

EXAMINING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RESILIENCY OF LATINO IMMIGRANTS IN
FIVE TEXAS CITIES: POLICY, ECONOMICS, AND POLITICS -
THE CASE OF THE LATINO COMMUNITY

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This dissertation examines the impact of city-level characteristics (immigration-friendliness index, unemployment rate, and the percentage of Democrat Party votes) on the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants. In the light of increased attention on the immigrant issue throughout the world, this study aims to develop our understanding of the factors that have the effect on the resiliency of immigrant populations. This dissertation examines these different characteristics by examining five different cities in Texas: Austin, Dallas, Fort-Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. The survey was distributed through the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to those individuals who define themselves Hispanic or Latino. Results suggest that the city characteristics have a significant impact on the resiliency of Latino immigrants suggesting that local governments have a potential capability to increase the resiliency of the immigrant groups in the United States by embracing the notion that immigrants should be integrated into the fabric of the local community.

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By

Mehmet Mustafa Icer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, who believed in me, supported me all the way along this beautiful journey. To my father Husnu and my brothers Hamza and Furkan– thank you for supporting me and encouraging me to do better for my family and humanity. This was impossible without your support and prayers.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The migration has been around for millions of years and it is as old as history of humankind. People migrate due to a plethora of reasons such as social, economic, cultural, or political reasons. Whatever the underlying cause is, the ultimate purpose is the same: to survive and betterment of life for themselves and their descendants. Some just migrate to seek for an adventure in a new and different environment. It might be out of choice or by force such as escaping from genocides, wars, or civil conflicts. Migration might be temporary, permanent, or seasonal such as farmworkers. It can last years or centuries and it can be limited to one generation or span across multiple generations.

Migration is a phenomenon that has been getting more and more attention in both research, the media, and the public due to increased mobility across borders, wars, and conflicts that spill over beyond the borders. As of 2016, the number of international migrants is expected to go beyond 250 million as people search for better economic opportunities and escape from oppression (World Bank Group, 2016). Developed and developing countries have become an immigrant-magnet that attracts individuals from other parts of the world where the economic opportunities and capacities are scarce, and it is not just economic reasons. Today more individuals are migrating by force because their countries are becoming war-torn due to internal conflicts. Today, we are experiencing a record of the highest numbers of displacement. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are 74.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide as of 2018, nearly 53 million increase from the year of 2000 (UNHCR, 2019b). Especially the Syrian Civil War which started on March 2011 and still going on, created a massive influx of refugees across borders and regions, spurring a large

theoretical and practical debate about the immigrants across the world. Millions of Syrians have escaped from their homes, fleeing devastating bombs and bullets that have destroyed their cities along with their hopes of survival. Over 5.6 million people have escaped from Syria since 2011 to seek refuge in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan (UNHCR, 2019a). This recent influx of refugees in a global scale created a controversial debate in these host countries as well as developed countries about the resettlement and integration of these immigrants. For example, the number of Syrian refugees at the European border was so high, the European Union had to make a deal with Turkey about keeping refugees in Southern Turkey. According to deal, Turkey would readmit Syrian refugees to Greece who arrived after March 20, 2016 in return of extra three billion euros to maintain refugee camps in the Southern border of Turkey (Hudson, 2018). Still, the largest inflow of refugees since World War II had caused a notable rise for anti-immigrant sentiment, right-wing parties, and Islamophobia in many European countries (Filip, 2017).

There were different concerns over this massive migration movement across the world. The questions of whether migration poses challenges for global and national security, economic well-being, and demographic change have been arisen. Some discussed whether international migration would pose considerable threats for the security of the nation (Bove & Böhmelt, 2016; Rudolph, 2003; Salehyan & Gleditsch, 2006). The question of whether refugees especially from war-torn regions could induce the terrorist acts is a controversial debate in the political arena. The lack of checking identification of refugees in mass numbers lead to suspicions of many terrorists would use fake identification to travel among refugee and migrant flows. Another line of literature tried to examine the phenomenon of immigration in terms of its economic impact on the labor market (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015; Card, Dustmann, & Preston, 2012; Friedberg & Hunt, 1995; Gaston & Nelson, 2000). Public attitudes toward immigration related to economic

impact is much more interesting than the empirical findings of immigration impact on the economy. Upon the arrival of 3.3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey, a poll showed that between 40% and 100% of the natives of Turkey think that the main reason of their unemployment is the arrival of Syrian refugees (Ozturkler & Goksel, 2015), although the empirical studies showed the unemployment actually decreased in the eastern regions of Turkey (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015). Another group of literature examined the perception of demographic change that immigrants bring to table (P. G. Lewis, Provine, Varsanyi, & Decker, 2013; Stacey, Carbone-López, & Rosenfeld, 2011). The perception of demographic threat is important in the sense that it might affect the course of immigration policies making it more restrictive towards immigrants (Keiser, Mueser, & Choi, 2004). All these concerns and mass movements are so significant in the political arena, new political parties are emerged, and right-wing parties enjoyed an increase in their political base. It is even one of the reasons why the United Kingdom decided to withdraw from the European Union. One third of leave voters stated that the main reason for leaving was to increase UK's control over immigration and protect its own borders from the increased migration (Ashcroft, 2016).

The United States of America is not immune to controversial debates of immigration that has been an active issue throughout the world. In parallel to increase in migration throughout the world, the foreign-born in the U.S. has reached approximately 44 million which represents 13.5% of the total population and international migration will contribute most to U.S. population growth between 2027 and 2038 (Batalova & Alperin, 2018). The higher rate of foreign-born population and future projections of growth made immigration a key debate in all levels of government. According to a Gallup poll, a record 23% of respondents stated that immigration is the most important problem for the U.S. (Jones, 2019).

Nearly every day, we talk about immigration, border, the wall in the border, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, undocumented/illegal immigrants, deportations, and families in the detention centers, Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in both mass media and social media. According to Google Trends analysis, the search for the word of “immigrant” has been increased since September 2016 through March 2019 with maximum 100% popularity on June 2018 when there were protests against the Trump administration’s family separation policies (see Figure 1.1). Research shows a similar trend in consistent with internet searches and debates on the public sphere. According to Web of Science (2019), there has been 4,803 publications with the keyword of “immigrant” in the year of 2018, with a 2,175 increase from the year of 2010 (see Figure 1.2).

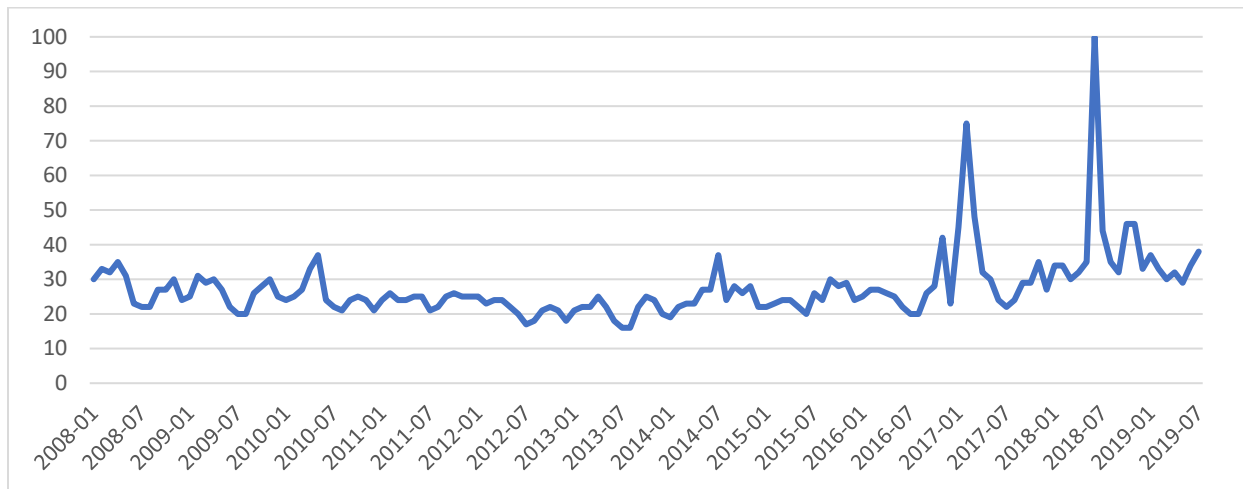


Figure 1.1: The popularity of search term "immigrant" on Google Trends from January 2008 to July 2019 in the United States of America (Source: Google Trends)

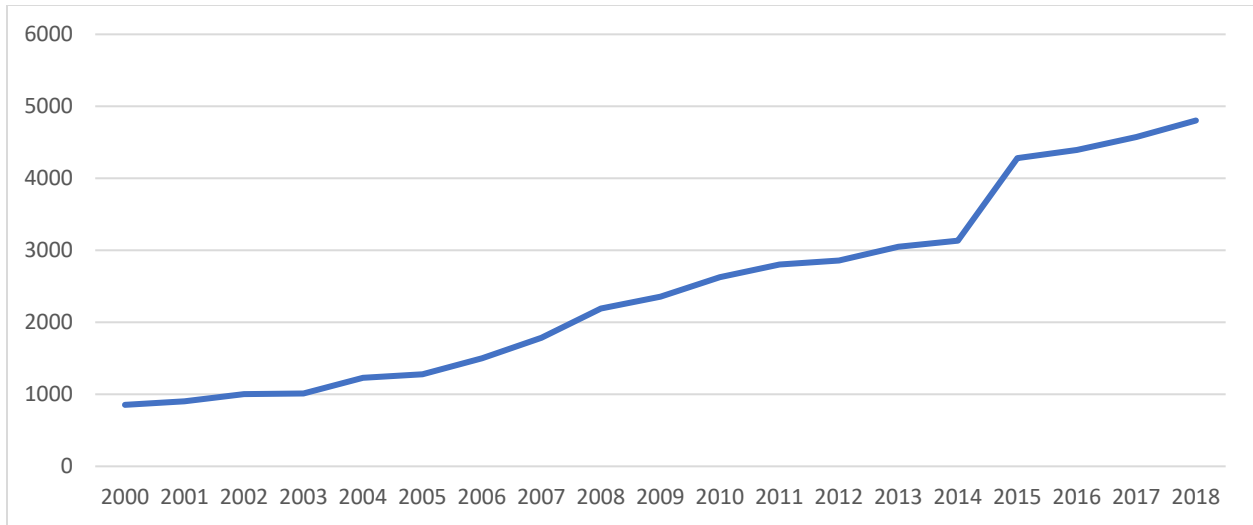


Figure 1.2: The total number of publications with the keyword of "immigrant" by year (Source: Web of Science)

But, the main reason for immigration being the hottest debate of post 2016 is the election of President Donald J. Trump. Starting from his earliest days, President Trump has promised to make a tough stance on immigration by cutting the number of legal migration and proposing “the wall” on the U.S.-Mexico border (Pierce, Bolter, & Selee, 2018). After President Trump inaugurated, he outlined his plans to reduce immigration by building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border, increasing the number of ICE officers, detention of illegal aliens in the federal facilities, defunding sanctuary cities through legislation, enhancing penalties for overstaying a visa, and end birthright citizenship (Trump, n.d.). Moreover, in January, President Trump signed an executive order of 90-day ban on citizens of six countries (predominantly Muslim) from entering the United States which has caused widespread protests. The ban was blocked by a federal appeals court on February 2019 (Thrush, 2017). In addition to that, the status of undocumented youth has remained unsettled due to Trump administration’s intention to “pull the plug” on DACA (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). President Trump often uses anti-immigrant rhetoric with targeting Mexican immigrants to the US (Reilly, 2016). This urges researchers to examine resiliency of the largest immigrant group in the U.S.: Latino immigrants.

The immigration of Hispanics/Latinos to the United States is not a recent phenomenon, but the latest debates of immigration, increased enforcement, and the proposal of building a wall on the border of U.S.-Mexico border have led to an increase in discontentment and perceived discrimination among Latinos and it affected their mental health in so many different ways. (Becerra, Androff, Cimino, Wagaman, & Blanchard, 2013). As of July of 2017, there are 58.9 million Latinos in the United States according to the United States Census Bureau (United States Census Bureau, 2018). Being the largest ethnic or racial minority in the United States, they constituted more than 18% of the nation's total population. Since 1960, the Hispanic population in the US has increased from 6.3 million to 56 million by 2015. Moreover, it will surpass 107 million by the year of 2065 according to projections (Pew Research Center, 2015). Although they were concentrated in the southwestern United States initially, their population is increasing for the whole nation (United States Census Bureau, 2018).

The resiliency of Latino immigrants is more important than ever due to the increased attention on migration. Being one of main drivers of the population growth, the Latinos and their descendants pose great opportunities for public administrators and researchers to understand how well they fit in the society. It is important to examine the psychological impact of restrictive immigrant policies, ICE raids, detention centers, and coverage of immigrant-related news on mass media. All these enforcement of immigration and being stigmatized may act as an external stressor that threatens the psychological well-being of Latino immigrants and lowers the quality of life. In addition to external stressors, understanding protective factors of the Latino group may help to understand the concept of resiliency in a Latino community context.

The resiliency literature helps us to understand what are the stressors that deteriorate the mental health of Latino individuals. However, the literature of the resiliency of Latino

immigrants has focused on the individual level variables such as age, gender, marital status, income, education level, occupation, and the number of households. The role of local government characteristics on the resiliency of Latino immigrants has been understudied. Thus, this research examines the roles of city level variables (immigration-friendliness index, unemployment rate, and percentage of Democratic Party voters) on the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants by doing a cluster analysis of five different cities with different characteristics. To understand the impact of city-level variables; responsiveness theory, labor markets theory, and ideology theory are used and applied in the context of resiliency of Latino immigrants. This dissertation explores the resiliency of Latino immigrants within the context of city variables, an area getting policy attention in recent years (e.g. defunding sanctuary cities).

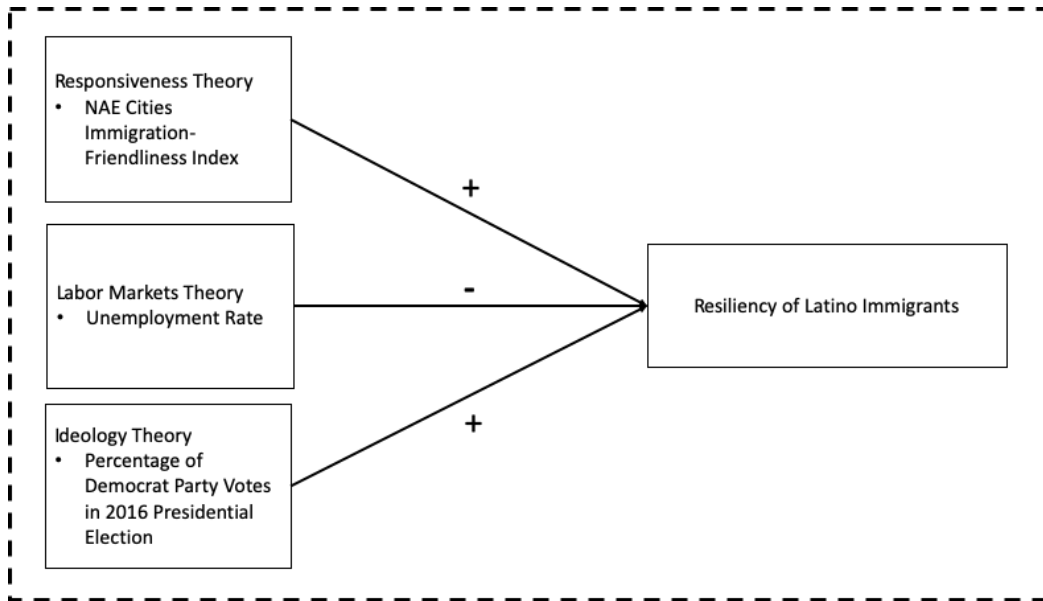


Figure 1.3: The conceptual model of resiliency of Latino immigrants

The primary objective of this research is to understand the resiliency of Latino immigrants by performing cross-city analysis on different contextual variables. These variables are important for all immigrant groups not just for Latino immigrants. The public attitudes toward immigration

concerns not just immigrants but also refugees. The conceptual model of resiliency of Latino immigrants is presented in Figure 1.3 and answer following three questions:

1. How does the degree of immigration-friendliness of a city affect the resiliency of Latino immigrants?
2. How does the unemployment rate of a city affect the resiliency of Latino immigrants?
3. How does the percentage of Democratic Party votes in 2016 presidential election affect the resiliency of Latino immigrants?

This study attempts to understand the resiliency of Latino immigrants by comparing their city settings such as the level of immigration-friendliness, unemployment rate, and the percentage of Democrat Party votes in 2016 Presidential election. This study is organized in the following manner. In Chapter 2, the literature review of the resiliency of immigrants is presented in addition the conceptual definitions of migration. Then the resiliency of Latino immigrants is presented with different perspectives. In Chapter 3, the research design is presented with the detailed section on the method of data collection. Following that, variables are defined, and findings of this study are presented. In Chapter 4, this study presents the discussion of findings along with the hypotheses. Finally, in Chapter 5, the contributions and limitations of the current study are provided for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration

In the following section, migration is defined with its underlying reasons why people migrate. Following that, an overview of migration to the United States is examined with a close-up review of Latino immigration into the United States and its overall impact.

Overview of Migration

Migration of people is a phenomenon that has existed for thousands of years, and it is as old as history of civilization. Humans moved from one point to another to seek a better life, to find accommodation, or just for curiosity. Some others moved to escape violence, conflict, political persecution, terrorist attacks, purge or human right violations. Or more recently, people move to avoid the negative effects of global warming, climate change, natural disasters, and other environmental concerns.

Today, migration becomes more doable and visible as the means of transportation has improved. In 2017, the number of immigrants has reached 258 million, with an increase of 85 million from the year of 2000 (United Nations, 2019). The projection of the immigrant population is so volatile, numbers have a great variance. For example, 2003 projection assumed that by 2050 international immigrants would account for 2.6 percent of the global population or 230 million, which is already surpassed by the year 2019 (World Migration Report 2018, 2017). In the formulation of global population projections; demographers state that “international migration was the variable that had shown the greatest volatility in the past and was therefore most difficult to project with some accuracy” (World Migration Report 2018, 2017, p. 2). There are different factors explaining this volatility: the instabilities, conflicts, and wars throughout the

world. While some individuals migrate out of personal choice, some others do it out of necessity to survive. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are 70.8 million forcibly displaced persons, including nearly 26 million refugees, and 3.5 million asylum seekers (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019).

The United Nations Migration Agency (2019) defines a migrant as followed:

... as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is.

People perform migration due to different factors such as social, economic, political reasons, or sometimes just by choice. Their final decisions to move out their habitual place of residence might be either by choice or force. Although the choice to perform migration itself has multiple options, the ultimate motive is the same: to seek a better life. Migration's timespan could be permanent, temporary, or seasonal. It can occur in one generation or last for multiple generations.

Migration is beneficial for immigrants, their families, and even the countries of origin with spillover effects of remittances. The first salient improvement is in the wages. Migrants earn wages at their host country that are multiples of what they could earn at their home country with similar positions. Comparing identical workers with same age and education (35-year old male with 9 years of education), Clemens, Montenegro and Pritchett (2009) find that workers born in Yemen and work in US can earn %15 more than their counterparts who are born and work in Yemen. The differences in wages are especially largest for unskilled labor. In consistent with that, their movements are the most restricted by developed countries by deploying different selection mechanisms; except post-war periods (Aydas, Metin-Ozcan, & Neyapti, 2005).

Unskilled labor may also experience other improvements in terms of human development, such as human rights, healthcare, and education.

For governments, migration could be perceived as human capital to improve the economy of a jurisdiction. With World War II, the German industry has suffered great damage. Therefore, to return to pre-war economic strength, West German demanded manual labor that could not be provided sufficiently by domestic labor (Aydas, Metin-Ozcan, & Neyapti, 2005). Most of these immigrants stayed permanently although it was planned as a short-term. For example, the majority of Turkish workers stayed there permanently. After more than 50 years, Turkish population in Germany is estimated to be 4-5 million; making up 5 percent of Germany's total population; making them the largest immigrant group in the country (Pipes, 2016). There is no doubt that these Turkish immigrants brought social, economic, and cultural changes to the host country (Ehrkamp, 2005). There is an ongoing debate whether the immigration is beneficial or costly (Borjas, Grogger, & Hanson, 2010; Hummel, 2016; Vigdor, 2013).

Migrating into a new environment and settling is a difficult process whether the person has arrived as a high-skill immigrant or international student for higher education, asylum-seeker or even as ambassador. Settling into a new environment with different a climate, language, lifestyle, traditions, and cultural norms may lead to culture shock and extreme stress during the acculturation process. This culture shock, anxiety and stress during the acculturation process can be difficult for immigrants and it may have negative effects on the psychology of the immigrants (Iyer, Griffin, & Babin, 2018). The successful immigration depends on many personal factors such as adaptation capacity, psychological wellness, and family cohesion; and contingent factors such as the host city's attitude towards immigrants, personal experiences of hostile environment etc. (Aroian & Norris, 2000; Torres, Santiago, Walts, & Richards, 2018).

With the increasing number of immigrants in the US, the debate of whether immigrant-friendly cities are more sustainable or not continues to evolve (Casellas & Wallace, 2018; Huang & Liu, 2018; Hummel, 2016; McDaniel, Rodriguez, & Kim, 2017). According to 2013-2017 American Community Survey, the number of foreign-born individuals in the United is more over than 43 million; representing nearly 13.4% of the total US population (American Community Survey, 2017). The foreign-born population in the U.S. between the years of 1850 and 2017 are shown in Figure 2.1. Forty-five point one percent of the foreign-born population is comprised of Latino communities. The share of the U.S. population that is Latino has been increasing over the past half century (Flores, 2017a). In 2015, Latino population was more than 17% of the total U.S. population, increased from 3.5% in the 1960s. Therefore, it is important to analyze and comprehend the demographics of Latinos in the United States.

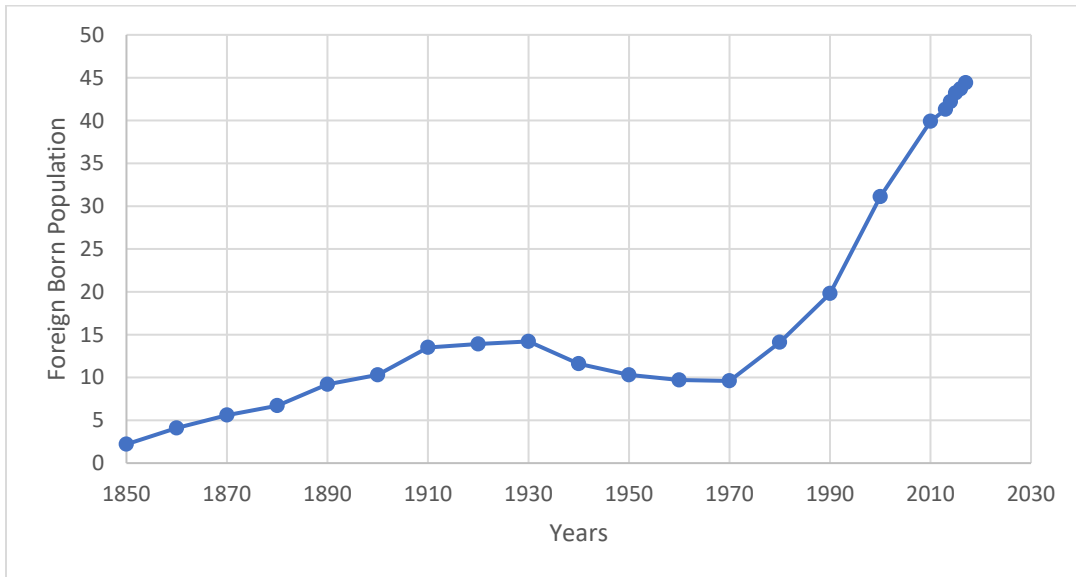


Figure 2.1: Foreign-born population in the United States, 1850-2017 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau population estimates and Pew Research Center tabulations)

Latino Immigrants to the U.S.

The United States is a nation of immigrants, and it still attracts immigrants from around the world who seek to improve their lives (Hummel, 2016). According to Pew Research Center,

“There were 56.5 million Hispanics in the United States in 2015, accounting for 17.6% of the total U.S. population” (Flores, 2017a). Since 1960, the Hispanic population in the US has increased nearly nine-fold, from 6 million then to 56 million by 2015 (see Figure 2.2). The projection shows that it will reach 107 million by 2065 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Three states that have the largest number of Latino populations are California with 15 million, Texas with 10.4 million, and Florida with 4.8 million (Stepler & Lopez, 2016).

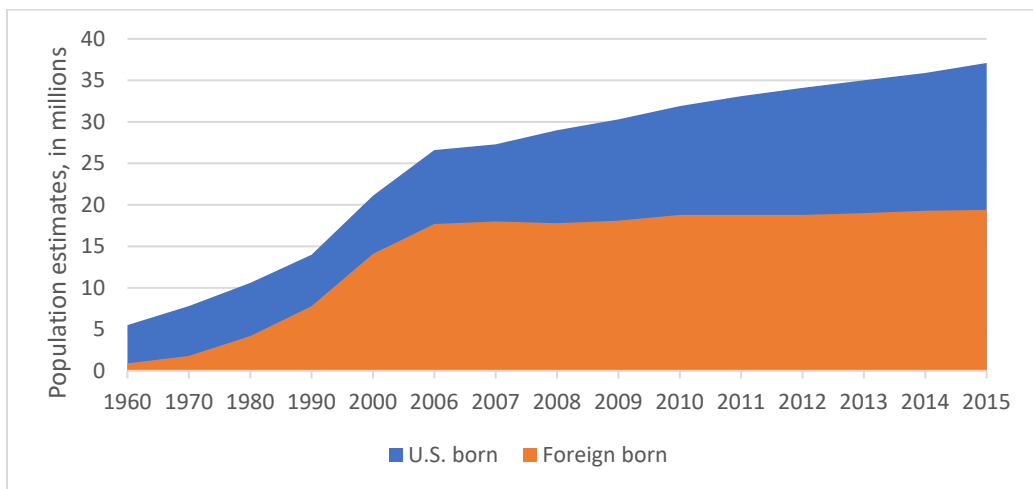


Figure 2.2: Hispanic Population in the U.S., by nativity by year (Source: Pew Research Center)

Current legislation about immigration and practices by law enforcement agencies have a pivotal role in creating a hostile environment for Latino individuals, threatening the psychological wellbeing regardless whether they are documented or undocumented (Androff, Ayon, Becerra, & Gurrola, 2011; Arbona et al., 2010). Examining 416 documented and undocumented Mexican and Central American immigrants living in two major cities in Texas, Arbona et al. (2010) found that the social environment created by anti-immigrant political statements, legislations, and procedures contributed most to the acculturative stress among Latino immigrants. According to Pew Research Center report (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Krogstad, 2018a), six-in-ten Hispanics (62%) state that they are dissatisfied with the way things are done in the US today, up from 46% in 2014, and it varied by political party affiliation where

Hispanic Democrats were more dissatisfied than Hispanic Republicans. All these significant changes in both public and Latino immigrants entail extensive research on how these changes will impact the psychological well-being of Latino immigrants, and their descendants. Moreover, it will require a revision of legislation and policies at not only at federal, but state and local government level.

The research has extensively studied the different aspects of this Latino community such as political, economic, cultural, and academic (Arbona et al., 2010; Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009). However, how the local government settings and variables affect the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants has not been studied in the literature. The recent political changes in the immigration arena made the study of psychological implications of these political changes very crucial. Psychological resiliency of immigrants matters significantly, because the majority of the population increase will benefit from the immigrants. According to Pew Research Center, between 2015 and 2065, future immigrants and their descendants will account for more than 85% of the U.S. population increase as the nation grows to 440 million (Radford, 2019).

Resiliency

Migration is often associated with challenges and dramatic life changes in an individual's life. For some, it creates opportunities for growth and resilience in newer and more fertile environments. For others, difficulties of migration might put an individual under stress which can undermine their mental health and psychological well-being. Therefore, migration experiences and its outcomes may show great variance across individuals, cultures, and countries. Against all the stressors due to adapting to the new environment, resiliency is an individual capacity which can also provide a protective function (Morote, Hjemdal, Martinez

Uribe, & Corveleyn, 2017). Therefore, resilience is inferred or defined in the context of two opposing forces: risk and adaptation.

Literature shows a great variation in defining “resiliency” (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008) such as focusing on the physical environment (Gordon, 2009); social environment (Adger, 2000), and community (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). Most of these conceptual definitions agree on that resilience is “a capacity for successful adaptation in the face of disturbances, stress, or adversity” (Norris et al., 2008, p. 129). In mathematics, it is defined as the time required for the system to return to equilibrium/stability once it has been displaced (Bodin & Wiman, 2004). From this perspective, it has a lot similarity to migration case. In the home country, an individual is assumed to be at equilibrium. After he/she migrated that equilibrium has been displaced in the new environment due to the stressors of adaptation process. Then, to return to equilibrium an individual will need time and capacity, which might be defined as resiliency.

Cambridge English Dictionary (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2019) defines resilience as “the ability to be happy, successful, etc. again after something difficult or bad has happened”. Due to this broadness of this definition, there has not been a consensus on the conceptual definition of resilience in the literature (Herrman et al., 2011). However, it does not necessarily mean that there is not a consensus on some characteristics of resiliency. According to Norris et al. (2008), the literature have found common ground on two points: first, resilience is defined as an ability, capability, skill, or process rather than the outcome; and second, resilience is conceptualized as adaptability to new conditions rather than stability. Moreover, stability sometimes denote the lack of resiliency. Because, very stable system would not fluctuate greatly according to new external conditions – showing lack of adaptability.

Often, resilience is characterized by adaptation for successful/positive outcomes despite the existence of serious drawbacks or problems regarding adaptation and development (Christopher, 2000; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Resilience is neither a static process nor a characteristic; rather it is a process where individuals try to show positive adjustment when exposed to risk and the new environment (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Often, it is associated or operationalized through one's capacity to adapt to difficult settings. For example, an individual's ability to get through difficult times (G. M. Wagnild & Young, 1993). In consistent with ecological perspective, those with higher resiliency are more capable of handling the situation in the face of overwhelming adversity and restoring equilibrium in their lives.

Models of stress-resistance generally associate the measurement of the resilience with positive psychological outcomes such as having a higher adaptability to new environments or dramatic changes in an individual's life. Individuals with higher resilience for stress factors have a set of skills that increase their adaptability to changed environments (Aroian & Norris, 2000). Resilience could be defined as a relatively good outcome or ability to function, despite the negative implications of adverse situations which carry important risk for dysfunction, or even psychopathology (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000).

Beginning from the early 1970s, the study of resilience has been extensively studied by disciplines such as psychiatry, clinical psychology, and human development (Masten & Obradović, 2006). According to Masten and Obradović (2006, p. 14):

Resilience is a broad conceptual umbrella, covering many concepts related to positive patterns of adaptation in the context of adversity. The conceptual family of resilience encompasses a class of phenomena where the adaptation of a system has been threatened by experiences capable of disrupting or destroying the successful operations of the system.

Consistent with the statement above, some researchers stated that the concept is imprecise and

components of resilience are blurred; resulting in a plethora of definitions for resilience (Klein, Nicholls, & Thomalla, 2003). However, there are some concepts in social-ecological studies that make understanding resilience easier: protective factors and risk factors. A protective factor can be defined as “a characteristic at the biological, psychological, family, or community (including peers and culture) level that is associated with a lower likelihood of problem outcomes or that reduces the negative impact of a risk factor on problem outcomes.” (O’Connell, Boat, & Warner, 2009, p. xxvii). In contrast to that, a risk factor can be defined as “a characteristic at the biological, psychological, family, community, or cultural level that precedes and is associated with a higher likelihood of problem outcomes.” (O’Connell et al., 2009, p. xxviii). Experiencing high rates of poverty, inadequate health care, low-wage employment, language and cultural barriers, and discrimination are most common risk factors for immigrant individuals. Individuals rely on protective factors to overcome deleterious adversity due to these risk factors to hold on their desired well-being. These protective factors or assets protect the individual from risk factors, and they are the reason for the great variance of well-being among individuals with similar backgrounds and risk factors (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010). These factors can include intellectual capacity, self-esteem, coping skills, and social competence. Internal protective factors can also be supported by external sources such as family cohesion, community, church, and neighborhood (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). These resources are not necessarily protective factors for the individual. For a young individual, a school environment that is supportive and safe, can be a protective factor. In contrast, a school may have high gang activity, discrimination, and bullying, which can be a risk factor to those young individuals.

Resiliency has been studied in the literature on different geographical and cultural settings such Russian immigrants to Israel or Iranian immigrants to Australia (Aroian & Norris,

2000; Aroian, Norris, & Chiang, 2003; Hosseini, 2015). These studies aimed to understand the migration experience of those who migrate by looking at psychological outcomes of immigrants. Understanding the intersection of immigrants and the host country can suggest better policies for state and local governments to integrate immigrants to their system. For example, Aroian and Norris (2000) find that resilience decreases the risk of being depressed among Russian immigrants to Israel. Examining Iranian immigrants to Australia, Hosseini (2015) finds that those who were unemployed, had lower education, had lived in Australia less than 5 years, and had experienced discrimination were more likely to be depressed. Examining 100 Irish immigrants to U.S., Christopher (2000) also finds that higher resilience is associated with higher levels of well-being.

Resiliency of Latino Immigrants

For Latino immigrants in the U.S., the common risk factors are poverty, inadequate health care, low-wage employment, discrimination, educational attainment, and language barrier (Capps et al., 2002; Perez et al., 2009). Especially discrimination or feeling of discrimination play a key role on mental health of historically marginalized populations (Ward et al., 2019). Although the recent research on Latino immigrants, the resiliency of Latino immigrants is still a subject of interest that needs scientific attention. However, with the increasing migratory movements in the world, the resiliency of Latino immigrants will come under light more than ever before.

Resiliency has been extensively studied in the literature on many subjects of interest: cultural, economic, social, and academical (Aroian & Norris, 2000; Christopher, 2000; Perez et al., 2009). For example, Perez et al. (2009) examined the academic resilience of the undocumented immigrant Latino students. They (2009) found that despite the risks of

environmental factors such as societal rejection, increased discrimination, low socioeconomic status, low parental education, undocumented students who have high levels of personal and environmental protective factors as a social capital (supportive friends, family) reported higher levels of academic success. Moreover, the risks are elevated when considering that federal grants and loans are not available for undocumented students (Yoshikawa, Suárez-Orozco, & Gonzales, 2017).

In their ecological model explaining social-emotional needs of Latino immigrant adolescents, Blanco-Vega et al. (2007) suggest that parental support in the immigrants is vital for academic success for immigrant adolescents as well as the support from the host culture and the school. Especially, risk factors for undocumented immigrants are higher compared to legal immigrants. The reason is that undocumented immigrants are more likely to belong to lower socio-economic brackets, where higher socio-economic status immigrants have much more financial resources to cross borders legally (Autin et al., 2018). In addition to that, undocumented immigrants have a reasonable fear to interact with government agencies due to fear of deportation, making them unable to use many social services such as Medicaid to better their financial situation. In response to these challenges, immigrant parents develop coping skills, increasing their communication with their children, and fostering social support (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). Parent's ability to cope with stressors, education level, and support was positively associated with their descendant's educational aspirations (Plunkett & Bamaca-Gomez, 2003). Parents play a mentoring role in the Latino adolescent's academic excellence, depending on the mentor's educational level, the frequency of contact, and level of support (Sánchez, Esparza, & Colón, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Considering the fact that Latinos have become the largest minority group in the US, legislators must find new methods to

increase resiliency to prevent negative socio-economic outcomes.

Another important issue facing the Latino immigrant youth is structural effects of poverty (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). Considering their parent's low educational attainment and legal limitations, the most undocumented youth live in segregated urban areas with high level of poverty. And these areas are best known for their high rates of crime and low-performing schools. The low quality of education and low socio-economic status cumulatively undermines the academic success of this subset group, creating a vicious cycle where it decreases the resiliency of Latino immigrants which then leads them into lower segments of socio-economic status. Moreover, perceived problems with young gangs decrease the resiliency of Latino and African American youth compared to their counterparts (Catterall, 1998). Examining Latino 9th and 10th graders from five Midwestern high schools; Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, and Bámaca (2006) find that the support from parents and teachers had a positive impact on the academic motivation of Latino adolescent boys. Moreover, Cabrera and Padilla (2004) find that support given by parents lead to success for Latino college students, after in-depth interview and analysis of two students from Stanford University. This shows the importance of traditional family values on the Latino youth. Castro et al. (2007) find that family traditionalism (endorsing conservative values to maintain family traditions such as caring and respecting for elderly) was significantly associated with family bonding among Hispanic adolescents whose fathers were illicit drug users. This respect and endorsing traditional family values (being loyal to the family) are also emerged as protective factors for Latino Youth in different studies (Ceballo, 2004; Chapman & Perreira, 2005; Chavkin & Gonzalez, 2000; Gonzalez & Padilla, 1997). Ceballo (2004) categorizes these protective factors into four different categories: parental commitment to the importance of education, parental support of individual autonomy of adolescents, nonverbal and

verbal parental expressions of support for education, and the presence of academic mentors that guide the students in their college-bound trajectories.

In addition to personal competence of Latino adolescents, positive parental and childhood experiences were associated with less drug use among inner-city Hispanic women (Lindenberg, Gendrop, Nencioli, & Adames, 1994). Although parental impact is significant predictor of the descendant's resiliency, Parsai, Voisine, Marsiglia, Kulis, and Nieri (2009) find that interactions with peers in schools were more significant predictor of substance use than familial factors.

Discrimination or feeling discriminated is also another factor decreases the academic resiliency of Latino youth. Examining the discrimination and distress among Mexican descent youth (aged 11-15), Edwards and Romero (2008) find that coping strategies and self-esteem were protective factors for Mexican adolescents to help when faced with discrimination. Discrimination experienced by immigrants can increase the prevalence of mental illnesses in this group when combined with decreased opportunities for employment, language barriers, prejudice, and higher rates of poverty (D'Angelo et al., 2009). In contrast to that, positive encounters or experiencing their bilingual competence as an asset in social interactions can reinforce the self-identity and integrate Mexican American youth into education in a better way (Gonzalez, 2009). There are some moderating factors effecting how community involvement affects the adolescent's mental health. By examining the impact of the different type of community involvement activities across groups, Hull, Kilbourne, Reece, and Husaini (2008) find that non sport extracurricular activities acted as protective factor for well-being of Latino teens.

Resilience of Latino immigrants is not just studied within the context of academic excellence. Examining adults in New York City following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on World

Trade Center, Boscarino and Adams (2009) found that being a Latino and being nonnative-born was positively associated with higher levels PTSD symptoms (see Appendix for resilience of immigrants in the disaster). Although being Latino was not significantly associated with having PTSD at the baseline, it were a significant predictor of having PTSD on the follow-up (2009). Examining a sample of Mexican American women at the border area of U.S., Guinn, Vincent, and Dugas (2009) find that educational attainment, acculturative level, health status, and being married was significant predictors of being resilient or not. Since socio-economic status (SES) is highly associated with education level, Mexican Americans with higher SES are expected to have a higher level of support network to cope with stressors.

Comparing U.S. born Latino sample to Latino immigrant sample, Alegría et al. (2008) found that U.S.-born Latinos had higher rates of most psychiatric disorders compared to Latino immigrant sample. In other words, immigrant Latinos had higher psychological resiliency compared to U.S.-born Latinos. They (2008) also found that Latino immigrant sample had a lower rate of substance use compared to U.S.-born Latinos. This shows that the years lived in the U.S. has an impact (either negative or positive) on the resiliency of Latino immigrants. In consistent with that, rates of low birth weight among Mexican-born Latinos are lower than those U.S.-born Latinos despite the first group are less likely to access prenatal care (Bender & Castro, 2000). Similar to that, Heilemann, Lee, and Kury (2002) find that women of Mexican descent who spent all early adolescent years in Mexico before coming to U.S. had higher levels of resiliency.

Although there has been an extensive literature on the resiliency of Latino immigrants, the question of how local government variables such as immigration friendliness, unemployment rate, and political ideology affects the resiliency of Latino immigrants still remains unanswered.

Moreover, there has not been any empirical study to compare different local government settings to understand how Latino immigrants showed differentiation in terms of resiliency.

Theoretical Framework

Responsiveness Theory

Political responsiveness is often defined as elected officials' adherence to citizen interests, and their desire for reelection (Benavides, 2008). From a public administration perspective, responsiveness could be extended to include non-elected individuals: bureaucrats. For example, a police chief in a local government is expected to be responsive to its citizens by considering their needs and desires. Although there is no consensus on what defines "being responsive", ideally democratic responsiveness entails the implementation of policies and procedures that their citizens desire. This process of forming and implementing policies and procedures based on city preferences makes democracy to be of higher quality (Powell, 2004).

Responsiveness theory takes its roots from the theory of representative bureaucracy. In its basis, it asserts that passive representation has many benefits for the quality of democracy for a governing entity. It is defined as the presence of public administrators or entity that has similar demographic characteristics of the community it governs (Sowa & Selden, 2003). This similarity between the members of the public workforce and citizens creates a better atmosphere of mutual trust between citizens and the governing body (Krislov, 2012). Moreover, this passive representation can lead to active representation when public administrators actively promote the interests of particular subgroups that have similar beliefs and values (G. B. Lewis, Liu, & Edwards, 2014; Mosher, 1982). For example, Benavides and Medina (2014) find that although the Hispanic student population is higher in the North Central Texas region, they are not proportionately represented in the school boards. Moreover, this lack of representation on school

boards would be a violation of the passive representation argument of Mosher (1982).

Policy-making process is highly contingent upon the perception of the public. Understanding how public perception is affected by the overall migration level is a complex one. For example, examining UK's public perception on immigrants; Ford, Jennings, and Somerville (2015) find that when the migration level was low in the 1980s and early 1990s, the mood of public perception was relatively permissive, or immigration friendly. This public atmosphere of permissiveness led to the creation and implementation of more friendly immigration laws. When the migration level is increased sharply in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the mood turned into more restrictive and the issue of immigration got much more attention from public than it was before. According to Ford, Jennings, and Somerville (2015); public is responsive to contingencies around them; in this case it is migration; and the governing body is responsive to public preference or mood.

The public reaction is affected by various factors such as media, political parties, and ideologies. The media plays a significant role shaping the public image on different issues. Starting from the invention of radio, the public image is heavily determined by mass media; thereof forcing politicians to target mass media for reaching out to their constituents. Examining the impact of radio on the New Deal program, Strömberg (2000) analyzes the theoretical connection between news and political outcomes in a model in which political information is distributed endogenously by the media. In the United States, the media are undoubtedly a primary channel where voters receive information about immigration policies and outcomes. Now, combined with social media; the immigration issues are debated on a broader front. However, one should note that the symbiotic relationship between the media and the phenomenon as attention on the media is determined by the severity of inflows of immigrants

and the public mood. In addition to media, partisanship also shapes the public image and thereof responsiveness. There is no doubt that the Republican Party is advocating a more aggressive immigration policy and incentivizing local governments to align in this manner. With the latest presidential election in 2016, the issue of immigration has risen to a new level, where nearly every day we talk about immigration. Although the Federal government is primary stakeholder in controlling immigration, this responsibility is devolving into state and local governments (Hummel, 2016); making responsiveness is a key element of immigration in the local government context.

Studies of law enforcement actions on immigration show a significant variation where some cities engage in strict enforcement, while some others do not (P. G. Lewis et al., 2013; Williams, 2015). Responsiveness theory posits that local governments can only act within the preferences of its constituencies. According to Palus (2010), there are three basic elements of responsiveness: 1) citizens must convey a political view, 2) elected officials should have some understanding and insight about the citizen's preferences, and 3) elected officials should have a basic incentive to satisfy the needs of its constituencies. Since politicians are eager to be re-elected, elected officials have this inherent incentive to adhere to citizen interests. Therefore, the reason behind either aggressive or welcoming immigration policies at the local government level lies the constituencies: the voters. The public perception of immigration issue shapes the way the politicians and public administrators act on immigration policies and procedures.

Sanctuary Cities

Sanctuary cities have become more popular in the media and research lately due to increased coverage of immigrants in the mass media and social media. According a report by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) (Garcia, 2009, p. i), sanctuary cities are defined as "It is

often used to refer to those localities which, as a result of a state or local act, ordinance, policy, or fiscal constraints, place limits on their assistance to federal immigration authorities seeking to apprehend and remove unauthorized aliens.“ It is important to note that not all immigrant-friendly cities are sanctuary cities. In the year of 2017, the state of Texas passed Senate Bill 4 which has banned the sanctuary cities by requiring full cooperation between local law enforcement agencies and federal immigration authorities (Collingwood & O’Brien Gonzalez, 2019). This law requires all local police departments and campuses to provide utmost cooperation with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in sharing information about noncitizens and help in transferring of detainees into federal custody (Villazor & Gulasekaram, 2018). In addition to that, Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. § 1357(g)), enabled ICE to enter into agreements with state and local law enforcement agencies on the identification and removal of aliens who are amenable to removal from the United States (Jackson, 2018). According to ICE (2019), there are 25 counties in Texas that entered into 287(g) agreement with ICE. The state of Texas has been firm on its anti-sanctuary stance. For example, the Texas attorney general opened a lawsuit against San Antonio police chief in November 2018 alleging that officials had violated the law when the San Antonio Police Department released migrants in custody without the involvement of ICE (Shirley, 2019).

Supporters of immigration-friendly policies assume that the local government’s efforts to deter the undocumented aliens would undermine community relations and pose great human rights violations. Although sanctuary cities are often associated with unauthorized aliens and refugees, they still act as a magnet for all immigrants whether they are documented or undocumented. Because, they have relatively higher immigration friendly policies, goods, and services for the incoming immigrants. Although none of the cities in this study are sanctuary

cities, they have its corresponding immigration-friendliness index. These cities often provide strategies and programs for immigrants and integrate them into their economic and social fabric to increase the resiliency of Latino immigrants, thereof the resiliency of the local government (Strauss, 2012). Therefore, I hypothesize:

H1: The Latino immigrants who live in cities with higher immigration-friendliness index are expected to have higher resiliency than Latino immigrants who live in cities with lower immigration-friendliness index.

Labor Markets Theory

Often public perception on immigration has been determined by different factors such as, the percent of immigrants in the host country, unemployment level, decreased minimum wages due to often low-skilled labor (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015). There are several different theories explaining why some local governments act restrictively when it comes to immigration. In the following section, these theories are explained in a detailed manner.

Immigration brings new perspectives, cultures, and experiences to the host country, but more than anything it brings the human capital. Since the immigration population adds new and often cheap labor to the local market, the course of the immigration policies is heavily determined in terms of immigration's economic impact on the localities/citizens (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015). A significant amount of literature examines the economic impact of immigrants on the jurisdictions; mainly along the lines of wages and unemployment indicators (Friedberg & Hunt, 1995; Lalonde & Topel, 1997). In simple terms, labor market theory asserts that the members of the community who will benefit from the immigration will advocate for immigration friendly policies, whereas those who lose their benefits or jobs to immigrants will oppose the immigration-friendly policies. Literature showed that capital rich individuals such as owners of companies in developed countries will gain profit from unskilled labor, whereas unskilled

members of the community will lose their job and profit margin (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015; Mayda, 2006). Therefore, it is expected that individuals without capital and skill would oppose the immigrants who are considered to compete for limited jobs, especially since they demand a lower wage.

However, findings from the literature do not show a consensus on that immigrants always decrease the wages for localities and increase unemployment. Examining the economic impact of refugees on Turkey regions, Bahcekapili and Cetin (2015) find that Gaziantep, Adiyaman, and Kilis (GAK) region with Syrian refugees which comprise 14.8% of its population, the region showed a significant decline in the unemployment rate. Gaston and Nelson (2000) also find that US workers of the middle class did not experience a decrease in their wages after a dramatic increase in number of immigrants. Since the immigration moves from less developed countries to more developed countries, the majority of immigration population in the host country would be expected to be low-skilled labor. Therefore, we can expect that majority of the localities (who are low-skilled also) will oppose supportive immigration policies. This environment of unfriendly immigration policies may endanger the resiliency of the immigrant population.

From an economic perspective, migration poses new challenges for policymakers. Many individuals seem to worry that localities will experience loss, because public resources are diverted to betterment of immigrants, and more important than that, they assume that “immigrants will take away their jobs or make it harder for unemployed persons to find work” (Esposito, Collignon, & Scicchitano, 2019, p. 3). According to a Standard Eurobarometer survey conducted in November 2017 (European Commission, 2016), immigration is considered as the most important issue facing the European Union, supported by 39% of the total respondents. This negative public image of immigration might be based on the native population’s perception;

but they also seem to be the result of a misinterpretation of the immigration reality.

Migration movements have always been the key point between those opposing groups: those who are proponents of immigration friendly policies and those who are doubtful about the social, cultural, and economic impact of immigration on the host jurisdiction. According to standard economic theory, migration would create an economic surplus which would be redistributed and allow localities to better off financially in the long-term (Mundell, 1957). However, a plethora of research showed that native populations are not sympathetic to immigrants (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015; Esposito et al., 2019). According to Bahcekapili and Cetin (2015); the basic reason behind this discrepancy is that such basic economic models do not control for changes and interactions among different variables such as the host country's demographics, culture, and religion. These factors that are outside the basic economic model are called compositional amenities. These factors become more visible when the immigration changes the composition of the host country's population, creating potential externalities for the natives (Card et al., 2012). Using a series of questions from 2002 European Social Survey; Card, Dustmann, and Preston (2012) find that these compositional amenities are substantially more significant, explaining the great portion of variance in the questions whether immigrants should be permitted to live in the host country than pure economic factors such as wages and taxes. Therefore, if the unemployment rate of a city is higher, the attitude toward immigrants will be more restrictive decreasing their resiliency. In the light of this discussion, I hypothesize:

H₂: The Latino immigrants who live in cities with higher unemployment rates are expected to have lower resiliency than Latino immigrants who live in cities with lower unemployment rates.

Ideology Theory

In addition to economics theory, the political leanings of a community may also

determine the type of immigration policies. Moreover, a plethora of research asserts that ideology is the most important factor determining the attitudes toward the immigrants (Betts, 1988; Burns & Gimpel, 2000). For example, the radical right-wing parties in Italy and Austria have legislated many laws to discourage the existence of immigrants by stating that foreign labor is a detrimental threat to the employment rate in the country (Zaslove, 2004). Since the majority of the localities in these countries perceive immigrants as a threat to their personal well-being, the right-wing parties capitalize on the argument of increased crime and insecurity is a natural outcome of immigration.

In the U.S., the anti-immigrant ideology of the Republican Party takes its roots from conservative ideology which advocates for a smaller government, especially in terms of redistribution policies (Murray, 1997); where left-wing ideologies support an expansive government with an emphasis on social programs redistributing fiscal opportunities to less advanced segments of the society: especially the poorer. And conservatives are known for their strict stance against immigration friendly policies. Multiple studies showed that left-wing party members and supporters are more sympathetic to supportive immigration policies (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Citrin & Sides, 2008). Conservative ideologies mainly argue that immigrant populations increase taxes and crime; create a distortion in the localities' demographics. In the lights of this adversarial approach, immigrant populations facing non-friendly policies from their local government, may be less resilient.

The anti-immigrant attitude may come from a certain type of personal and social identity of individuals on the micro-level. One example is the authoritarian personality, which tends to distrust the anyone outside his/her in-group circle and favor authority which is power-oriented. (Allport, 1954). Therefore, the communication between outside group is weak for this group

since there is no mutual trust. In-group refers to a group of people which makes a person to feel safe to interact with. Allport (1954, p. 36) further states “Thus the sense of belonging is a highly personal matter. Even two members of the same actual in-group may view its composition in widely divergent ways... Each individual tends to see in his in-group the precise pattern of security that he himself requires”. From this standpoint, a negative attitude towards specific groups emerges. For example, in Europe; individuals with a right-wing political leaning and authoritarian/totalitarian disposition are more likely to be anti-immigrant as an attitude, especially in Central Europe and Italy (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010). Altemeyer (1981) defines this trait as a right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). RWA is conceptualized on three pillars: conventionalism (an individual’s tendency to accept and abide by traditional societal rules and norms), authoritarian submission (tendency to respect those authority/political figures who uphold these rules and norms) and authoritarian aggression (willingness to engage in authoritarian aggression towards outsiders who violate these traditional rules and norms) (Altemeyer, 1981).

In addition to personal identity, another important factor determining attitude toward immigration is education. Individuals who have a higher level of education are significantly more likely to be immigration friendly and more open to the different cultural norms and values (Berg, 2010; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Schüller, 2016). Examining the longitudinal data from German Socio-Economic Panel, Schüller (2016) finds that 9/11 terror attacks in the US caused a variation around 40 percent of one within standard deviation; an increase in negative attitudes toward immigration among the German population. Moreover, she (2016) finds that education has a moderating role in this negative impact of 9/11 terrorist attack. It is debatable that whether education; especially higher education; liberalizes individuals or vaguely teaches them to

support/embrace these traditional ideologies or norms (Finseraas, Skorge, & Strøm, 2018; Janus, 2010). However, we can say that the concepts of personal/social identity and in-group/out group categories are fundamental in shaping an individuals' attitude towards immigration.

In addition to personal identity theories of in-groups and out-groups, there might be some other cognitive process that shapes an individuals' attitudes on immigration. According to a self-interest perspective, localities – both native-born and foreign-born residents – perceive immigrants as a threat to their well-being (Mariani, Moreno-Galbis, & Tritah, 2011). Espenshade (1995, p. 202) defines this phenomenon as labor market competition hypothesis:

A labor market competition hypothesis suggests that persons having the lowest levels of socioeconomic status attainment are likely to have the most concern over job competition with new immigrants, and that they therefore will exhibit the most negative attitudes toward illegal migration and undocumented migrants.

Although there is not a considerable amount of research supporting that the immigrants take away jobs of the localities, it is visible that individuals with lower socioeconomic status have non-friendly attitudes towards the immigrants (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Esposito et al., 2019). The main argument in this self-interest model is that the members of the majority group assume that members of the minority group (out-group/outsideers or immigrants) are taking valuable output/surplus and limited resources, and they feel it is a threat to their well-being and existence; therefore develop a negative attitude to immigrants (Blalock, 1967).

In addition to self-interest model, cultural beliefs and values can be significant in defining one's attitude towards immigration. According to symbolic politics theory, individuals have assigned certain values and meanings to certain symbols such as the historical figure, religious leader, or a certain event in the history and these symbols evoke certain emotions on the individuals (Sears, 1993). These symbols may change from individuals to individuals as well as from region to region. A content analysis on both the Los Angeles Times and the New York

Times in 2002, Keogan (2002) finds that immigrants are symbolized/perceived as a “threat” in Southern California, while they are symbolized “immigrant as victim” in the New York metropolitan area. This variance might be explained by different factors such as the percentage of immigrants in the metropolitan, or proximity to the border. This sentiment is mostly fortified by the mass media, social media, and political parties. For example, Hawley (2011) finds that native-born Republicans are more likely to support anti-immigrant or aggressive policies on the immigrants when their local community has a larger immigrant population than average. Therefore, symbolic politics strengthen already present “perceived threat” against immigrants and immigration in general (Fussell, 2014).

The question of whether immigration has a negative impact or not on the right-wing parties is still remain unanswered. Mayda, Peri, and Steingress (2006) find that on average immigration to the U.S. has a negative impact on the Republican Party’s votes. In contrary to U.S. case, some European countries experienced the opposite effect from immigration, increasing the votes of right-wing parties, consolidating the swing votes into right-wing parties (Halla, Wagner, & Zweimüller, 2012). But especially with the presidential election in 2016, anti-immigrant remarks especially against the Hispanic population boosted the anti-immigrant stance of the Republican Party. Therefore, I hypothesize:

H3: More the Democratic Party’s vote share is in a city, the more resilient the Latino population is in that city.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data and Methods

For purposes of this study, an online survey was developed on Qualtrics and published through the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) between the dates of May 2019 and July 2019. The survey only targeted the individuals who live in the state of Texas through the qualification requirements system on MTurk. A sampling of this study includes single respondents who are Hispanic or Latino (Hispanic includes: Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Caribbean Islands, Central or South American, or other Hispanic) and who lives in the biggest five cities of Texas: Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. In addition to the survey, NAE Cities Index measuring how a city welcomes immigrants (New American Economy), the unemployment rate for each city (American Community Survey 2017), and 2016 presidential election results are collected to compare the immigrant's resiliency based on their city's characteristics.

In this research, respondents are recruited through the MTurk. The data collection on MTurk has been validated and found to produce comparable results to the surveys that are collected in traditional ways (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Stritch, Pedersen, & Taggart, 2017). It is not easy to reach a meaningful sample of public employees or managers on MTurk. However, it can be very helpful and efficient in collecting citizen data (Stritch et al., 2017). Since its cost per response is relatively cheaper than the traditional surveys, a larger number of respondents could be utilized, with the similar traditional survey budget.

An online questionnaire was created using Qualtrics and posted on Mturk to recruit respondents. Two screening questions were asked at the beginning of the survey to limit

participation to those who are Hispanic or Latino origin living in these five cities: Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. If the respondents did not satisfy this screening criteria, the survey was terminated, and they did not get compensated. Out of 621 total attempts (clicked the survey link on MTurk), 350 respondents were able to pass screening questions by meeting the criteria. However, 15 respondents did not complete the survey all the way through after they passed screening questions and their responses have been excluded. The final sample size was 335. The survey included two standardized measures for resiliency: Resiliency Scale for Adults (RSA) (Odin Hjemdal et al., 2011) and the Resilience Scale (RS) (G. M. Wagnild & Young, 1993) in addition to demographics questions at the beginning of the survey. The survey was only available in English.

The sample of this study is Latino immigrants who live in the top five populous cities of Texas: Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. The sample size for each city was 54, 78, 21, 112, and 70. It is important to note that Fort Worth has a relatively lower sample size compared to other cities. However, since it is the only city with the Republican Party majority in the 2016 Presidential election, this study did not exclude Fort Worth from the sample. Texas has the largest number of Latinos with 10.4 million, preceded by California with 15 million.

Although California has a larger number of Latino population, Texas has a higher rate of population increasing for Latino population. In 2015, the number of Latinos lived in California was 15.2 million, nearly 40% increase from 10.9 million in 2000. Yet, Latino population in Texas reached 10.7 million in 2015, a 60% increase over the same period from 6.7 million in 2000 (Flores, 2017b). These five cities are the most populous cities in Texas, with being in the top 6 cities in terms of Latino population along with El Paso (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

This study uses ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses to test its hypotheses.

Psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants is the dependent variable of this study. Two different measures are used to measure the resiliency to make it possible to compare the resiliency measures: Resiliency Scale for Adults (RSA) and Resiliency Scale (RS). The independent variables are NAE Cities Index (an index showing how welcoming a city is), the unemployment rate of the city, and the percentage of voters in the 2016 presidential elections who cast ballots for Democratic Party nominee Hillary Clinton, using the two-party vote (Trump + Clinton) as denominator. This study also adds several control variables into models: gender, age, annual income, education level, and years lived in the United States.

For analysis, four separate models for each RSA and RS are developed. The first model tests the impact of NAE Cities index on the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants, controlling for the effect of the control variables. The second model tests the impact of the unemployment rate of the respondent's city on the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants, controlling for the effect of the control variables. The third model tests the impact of the percentage of democratic party votes in the respondent's city on the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants, controlling for the effect of the control variables. The fourth and final model, utilizes all three independent variables to measure the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants at the same time.

Dependent Variables

This study utilizes two different measures for psychological resiliency: Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA) and Resilience Scale (RS).

Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA)

The Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA) (Odin Hjemdal et al., 2011) was used in this study to measure resiliency with different categories such as personal competency and family

cohesion. It is a 33-item self-report scale for measuring intrapersonal and interpersonal protective resilience factors for adult individuals (Friborg, Barlaug, Martinussen, Rosenvinge, & Hjemdal, 2005). Validity and reliability of the RSA has been shown in many studies in literature (Basim & Cetin, 2011; Odin Hjemdal et al., 2011; Jowkar, Friborg, & Hjemdal, 2010). The RSA was developed by Hjemdal et al. (2001) and it has five different components of resilience: social competency (6 items – *It's easy to be flexible in social situations*), social resource (7 items – *I have friends/family members who appreciate my abilities*), family cohesion (6 items – *I have strong connections in my family*), personal competency (10 items – *I believe in my abilities*), and structured style (4 items – *I prefer to have plans for my activities*). Each item on RSA were measured using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A cumulative index is calculated for overall resilience.

The resilience scale for adults (RSA) has been validated in the Hispanic Latin-American community sample and it showed adequate internal consistency across each domain of resilience (Morote et al., 2017). In the present study, the value of Cronbach's Alpha for the RSA was very good with a value of .83.

Resilience Scale (RS)

Wagnild and Young (1993, p. 167) defines the purpose of Resilience Scale (RS) as “to identify the degree of individual resilience, considered a positive personality characteristic that enhances individual adaptation”. The RS is a 25-item scale using the 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The cumulative score ranges from 25 to 175 with higher scores reflecting higher resilience. Examining 12 completed studies that use Resilience Scale, Wagnild (2009) found that the items in the scale showed a high consistency ranging from .72 to .94. In the present study, Cronbach Alpha for the RS was .95. Although the

scale was originally tested with older female samples (G. M. Wagnild & Young, 1993), the validity and reliability of the scale has been tested successfully across different samples of all ages and ethnic groups (Abiola & Udofia, 2011; Heilemann, Lee, & Kury, 2003).

Independent Variables

NAE Cities Index

This study uses the New American Economy (NAE) Cities Index to measure how a city is immigration friendly by measuring different immigrant and government interaction nexus. It is the first comprehensive, national assessment of immigration integration policy and socioeconomic indicators for immigrants in the largest 100 U.S. cities by the total population. It is a measure of what impact immigrants are having on communities, and how well they are integrating (New American Economy, 2018). Developed on September 2018, the index is pretty new to literature and presents new opportunities for research in immigrant-related issues. The index is comprised of two main categories: policy section and socioeconomic section. The policy section includes government leadership, economic prosperity, inclusivity, community, and legal support categories. The socioeconomic section includes job opportunities, economic prosperity, livability, and civic participation categories. Calculating the average of scores of the socioeconomic section and policy section, an overall score from 1 to 5 is assigned for each city.

Unemployment Rate

This study uses unemployment rate for each five cities acquired through the tables of Social Explorer. The used database is American Community Survey 2017 (5-year estimates) and U.S. Census Bureau. The unemployment rate is an economic indicator for both local and immigrant individuals in a community. If there are more jobs for immigrants, they are expected to have higher resilience by increasing their economic well-being.

The Percentage of Democrat Party Votes in 2016 Presidential Election

To measure the political ideology of a city, this study uses partisan leanings of the city as indicated by the percentage of voters (*Democrat Votes Percentage*) in the 2016 presidential election who cast ballots for Democrat Hillary Clinton, using the two-party vote (Trump + Clinton) as the denominator. Unfortunately, since such election data is not available at the city level, this study was forced to measure political composition at the level of the county within which each city is nested. Although, partisanship is not a direct measure/indicator of the ideology of the voters, it is salient when it comes to immigration policy, as Republican candidate Donald Trump increasingly advocated restrictive policies on immigration. Although use of county level election data to measure the city's percentage of voters for each party brings the issue of measurement error, there were no better alternative. Multiple studies also use county level data to estimate city level political leanings (Hopkins, 2010; Ramakrishnan & Wong, 2010).

Control Variables

Age

The bulk of the literature suggests that older people are more likely to have a higher level of resiliency. As people grow older, they become more resilient to the stressors due to migration. Comparing resiliency across different age groups, Gooding et al. (2012) find that older adults were more resilient especially with respect to their higher ability of emotional regulation and problem solving. Examining Iranian immigrants to Australia, Hosseini (2015) finds that younger adults were more at risk if having psychological problems; showing a lower level of psychological resiliency.

Gender

Being a male is generally associated with higher levels of resiliency. Examining Russian

immigrants to Israel, Aroia and Norris (2000) find that males had a higher rate of resiliency compared to females. In addition to that, Ghaffarian (1998) find that Iranian male immigrants to the United States had higher levels of resiliency. It can be explained by that women have a higher level of difficult emotions such as loneliness than men. Specifically examining gender differences in psychological distress among immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Aroian et al. (2003) also find that women had higher distress than men.

Annual Income

Having a higher income may bring the overall stress level down, increasing the resiliency of immigrant individuals. Having income offers a sense of fulfillment and usefulness as well as providing basic needs for food and protecting for immigrants (Hosseini, 2015).

Education Level

The level of education might also play a significant role affecting the resiliency of an immigrant individual. The findings about the education level is contradictory in literature. While Hosseini (2015) finds no support for education leads to higher levels of resilience, Aroian et al. (2003) finds that education increases the psychological resiliency, but only for women in their study. In another study of Russian immigrants to Israel, Aroian and Norris (2000) find that college education decreased the overall depression level of immigrants compared who did not finish their college education. Examining parental education of undocumented Latino students, Perez et al. (2009) find that individuals whom their parents had lower levels of education showed a lower level of academic success.

Years Lived in U.S

The majority of literature found that years lived in the host country increases one's

resiliency. Examining both male and female Soviet Union immigrants to the US, Aroian et al. (2003) find that years lived in US decreases overall distress level, indicating higher levels of resilience. Examining Iranian immigrants to Australia, Hosseini (2015) also finds that the duration of residence in the host country decreases the possibility of having psychological problems. Aroian and Norris (2000) also finds that years in the host country is positively associated with a higher level of resiliency.

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of all variables used in the models are presented at Table 3.1. The mean of respondents' ages is within the bracket of 25-34. More than half of the sample (56%) are males. The average annual income in the sample was around between \$20,000 and \$49,999. As it can be seen in Table 3.1, the education level of the participants averaged around 2-year college degree and average years lived in US for the immigrants were more than 10 years.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA)	335	112.8	19.03	47	145
Resilience Scale	335	134.6	24.32	71	175
NAE Cities Index	335	2.708	0.261	1.950	2.950
Unemployment Rate	335	5.987	0.780	4.360	6.630
% of Democrat votes in 2016	335	57.15	5.771	43.45	66.26
Age	335	3.128	0.947	1	6
Male	335	0.567	0.496	0	1
Annual Income	335	3.179	1.091	1	5
Education Level	335	4.107	1.302	1	7
Years lived in US	335	3.722	0.673	1	4

Table 3.2: Correlation Matrix of All Variables in Analysis

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Resilience Scale for Adults	1.000									
(2) Resilience Scale	0.758	1.000								
(3) NAE Cities Index	-0.084	-0.011	1.000							
(4) Unemployment Rate	0.049	0.083	0.520	1.000						
(5) % of Democrat votes in 2016	-0.105	-0.091	0.015	-0.705	1.000					
(6) Age	0.054	0.140	0.120	0.115	-0.106	1.000				
(7) Male	-0.022	-0.077	-0.094	-0.079	0.052	0.068	1.000			
(8) Annual Income	0.135	0.150	-0.034	0.104	-0.109	0.256	0.039	1.000		
(9) Education Level	0.036	-0.002	-0.040	-0.008	-0.012	0.156	0.119	0.341	1.000	
(10) Years lived in US	-0.010	0.005	-0.000	0.028	-0.061	0.019	-0.074	0.097	-0.120	1.000

The mean score for Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA) is 112.8, suggesting that on average, participants reported relatively higher psychological resilience. Similar to that, the mean score of Resilience Scale (RS) is 134.6, suggesting that participants reported slightly moderate psychological resiliency for this scale.

Table 3.2 displays the correlation matrix of all variables used in the analysis. There is no susceptible case of multicollinearity between the variables (two dependent variables are never used in the same model). The highest correlation is between *% of Democrat Votes in the 2016 presidential election* and *unemployment rate* by the value of $-.71$.

Results

Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA)

Table 3.3 presents the results of ordinary least squares regression models testing the effect of three city characteristic variables (the NAE Cities Index, unemployment rate, and % of Democrat votes in 2016 presidential election) and a set of control variables on the resiliency of Latino immigrants. Four models were developed. The results showed that models have considerably improved with the full model, as the full model giving the most explanatory power in explaining the variance of resiliency. Although the R-squared is $.028$ in the first model, it improved to be $.36$ in the final model. The first model tests the first hypothesis and includes the *NAE Cities Index* as a predictor of psychological resiliency. Results suggests that is a significant predictor of the resiliency. On average, one unit increase in the *NAE Cities Index* of a city that individual lives in, it is expected to see a reduction on resiliency of Latino immigrants by -6.4 , controlling for the effect of other variables. The second model includes the *unemployment rate* as predictor variable. As the results show that there is a positive relationship between unemployment rate and resiliency, but it is not statistically significant. The third model includes

% of Democrat Votes in 2016 as a predictor of the resiliency. Although the relationship is negative, it is not statistically significant.

Table 3.3: OLS Regression Analysis for Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
NAE Cities Index	-6.392* (2.974)			-8.611*** (0.604)
Unemployment Rate		0.766 (1.085)		1.498*** (0.184)
% of Democrat votes in 2016			-0.298 (0.154)	-0.146** (0.039)
Age	0.724 (1.292)	0.401 (1.398)	0.306 (1.410)	0.607 (1.356)
Male (1=Male)	-1.433 (1.828)	-1.001 (1.766)	-0.907 (1.767)	-1.256 (1.776)
Annual Income	2.327* (0.868)	2.360* (0.853)	2.268** (0.810)	2.123* (0.901)
Education Level	-0.262 (0.547)	-0.198 (0.521)	-0.191 (0.499)	-0.222 (0.547)
Years in US	-0.814 (1.558)	-0.796 (1.587)	-0.903 (1.563)	-0.884 (1.569)
Constant	125.340*** (8.999)	103.774*** (3.943)	126.328*** (13.856)	131.736*** (9.053)
Observations	335	335	335	335
R-squared	0.028	0.021	0.028	0.036

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The fourth and final model includes all independent variables to their impact on psychological resiliency at the same time. As results indicate, all three independent variables are significant predictor of psychological resiliency. On average, one unit increase in the NAE Cities Index of a city individual lives in, it is expected to see a reduction on resiliency of Latino immigrants by 8.6, controlling for the effect of other variables. With one unit increase in the

unemployment rate in a city, resiliency of Latino immigrants is expected to increase by 1.5, controlling the effect of other variables. And finally; on average, with one unit increase in percentage of Democrat votes in 2016 presidential elections, the resiliency of Latino immigrants is expected to decrease 0.1, controlling for the effect of other variables. Among control variables, only annual income was significant across all models, having a positive relationship with resiliency of Latino immigrants.

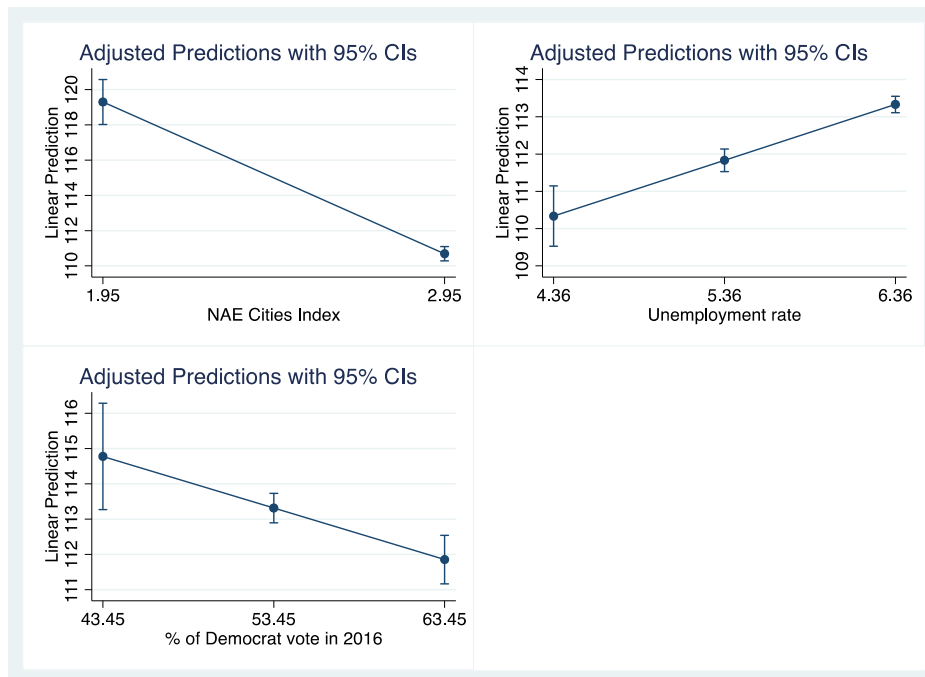


Figure 3.1: Marginal effects of NAE Cities Index, unemployment rate, and % of Democrat votes in 2016 elections on the Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA)

Figure 3.1 displays the graphical description of the marginal effects of the NAE Cities Index, the unemployment rate, and % of Democrat votes in 2016 on the Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA). The first graph on top left shows that as the NAE Cities Index (immigration-friendliness index) increases by one unit, the resiliency index score of Latino immigrants tends to decrease from 119.3 to 110.7. In other words, a positive one unit increase in Latino immigrant individual's city's immigration-friendliness index of a city will lead to a decrease of 7.21% on his/her cumulative resiliency score. The graph on top right shows that as the unemployment rate

of a city increase from minimum to maximum or two percent in our case, the resiliency index score of Latino immigrants tends to increase from 110.3 to 113.3. It shows that, a positive 2% increase in a Latino immigrant’s city’s unemployment rate will lead to a decrease of 2.72% on his/her cumulative resiliency score. The bottom graph shows the marginal impact of the percentage of Democrat votes in 2016 presidential elections on the RSA. As the percentage of Democrat votes increase %20 in a given city, the resiliency is expected to decrease from 114.8 to 111.9. In other words, a positive 20% change in a Latino immigrant’s city’s democratic party vote share in the 2016 Presidential election, it will lead to a decrease of 2.53% on his/her cumulative resiliency score.

Table 3.4 presents the results of difference of means for the cumulative Resiliency Scale for Adults (RSA) index of Latino immigrants among the cities with highest and lowest of each independent variable: the NAE Cities Index, the unemployment rate, and % of Democrat Party votes in 2016 presidential election respectively. The difference of means in RSA index of Latino immigrants between individuals who live in Fort Worth (lowest NAE Cities Index score) and the individuals who live in Houston (highest NAE Cities Index score) is different from 0. In addition to that, the difference of means in RSA index of Latino immigrants between the individuals who live in Fort Worth (the lowest % of Democrat party votes) and individuals who live in Austin (the highest % of Democrat party votes) is different from 0.

Table 3.4: Difference of Means for each Independent Variable (RSA)

City	Obs	Mean	Std. Error	Std. Dev	95% Conf. Interval	
NAE Index						
Fort Worth	21	121.33	3.17	14.53	114.72	127.95
Houston	112	112.27	1.89	20.02	108.52	116.02
Difference		9.07	4.59		-.01	18.14
t = 1.98		Degrees of freedom = 131			Pr(T > t) = 0.05	

(table continues)

City	Obs	Mean	Std. Error	Std. Dev	95% Conf. Interval	
Unemployment Rate						
Austin	54	109.11	2.63	19.30	103.85	114.38
Houston	112	112.27	1.89	20.02	108.52	116.02
Difference		-3.16	3.28		-9.63	3.32
t = -0.96		Degrees of freedom = 164			Pr(T > t) = 0.34	
Percentage of Democrat Votes in 2016 Presidential Election						
Fort Worth	21	121.33	3.17	14.53	114.72	127.95
Austin	54	109.11	2.63	19.30	103.85	114.38
Difference		12.22	4.66		2.94	21.51
t = 2.62		Degrees of freedom = 73			Pr(T > t) = 0.01	

Resilience Scale (RS)

Table 3.5 presents the results of ordinary least squares regression models testing the effect of the three city characteristic variables (the NAE Cities Index, the unemployment rate, and % of Democrat votes in 2016 presidential election) and a set of control variables on the resiliency of Latino immigrants measured by Resilience Scale (G. M. Wagnild & Young, 1993). Four models were developed, where the final model tested the impact of all three independent variables at the same. The results showed that models have considerably improved with the full model, as the full model giving the most explanatory power in explaining the variance in resiliency of Latino immigrants. Although R squared is .046 in the first model, it improved to be .052 in the final model. In the first three models, where each of my main independent variables are tested; they were found to be not significant predictor of the resiliency of Latino immigrants. However, in the final model; the NAE Cities Index and unemployment rate was significant predictors of resiliency of Latino immigrants. On average, one unit increase in the NAE Cities Index is expected to decrease the resiliency of Latino immigrants by 7.7, controlling for the effect of other variables. In addition to that, on average, one unit increase in the unemployment

rate of the city that individual lives will increase the resiliency of Latino immigrants by 3.03, controlling for the effect of other variables. Among the control variables, age was positively associated with resilience and significant in models 1 and 4. Being a male was negatively associated with resilience and significant in all models. As the results suggests, annual income was positively associated with resiliency and significant just for the first three models. Finally, findings suggest that as the education level increases, the resiliency of Latino immigrants decrease, and that relationship is significant for all model

Table 3.5: OLS Regression Analysis for Resilience Scale (RS)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
NAE Cities Index	-2.963 (2.137)			-7.662*** (0.780)
Unemployment rate		1.530 (0.986)		3.029*** (0.336)
% of Democrat votes in 2016			-0.262 (0.128)	0.034 (0.034)
Age	3.162* (1.397)	2.912 (1.470)	2.901 (1.473)	3.111* (1.421)
Male	-4.337** (1.205)	-3.982** (1.214)	-4.013** (1.239)	-4.204** (1.165)
Annual Income	3.231* (1.409)	3.165* (1.468)	3.144* (1.437)	2.976 (1.540)
Education Level	-1.201* (0.475)	-1.138* (0.494)	-1.156* (0.481)	-1.150* (0.509)
Years in the United States	-0.923 (2.110)	-0.921 (2.065)	-1.010 (2.044)	-0.943 (2.101)
Constant	133.249*** (8.214)	116.586*** (6.093)	141.229*** (16.166)	126.679*** (11.100)
Observations	335	335	335	335
R-squared	0.046	0.047	0.049	0.052

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3.2 displays the graphical description of the marginal effects of the NAE Cities Index and the unemployment rate on the Resilience Scale (RS). The first graph on the left shows that as a Latino immigrant's city's NAE Cities Index increases by 1 unit, the resiliency index score of Latino immigrants tends to decrease from 140.4 to 132.7 with a decrease of 5.48%. The second graph on the right shows that as unemployment rate increases by two percent, the resiliency is expected to increase from 129.6 to 135.7 with an increase of 4.71%. In other words, a positive 2% increase in a Latino immigrant's city's unemployment rate will lead to a decrease of 4.71% on his/her cumulative resiliency score.

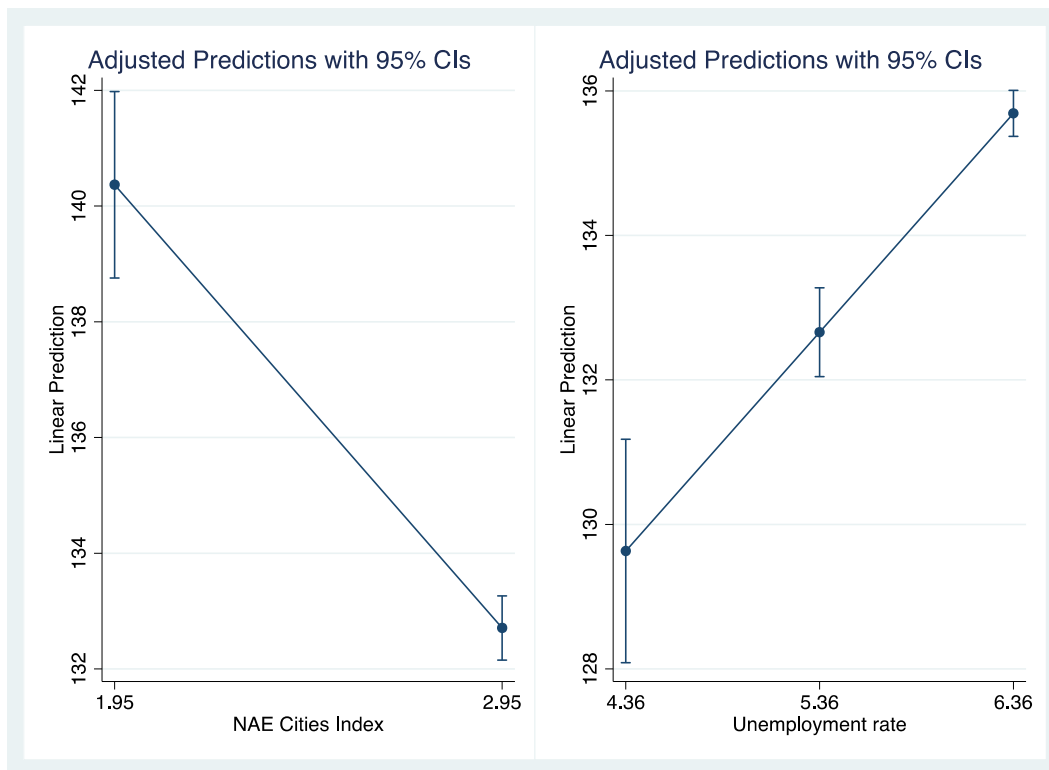


Figure 3.2: Marginal effects of NAE Cities Index and unemployment rate on the Resilience Scale (RS)

Table 3.6 presents the results of difference of means for the cumulative Resilience Scale (RS) index of Latino immigrants among the cities with highest and lowest of each independent variable: the NAE Cities Index, unemployment rate, and % of Democrat Party votes in 2016

presidential election respectively. The difference of means in RS index between different groups of cities is not different from 0 in all three analyses.

Table 3.6: Difference of Means for each Independent Variable (RS)

City	Obs	Mean	Std. Error	Std. Dev	95% Conf. Interval	
NAE Index						
Fort Worth	21	139.43	4.09	18.75	130.90	Fort Worth
Houston	112	135.49	2.41	25.47	130.72	Houston
Difference		3.94	5.84		-7.62	Difference
t = 0.67		Degrees of freedom = 131			Pr(T > t) = 0.50	
Unemployment Rate						
Austin	54	129.22	3.32	24.42	122.56	Austin
Houston	112	135.49	2.41	25.47	130.72	Houston
Difference		-6.27	4.16		-14.49	Difference
t = -1.51		Degrees of freedom = 164			Pr(T > t) = 0.13	
Percentage of Democrat Votes in 2016 Presidential Election						
Fort Worth	21	139.43	4.09	18.75	130.90	Fort Worth
Austin	54	129.22	3.32	24.42	122.56	Austin
Difference		10.21	5.92		-1.58	Difference
t = 1.73		Degrees of freedom = 73			Pr(T > t) = 0.08	

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to understand the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants in the United States across cities with different context variables: immigration-friendliness index, the unemployment rate, and the percentage of Democrat party voters in the 2016 presidential election. More specifically, it measured the impact of immigration-friendliness index, unemployment rate, and the political ideology of a city on the resiliency of Latino immigrants. Although resiliency has been studied with individual level variables such as gender, income, educational attainment, social cohesion etc., there has not been any empirical study to perform cross-city comparisons of resiliency considering the city level variables. By using responsiveness theory, labor markets theory, and ideology theory and drawing upon the previous research on resiliency, this study made an argument that Latino immigrants would report higher resiliency in cities which had a higher immigration-friendliness index, lower unemployment rate, and higher Democrat Party presence.

Psychological resiliency of immigrant populations has been studied extensively in the literature. However, most of the studies focused on the individual level variables such as age, gender, income, and education status. However, it is important to understand the effect of the city's characteristics on the psychological resiliency of immigrant groups. Immigrant groups and refugees are highly dependent on the governmental services due to their dire conditions when compared to local individuals. For local governments, integration of immigrant groups is highly important since they are human capital which have potential to contribute to betterment of the community. Local governments may promote the collaboration with non-governmental actors on

immigration issue to increase “assisted integration” (Bernard, 1967). This will lead to a higher chance of success in terms of immigrant or refugee integration.

The first hypothesis suggested that individuals living a city with a higher NAE Cities Index would report higher resiliency compared to individuals living a city with a lower NAE Cities Index. In other words, the level of immigration-friendliness in a city is positively associated with Latino immigrants’ resiliency. The findings are the opposite. The findings showed that resiliency of Latino immigrants actually decreased when the NAE Cities Index has increased for their city. There are several reasons why resiliency of Latino immigrants has decreased when they were in a more immigration-friendly jurisdiction.

First, this relationship can be explained by the dependency theory. Dependency theory is an economic underdevelopment theory that posits poor countries in the periphery of the world economy would not develop as long as they remained peripheral to developed countries if they keep exporting either raw material or cheap human labor (Velasco, 2002). In public administration context, dependency denotes to an entity which is highly dependent on other entities to survive. For example, local governments may be fiscally dependent on the state and federal governments, which may be alarming for the health of local government (Lovell, 1981). Similar to that, immigrants whose needs are satisfied by local government may report lower resiliency due to lack of stressors. In a jurisdiction where local government takes all responsibility to care for immigrants, immigrants find themselves in an environment where the threats are not present, thereof not needing to use their coping skills. Since the resilience is a skill of adaptability to cope with stressors in a new environment, in the absence of those stressors the resilience itself cannot be formed. Resilience is inferred from the interaction of both the risk and protective factors (Morote et al., 2017). This is consistent with the definition of resilience in the

literature. Resiliency is better conceptualized as an adaptability or process rather than the outcome and it is a measure of adaptability rather than stability (Norris et al., 2008). Probably, this trend can be seen when Latino immigrants reported higher resiliency than U.S. born Latinos (Alegría et al., 2008; Bender & Castro, 2000; Heilemann et al., 2002).

Second, since the immigration friendly cities are more attractive for less resilient immigrants, it can be postulated that they heavily populate the city instead of more resilient immigrants. With the immigration is being a hot debate nationwide, immigration friendly cities are becoming more significant for immigrants. There has been a significant increase in those individuals who name immigration as the most important problem facing this country today (Newport, 2018). Especially with the latest presidential election, the issue of immigration has drawn attention more than before. More specifically, policies affecting undocumented immigrants, deportations, the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act), and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals have been the key issues in the social and mass media (Alamillo, Haynes, & Madrid Jr, 2019). During his campaign and presidency, Donald Trump pledged to increase anti-immigrant policies for undocumented immigrants, give more resources to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and construct a wall at the US-Mexico border (DelReal, 2016). In order to avoid the restrictive policies of the federal government, Latino immigrants may prefer living in relatively immigrant-friendly cities. Especially undocumented immigrants are expected to live in big metropolitan areas. Although this research did not utilize the documentation status for Latino immigrants, future studies should include both documented and undocumented Latino immigrants to measure their resiliency for both groups. But, the majority of the United States' 10.7 million undocumented immigrants live

in metropolitan areas such as Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, and Los Angeles (Passel & Cohn, 2019).

The second hypothesis suggested that the resiliency of Latino immigrants was expected to be lower, when the city had higher unemployment rate. However, the relationship was vice versa and significant. As the city's unemployment rate increased, the resiliency of Latino immigrants in that city also increased and the relationship was statistically significant. There are several reasons why unemployment rate had a positive effect on the resiliency of Latino immigrants.

First, there is a need to differentiate between those who are employed and unemployed in these cities with higher unemployment rates. The Great Recession had severe impact on the employment prospects for Latino immigrants (Kochhar, 2009). The unemployment rate for foreign-born Latinos has increased from 5.1% to 8.0 from 2007 to 2008. After nearly ten years, the employment prospects of Latino immigrants have improved considerably. According to Pew Research Center, the unemployment rate for Latinos in the United States is at historic low since the Great Recession (Kochhar & Krogstad, 2017). And this trend is consistent with for all foreign-born individuals. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the unemployment rate for foreign-born persons in the United States fell from 4.1% in 2017 to 3.5% in 2018 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). This shows that the decreasing rate of unemployment for foreign-born individuals were greater than native-born individuals. One reason might be the wage differentiation between immigrants and natives. Since the majority of immigrants work for lower wage compared to the natives, it might be easier for them to find jobs that require lower skills. Although we expect a higher unemployment rate of a city is associated with lower resiliency of Latino immigrants, the finding shows that vice versa. This shows the possibility of that Latino

immigrants are not the ones who are unemployed. Especially after the Great Recession, it can be seen that Latino immigrants managed to gain jobs even though there has been a significant amount of drop in wages (Kochhar, Espinoza, & Hinze-Pifer, 2010).

Second, it is the question of whether local governments desire immigrants to improve their economic resilience by utilizing the relatively cheap labor supply. In this study, the labor market theory assumed that immigration whether documented or undocumented will have a negative impact on the low-skilled natives by depressing wages. And the attitude of natives towards immigration has always been shaped by this argument and lead to promotion of more restrictive immigration policies (Bahcekapili & Cetin, 2015). On the other hand, classical economics theory suggests that immigration benefits the host entity because it subsidizes the labor supply and create more economic surplus (Nadadur, 2009). Moreover, inclusion of immigrants in all segments of labor force may not necessarily lower the income of natives, because immigrants would perform jobs that no US worker will fill otherwise. (Card, 2005; Lerman & Schmidt, 1999). In addition to that, native workers are seeking jobs in the primary sector where higher skills are required and higher wages provided; whereas immigrants are more leaning towards to secondary sector where wages and chances of internal promotion is low. In the light of this labor-market theory, a city with higher unemployment rate could be appealing for immigrants by increasing job prospects. However, there are some methodological issues to test this theory scientifically. Although literature showed that local labor market outcomes are not affected by migration movements, a pure cross-city research design has its own inherent limitation due to higher intercity mobility of people, capital, goods and services (2005). To circumvent this inherent limitation, future research can utilize time-series data of unemployment rates and wages by including both native and foreign-born immigrants. It can also include the descendants of

those immigrants in this time-series analysis to understand whether there is an upward mobility between the primary sector and secondary sector of labor.

The most interesting finding of this study is related to the third hypothesis about the relationship between political ideology and resiliency of Latino immigrants. The third hypothesis suggested that the resiliency of Latino immigrants was more likely to be higher in cities where the percentage of Democrat Party votes is higher. A plethora of research showed that right-wing parties have legislated many anti-immigrant laws and policies by stating that immigration is detrimental to labor market for natives and crime rates (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Zaslove, 2004). Especially in the US, the Republican Party is known their stance against immigration friendly policies. Although Latino immigration to the US is not a recent phenomenon, new immigration policies, increased law enforcement, proposing a wall in the border, increased raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, and deportations led to a decrease in resiliency of Latino immigrants (Becerra et al., 2013). Only 22% of Latinos state that they approve of the way Trump is handling his job as president, while it is 38% for the general U.S. public (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Krogstad, 2018b). However, our findings showed that resiliency of Latino immigrants were lower where the percentage of Democratic Party votes were higher in the 2016 presidential election. This needs quite attention to understand why Latino immigrants are less resilient in cities where Democratic Party votes are higher.

This discrepancy might be due to expectancy disconfirmation theory. The expectation-disconfirmation theory has been used as an effective way to understand the gap between perceived performance and actual performance of government goods and services; and to develop an analytical framework to understand the citizen judgment/satisfaction in the governmental services (Van Ryzin, 2013). Originated from the study of consumer behavior

studies, the theory in public management asserts that the citizen's perception of urban goods and services quality is a personal value judgment of comparison between pre- and post-experience of the municipal goods and services. Therefore, the expectation prior to actual experience of goods and services are an element of consideration for an individual when it comes to make a statement about the performance of those goods and services. The difference between perceived/observed and actual performance is called disconfirmation, which has two possible outcomes (positive when performance exceeding expectations; negative when performance is less than expectations) (Van Ryzin, 2004). Whereas higher expectations create a negative disconfirmation resulting in less satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the performance, the higher performance create a positive disconfirmation resulting a higher contentment for the government goods and services. The reason for that Latino immigrants are less resilient in cities where percentage of Democratic party votes are higher might be due to this effect. Historically, Latino immigrants perceive Democratic Party has more concern for Hispanic/Latinos (Pew Research Center, 2018). According to Pew Research Center Survey in 2012, 61% of Latinos reported that Democratic Party had more concern for immigrants compared to 10% of Latinos preferred Republican Party. However, this trend has started to change. In 6 years from 2012, the percentage of Latinos perceived the Democratic Party as their advocate decreased by 13%, from 61% to 48%, while it increased to 14% from 10% for the Republican Party. This showed that the Democratic Party lost some ground in terms of support from Latino immigrants. And the anti-immigrant rhetoric of President Donald Trump did not produce gains among Latino voters for the Democratic Party (Edsall, 2019). Also, immigration status plays a significant role in party identification and voting patterns (Hawley, 2011). From labor market perspective, some of the documented immigrants may perceive incoming immigrants as a threat to their job security as natives once did. Future

studies utilizing a time-series analysis may show the different impact of immigration status on the party identification. Moreover, comparing different generations of immigrant families may reveal different patterns about the attitude of immigrants towards the immigration in the US.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The results of this study highlighted the importance of psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants in the United States by comparing different local government settings. Beginning in March 2011, the civil war in Syria had caused a rippling effect throughout the world by testing the attitude and capacity of developed countries on handling international immigration. Especially, 2016 presidential election in the United States brought the issue of immigration to the center of the debate popular than ever before. President Trump's stance and remarks on immigration, ICE raids, undocumented/illegal immigrants, deportations, families in the detention centers, debates over DREAM Act and DACA in the both mass media and social media necessitated the study of psychological resiliency of the largest ethnic group in the United States: Latino immigrants.

In this meantime, Latino immigrants have been exposed to different external stressors such as perceived discrimination, deportation for undocumented aliens, being stigmatized, and having low-skill jobs. Thus, started with "City of Refuge" resolution in San Francisco in 1985, the term "sanctuary cities" got more attention for Latino immigrants in the search of a better local government that is responsive to their needs (Bauder, 2017). Being sanctuary is often associated with prohibiting police organizations and city service agencies from requesting and dissemination immigration status information and denying cooperating with ICE and other federal agencies unless required by federal or state law (Filipcevic Cordes, 2017). More pressure from the federal government's restrictive policies, Latino immigrants had sought different cities and local governments to circumvent the restrictive policies of federal and state governments. However, there was a gap in the literature to test the differences in psychological resiliency

across cities with different socio-economic and political variables. Thus, this dissertation aimed to understand how the city-level variables affect the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants.

Given the findings of this research, local governments should be more responsive to the needs of the immigrants. More important than that, it should go beyond the rhetoric of “sanctuary cities” to actually provide better services for immigrants such as increasing health care access, and providing career advancement programs. Concordant with expectancy-disconfirmation theory this study finds Latino immigrants were less resilient in the cities with higher immigration friendliness index (NAE Cities Index). This discrepancy is due to the difference between the perceived performance vs actual performance. This shows that local governments should communicate their goods and services to Latino immigrants in a more effective way to overcome this disconfirmation.

In addition to that, local governments should closely monitor the risk factors for Latino immigrants. Especially the perceived discrimination, increased stigmatization of Latinos on the mass media, and hardships on healthcare and insurance may deteriorate the psychological well-being of Latino families and Latino youth. Maintenance of cultural rituals and spiritual life might act as cultural protective factors for Latino immigrants by supplementing their ethnic and cultural pride.

Contributions

This dissertation contributes to the literature by examining the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants in the lens of city-level variables: immigration-friendliness index, the unemployment rate, and the percentage of Democratic party voters in the 2016 presidential election. Most of the previous research on psychological resiliency adopted an individual level

perspective considering the individual level protective factors such as age, income, education, and family support. However, there is a lack of research on how the city level variables show variation in psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants. Giving the devolution of immigrant policies into local government, this research adds a new perspective and level to better understand the psychological resiliency of Latino immigrants.

More specifically, this research contributes to the literature by empirically testing the impact of being an immigrant friendly city or sanctuary city on the resiliency of an immigrant group. Sanctuary cities are described or examined narratively in the previous literature. However, this research puts the city-level variables in an empirical test to understand their impacts on the resiliency of Latino immigrants. In this sense, this research is important as it provides a new perspective in the resiliency literature.

It contributes to the responsiveness theory by examining the effectiveness of being responsive to the immigrant communities. The findings necessitate the further examination of satisfaction with government services by controlling the time and space variables of immigrant populations as the mobility between cities are high. Without time and space variables, it is difficult to determine if the immigrant-friendly cities are promoting resilience or just attracting the individuals who are less resilient. This study also provides a new insight on the labor markets theory whether the unemployment rate of a local government might be an advantage or disadvantage for the immigrant communities. A further examination related to wage brackets are needed to show if the immigrants are actually employed with little compensation in spite of the higher unemployment rate for the community. Finally, the findings about the ideology theory provide new insights on the satisfaction level of immigrant-friendly rhetoric of the Democrat Party.

It is important to understand the implications of a study in the practice of Public Administration. Public administrators should carefully assess the effectiveness of immigrant-friendly programs such as translation offices, job, and health services. A longitudinal analysis of service seekers is a more accurate way to assess the effectiveness immigration-friendly programs. In addition to that, leadership's role in establishing and maintaining a local office for the immigrant population might promote the resiliency by increasing the communication between public entity and the immigrant community.

Limitations

While the results of this study add to our understanding of resiliency of Latino immigrants in the light of city-level variables, this research is not without limitations. One of the limitations is about method of data collection. The resiliency data for Latino immigrant individuals were collected through the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) crowdsourcing platform. There have been many concerns on using the MTurk to recruit participants such as the questions of "Where do they live?" and "Do any of them have jobs?". However, different studies validated the use of MTurk by comparing its samples with nationwide samples (Clifford, Jewell, & Waggoner, 2015; Huff & Tingley, 2015). Replication of this study with different samples and different data collection method could be done to validate the findings provided in this study.

The second limitation is the inherent bias with the MTurk. The respondents on MTurk are the ones who have access to a computer/smartphone and internet. Therefore, individuals without internet access or knowledge of navigating through computer systems would be absent in the sample. Although this study did not utilize or ask the question of immigration status, MTurk users are expected to be documented immigrant due to registration process of MTurk as a worker

(respondent). Therefore, MTurk might not be suitable for a study about the immigration status or illegal immigration.

Third limitation is about the sample selection. The sample of this study is only limited to the five largest cities of Texas: Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. These five cities were purposively selected since they have the largest population of Latinos except the city of El Paso (American Community Survey, 2017). And these five cities were different in terms of immigration-friendliness index, the unemployment rate, and the percentage of Democrat party voters in the 2016 presidential election. However, it would be better to include participants from more cities with larger Latino populations. Moreover, cities of Democratic states (e.g. California) can be included to see the differentiation between blue and red states.

Finally, this dissertation uses cross-sectional data which contain information only at the same point of the time. However, the mobility between cities are higher nowadays. Therefore, the cities that are more immigration friendly may attract more Latino immigrants. The uncertainty related to time duration in the city creates an ambiguity whether the Latino immigrants enjoyed the benefits of services provided by local government and became more resilient or they just arrived to benefit from services to increase their already low resiliency. Longitudinal data of immigrants with their beginning and end point may reveal how they did better in terms of resiliency across the cities. Future studies should replicate this study with timestamps of arrival for Latino immigrants to measure the more reliable impact of the cities on the resiliency.

Future Research

This study shows a necessity for a further research on the resiliency of Latino immigrants. The question of how the local government variables affect the resiliency of the

Latino immigrant is important for local government. Local government and their leadership should have a better understanding of what type of factors promote the resiliency among the immigrant groups. Increased mobility across borders and increased number of immigrant populations pose a great challenge both for researchers and policymakers. Without successful integration of the immigrant communities into the society, the resiliency of the whole community is not viable and sustainable. The local government should focus on pre- and post-migration programs to promote general well-being of immigrant and refugee communities to increase their resilience.

Therefore, future research should consider assessing the resiliency of immigrant groups in a larger time period by using longitudinal method. By assessing the level of resilience before or after the migration experience may illustrate the actual change in one's resilience. Furthermore, future studies should focus on specific local government programs to measure its effectiveness in terms of the psychological resilience. These programs may include the non-governmental agencies' programs or the programs that are created out of the collaboration between different governmental and non-governmental actors. The importance of what defines a city as "immigration friendly" is another avenue for research. More clear guidelines and criteria can be created to assess or categorize cities in terms of their level of immigration-friendliness.

APPENDIX
IMMIGRANTS' VULNERABILITY IN DISASTERS

Immigrant populations pose great challenges for the emergency managers in terms of their vulnerability in disasters. For example, limited English proficiency decreases the resilience of these immigrant groups in the face of disasters (Peguero, 2008). The social vulnerability approach to disaster studies suggests that increasing the resilience of the immigrant groups can decrease this group's vulnerability in disasters (Uekusa & Matthewman, 2017). The resilience of immigrant groups in disasters are dependent upon many factors such as better access to health services, education about disaster preparedness, engagement between the key actors and the immigrant communities, and partnerships to increase self-sufficiency among the immigrant groups (Cuervo, Leopold, & Baron, 2017). These interactions between local authorities and immigrant groups may help the immigrants to overcome communication barriers and provide them information and resources to better cope with the risks associated with disasters.

Although literature mostly focuses on the weaknesses of being immigrant in the cycles of disasters such as language barriers and low socioeconomic status, a few studies showed that immigrant populations might have higher social capital to better cope with disasters compared to the native-born population (Yong, Lemyre, Pinsent, & Krewski, 2019). Communities with higher social capital and mutual trust among the members have a faster recovery period following a disaster (Aldrich & Sawada, 2015). This dissertation does not particularly investigate the immigrant populations' resilience in disasters. However, the emergency management perspective provides a test arena to measure the resiliency of immigrant populations in the face of disasters. It may also shed light on the effectiveness of the local government's efforts to integrate these groups into their system by comparing the immigrant groups and native groups in the before and aftermath of the disasters.

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