, 2007). Social and economic rights, such as the right to a minimum standard of living, to health and well-being, to education, to housing, and to food, are

covered in the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which the United States has signed but has not ratified (Chilton & Rose, 2009).

Table 11

Status of Major Human Rights Treaties in the United States

	UN Adoption	US Signature	US Ratification
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)	1965	4 Jan 1969	20 Nov 1994
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	1966	5 Oct 1977	Not ratified
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	1966	5 Oct 1977	8 Jun 1992
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	1979	17 Jul 1980	Not ratified
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	1984	18 Apr 1988	21 Oct 1994
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	1989	16 Feb 1995	Not ratified
Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CRMW)	1990	Not signed	Not ratified
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)	2006	2009	Not ratified
Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (CPED)	2006	Not signed	Not ratified

Note. Reprinted from *A rights-based approach to social policy analysis*, by Gatenio Gabel, S., 2016, p. 23, Gower Publishing, Ltd

Methods

In order to assess the rescission of DACA, this study used a rights-based approach to social policy analysis. In general, social policy analysis is defined as a process that identifies and evaluates alternative or existing policies for resolving or lessening social problems (Patton & Sawicki, 1993). Gilbert and Terrell (2002) explained social policy analysis as an explicit course of action and focus on the decisions and choices that help determine the outcomes of that course

of action. Of the many types of social policy analysis, one that considers the policy under the lens of human rights is rights-based social policy analysis. Gatenio Gabel (2016) asserted that rights-based social policy analysis goes beyond traditional social policy analysis to assess social policies from "the perspective of how policies and programs effect or are expected to effect the realization of rights" (p. 9). According to Gatenio Gabel (2016), rights-based social policy analysis should begin with an identification of the rights violated or compromised by the policy using "international and regional human rights laws and instruments" and "country-specific laws and instruments" (pp. 9-10). Chilton and Rose (2009) also explained that a rights-based approach is a system of ideas based on the UDHR, its associated treaties, and other legal covenants. Therefore, this policy analysis employed the UDHR and three international human rights treaties, the ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT, to assess the rescission of DACA and its influences on immigrants' rights. The following subsections outline the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT and specify the articles which were used for this policy analysis on DACA rescission.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The UDHR, which was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948, is considered as a milestone document providing the baseline for modern international human rights law (Baderin & Ssenyonjo, 2016; Ishay, 2008). The Declaration consists of a preamble and 30 articles stating an individual's rights and duties to society. These articles have been specified and concretized in subsequent international treaties and other laws (Glendon, 2002). To be specific, the preamble provides the historical and social contexts that led to drafting the UDHR. The 30 articles set out civil and political rights, like the right to life, liberty, free speech, and privacy (see Table 12). The articles also affirm economic, social, and cultural rights, such as the right to social security, health, and education (see Table 12). In the

U.S. cultural context, ratifying only three of core human rights treaties, the UDHR has been considered as a comprehensive way to discuss the full gamut of economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights (Libal & Harding, 2015; MacNaughton & Frey, 2015; McPherson, 2015).

Table 12

A Brief Listing of the 30 Articles of the UDHR

Source	Rights and freedoms
Article 1	Right to freedom, equality, and dignity
Article 2	Right to nondiscrimination
Article 3	Right to life, liberty and security of person
Article 4	Freedom from slavery
Article 5	Freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment
Article 6	Right to recognition as a person before the law
Article 7	Right to equal protection of the law
Article 8	Right to effective legal remedy before a competent tribunal
Article 9	Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile
Article 10	Right to fair public hearing
Article 11	Right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty
Article 12	Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence
Article 13	Right to freedom of movement
Article 14	Right to asylum
Article 15	Right to nationality
Article 16	Right to marriage, family, and divorce; freedom from forced marriage
Article 17	Right to own property
Article 18	Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion
Article 19	Freedom of opinion and expression; right to access media
Article 20	Right to peaceful assembly and association
Article 21	Right to participate in government; right to vote
Article 22	Right to social security; right to indispensable economic, social, and cultural rights
Article 23	Right to work and fair pay; right to join trade unions
Article 24	Right to rest and leisure; right to paid holidays
Article 25	Right to an adequate standard of living, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services
Article 26	Right to education
Article 27	Right to cultural life; right to share in scientific advancements
Article 28	Right to a social order in which rights and freedoms can be realized
Article 29	There are duties to the community which accompany rights and freedoms
Article 30	Freedom from state (or other) interference with rights and freedoms

Note. Reprinted from McPherson, J., 2015, *Human Rights Practice in Social Work: A Rights-Based Framework and Two New Measures*. p. 9.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

The ICERD is the first major human rights treaty to enter into force in 1969 as part of the international effort to codify the UDHR (International Justice Resource Center, 2018). The Convention was adopted and opened for signature by the UN General Assembly on 21 December 1965. The Convention requires its members to comply with the treaty to prevent and combat racist doctrines and practices. The Convention also aims to ensure equality in the enjoyment of rights ranging from civil and political rights to economic and social rights (Harris, 2008). The ICERD consists of a preamble and 25 articles divided into three parts (Shirane, 2011): the first part sets out the definition and scope of racial discrimination (Article 1) and States parties' obligations (Articles 2 – 7); the second part notes the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and its monitoring work (Articles 8 – 16); and the third part is about other technical matters, such as ratification, entry into force, and amendment of the Convention. (Articles 17 – 25). Particularly, Article 5 of the ICERD specifies the rights which should be protected:

> *(a) The right to equal treatment before the tribunals; (b) The right to security of person and protection by the State; (c) Political rights, including the right to participate in elections, to take part in the Government, and to have equal access to public service; (d) Other civil rights, including the freedom of movement and residence, the right to nationality, the right to marriage and choice of spouse, the right to own property and inherit, the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the freedom of opinion and expression, and the freedom of peaceful assembly and association; (e) Economic, social and cultural rights including the rights to work, the right to form and join trade unions, the right to housing, public health, medical care, social security, and social services, the*

> *right to education and training, and the right to equal participation in cultural activities; (f) The right of access to any place or service intended for use by the general public.* (the ICERD's Article 5)

The Article 2 of the ICERD says, "This Convention shall not apply to distinctions, exclusions, restrictions or preferences made by a State Party to this Convention between citizens and non-citizens." However, in the sense that as over 90 percent of DACA recipients were born in Mexico or Central or South America of 2019 (USCIS, 2020), depriving the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the DACA program can be interpreted as discrimination against Latin American minorities in the U.S. It means that DACA rescission can be resulted in "the maintenance of separate rights for different racial groups" (the ICERD's Article 4). Also, the ICERD notes:

> *States Parties shall, when the circumstances so warrant, take, in the social, economic, cultural and other fields, special and concrete measures to ensure the adequate development and protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the full and equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These measures shall in no case entail as a con sequence the maintenance of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved.* (the ICERD's Article 2(2))

Based upon the ICERD's Articles 4 and 2(2), this rights-based policy analysis decided to use the first part to assess DACA rescission. Table 13 indicates the summary of the first part of the ICERD.

Table 13

A Brief Listing of the ICERD Part I

Source	Summary of contents
Article 1	Defining the concept of racial discrimination
Article 2	Requiring the State Party to prohibit and stop racial discrimination
Article 3	Prohibiting all forms of racial segregation in all countries
Article 4	Prohibiting any activities and propaganda which promote and incite racial discrimination
Article 5	Assuming the existence of human rights and equality in the enjoyment of rights
Article 6	Requiring States to assure remedies for racial discrimination
Article 7	Requiring States to adopt immediate and effective measures in education and culture

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The ICCPR includes and elaborates upon most of the parallel rights enumerated in the UDHR. The ICCPR was opened for signature on 16 December 1966, and the United States acceded to the treaty on 8 Jun 1992. The covenant commits the State Parties to respect the civil and political rights of individuals. Also, the Covenant composes the International Bill of Human Rights, along with the ICESCR, which the U.S. has signed but not ratified, and UDHR. The ICCPR consists of a preamble and fifty-three articles divided into six parts (Tomuschat, 2008): the first part starts out with the right of all peoples to self-determination, which is the foundation of all human rights (Article1); the second part includes general principles which provide an effective legal remedy for any violation of the rights recognized in the Covenant (Articles 2 – 5); the third part enunciates an extended list of rights (Articles 6 – 27); the fourth part explains the establishment and operation of the Human Rights Committee (Articles 28 – 45); the fifth part clarifies and emphasizes that nothing in the Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the operation of the UN and the inherent right of all peoples (Articles 46 – 47); and the sixth part is about other technical matters, such as ratification, entry into force, and amendment of the

Convention (Articles 48 – 53). This study used the first three parts of the ICCPR to assess DACA rescission. Table 14 shows the list of the rights enumerated in the third part of the ICCPR.

Table 14

A Brief Listing of the ICCPR Part III

Source	Rights and freedoms
Article 6	Right to life
Article 7	Freedom from torture
Article 8	Freedom from slavery
Article 9	Right to liberty and security of the person
Article 10	Freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention
Article 11	Right to habeas corpus
Articles 12 – 13	Freedoms of movement and residence
Articles 14 – 16	Rights to procedural fairness in law
Article 17	Freedom from unlawful interference or attacks with privacy, family, home, and correspondence
Article 18	Freedoms of thought, conscience, and religion
Article 19	Right to hold opinions without interference & freedom of expression
Article 20	Prohibiting any propaganda for war and incitement to discrimination, hostility, and violence
Articles 21 – 22	Freedoms of association and assembly
Article 23	Family rights
Article 24	Child's freedom of discrimination and right to nationality
Article 25	Political rights including the rights to vote and to be elected
Articles 26 – 27	Non-discrimination, minority rights, and equality before the law

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

In 1977, the UN General Assembly took the first step toward the drafting of a legally binding instrument on torture, and on 10 December 1984, the CAT was adopted. The covenant was entered into force on 26 June 1987, in order to prevent torture and other acts of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment around the world. The CAT consists of a

preamble and 33 articles divided into three parts (Lippman, 1994): Part I includes a definition of torture and requires each State Party to take effective legislative, administrative, judicial, or other measures to prevent acts of torture within any territory under its jurisdiction (Articles 1–16); Part II notes the establishment of the Committee against Torture and its reporting and monitoring work (Articles 17–24); and Part III explains ratification, entry into force, and amendment of the Convention (Articles 25–33). For this policy analysis, the 16 articles of the CAT Part I was utilized to assess DACA rescission. Table 15 indicates a summary of the first part of the CAT.

Table 15

A Brief listing of the CAT Part I

Source	Summary of contents
Article 1	Defining the concept of torture
Article 2	Requiring states to take effective measures to prevent acts of torture
Article 3	Prohibiting that State Party returns or extradites a person where there are substantial grounds for believing that the individual will be tortured
Article 4	Ensuring that all acts of torture are offenses under its domestic criminal law.
Article 5	Ensuring that states provide for territorial jurisdiction as well as jurisdiction based upon the nationality of the offender and the victim
Articles 6 – 7	Specifying the procedure for legal actions to a person committed any acts of torture
Article 8	Ensuring that torture is included as an extraditable offense in any extradition treaty
Article 9	Requiring States Parties to afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal proceedings
Article 10	Requiring States Parties to educate their law enforcement personnel regarding the prohibition against torture
Article 11	Requiring States Parties to keep interrogation rules, instructions, methods, and practices under systematic review
Articles 12 – 13	Requiring States Parties to promptly and impartially examine any allegation of torture
Article 14	Ensuring that the victims of torture or their dependents have the right to fair and adequate compensation
Article 15	Ensuring that any evidence produced by torture shall be excluded in courts
Article 16	Specifying that States Parties are obliged to prevent all acts of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment in any territory under their jurisdiction

Results

As the result of Trump administration's plan to end DACA, DACA recipients will not be longer eligible to stay, work, receive a Social Security Number, driver's license, and many other certificates, open a bank account, build a credit history, and serve in the US military. Also, they may lose a chance to pay in-state tuition for higher education. In addition to these restrictions and regulations, many potential risks and limits, such as forced deportation, family separation, and the increase of unfair treatment and discrimination, which are likely to be encountered by DACA recipients, are expected. They may not be legally protected from various discrimination, freely move outside, or freely participate in social, economic, civil, and political events. This study analyzed these anticipated results of DACA rescission based on the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT articles (see Table 16). The subsections indicate the human rights violations of DACA rescission by each covenant.

DACA rescission and the UDHR

The rescission of DACA and its expected results can violate a significant portion of the UDHR. The UDHR specifies that every individual has the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration "without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (Article 2). Trump administration's decision to end DACA disadvantages and discriminates against DACA recipients based on their national or social origin. As of 2019, it was estimated that over 90 percent of DACA recipients were born in Mexico or Central or South America (USCIS, 2020). Depriving all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the DACA program can be interpreted as discrimination against Latin American minorities in the U.S., either unwittingly or deliberately.

Table 16

DACA Rescission and the Violated Articles of the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT

DACA recipients will/may not be eligible to . . .	UDHR Article(s)	ICERD Article(s)	ICCPR Article(s)	CAT Article(s)
stay in the U.S.	2, 3, 13(1)	5(d)(i), 5(e)(iii)	-	-
work in the U.S.	2, 23(1), 23(2), 25	5(e)(i)	1(2)	-
receive a Social Security Number	2, 6, 7, 22, 23(3), 25	5(e)(iv)	-	-
open a bank account and build a credit history	2, 6, 7	-	-	-
obtain a driver's license	2, 6, 7	-	-	-
obtain most professional certificates	2, 6, 7	-	-	-
serve in the US military	2, 6, 7	-	-	-
attend college at in-state tuition rates	2, 6, 7, 26	5(e)(v)	-	-
DACA recipients will/may face . . .				
forced deportation and family separation	2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 13(1), 16(3)	-	7, 9(1), 23(1)	11, 16(1)
may not be legally protected from various discrimination	2, 7, 12	5(b)	26	-
unfair treatment and discrimination in the labor market	2, 23(2), 23(3)	5(e)(i)	-	-
Because of the fear of deportation, DACA recipients may not. . .				
freely move outside	2, 13(1)	5(f)	-	-
freely express themselves in social, economic, civil, and political movements	2, 19	5(d)(viii), 5(e)(ii)	19(2)	-
freely participate in social, economic, civil, and political events	2, 19, 20(1)	5(e)(ii), 5(e)(ix), 5(e)(vi)	19(2), 21, 22(1)	-

The UDHR ensures that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person" (Article 3) and "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State" (Article 13(1)). However, DACA recipients would not be eligible to stay in the U.S. and may not be protected from forced deportation and family separation. The UDHR also notes, "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile" (Article 9). Forced deportation and separating families violate the UDHR's Article 5, "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." In addition, as the results of DACA rescission, DACA beneficiaries would not legally be allowed to work in the U.S. This may cause the increase of unfair treatment and discrimination in the labor market. Therefore, the rescission of DACA would violate the UDHR's Article 23:

> *Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.* (Article 23(1))
>
> *Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.* (Article 23(2))
>
> *Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.* (Article 23(3))

Furthermore, DACA recipients would not receive a Social Security Number, so that they can be excluded from the right to public health, medical care, social security, and social services. Additionally, the recipients would not be eligible to obtain a driver's license and most professional certificates, serve in the U.S. military, and attend college at in-state tuition rates. All these exclusions show that DACA recipients' right to equality before the law could not be guaranteed, and it can be comprehended as the violations of the UDHR's Articles 6, 7, and 12:

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law. (Article 6)

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination. (Article 7)

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks. (Article 12)

Because of the fear and risks of deportation, directly and indirectly, the rescission of DACA also could result in the violation of the rights to freely move outside, freely express themselves in social, economic, civil, and political movements, and freely participate in social, economic, civil, and political events. These conflict with the UDHR's Articles 13(1), 19, and 20(1):

Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. (Article 13(1))

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (Article 19)

Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (Article 20(1))

DACA rescission and the ICERD

Likewise, the rescission of DACA would violate many articles of the ICERD. The ICERD sets forth the definition of racial discrimination:

In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which

> *has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life*. (Article 1)

Moreover, the ICERD Article 2(1)(c) articulates:

> *Each State Party shall take effective measures to review governmental, national and local policies, and to amend, rescind or nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists.* (Article 2(1)(c))

In the sense that as of 2019, over 90 percent of DACA recipients were born in Mexico or Central or South America (USCIS, 2020), there is room to view DACA rescission as discrimination against certain ethnic minorities or an exclusive regulation, which has "the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination" (the ICERD's Article 2(1)(c)).

Article 5 of the ICERD enumerates the rights which should be protected, and a substantial portion of the rights are or are expected to be violated by DACA rescission. First, DACA rescission would violate "the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of the State" (the ICERD's Article 5(d)(i), and "the right to housing" (the ICERD's Article 5(e)(iii)) by the rescission of DACA, which would deprive DACA recipients' eligibility to stay in the U.S. Second, DACA rescission would not legally allow DACA recipients to work and may cause discrimination in the labor market, but the ICERD specifies "the rights to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favourable remuneration" (Article 5(e)(i)). Third, despite the ICERD articulates "the right to public health, medical care, social security and social services" (Article 5(e)(iv)) and "the right to education and training" 5(e)(v), DACA rescission would limit the rights by depriving DACA recipients' eligibility to have a

Social Security Number and attend college at in-state tuition rates. Next, as the result of DACA rescission, DACA beneficiaries may not be legally protected from discrimination, and this could be interpreted as the violation of the ICERD:

> *The right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual group or institution* (Article 5(b))

Lastly, DACA rescission may increase the fear of deportation and prevent DACA recipients from participating in any social, economic, civil, and political activities. It can be interpreted as the violations of the ICERD's Articles:

> *"The right to freedom of opinion and expression"* (Article 5(d)(viii))
>
> *"The right to form and join trade unions"* (Article 5(e)(ii))
>
> *"The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association"* (Article 5(e)(ix))
>
> *"The right to equal participation in cultural activities"* (Article 5(e)(vi))
>
> *"The right of access to any place or service intended for use by the general public, such as transport hotels, restaurants, cafes, theatres and parks"* (Article 5(f))

DACA rescission and the ICCPR

The ICCPR articulates the freedoms of movement and residence, but it limitedly guarantees the freedoms for individuals "lawfully within the territory of a State" (Articles 12(1) & 13). Therefore, the ICCPR's Articles 12(1) and 13 are considered not appropriate to be applied for assessing the expected human rights violations of DACA rescission. Otherwise, the ICCPR's Article 1(1) sets forth, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." However, the rescission of DACA has the possibility not only to deteriorate

DACA recipients' political status but hinder their economic, social and cultural development. Moreover, DACA recipients would not be legally allowed to work in the U.S., and it is contrary to the ICCPR's Article 1(2):

> *All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence*. (Article 1(2))

In addition, forced deportation and family separation, which DACA recipients may face after the rescission of DACA, can be categorized into cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatments (Candappa, 2002; De Zayas, 2005; Starr & Brilmayer, 2003). The ICCPR also prohibits any cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment and articulates the right to liberty and security of person:

> *No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation.* (Article 7)
>
> *Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.* (Article 9(1))
>
> *The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State*. (Article 23(1))

Next, the ICCPR notes the right to equality before the law which may be violated by DACA rescission:

> *All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and*

> *guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status*. (Article 26)

Lastly, DACA recipients' fear and risks of deportation may hinder their social, economic, civil, and political participation and activities. It means that DACA rescission may violate the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, and association with others, which are specified in the ICCPR's Articles:

> *Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice*. (Article 19(2))
>
> *The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others*. (Article 21)
>
> *Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests*. (Article 22(1))

DACA rescission and the CAT

The rescission of DACA and its anticipated results may not seem interconnected with the CAT because the CAT is mainly about acts of torture. However, in its preamble, it is stated that the CAT is inspired by and has regard to "the Article 5 of the UDHR and Article 7 of ICCPR, both of which provide that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or

degrading treatment or punishment" (the CAT's Preamble). Along with Article 5 of the UDHR and Article 7 of ICCPR, two articles of the CAT indicate that DACA rescission, which could cause forced deportation and family separation, may violate human rights:

> *Each State Party shall keep under systematic review interrogation rules, instructions, methods and practices as well as arrangements for the custody and treatment of persons subjected to any form of arrest, detention or imprisonment in any territory under its jurisdiction, with a view to preventing any cases of torture*. (Article 11)
>
> *Each State Party shall undertake to prevent in any territory under its jurisdiction other acts of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment which do not amount to torture as defined in article I, when such acts are committed by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity*. (Article 16(1))

Discussion

The United States has been criticized for not ratifying most of the major human rights treaties. For example, the U.S. is the only industrialized country that has not ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the only country in the world that has not ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and only G8 country that has not yet ratified the ICESCR. In particular, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) was inspired by U.S. leadership in recognizing the rights of people with disabilities, but the U.S. has not yet ratified (Klotz, 2012). The U.S. has ratified only three international human rights treaties, the ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT. However, the results of this study indicate that the rescission of DACA would violate many articles of the three covenants and even the articles of the UDHR that the U.S. played a leading role in drafting and developing (Black, 2008; Luscombe, 2018; Melish, 2009).

According to USCIS (2020), over 90 percent of DACA recipients were from Mexico or Central or South America. Results of this study suggest that depriving DACA recipients' all the rights and freedoms covered by the DACA program can be interpreted as discrimination against Latinx immigrants. Many scholars have pointed out policy barriers to Latin American immigrants and their structural vulnerability in the U.S. (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2013; Boyas et al., 2009; Quesada et al., 2011). With the shift from AFDC to TANF and the legislation of the IIRIRA in 1996, increased enforcement of immigration laws has heightened barriers to immigrants seeking to meet the eligibility for social services (Coutin, 2005; Hagan et al., 2011). In such situations, Trump administration's decision to end DACA particularly threatens Latin American communities in the U.S. along with the Executive Orders 13767, titled "Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements," which directs to build a wall on the southern border with Mexico, and 13763, titled "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," which aims a massive expansion of interior immigration enforcement.

Results of this study indicate that DACA rescission not only would infringe the recipients' social, economic, civil, and political rights guaranteed by the UDHR, ICERD, and ICCPR but would even violate "the inherent dignity" and "the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family," which are specified in the UDHR's Preamble. The rescission of DACA would have no tolerance for undocumented immigrants although they were brought to the U.S. as children or babies (Stein, 2017). President Trump's "zero-tolerance" policy has already resulted in the separation of unauthorized immigrant parents and children (Cervantes & Walker, 2017; Pierce et al., 2018; Rein et al., 2017). If the U.S. Supreme Court consents to the Trump administration in its effort to end a program, more than 650,000 DACA recipients would not be legally allowed to stay in the U.S., which means there could be more forced deportations and

family separations. Forced deportation and family separation completely violate the right to respect for family life and can be considered as cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatments which are articulated in the UDHR, ICCPR, and CAT (Candappa, 2002; De Zayas, 2005; Starr & Brilmayer, 2003).

Furthermore, the fear of forced deportation and family separation may suppress DACA recipients' social, economic, civil, and political activities and voices. They may not be legally protected from various discrimination, freely move outside, or freely participate in social, economic, civil, and political events. Many studies have already identified unauthorized immigrants' fear of possible family separation and deportation, and that the fear refrained them from various social, economic, civil, and political activities (Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018; Benuto et al., 2018; Cleaveland & Frankenfeld, 2019; Daftary, 2018; Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Lovato, 2019; Roth, 2017). It means that DACA recipients are facing a serious and difficult situation to overcome by themselves.

Gatenio Gabel (2016) argued that social policy should be judged by its ability to ensure human rights principles of participation, accountability, nondiscrimination, and equality (P.A.N.E.) for minimizing the violation of human rights and social inequality in the policymaking process. With these principles, the results of this study also suggest that the rescission of DACA should be reconsidered and reviewed from its policymaking process. First, the human rights principle of participation focuses on in what ways the voices of policy target groups are included in the policy-making process. However, the rescission of DACA represents an executive order which is an official directive from the U.S. president to federal agencies. It seems that the voices of DACA recipients have not been fully considered in the Trump administration's decision to rescind DACA (Hopkins, 2019; Russonello, 2019), and they may

hardly assert their voices on the process of DACA rescission with the fear of deportation (Bishop, 2018; Herlinger, 2017). The second dimension, accountability, refers to whether the State makes information available and accessible promptly and there are accountability mechanisms in place with the responsibility of implementation. Based on the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT, which the U.S. has ratified, the U.S. government has the obligation regarding DACA to protect the recipients' social, economic, civil, and political rights. Lastly, the human rights principles of non-discrimination and equality highlight that the State must have the task of ensuring that all policies and practices are non-discriminatory, and that priority is given to protect the most vulnerable segments of the population. However, as noted above, the decision to end DACA threatens Latin American communities in the U.S., and DACA rescission can lead to the increase of discrimination and human rights violations against Latin American immigrants.

Limitations

The study has some limitations that should be discussed. This study assessed the rescission of DACA based on the UDHR, ICERD, ICCPR, and CAT which the U.S. has ratified and determined its violation of the human rights treaties. However, DACA rescission is not enforced yet and waiting for the Supreme Court decision (Haberman, 2019; Herrera, 2019). Thus, this policy analysis included the expected results of DACA rescission to assess its human rights violation. It means that there should be follow-up studies after the DACA program ends when we can determine its influences on DACA recipients' rights in the U.S. In addition, this study did not conduct any qualitative or quantitative analysis to indicate related stakeholders' opinions and reactions. Follow-up studies using either qualitative or quantitative methods will be significant and meaningful to assess DACA rescission. Lastly, this study did not utilize several major human rights treaties, such as the ICESCR, CEDAW, CRC, and CRPD, which the U.S. has

not ratified but signed. Examining the rescission of DACA and its violations of the human rights treaties can be also significant to reveal the level of human rights protection in the U.S. and provide practical and policy implications.

Conclusion

In his book, *The social contract* (1762), Rousseau says that a social contract is entered into when individuals transfer their rights to a government, and social contracts are the resulting means of ensuring the equality and protection of all members of society. Likewise, Marshall (1973) emphasized the necessity and importance of a social system for the guarantee of civil, political, and social rights in order to ensure liberty and equality. Marshall (1973) underlined the role of welfare state and welfarism to protect these three universal rights. Since the Second World War, governments around the world have cooperated to foster international peace and prevent conflict (Amnesty International, 2017). However, Trump administration announced the decision to terminate the DACA program, and DACA recipients who arrived in the U.S. as children under the age of 16 will not be allowed to stay and work in the U.S. where they grew into young adults. They may not be protected by law and are being frightened of forced deportation, family separation, losing jobs, and facing discrimination more frequently. DACA recipients would face violations of their social, economic, civil, and political rights.

The findings of this study provide implications for many different stakeholder groups within social work and across related disciplines. First, this policy analysis could be useful for human rights activists who advocate keeping the DACA program alive. This study utilized the UDHR and international human rights treaties which the U.S. has ratified and showed that DACA rescission and its anticipated results would violate the human rights treaties. In terms of human rights practice, this study can help human rights activists emphasize the important worth

of DACA and elicit the attention and support of the international community. Second, this study could be referred to policymakers who are seeking effective ways to support DACA recipients. The violations of social, economic, civil, and political rights, which were examined in this study, clearly indicate the direction of policy modification and improvement. Considering the rights, which could be violated by DACA rescission, it is requested to legislate against discrimination against the recipients and implement social programs supporting them. Lastly, this study suggests that more social work research based on a rights-based approach is needed. A rights-based approach underlines the diversity of people in their ability to make use of available opportunities, and it requires society to consider this diversity as an important component involved in ensuring that all begin from an equal starting point and enjoy equal opportunities (Klasen, 2001). Thus, social work researchers will most likely be able to apply a rights-based approach to identify numerous social problems and issues surrounding immigrants to the U.S. Ultimately, with the above implications, it is expected that this study contributes to the improvement of immigrants' human rights and social integration in the United States.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The central purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the dynamics of immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S., including host society members' attitudes toward immigrants, which is one of the most crucial factors, immigrants' exclusion experiences and barriers, which were undergone and reported by them, and rescission of DACA and its anticipated human rights violations, which U.S. immigrants are now facing. Despite the fact that social exclusion discourse has been discussed and used to combat social disadvantage globally since the 1990s (Gore & Figueiredo, 1997; Moffatt & Glasgow, 2009; Rawal, 2008; Sen, 2000), it is still not a common discourse in the United States. This dissertation set out to address multifaceted social problems surrounding immigrants to the U.S. with the social exclusion perspective.

At this point in the dissertation I will switch from writing in third person to first person in order to share my experience and motivation for this dissertation. As a social worker in South Korea, in a non-profit organization that served North Korean refugees, I have seen how they were socially isolated and marginalized, and how many challenges and difficulties were intricately connected with their resettlement and adaptation. Despite the presence of resettlement programs and social assistance including financial support, rent-free housing, job training and education, and free medical services for a certain period of time, many North Korean refugees had trouble adjusting to South Korean society, and even some regretted their decision to escape North Korea. As an international student in a country that has a different culture, language, and social structure, I have also experienced social exclusion in myriad ways. It was not merely

financial but was felt in a multi-dimensional and more relational way. Many challenges and difficulties, such as lack of information, social network, and supports, were barriers that seemed stacked against me. These experiences lead me to conclude that I should focus my research on immigrants' marginalization and segregation using the social exclusion perspective.

In order to reveal the social exclusion of U.S. immigrants and its dynamics, I determined that three stages are required: (1) Investigating U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigrants, which is one of the most crucial factors influencing immigrants' social exclusion; (2) Identifying immigrants' social exclusion experiences and present the social exclusion processes; and (3) Assessing DACA rescission, which is the largest changes in current U.S. immigration policy would influence immigrants' social exclusion. By conducting these three stages, I hope that this dissertation contributes to mapping the social exclusion of U.S. immigrants and fortifying our understanding of its dynamics. The subsections will summarize the main findings of this dissertation and outline social work practice, policy, and research implications and future directions provided from this dissertation.

Summary of Main Findings

Chapter 2: The Trajectory of Public Attitudes toward Immigrants in the United States: Latent Growth Analysis Approach

In Chapter 2, public attitudes toward immigrants, which is one of the most critical factors influencing immigrants' social exclusion (Malti et al., 2012; Williams, 2016), were examined on a nationally-representative sample of the General Social Survey. The three individual year data sets of the GSS (1996, 2004, and 2014), which were the only data sets including a specific topical module on immigration, were used for this study (N = 3,639). The

result that public attitudes toward immigrants have significantly changed for worse from 1996 to 2014 (intercept = 2.510, slope = -.025, $p < .001$) supports Blumer's (1958) prejudice theory.

This study also identified that respondents' income significantly influenced the trajectory of attitudes toward immigrants ($\beta = .003$, SE = .001, $p = .023$), which means that the attitudes toward immigrants have become relatively less negative among U.S. citizens whose income level was higher. These results imply that the anti-immigrant sentiments will continue to intensify without appropriate measures for increasing awareness of prejudice and achieving social cohesion. Further investigations are required to correct negative stereotypes and misconceptions about immigrants, such as that immigrants take jobs away from native-born residents and threaten general welfare (Bonacich, 1972; Borjas, 1987; Card, 1990; Czaika, 2015; Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001; Yu, 2019).

Chapter 3: Qualitative Meta-Analysis on Social Exclusion of Immigrants to the United States

This chapter synthesized previous evidence from previous qualitative studies on U.S. immigrants and their various exclusion experiences. First, the PRISMA method was used to select studies, which interviewed immigrants on their exclusion experiences and were published in social work journals between 2000 and 2019, and a total of 22 studies were included in the qualitative meta-analysis. Next, this study reviewed and aggregated the previous investigations and synthesized immigrants' social exclusion experiences into four categories, economic, political, social (relational), and cultural exclusion. Lastly, this study identified barriers against U.S. immigrants' social inclusion and presented the social exclusion dynamics of U.S. immigrants.

These findings of this study indicate that immigrants face qualitatively more social

exclusion if they are non-European and from non-English-speaking countries, such as Mexico, Venezuela, Egypt, and China. Also, the findings reveal that several barriers mutually influence and are interconnected with immigrants' social, economic, cultural, and political exclusion. In particular, immigrants' fundamental human rights such as the right to work, and even their lives in the U.S. are threatened. In order to address immigrants' multi-dimensional challenges, it is required to develop the unique American social exclusion discourse. It is hoped that this study contributes to triggering social exclusion discourse in the U.S.

Chapter 4: A Rights-based Approach to the Rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

Finally, Chapter 4 assessed the rescission of DACA, which is one of the largest changes in the current U.S. immigration policy, using a rights-based approach to social policy analysis. Due to the unique challenges that unauthorized immigrants face, President Obama signed the executive order creating the DACA program to defer deportation from the U.S. for eligible undocumented youth and young adults. Individuals with DACA receive deferred action and are authorized to stay and work in the U.S. However, President Trump ordered the rescission of DACA, and hundreds of parents and young people covered by DACA have already been apprehended or deported (Cervantes & Walker, 2017; Rein et al., 2017). This means that immigrants to the U.S., who have been eliminated from most social programs, are now at an unprecedented risk of social exclusion from American society by forced deportation and family separation.

The findings of this study suggest that the Trump administration's decision to end DACA particularly threatens the Latinx community in the U.S. DACA rescission would infringe the recipients' social, economic, civil, and political rights guaranteed by the UDHR and international

human rights treaties, which the United States has ratified. Moreover, DACA rescission could even violate “the inherent dignity” and “the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family,” which are specified in the UDHR’s Preamble. Forced deportation and family separation, which the DACA rescission could result in, completely violate the right to respect for family life and can be considered as cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatments (Candappa, 2002; De Zayas, 2005; Starr & Brilmayer, 2003).

Overall Learning from the Studies

Taken the findings of three studies together, this dissertation provides insights into the dynamics of U.S. immigrants’ social exclusion (see Figure 13). As identified in Chapter 2, U.S. citizens’ anti-immigrant sentiments have continuously intensified over 20 years. The anti-immigrant sentiments could influence U.S. immigrants’ social exclusion in two ways. U.S. citizens’ negative attitudes toward immigrants can be interconnected with and intensify language, cultural, and policy barriers to immigrants’ social inclusion (Berry, 1997; Candelo et al., 2017; Fussell, 2014), and the anti-immigrant sentiments can influence formulating and implementing public policy including the rescission of DACA (Esses et al., 2002). Likewise, exclusive immigration and social policies can contribute to shaping anti-immigrant sentiments (Flores, 2018). Also, as presented in Chapter 3, there exist several barriers that hinder immigrants’ adaptation and influence their social exclusion. Lastly, as shown in Chapter 4, the Trump Administration’s decision to end DACA would violate DACA recipients’ human rights, including rights to work, stay, participate in social, economic, civil, and political activities. These human rights violations would deteriorate undocumented immigrants and their family’s social exclusion.

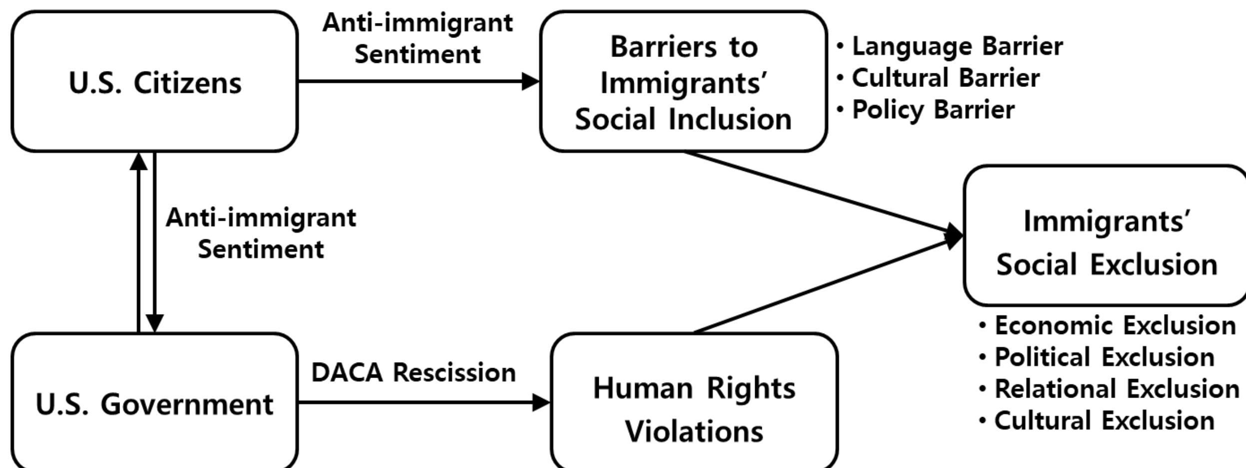

Figure 13. The Dynamics of Social Exclusion among U.S. Immigrants

Implications and Future Directions

This section provides overall implications for social work practice, policy and research based on the three studies included in this dissertation study.

Social Work Practice Implications

This dissertation provides evidence that U.S. citizens were particularly anxious that immigrants might take jobs away from them and might be harmful to America's economy, and that immigrants might increase crime rates and that these attitudes are likely to grow in the future. However, most of these anxieties have been proved exaggerated or untrue by previous research (Borjas, 2001; Card, 2005; Lee et al., 2001; Moehling & Piehl, 2009; Myers & Liu, 2015; Ousey & Kubrin, 2014; Sherman et al., 2019; Waters & Pineau, 2015). It becomes therefore imperative that social workers and activists correct biased views and misconceptions about immigrants to the U.S. Esses et al. (2017) emphasized the role of the media in improving public attitudes toward immigrants. Likewise, Stephan (2012) media campaigns to convey positive information, such as the value of immigrants to the economy and future well-being of the country, can be used to improve relations between residents and immigrants. Furthermore,

social workers and activists may need to develop education programs for other social service providers to work effectively with immigrants and create community commissions or task forces to promote improved intergroup relations (Stephan, 2012).

Second, social workers, service providers, and social activists supporting immigrants to the U.S. can improve and develop their services and programs to support immigrants. In Chapter 3, it was identified that many immigrants experienced exclusion attributed to the language and cultural barriers. Service agencies can alleviate the barriers by providing more social programs, such as English tutoring, culture education, and translating and interpreting services. Moreover, immigrants often reported the fear of deportation and apprehension, family issues, and feeling lonely. Social workers can relieve immigrants' depression, anxiety, and sense of isolation with case management and counseling. Social activists and civic groups can provide legal aids and advocating supports for both undocumented and documented immigrants against anti-immigrant legislation and some policies that threaten their rights. Promoting mutual aid among immigrants and community-building would be also an effective way to embrace immigrants and support their social inclusion (Connolly et al., 2019; Goel et al., 2014; Ramos, 2016).

Lastly, Chapter 4, a rights-based social policy analysis for assessing DACA rescission, could be useful for social workers and activists who advocate keeping the DACA program alive. Chapter 4 utilized the UDHR and international human rights treaties which the U.S. has ratified and revealed that DACA rescission and its anticipated results would violate the covenants. In terms of human rights practice, this study can help human rights activists emphasize the worth of DACA and elicit the attention and support of the international community. It is hoped that this study contributes to helping social workers realize the larger set of human rights and apply them to practice for U.S. immigrants.

Social Work Policy Implications

Policymakers can utilize this study for future immigration policies or social programs for immigrants. Chapter 2 identified native-born residents' negative attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S. As Esses et al. (2002) noted, negative attitudes toward immigrants can lead to narrow immigrant eligibility criteria for social benefits and raise policy barriers to the settlement of newcomers. Consequently, the unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants can be potential risks of immigrants' social exclusion and severe social divisions. Particularly, the anti-immigrant sentiments were relatively more prevalent among low-income citizens because of their concerns such as that immigrants might take jobs away from them. The results of this study advise caution against the growth of anti-immigrant sentiment and require policy intervention for increasing awareness of prejudice and bias against immigrants.

The findings of Chapter 3 also can be useful for policymakers who are looking for more effective ways to achieve social cohesion and protect minorities. As shown in Chapter 3, the number of non-European immigrants from non-English-speaking countries has increased in the U.S. The findings indicate how they were socially excluded and how the language, cultural, and policy barriers are interconnected with their social exclusion. Policymakers can prepare and establish policies to cope with the barriers. Also, the findings can be evidence for policy revision. Policymakers can modify some policies which have already been implemented but contributed to immigrants' social exclusion. For instance, in Arizona, Georgia and Indiana, state policies do not allow unauthorized immigrants to pay in-state tuition fees with no financial aid options. In addition, undocumented students cannot legally receive any federally funded student financial aid, including loans, grants, scholarships or work-study money. This study determined that these exclusive policies functioned as barriers to social inclusion of immigrants.

Finally, Chapter 4 could be referred to policymakers who are seeking efficient ways to support DACA recipients. The findings suggest that U.S. immigration policy including DACA rescission should comply with international human rights treaties. The violations of social, economic, civil, and political rights, which were examined in Chapter 4, clearly indicate the direction of policy modification and improvement. Considering the rights, which can be violated by DACA rescission, it is requested to legislate against discrimination against the recipients and implement social programs supporting them.

Social Work Research Implications

This dissertation fortifies our understanding of the dynamics of U.S. immigrants' social exclusion using mixed methods approaches, such as a latent growth modeling approach, a qualitative meta-analysis method, and a rights-based approach to social policy analysis. As mentioned, still social exclusion is not a common discourse in the United States. Thus, this study can help social work scholars and researchers generate research ideas and conduct studies under the lens of social exclusion. First, Chapter 2 identified that anti-immigrant sentiment has been growing among U.S. citizens, but could not examine its direct influences on immigrants' various social exclusion. In European countries, they have developed several measurements of social exclusion, such as the Social Exclusion Indicators of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE; Burchardt et al., 1999), the Leaken Indicators (Atkinson et al., 2004), and the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM; Levitas et al., 2007), and collected data particularly on social exclusion. However, there is no measurement and data set on U.S. immigrants' social exclusion. Researchers are requested to develop a measurement and collect data on U.S. immigrants' social exclusion. For a similar reason, Chapter 3 presents a comprehensive description of immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. by conducting a qualitative meta-analysis

on previous qualitative research. Therefore, future studies are necessary to provide quantitative proofs and statistical findings that explain immigrants' social exclusion in the U.S. and its processes.

Furthermore, this dissertation suggests that more social work research based on a rights-based approach is needed. The human rights perspective has promoted greater attention to and stimulated discourses about social exclusion, and many human rights theorists have connected the concept of social exclusion with a violation of human rights (Beall, 2002; George, 2013; Islam, 2015; Mapp et al., 2019; Renner et al., 2007; Walsh, 2006). Walker and Walker (1997) explained that rights-based language places a burden on society to ensure the participation of all its members and lessens the temptation to blame the excluded. In addition, the human rights perspective underlines the diversity of people in their ability to make use of available opportunities, and it requires society to consider this diversity as an important component involved in ensuring that all begin from an equal starting point and enjoy equal opportunities (Klasen, 2001). Thus, social work researchers will most likely be able to apply a rights-based approach to identify numerous social problems and issues surrounding immigrants to the U.S. Ultimately, with the above implications, it is hoped that this study contributes to the improvement of immigrants' human rights and social integration in the United States.

Currently, we have been facing the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic that has caused 837,211 infection cases all over the world and 176,518 in the U.S. alone as of March 31, 2020 (Worldometers, 2020). This pandemic has already resulted in multi-dimensional problems, and it has been threatening the whole of humanity including personal health, education, economy, and all other public activities. A number of people who do not have a steady income, safe housing, health insurance, or social resources and networks, are hardly likely to overcome this

unprecedented crisis without extensive public assistance, and most immigrants may belong to this group. Particularly, with the Trump administration's anti-immigrant policies and aggressive enforcement, undocumented immigrants cannot access most government assistance programs even in this Coronavirus pandemic. Moreover, the outbreak of COVID-19 has accompanied by a wave of racial discrimination and hate crimes against Asian immigrants. The Coronavirus would drive American society toward social division and conflict. I believe that we should respond to the current pandemic crisis based on the social exclusion perspective that pursues social cohesion and provides a comprehensive way to address multi-dimensional social problems.

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