2020

Unorthodox Support: How Mentors of Undocumented Immigrant Students Leverage Community Cultural Wealth to Pave the Way for College Success

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Abstract

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This qualitative study explored the mentoring experiences of undocumented immigrant students (UIS) who have graduated from a four-year college or university in the United States. There has been an increase in research about undocumented immigrant students and there is an established body of literature about mentoring. However, there are few studies which focus on the mentoring of undocumented immigrant students. In addition, this study appears to be the first to focus primarily on the mentors of those students.

The literature review establishes the multiple challenges that UIS face and their need for sustained support from capable mentors. Further, a prior examination of secondary data revealed that mentoring programs do not explicitly address the needs of UIS. The mentoring literature offers positive youth development theory (PYD) as a potential lens for examining the mentoring that UIS receive. Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth theory (CCW) lends itself well to identifying the strengths of UIS and how their CCW becomes capital. Using the framework of CCW as it relates to UIS and the lens of PYD to explore the support that their mentors provide, this study sought to answer three questions:

1. What kinds of mentoring relationships and specific aspects of mentoring help immigrant and undocumented students in high school to go on to college and those in college to graduate?

2. How do mentors of undocumented immigrant students help their mentees identify assets, known as community cultural wealth (CCW), that may not align with the assets that are valued by the current education system?
3. How do mentors and mentees leverage the aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, resistance, and navigational capital, derived from CCW, in order to transition from high school to college and then to graduate from college?

UIS who graduated from a four-year college or university in the U.S. completed a questionnaire about their educational and mentoring experiences. They identified at least one mentor from their high school years and at least one mentor from their college years. Eighteen mentors agreed to participate in the study and answered semi-structured interview questions about their backgrounds, mentoring experiences, how their relationship with the UIS developed, and how they supported that student in high school or college.

The data provides the following findings: 1. Mentors and UIS developed relationships in institutionally-mediated contexts 2. Mentors in the high school context used specific approaches that were effective 3. Mentors identified CCW that UIS possess and helped them convert CCW to capital 4. Mentors helped UIS increase their CCW and capital by offering specific types of support. The study also found that mentors helped UIS develop the forms of capital that CCW promotes, plus two additional forms of capital that are identified as persistent capital and leadership capital. This occurred with specific forms of support from mentors, who overwhelmingly provided what one of the mentors called “unorthodox” support.

Analysis led to recommendations for educational institutions and mentoring programs to develop ways to explicitly support UIS. Since mentors are developing these relationships with UIS outside of structured programming, there are recommendations for mentors who may

discover that they are providing the majority of the support for UIS in their context. Suggestions for future research include the development of a theory to study mentoring of UIS, the educational and mentoring experiences of UIS who do not go to college, the role of peer mentoring on UIS, addressing the delay between high school graduation and college matriculation for some UIS, and further studies that explore the additional forms of capital and mentoring approaches that this study identified.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my favorite son, Shane and my favorite daughter, Samantha. You are my real life's work and my consideration in every choice I make. May you always take full advantage of your privilege as American born citizens and one day have a full understanding of what that truly means.

Acknowledgements

My journey in life began before I even knew I was on a journey and so I must begin by acknowledging my mother, Lorna Faith Kalawan McDonald, for making me the center of her life and her decisions from the very start. She made the difficult decision to leave our home country Jamaica for the promise of a better life in America. Her sacrifices and trials are similar to those of many immigrants but no less remarkable. As a result of her courage, my children and I now live in a place where opportunities are plenty and we can each pursue our dreams. She spent countless hours babysitting and helping with after-school pickup while I pursued a doctoral degree. I also recognize the sacrifices of Uncle Steve and Aunt Grace, who adjusted their lives when they moved to the U.S. with us. They worked hard during the early years when we all lived together in Los Angeles and I always had a safe and loving home because of them.

As I was drafting Chapter Four in late summer 2019, my father, Guilbert "Champy" Chin passed away. Although we were physically distant from each other for the past 40 years, our initial bond during my early years of life allowed me to always know him as "daddy". Perhaps more important than our relationship was the place he gave me in a very large and very loving family, most of whom also left Jamaica and became immigrants in America or Canada. Both of my parents connected me to a large extended family of Kalawans, Chins, Hues, and Jamiesons who have always made me feel loved, no matter how far away we are from each other. Prolonged distance from loved ones is the ongoing reality for immigrant families like mine.

There were many doctoral students and professors who took the time to speak to me and answer emails when I was exploring this path. Their stories, advice, and input helped to guide me in choosing a school and an advisor, and to navigate the purpose of this path.

In the five years that I've spent at Claremont Graduate University, I have been fortunate to learn from seasoned scholars and brilliant classmates. Dr. William Perez was featured on the School of Educational Studies website when I applied and I eagerly anticipated meeting him and working with him. His course, Education of Immigrant Youth: Psychological Perspectives, far exceeded my expectations and left me wanting to learn more. When I found the courage to ask him to supervise my first qualifying exam, and then to serve as my advisor and dissertation chair, my scholarly dream came true when he agreed. When he helped to launch the Allies of Dreamers certificate program at CGU, he and his colleagues led the classes that shaped the topic of this dissertation. I am deeply grateful for his example of immigrant brilliance, humility, scholarship, activism, and mentorship.

My first advisor at CGU, Dr. Susan Paik, offered simple yet powerful advice that helped me to steer myself along a new career path. Her research methods course is one of the most rigorous courses I have ever taken and provided the foundation for this dissertation. Dr. Roberta Espinoza's work influenced this dissertation in multiple ways. Her notion of "pivotal moments" provided a lens to view the efforts that mentors in this study made. She also provided hours of insight that helped me to develop the findings in meaningful ways. Dr. Gilda Ochoa inspired me with the fresh energy that she brings to her course Chicano/as and Latino/as and Education. In that course, she introduced me to Yosso's community cultural wealth theory and more Latinx and Chicanx history than I had learned in all my years of schooling. I am grateful for the sociological lens that she and Dr. Espinoza provided.

My growth as a scholar was further enhanced by the professional experience I gained in the Teacher Education program at CGU. Every staff member enriched my experience but I want to especially thank Nicolle Flores, Dr. DeLacy Ganley, and Eddie Partida for entrusting me to

guide a new generation of K-12 teachers. Being part of the Teacher Education team gave me the opportunity to mentor new teachers and to make a positive impact on today's young people.

I learned to connect with scholars outside of CGU and there were several people who shared their time and work with me so that I could increase my knowledge of both mentoring and undocumented students. Dr. Torie Weiston-Serdan introduced me to the world of formal mentoring, the MENTOR organization, and the possibilities that exist within mentoring. Dr. Marisol Clark-Ibañez and Dr. Carolina Valdivia allowed me to work on their UndocuScholars project, which taught me even more about qualitative research and working with the undocumented community, and connected me to scholars who do similar research. Dr. Luciano Berardi discussed his work with me and gave me permission to adapt one of his tools for this study.

I am also fortunate to engage in academic struggle with some brilliant peers. Andre ChenFeng and Samara Sua'foa helped me to make sense of theoretical frameworks, methods, and research questions. Together we co-constructed knowledge during intense writing sessions as the Critical Scholars of Color. Christine Snyder, Kasey Matthews, and David Grant were always available for regular check-ins during that final year of the dissertation phase that would have been much lonelier without them.

While I was in the midst of writing Chapter Four, the principal investigators of the CSULB BUILD II program hired me to join their team. They have supported my efforts and checked on my progress every week over the eight months that I spent drafting the last two chapters.

Finally, I am extremely grateful for the participants in this study. The undocumented college graduates shared their mentoring experiences and connected me to their mentors. Two of

them also provided valuable feedback when I was developing the questionnaire and interview protocol. The mentors, many of whom did not know me prior to the study, made time to talk to me about their lives and the students they mentored. It has been humbling to capture a small part of their stories and to receive their permission to share those stories. Their courage in the face of extreme adversity inspired and fueled this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

As of July 2014, the American Community Survey released by the U.S. Census Bureau, estimates that 23.9% of children ages three and older who are enrolled in grades K-8 are foreign-born. This means that a significant number of young students in American schools are immigrants. A Migration Policy Institute report provides more data about the foreign-born population in the United States, based on the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and Decennial Census (Zong & Batalova, 2017). The 2015 estimate is that 27.3% or 10,688,336 California residents were born in a country outside of the U.S. This is an increase from the 1990 numbers which indicated that 21.7% or 6,458,825 California residents were foreign born. Furthermore, 50.3% or 5,374,200 of the foreign-born population are not U.S. citizens.

The data about children shows that 51.6% or 3,003,716 of those between the ages of 6-17 have one or more parents who is foreign-born. That number has increased from 38.7% in 1990 to 46.9% in 2000. Of the children who have one or more foreign-born parent, 60.1% or 2,310,911 are from low-income families[1]. While 31.4% of foreign-born adults in California holds a Bachelor's degree or higher, 71.5% of them hold less than a high school diploma. The data suggests that immigrants make up a significant portion of the U.S. population. It also indicates that many immigrants have low socio-economic status, and lack the education that can provide more options to improve their financial status.

Estimates show that approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants live in the United States (Fortuny, Capps, & Passel, 2007). Of that number, about 19%, or 2.1 million, are children (Gonzales, 2011). Under Plyler v. Doe, all children have the right to free public

[1] Low-income families are defined as those with an annual income below 200% of the federal poverty level

education in grades K-12 regardless of their immigration status. However, there are no current permanent laws that allow all of those students to pursue higher education. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, enacted by former President Obama in 2012, provides access to higher education for students who meet specific criteria. The criteria include arrival during a certain time period, graduation from a U.S. high school, and an age limit. DACA provides only a temporary solution for those who qualify and is not available to all undocumented immigrant students. In addition, DACA exists in limbo under the current Trump administration, which is seeking to end the program. Goldin and Katz (2009) highlight the importance of education and the growing need to obtain a college degree in order to achieve economic and social mobility. Yet undocumented immigrant students face legal barriers which prevent them from pursuing college degrees that can aid in their mobility.

While one solution is for them to change their legal status from undocumented to documented, the current pathways to legal status are either difficult to navigate or are simply non-existent for some undocumented immigrants. Some legal status options even stipulate educational achievement but undocumented students and adults have very limited access to higher education.

In addition, undocumented immigrants face other barriers to pursuing higher education. Some students receive poor academic preparation and/or have limited English proficiency which prevent them from meeting college eligibility requirements. Other barriers include high tuition costs, low socio-economic status, and few financial aid or scholarship options (Perez, 2012). Many are also the first generation in their families to go to college. This means that their families cannot provide them with guidance concerning college admissions, financing, or matriculation.

Although approximately one-third of immigrant adults have at least a Bachelor's degree,

the vast majority have not completed high school. In addition, approximately one-half of school-aged children live with one or more immigrant parents, and well over half of those households fall into the low-income category. It is important to take steps to improve the economic status of immigrant families and their children so that they may thrive and make continued contributions to the larger society. To ensure that the current and future generations of immigrants thrive, one solution is to increase their access to college and support them in degree attainment.

There are undocumented immigrant students who navigated the current barriers and overcame multiple challenges in their pursuit of higher education. Some studies explore the impact that mentors have on the academic achievement of students who face significant challenges. Grossman and Tierney (1998) provided early evidence that a formal mentoring program like Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS) leads to positive outcomes for the youth who participate. A 2011 report from the Institute for Higher Education Policy notes the benefits of informal mentoring relationships that develop in educational spaces. In particular, those relationships provide support that helps students persist in their college education. To date, however, there has been no research that focuses primarily on the mentoring experiences of undocumented immigrant students who graduate from college. Furthermore, there are no studies which take a close look at the mentors themselves and the ways that they supported undocumented immigrant students during their academic journey.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold: 1. To identify the mentors and types of mentoring relationships that support undocumented immigrant students on their pathway to and through college and 2. To examine the mindsets of those mentors and the strategies they use to support

those students. The study examined the guidance that current undocumented immigrant students use in their pursuit of, and transition to, higher education at four-year institutions.

Undocumented immigrant students may come from low socio-economic backgrounds, belong to a racial or ethnic minority group, and/or are the first generation in their families to attend college. Previous studies show that they use a variety of resources to learn about college preparation, application, and matriculation (Cebulko, 2015; Clark-Ibañez, 2015; Gamez, Lopez, & Overton, 2017). To increase college accessibility and college completion among undocumented immigrant students, scholars can examine the ways in which mentors emerge as valuable supporters of these students.

Significance of the Study

Approximately half of undocumented immigrants are categorized as Latinx. Therefore, it is important to frame the significance of this study using scholarly work that addresses Latinx students. Oseguera, Locks, and Vega (2009) focus on retention of Latino students in higher education institutions. They point to statistics which indicate that while Latinos are expected to exceed 20% of U.S. children under 18 by 2020, they continue to graduate from college at lower rates than other racial/ethnic groups. Oseguera et al. emphasize the need to re-focus attention on the support that these students need in order for them to remain in college and graduate with bachelor's degrees.

The current study focuses on support in the form of mentoring and acknowledges that a large number of undocumented immigrant students are from Latinx backgrounds. Specifically, this study adds to the body of mentoring research by taking an in-depth look at the mentors themselves. Gamez, Lopez, and Overton (2017) found that undocumented immigrant students had to seek their own mentors at the institutional level and at the community level. This suggests

that our schools and society continue to push some students to the outer margins with few resources or opportunities for them to thrive. Therefore, there is a lack of mentoring for undocumented immigrant students and a need to develop explicit methods for supporting this population of students. Detailed input from the mentors of undocumented immigrant students can provide information about how these mentoring relationships are initiated, nurtured, and sustained during high school and college.

There is a lack of extensive research on the topic of mentoring for immigrant students but Oberoi (2016) notes that existing research allows scholars to examine the topics that warrant further study. In the report *Mentoring for First-Generation Immigrant and Refugee Youth*, Oberoi (2016) states that mentoring for first generation immigrant and refugee students may increase their "academic and school engagement" if that support addresses their unique needs (p.1). In addition, it is important to train these mentors so that they will know how to assist first generation immigrant and refugee students to navigate cultural changes. The report underscores that it is not clear who provides mentoring for these students and whether those mentors know how to provide the targeted support that the students need. This lack of clarity indicates the need for research about the mentors and their supportive methods.

Identifying the types of mentoring relationships that help immigrant and undocumented students transition to college and earn an undergraduate degree will allow schools, educators, community groups, formal mentoring programs, and the students themselves to seek, nurture, and leverage mentoring relationships. Mentors may also reveal additional resources that are necessary to support undocumented immigrant students in their pursuit of higher education. Therefore, the results of this study have the potential to inform recommendations for effective mentoring. Undocumented immigrant students represent a segment of the K-12 population that

will eventually join America's future adult workforce. Their education, opportunities for advancement, and contributions to society represent important investments.

Definition of Terms

The term "immigrant" in this study refers to anyone who was born in a country outside of the United States and now lives in the U.S. with the intention of making America their permanent home (Erisman & Looney, 2007). In this study, "undocumented" refers to those who did not have legal permission to reside permanently in America as defined by U.S. immigration policy during the time when they attended high school and/or college. Since there are frequent changes in U.S. immigration policy, it is possible for an undocumented immigrant student to gain legal status at any given time during their education. On the other hand, those same shifting policies also mean that an immigrant student who gains legal status at one point in time can become undocumented at a future point in time. In other words, immigrant students who do not have legal *permanent* resident status or U.S. *citizenship* status can experience multiple changes to their legal status, due to state and federal policies beyond their control. Therefore, this study will refer to "undocumented immigrant" students since all undocumented students are immigrants whose status is liminal and therefore subject to change based on changes in immigration policy. (Teranishi, R.T., Suarez-Orozco, C., & Suarez-Orozco, M., 2015).

"Mentoring" is used to describe the formal and informal relationships between capable adults and youth, who receive guidance to gain access to college and in some cases, to graduate from college (Institute for Higher Education Policy, 2011). Mentoring includes a sharing of knowledge and time that leads youth to the resources, skills, and networks which allow them to achieve their personal and educational goals. Formal mentoring typically follows "a structured and intentional approach" to providing guidance as part of a program (Institute for Higher

Education Policy, 2011, p.2). Informal mentoring exists outside, but not necessarily independent of, formal programs. This type of mentoring evolves from existing relationships that youth may have with educators, family members, community members, or other adults in leadership roles such as coaches and religious leaders.

Researcher Positionality

Like many qualitative researchers, my interest in this topic is tied to my personal experiences as an immigrant to the United States. I arrived in Los Angeles at the age of eleven in the summer of 1985 and began attending a Catholic school. Unlike some undocumented students, I was aware of my legal status and well-versed in the need to be silent about it. I never told any of my peers or teachers about my status and was relieved when I gained permanent residency during my junior year of high school.

It wasn't until many years later that I realized how the timing of my status change is what facilitated my path to college. Our low household income was established in state and federal tax returns which we filed even while we were undocumented. I received generous federal and state grants, along with university grants and scholarships that satisfied tuition and fees for four years of attendance at a University of California school. As a "green card" holder, I was able to easily find part-time jobs to offset transportation and other living costs. I was fortunate, but many undocumented students in K-12 remain undocumented when they graduate from high school. Immigrant students who remain undocumented when they graduate from high school face legal, financial, and institutional roadblocks to their pursuit of higher education and in making the transition to adult life.

My experience as a public-school teacher eventually led me to pursue a doctoral degree in Education. I have intentionally focused on the education experiences of immigrant youth in

the United States and the implications of public policy on their opportunities for advancement. Along this journey, I have had time to reflect on my own experiences and now view them through a variety of lenses by learning about the immigrant experiences of my peers.

However, it has been even more critical for me to understand that the immigrant experience is diverse and varied, partly due to national and cultural origin, and largely due to legal status. This led me to recognize some of the privileges that I experienced and to pay close attention to assumptions I inadvertently make about others' immigrant experiences. One advantage I had was that I arrived with full command of the English language. Although I had an accent, I was able to read, write, and speak according to the conventions of standard English. That language resource removed one of the academic hurdles that other immigrant students struggle to overcome when they enter American schools.

In addition, since I was the only child in our immigrant household, the adults made financial sacrifices so that I could attend a Catholic school that provided a solid college preparatory education. The advantage of my pre-college path was another form of privilege that some immigrant students do not experience. Rather, many of them attend schools that provide varying levels of college preparation. Reflecting on my positionality as I reviewed the literature about the education of immigrant youth, I discovered the importance of using a wider lens to approach the study of the immigrant education experience. That wider lens led me to consider factors such as linguistic, cultural, familial, educational, socio-economic, and legal backgrounds as I conducted research to identify the kind of mentoring support that benefits undocumented immigrant students.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Challenges faced by Immigrant and Undocumented Students

Immigrants face multiple challenges when adjusting to life in a new country. Those who enter schools in the United States encounter specific difficulties related to education. Difficulties may include tense interactions with peers, confusion about the pathway to college, and lack of academic preparation for college coursework. Cebulko (2014) uncovered several challenges which Brazilian immigrants face. She collected data by interviewing 42 Brazilian immigrants aged 18-25 who live in Boston. This age group is described as the 1.5 generation because they typically move to the U.S. between the ages of 9-13. When they arrive, they have experienced their home culture in memorable ways and then enter American culture at a critical age, when self-awareness becomes more prominent. This study highlights the ways in which their legal status interacts with their adjustment to American life and their transition to adulthood.

The participants in the study held a variety of legal statuses: U.S. citizenship, legal permanent residence (LPR), liminal legality (usually DACA recipients), and undocumented. There are several important findings in this study. One is that Brazilian immigrant students experience a "hierarchy" related to their legal status (Cebulko, 2014, p.152). In particular, the undocumented students are aware of how little they can participate in the typical rites of passage to adulthood, when compared to their peers with DACA, LPR, or citizenship. Rites of passage include obtaining a driver license, holding a part-time job in high school, attending college, and gaining full-time employment in desirable jobs. This hierarchical experience can lead to some Brazilian youth feeling "stigmatized" and even ostracized within their own ethnic groups and the larger American society (Cebulko, 2014, p.155).

Since the study focused on a small number of immigrant young adults from one country, the findings may not be generalizable to immigrant young adults from other parts of the world. However, the results contribute to the scholarship about immigrant youth by highlighting the experiences of those who are not Latinx. Cebulko's study is important because it reveals specific struggles that immigrant youth face. Mentors of these youth must be aware of these hardships in order to design support and resources that address these needs. Cebulko recommends that future studies of immigrant youth should focus on how legal status affects immigrant students' sense of belonging. Current research should probe for the ways that mentors can help immigrant students develop a strong sense of belonging in their ethnic communities and in the larger American culture.

American culture is embedded in structures that have been established in education. Valadez (2008) framed his study using structuration theory, which holds that structures are not separate from people since one's interaction with existing structures influences the decision-making process. He conducted an ethnographic study over 18 months to collect data about how 12 Mexican immigrant students make their post-graduation decisions. He found that their high school did not make information about college readily available for all students.

In addition, he stated that the immigrant students struggled to make sense of the various requirements involved in making college choices. Their struggle was compounded when they tried to explain the various processes to their parents. Financial aid was one process that produced confusion for both students and their families. Valadez (2008) also refers to "cultural constraints" in which students felt conflicted about leaving their families to attend college (p.846). Each of these factors had a final impact on whether the students decided to attend college, persist in college, take time off from school, or find a job instead of going to college.

Valadez (2008) concluded that the existing college-going structure interacts with immigrant students' cultural values in a way that produces a "dilemma" for the students (p.855). He explains the dilemma as the result of the students' limited connections to sources of information, along with their cultural beliefs which encouraged them to stay in close proximity to their families.

Valadez recommends that college counselors learn about the cultural values of their immigrant students so that they can address their concerns. In addition, he calls on community colleges to take a proactive approach with immigrant students, who often choose the two-year path due to affordability and proximity to their homes. Helping them prepare for community college and guiding them through the transfer process will help ensure that they will achieve the Bachelor's degree. This means that four-year colleges also need to provide guidance to immigrant students who will be part of the freshman and transfer classes.

Although the sample size was small, the length of the study increases its reliability. The findings highlight the importance of studying the ways that high school counselors and college staff disseminate information to immigrant students. This study points to a lack of guidance, which some students ultimately obtain through formal or informal mentors. Studying the kind of support that mentors provide will lead to useful recommendations for counselors and college staff who also play important roles in helping immigrant students gain access to college.

During K-12, lack of academic preparation for college is also a challenge for immigrant and undocumented students. Some of them need more time to develop academic proficiency in English but may be limited by the selection of classes available to students who are learning English. If they attend schools in underserved areas, many of the students, regardless of their

immigration status, are not receiving instruction that provides them with the academic skills to be successful in college (Erisman & Looney, 2007).

In their report *Opening the Door to the American Dream*, Erisman and Looney provide recommendations for policy changes and program improvements to serve immigrant students. Although they highlight a section about undocumented students, that population is not the focus of the report. In addition, recommendations for the *individuals* who hold key roles are outside the scope of their report and therefore were not included. Their report highlights deficiencies in the current educational systems and supports additional research to address those deficiencies.

Deficiencies also exist to a great extent at the college level. Valenzuela, Perez, Perez, Montiel and Chaparro (2015) describe the ways in which community colleges can increase their Institutional Undocu-Competence (IUC), a "framework to assess how well" two-year institutions address the needs of undocumented students (p.87). They outline the importance of training for faculty and staff, visible signs of support, purposeful recruitment, targeted financial aid campaigns, student-led organizations for undocumented students, training for physical and mental health providers to meet the needs of undocumented students, and establishing a culture that embraces them. Their recommendations address the specific needs of undocumented students and ways that two-year institutions can meet those needs. The current study will examine the ways in which *individuals* within institutions can implement some or all of their recommendations in their mentoring practices.

Importance of Support

Prior research emphasizes the importance of support for students from immigrant backgrounds. Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, and Martin (2009) captured several variables including "school-based supportive relationships" in their examination of data from the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study (p.726). The authors used mixed methods to examine

experiences of 309 immigrant students, aged nine to fourteen. The students were from Central America, China, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico. They all arrived in the U.S. within the five years before the study began. The authors also conducted interviews and enlisted the help of research assistants who could conduct the interviews in the participants' native languages.

The study measured two forms of support in the school setting: emotional support and a "supportive relationship" (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009, p.741). The authors triangulated the data by using both quantitative and qualitative measures which indicated that both forms of support were important. During interviews, immigrant students stressed the importance of the support that they received from adults such as teachers, in helping them adjust to the differences between the culture at school and the culture at home. They also indicated that the support they received helped them to feel more equipped to succeed in school.

The length of the study strengthens its findings because the researchers were able to track the students, their levels of support, and levels of success over a five-year period. In addition, the study included students from multiple countries and attempted to include equal numbers of students who were male and female. The results are more generalizable than the results of some previous studies which included fewer students and/or only represented one or two countries of origin. However, the study did not probe for the specific types of support that students used or whether or not those students made the successful transition from high school to college. Therefore, there is a need to identify the specific elements of support that help immigrant students make the successful transition from high school to college.

Another group of scholars used the Longitudinal Immigration Student Adaptation (LISA) study to examine the relationship between how Latin American immigrant students perceive the

kind of support they receive in school, with their level of engagement in their studies. Green, Rhodes, Heitler Hirsch, Suarez-Orozco, and Camic (2008) used three measures of engagement which they extracted from the LISA. They focused on the data for 76 students who were born in Mexico and 63 who were born in Central America. They analyzed measures over a three-year period and found that some students were more engaged, others were less engaged, and some had no change in their level of school engagement. They also noted that boys became less engaged in school over the time lapse but that girls became more engaged. In the case of the girls, their engagement in school was positively correlated to the amount of support that they received from adults at school. In addition, students reported varying amounts of support over time.

The LISA study used three methods of analysis to examine the relationship between support and engagement, which produced strong findings related to the mentoring of immigrant youth. Although the sample size is small relative to the much larger number of immigrant youth in the United States, multiple analytical measures gives it greater internal validity. The length of the study allowed the researchers to examine changes over time. While this is a strength of the study, it also means that the youth experienced rapid growth and change during that time. It is possible that there are other factors, besides support, which affected their engagement in school.

The results of this study are important because they show strong correlation between support from adults and immigrant students' engagement in school. This study reinforces that guidance from adults is critical to the academic success of immigrant students. Therefore, examining the kind of guidance that they receive should also produce meaningful data that can be applied to their sustained success in higher education.

As students move through the stages of adolescence and transition to higher education, their relationships with peers become more important. Choy, Horn, Nunez, and Chen (2000) focus on support from peers in their study of students whose parents did not attend college. Since some immigrant students are the first in their families to attend college, the findings of this study are applicable to this population. The authors used data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS) to examine the factors that increase the college attendance of students whose parents didn't go to college. They argue that three groups of people contribute to the increase: "parents, peers, and school personnel" (Choy et al., 2000, p.51). Of all three groups, friends had the most influence on whether or not these students went to college. When parents communicated with their children about college plans, those students also enrolled in college at higher rates. Finally, they found that students who were part of any outreach programs were twice as likely to go to college. They recommend that schools take a more active role in encouraging and guiding these students through the college going process.

Since their findings are based on a national longitudinal study, the findings have strong reliability and validity. However, the authors do not focus on specific details that affect how much parents, peers, or school personnel can provide needed guidance for college. In addition, there was no analysis based on gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status or legal status. This reveals that further research is needed to explore the nature and specific aspects of various relationships that help disadvantaged students gain access to college.

Recent work by Clark-Ibañez (2015) indicates that support is still critical for immigrant and undocumented students. Her book, *Undocumented Latino Youth: Navigating their Worlds*, examines the secondary and post-secondary experiences of California students who live in the North County of San Diego, southwest Riverside, and Palm Springs. She and a team of

researchers collected data between 2010-2013 using multiple methods. Methods included in-depth interviews, open-ended digital surveys, and auto-ethnographies by a teacher and a middle school program director.

Clark-Ibañez found that undocumented students relied on support from teachers and counselors in high school in order to learn about ways to access higher education. However, there were several areas in which advocates of undocumented students can focus their support. Those include: developing "safe space" for students to disclose their status, tailoring presentations about college to include options for undocumented students, understanding that advice can lead to many outcomes, steering students towards professional legal advisors, learning about alternate sources of financial aid, staying updated about issues affecting them, and believing that all students can go to college if they so desire (Clark-Ibañez, 2015, pp.104-105).

At the post-secondary level, Clark-Ibañez recommends an increase in visible support for undocumented students, organized student groups for them, and training for faculty and staff. The participants revealed that since many faculty and staff were unaware of undocumented students and their needs, they quickly learned to identify possible "advocates and mentors" on their college campuses (Clark-Ibañez, 2015, p.137). However, they largely lacked help with financial, academic, and career advice.

The proactive behavior on the part of educators that leads first generation students to the college pathway is an underlying theme in Roberta Espinoza's (2011) *Pivotal Moments: How Educators Can Put All Students on the Path to College.* In conducting her research, she spent many hours as a participant observer of high schools, outreach programs, and college functions. She also conducted over 200 interviews with students and education stakeholders. These in-depth methods allowed her to provide a rich description of what she calls "educational pivotal

moments" (Espinoza, 2011, p.4). Pivotal moments describe the specific actions that educators take to provide prolonged and specific guidance for working class and underrepresented students so that they graduate from high school and continue on to the college pathway. Her work provides an intriguing framework that stakeholders can implement to help underrepresented students become college graduates.

Espinoza (2011) calls upon individual educators and organizations to adopt a "pivotal moments" framework in which knowledgeable adults grasp opportunities to provide explicit, prolonged guidance for first generation students (p.4). She emphasizes that the earlier in their educational experience that students have pivotal moment encounters with mentors, the more likely they are to attend college. Her study focused on the importance of educators but did not include pivotal moment mentors who are not educators. This study will include mentors at the high school and college levels to describe the different types of mentoring that are effective for immigrant and undocumented students in each context.

A closer analysis of Chicano/a and Latino/a students in college reveals that several relationships play key roles in their pathway to college. In *The State of College Access and Completion* (Perna & Jones, Eds, 2013), Perna and Kurban author a chapter aimed at increasing access to college for Chicano/a and Latino/a students. Drawing upon previous studies, they note that although college enrollment increased during the twenty-year period from 1990-2010, Chicano/a and Latino/a students still enroll in college at lower rates than white students. They found that these students benefit from the support of their families and from the support of other adults who can provide them with the information and resources that they need to prepare for college. High school counselors may play a critical role in providing support but also tend to have more students than they can serve well. As a result, they found that outreach programs that

target students before college are a significant source of support for students who may not receive adequate support from their families or counselors. They note, however, that only a few of these programs offer long-term support in various contexts for underrepresented students. It is important to study which programs target underrepresented groups such as Chicano/as and Latino/as, since a large percentage of immigrant and undocumented students are part of this demographic. Based on data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) and Census 2000, approximately 57% of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. are from Mexico.

Further support for this research is found in a report sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics titled *Paving the Way to Postsecondary Education: K-12 Intervention Programs for Underrepresented Youth.* In the 2001 report, Gándara and Bial's methods included extensive literature reviews, surveys of State Higher Education Executive Officers, Council of Chief State School Officers, and the authors' own network of contacts. Their work included groups that operate as nonprofits, community groups, programs embedded in K-12 schools, along with those which are sponsored by the government and universities.

The authors found that the service which had the most significant impact on students was the opportunity to build a meaningful bond with an adult who understands the college going process and can guide the student along the way. This suggests that programs which include mentoring may be more successful in increasing college access for underrepresented students. In addition, successful programs tend to include rigorous academic preparation, lasted for several years (rather than a few weeks or months), incorporated students' backgrounds, helped students build relationships with peers who have similar goals, and provided financial aid assistance.

Need for Mentoring of Immigrant and Undocumented Students

Gándara (1995) found that half of the first and second-generation immigrants in her study who had successfully completed graduate school did not have mentors. Those who did have mentors usually named a family member, such as a sibling who had gone to college. Some did name a pivotal moment educator but this seemed to occur more at the college level than the high school level. This shows that there is a need to increase mentoring for high school students from immigrant backgrounds. Scholars should study mentoring in more depth by including rich data from the mentors themselves in order to provide recommendations for ways to increase mentoring for immigrant students in high school.

Perez (2014) argues that increasing access to higher education for undocumented students is critical since many proposed paths towards legal status stipulate educational attainment. He lists the lack of mentoring as one of the challenges that these students face in accessing higher education. The author also notes that in states where the immigrant and undocumented population has increased by as much as 200 percent, legislators and educators are responding slowly to their needs. He makes recommendations at the federal, state, and city levels as well as for high schools and higher education institutions.

At the federal level, Perez recommends providing undocumented immigrants with access to federal aid such as Pell grants and work study. At the state level, he encourages states to pass reforms to laws which will allow undocumented students to qualify for in-state tuition. At the community level, he believes that cities should serve families of undocumented students by helping them determine and gain eligibility for programs that will increase their earning power. Perez also recommends training for high school counselors so that they can provide better guidance for undocumented students to navigate their postsecondary options. At the same

time, he also sees the need for administrators and other higher education staff to undergo training and to work in cooperation with high schools. In states where the anti-immigrant sentiment is high, he also calls upon higher education institutions to set the example by admitting and supporting undocumented students. His work highlights the importance of providing targeted and explicit support for immigrant and undocumented students.

Oberoi and Garringer authored the 2016 report *Mentoring for First-Generation Immigrant and Refugee Youth.* The report draws upon existing research about mentoring young people from these backgrounds. The authors highlight the lack of extensive research on this topic but note that existing research allows scholars to examine the topics that warrant further study. The report states that mentoring for first generation immigrant and refugee students that addresses their unique needs, may increase their "academic and school engagement" (Oberoi & Garringer, 2016, p.1). In addition, mentors who serve these students need training to assist first generation immigrant and refugee students to navigate cultural changes.

An important finding in the report is that immigrant students need academic guidance from adults and peers outside of their families. However, the authors also note that these young people usually enter mentoring relationships by coincidence, rather than through a formal channel. There appears to be a need for more formal mentoring programs for immigrant and refugee youth. The authors recommend that mentoring organizations carefully consider the many cultural aspects that immigrant and refugee youth must navigate. They emphasize the impact that immigration status, especially undocumented status, can have on every aspect of these students' lives and encourage mentoring organizations to address these stressors through direct dialogue. Garringer and Oberoi (2016) also point out the importance of knowing mentors' views regarding

immigration laws and immigrants in order to ensure that they do not perpetuate the negative sentiments that are part of the larger culture.

Gamez, Lopez, and Overton (2017) conducted a study of undocumented and immigrant students, along with those who have DACA, in order to identify the ways that they achieve success in higher education. Based on semi-structured interviews with eight current and former college students, the authors conclude that students from these groups succeed in college due to "mentors, individual resiliency, and the ganas" to achieve academic success (Gamez et al., 2017, p.144). Although the sample size was small, the participants in the study represent students from universities across the country in community colleges and four-year institutions who were pursuing Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. degrees. The interview format allowed them to reveal important information about the mentors who helped them along the way.

In most cases, the students had to seek their own mentors at the institutional level and at the community level. They emphasized the lack of intentional mentoring at their institutions and that those who were willing to help them had to learn about resources simultaneously while helping them. This finding is a critical one which calls for higher education institutions to designate mentors for immigrant, undocumented, and DACAmented students. In addition, training mentors and other key staff will ensure that they know about the unique challenges that these groups face, and how to help them navigate the resources that are available to them.

Establishing Typologies of Mentoring Programs

In the 2001 report *Paving the Way to Postsecondary Education: K-12 Intervention Programs for Underrepresented Youth,* Gándara and Bial provide a broad overview of intervention programs throughout the country. They organized information about the programs in the form of two typologies: the first typology outlined features of the programs and the second

one was based on funding sources, origin of the programs, and the student age groups that they serve. Due to the large number and variety of outreach programs that exist, this study supports the importance of beginning a study of these programs by establishing a typology.

Increasing the body of research about this topic will help to sustain funding for programs with proven effectiveness in improving college access and completion for underrepresented groups. In the concluding chapter of the book *The State of College Access and Completion* (Perna & Jones, Eds., 2013), Perna underscores the importance of the work that mentoring and outreach programs do. Citing 2009 statistics from a previous study, she notes that 9.8% of Hispanic men and 17.6% of black men age 25-29 had earned a Bachelor's degree and compared those numbers to 32.3% of white men in the same age group who had earned a Bachelor's degree. Among women, 14.9% who are Hispanic and 21.4% who are black and in the same age group had earned an undergraduate degree, in comparison to 41% of white women in the same cohort.

Perna also highlights projections from the Bureau of Labor Statistics which state that in 2018, approximately 63% of available jobs will be filled by workers who have completed some college. In order to sustain a country of qualified workers, improving college access is an important national goal. In addition, in an increasingly global, competitive economy, American workers need to meet and exceed the education level of their foreign competitors. However, America's education system is stratified in the way it provides college preparation for some students by placing them in honors and Advanced Placement classes. Students who do not take those classes are less prepared for college. As a result, this stratification leads to unequal outcomes for students based on race and class. This also impacts immigrant and undocumented students, who are often the first generation in their families to attend college.

Sipe and Roder (1999) published *Mentoring School-Age Children: A Classification of Programs*. Their work sought to address the questions: "How can we usefully characterize the new types of mentoring programs operating today?" and "Are any of these new types effective in developing meaningful relationships between mentors and youth?" (p. i). They surveyed 722 programs across the U.S. via phone or questionnaire and created typologies based on those results. The broad classification included group programs and one-on-one programs. Within each of those broad categories, there is a further breakdown of site-based versus community-based programs. Within the one-one programs, they narrowed down the site-based and community-based programs to examine short-term and long-term matches. Their classification method provides a rigorous model which guided my analysis of the models of mentoring that emerged during this study.

Cynthia L. Spie's chapter titled Toward a Typology of Mentoring in the *Handbook of Youth Mentoring* (Dubois and Karcher, Eds., 2005) recommends one typology for mentoring programs and one typology for mentoring relationships. She emphasizes the need to know which aspects of those relationships are the most critical, in order to create a classification of the relationship types. From that classification, program directors and funders can identify the most effective strategies, and which to use based on goals and youth characteristics. The current study seeks to contribute knowledge towards a typology for mentoring relationships for immigrant and undocumented students.

Mentoring Models in the Context of Immigrant and Undocumented Students

Spencer (2007) reviewed literature on youth mentoring to identify some major findings and areas that need further research. The review is organized into the following categories: definition of natural mentoring, how the relationships develop, kinds of support found in natural

mentoring, and cognitive benefits. More than half of young people stated that they have a natural mentor, who may be a family member or a non-family member. She highlighted the unique aspect of natural mentoring as a relationship that combines the best of what youth gain from interacting with peers, but also includes the guidance of a capable and knowledgeable adult.

Natural mentoring relationships (NMRs) offer "social support" such as the teaching of new skills, "emotional support" and "companionship" (Spencer, 2007, p.105). Natural mentors contribute to cognitive growth in youth through explicit teaching and exchange of ideas. In addition, the mentors serve as positive role models and introduce youth to "social and educational opportunities" (Spencer, 2007, p.108). By offering these types of support, natural mentoring seems to help students manage their emotions in response to various experiences.

Many formal mentoring programs have mentors who are white (based on available volunteers) and so students of color (SOC) are often matched with mentors of a different race or ethnic background. However, it appears that natural mentors are often from the same racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic background as the youth they mentor. In addition, current studies show that SOC are more likely to have natural mentors than white students. Spencer concluded that there is a need for research that probes further into natural mentoring relationships. She also noticed that very few studies about natural mentoring have captured input from the mentors. Her findings emphasize the need to gather data from mentors, in order to learn more about effective mentoring relationships. In particular, is important to find out whether undocumented and immigrant youth tend to have natural mentors from similar backgrounds as theirs.

Other scholars have studied natural mentoring relationships (NMRs) and their impact on youth transition from high school to college. Sánchez, Esparza, Berardi, and Pryce (2011) surveyed 32 students of Latino descent while they were still in high school and then conducted

interviews with them one year after they had started college. Guided by positive youth development theory, the authors focused on NMRs which develop outside of a formal mentoring program. They organized their results by placing participants in one of three groups: those who had mentors during high school and college, those who had mentors only during high school or only during college, and those who had no mentors at either time. They found that students who had mentors during both periods had extensive social connections, while the students in the other two groups had fewer social connections and less support.

The small sample size makes it difficult to generalize their findings to all Latinx youth. In addition, since it only focused on students of Latinx descent, further studies should include immigrant youth from other countries. Still, their findings are important in the broader context of social networks and how they impact the likelihood of having a mentor. The current study focused on immigrant students, some of whom belong to social networks which provide them with support and guidance. It is important to examine whether NMRs are a more likely source of mentoring for some immigrant students. If so, it will also be useful to identify the specific ways in which the relationships develop and the kinds of support that these mentors provide during high school and college.

Another non-traditional mentoring relationship is known as youth initiated mentoring (YIM). Schwartz, Kanchewa, Rhodes, Cutler, and Cunningham, (2016) examined whether YIM increased college seniors' ability to initiate mentoring relationships. There were 12 participants who were from non-white racial/ethnic groups, low income, and/or the first generation in their family to pursue a college education. During their final year in high school, they participated in up to eight training workshops to learn how to identify and solicit mentors within their existing networks. Researchers sought feedback regarding what they learned after each workshop,

conducted interviews with them before and after the series of workshops, and observed all of the workshop presentations. Results indicated that students increased their knowledge of social capital, along with the necessary skills to use social capital to their advantage. Schwartz et al. (2016) also identified three main obstacles to YIM: the tendency not to seek help from others or to seek help only from family, bashfulness, and the assumption that adults do not have the time to mentor them.

The authors concluded that it is important to explicitly teach underrepresented students about the value of social capital and how to develop it. In addition, they noted that female participants tend to feel more shy than male participants about approaching adults. They also hypothesized that the participants' tendency to rely mainly on themselves or their families, may be connected to their Haitian background. Eleven of the 12 participants were from Haitian backgrounds.

The size of the sample makes it difficult to generalize the findings to other immigrant groups. In addition, most of the participants represent a single country of origin. It is possible that immigrant students from other countries would experience the intervention in different ways. Since the study did not examine the development of real YIM relationships, it is unclear how effective the workshop trainings were in helping them to develop the skills to do so.

However, the study highlights the importance of helping college-bound students from immigrant backgrounds to understand the value of developing nurturing relationships with knowledgeable adults. This study provides important information about the knowledge gaps that some immigrant students have when making the transition from high school to college. When examining mentoring relationships, their effectiveness, and use of campus resources, it is useful

to measure how much students know about the value of mentors and how to seek their help as they navigate higher education.

For some youth who are averse to seeking mentors, the peer mentoring model may be more appropriate. Yeh, Ching, Okubo, and Luthar (2007) designed and implemented a semester-long peer mentoring program for recent immigrants from China. Twenty-three immigrant students participated and were matched with one of four mentors from their school. Matching was determined by language and cultural factors, along with any preferences that mentees expressed. Student mentors were trained to develop aptitude in listening, ethics, and establishing connections. Mentors held one-on-one meetings with mentees for an hour each week during school day, and in small groups for an hour per week after school. They also held weekly lunch talks about topics of interest and provided opportunities for the mentees to attend social events one or two times each month.

Results indicated that mentees had higher levels of trust and increased interest in developing bonds with peers, following the mentoring period. However, there wasn't a significant change in their sense of belonging. Study participants took identical pre-tests and post-tests to measure how well-prepared they felt about academic, college, and career preparation. They also completed tests which measured social connectedness, level of trust in peers, and how much they felt the need to connect with peers.

The multiple measures allowed the authors to triangulate the data that they collected. This strengthened their findings since the small sample size makes it difficult to generalize the results. It is also difficult to know whether the effects of the program lasted after the intervention ended. The study contributes information about a unique ethnic group, which is valuable when examining data about immigrant students from various backgrounds. While the

current study sought to include students from as many countries as possible, I relied upon the findings of previous work such as this, to explain and support my own findings.

In some cases, mentoring relationships are not as explicit as other models. Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina (2003) examined the impact that informal mentors and role models have on the lives of immigrant and subsequent generations of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. They used data that was collected during the 1991-1992 school year from high school students in various urban areas in San Diego, California. In their multi-step approach, they administered a survey to 75 students and then conducted two kinds of ethnographic interviews with 51 of the students. The first interview consisted of open-ended questions about the supportive people who the respondents named in the survey. The second interview also used open-ended questions to gather more information about their academic experiences and how people in their schools and neighborhoods impacted those experiences.

Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina (2003) approached the study participants as people who, in spite of many challenges, possess assets such as resiliency, which help them to succeed in school. They found that the students who demonstrated resiliency in the face of challenges, also had informal mentors who provided critical support. In several cases, they noted that life changes ended the mentoring relationships but that participants continued to draw upon the influence of their mentors after the relationship ended.

Some students in the study also mentioned the importance of role models who inspired them. The role models were not necessarily mentors but people with whom they identified and whose stories inspired them. One participant referred to Latino college students who visited his high school and spoke to a group of students about their pathways to college. Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina (2003) found that participants tended to view people as role models if they

shared similar socioeconomic status, race and/or ethnicity, and gender. Role models also demonstrated "trustworthiness, integrity, and credibility" (Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina, 2003, p. 247).

Based on their findings, Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina (2003) recommend that institutions commit the financial resources needed to provide support for immigrant students. This includes training and compensation for school personnel who are positioned to mentor students, but who have many strains on their time without increased rewards for their work. They also encourage changes to teaching practice to include "ethnographic approaches" for teachers to learn more about the communities and students they serve (Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina, 2003, p.251).

This study supports my research in several ways. First, it encourages the use of an asset-based approach to the study of immigrant students. Second, it highlights the importance of informal mentors in the lives of these students and the need to examine less formal mentorship experiences. Due to the less structured nature of informal relationships, it is necessary to use qualitative methods to examine mentoring experiences of immigrant students. The authors' multi-step research methods provide a rigorous model for data collection. The current study adapted their multi-step method by using a two-part approach.

Although the existing research about mentoring for immigrant and undocumented students focuses on less formal relationships, Gibson and Hidalgo (2009) studied a rare formal mentoring program that was established for migrant students. The mentoring relationships in their study were established as part of the Migrant Education Program (MEP). They conducted a four-year ethnographic study of five high schools in Northern California. Most of the data came from the largest of the five schools and included 160 migrant students. They focused on the

interactions between migrant students and teachers who were migrant students, to identify the aspects of those relationships which led to the students' successful completion of high school. The authors examined the subset of immigrant students whose parents are migrant farmworkers. Due to the seasonal nature of their parents' work, these students entered and exited the educational system at various points throughout their schooling. As a result of these breaks, it is difficult for migrant students to fulfill the requirements for a high school diploma in the U.S. In response to their situation, the federal government established the Migrant Education Program in 1966 as a way to address their unique needs.

Within the context of the Migrant Education Program, migrant students worked with resource teachers on their school campus but outside of the classroom. The authors concluded that the guidance of the teachers was effective because they provided the social connections and "institutional resources" that the students lacked (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009, p.702). The resource teachers sought to learn about their students' whole lives and helped them synthesize the various aspects of their lives. Rather than becoming disconnected from their academic paths due to their migratory status, the students remained connected to key players in the school system. In addition, the teachers provided targeted guidance because they had backgrounds that were similar to the students'. In addition to guidance, the teachers provided examples of how students could overcome the challenges of migrant life to finish high school.

The study's strength lies in its longitudinal nature. Gibson and Hidalgo (2009) were able to study the relationships between migrant students and their MEP teachers over a long period of time. In addition, they had a sizeable sample of students who participated. However, because most of the participants were of Mexican descent, it is unclear whether the results are generalizable to immigrant students from other cultural backgrounds. There may be additional

cultural variables at play when designing effective mentoring strategies for students from other countries.

This study is useful to my research because it provides support for mentoring as an effective way to help immigrant students finish high school. That step is an important one if they are to explore college paths and make the transition to higher education. It also upholds the idea that immigrant students benefit from the social capital that knowledgeable adults can help them develop.

Regardless of the model used, there is a need for research that examines the specific aspects of mentoring relationships that result in positive outcomes for youth. Deutsch and Spencer (2009) acknowledge that there has been more effort to evaluate programs but those evaluations rarely shed light on the one-on-one relationships between a mentor and a mentee. They provide a table of methodologies, along with the strengths, weaknesses, and purposes that each can serve.

Although this article was not based on an empirical study, it drew upon existing research in order to advance the argument for analyzing dyadic mentoring relationships and not just the programs which facilitate them. This work emphasizes the need to study what is at the heart of my research question: the aspects of mentoring relationships that lead to successful transition from high school to college and then graduation from college. It also lends support for using a qualitative method to examine those variables.

One aspect of the mentoring dyad that is critical is the matching of mentor and mentee. Birman and Moreland (2014) reviewed existing literature on mentoring for immigrant and refugee youth within the frameworks of ecological theory and acculturation theory. They argue that immigrant and refugee youth undergo acculturation while interacting with their

environments. Therefore, they should be matched with mentors based on their level of acculturation to U.S. culture and their degree of acculturation to their birthplace culture.

Birman and Moreland (2014) also believe that acculturation level should dictate whether youth receive mentoring in schools or in the community. They recommend school-based programs for recent immigrants, who will spend a great deal of time interacting with new cultural norms within the school setting. The research indicated that in school environments, adults play a large role in helping immigrants and refugees make adjustments that lead to academic success. Just as important were peers and community members who provided support inside and outside of school.

Birman and Moreland (2014) discovered that current research does not clearly state which aspects of mentoring are beneficial to youth. Based on their review, they recommend that mentors identify existing community resources, become knowledgeable about acculturation levels, use peer mentoring, and involve the family. The authors also provide a checklist which mentoring programs can use to informally evaluate their current service to immigrant and refugee youth. The checklist includes recommendations for addressing some key aspects of their experiences, with a focus on acculturation. They highlight the need for acknowledging the cultural diversity of immigrants and their generational status as factors which impact the kind of mentoring that they will need. The authors' emphasis on ecology and acculturation provides a focused lens through which to evaluate current mentoring research.

Natural mentoring relationships and informal mentoring relationships are two unstructured forms of mentoring which may be more prevalent in communities of color. Immigrant and undocumented students are often students of color (SOC), whose strengths may not be apparent to institutional agents. Welton and Martinez (2014) determined that there is a

need for agents to consider students' home cultures when providing support and guidance. Based on two separate studies, their work combined the data from both studies in what the authors call "epistemological collaboration" (Welton & Martinez, 2014, p.207). They identified structural challenges that SOC face and the cultural assets of those students. They noticed that SOC experience a "college readiness debt" identified by prior research that focused on deficiencies in their cultures (Welton & Martinez, 2014, p.201). The authors searched for the assets which SOC possess and use in their pursuit of higher education. They argue that researchers need to shift focus to identifying the resources that SOC already have and provide recommendations for ways that stakeholders can help them apply those resources to access college.

Recommendations from the SOC in the study include: 1. School staff to build strong relationships with students 2. Make college preparation a part of all coursework and 3. Promote opportunities to earn college credit while in high school. Welton and Martinez (2014) emphasized that immigrant students, many of whom are SOC, are a subset of this population who will need additional support. They encourage educators and staff to increase their awareness of the non-traditional strengths which SOC possess and which can lead to a successful college path.

The first of their studies focused on 20 Latinx high school students. Although the sample size was small, all of the students in this study were planning to attend college the following year. The interview format allowed the researchers to examine their college going methods in-depth. The second study also had a small sample size of 17 students but included students who identified as Latinx, African American, Vietnamese, and multi-racial. Including other SOC in the second study allowed the authors to compare and contrast access to college information for a diverse group of students.

Welton and Martinez (2014) revealed an important finding that was not directly examined by their study, but emerged in the course of their analysis. That finding is that immigrant students and their families who are unfamiliar with the American school system, will need even more targeted support from institutions, in order to make the successful transition to college. This calls attention to the need to examine the kinds of support that are useful for immigrant and undocumented students when moving from high school to college.

Theoretical Framework

Positive youth development.

Benson's (2003) work at the Search Institute lead to the creation of the developmental assets framework which is based on 40 external and internal assets that youth possess. Through the application of this framework to the study of youth development, the notion of *positive* youth development emerged. Damon (2004) describes positive youth development (PYD) as a theory which focuses on the "manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities" of youth (p.15). There is more emphasis on taking this approach when studying youth who are marginalized. He reviewed existing literature and argues that positive youth development is an enlightening theory that will lead to growth in the research about youth.

Damon notes that PYD considers the ways in which children navigate their communities and draw strength from them. He emphasizes that the larger community usually has behavioral standards for young people, but that those standards are often overlooked because they may not be explicit. In addition, PYD incorporates the "moral and religious beliefs" that have an impact on identity development and viewpoint (Damon, 2004, p.21). PYD requires mentors to use more of the less visible assets to help their mentees succeed.

Another literature review by Albright, Hurd, & Hussain (2017) focused on using a social justice lens in youth mentoring. The authors found evidence that some mentoring relationships allow youth to re-frame their "marginalized identities as assets" (Albright et al., 2017, p.369). In another study, mentors who received training about systemic inequalities, were better able to understand mentees' strengths. The authors acknowledge that while many of the studies focused on formal mentoring programs, youth from underrepresented groups also seem to benefit from natural mentoring relationships (NMRs). Those relationships, which emerge over the course of an existing relationship between youth and adults, may provide youth with greater empowerment if the mentors are connected to the mentees' communities and existing assets. Albright, et al. (2017) recommend that researchers examine the role of NMRs in the promotion of positive youth development.

Schwartz and Rhodes (2016) proposed the use of positive youth development to design new mentoring models. They describe the key focus of PYD as "promotion of developmental competencies, strengths, and resources" in both the mentee and their community (p.153). They describe youth initiated mentoring (YIM) as a new model that allows mentees to exercise choice when entering a mentoring relationship. This is in direct contrast to some traditional approaches which assign or match mentors to mentees without mentee input. They also describe a developing model known as *network engaged mentoring*, which urges mentees to build relationships with multiple adults in their families, schools, and communities. Another model, *intentional mentoring*, focuses on expanding the number of adults who will provide explicit support outside of formal one-on-one relationships. Schwartz and Rhodes recommend additional research about these emerging models. The current study sought to identify existing and/or unidentified models which promote the PYD approach to youth mentoring.

PYD has influenced the work of mentoring scholars and is an appropriate framework for examining the mentoring relationships that exist inside and outside of formal mentoring programs. This theoretical framework influenced the tools that this study used to measure various aspects of mentoring for undocumented students. Perez Huber (2009) notes the positive qualities of immigrants and their communities, which help undocumented students persist and achieve their goal of completing higher education. PYD is a framework that encourages researchers to probe for those assets and the ways that mentors help undocumented students leverage them.

Community cultural wealth.

Yosso (2006) proposed a model of community cultural wealth to describe the assets that exist in Chicano communities. She presents a series of "counterstories", the perspectives of the students and families who experience the limitations of the current education system (Yosso, 2006, p.4). In the counterstories told by the author and the participants, Yosso identifies the following forms of capital which constitute community cultural wealth: aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, resistant, and navigational capital. She argues that careful examination of non-white communities will reveal these multiple forms of capital which they use to navigate the educational pathway in order to reap its greatest benefits.

Her qualitative study used "critical race counterstorytelling" to capture the unheard voices of Chicanos (Yosso, 2006, p.5). Using the real stories that participants shared, Yosso and her participants named and defined the assets which derive from their communities and their culture. Those assets represent various forms of capital, which are part of the community cultural wealth of Chicano and Latino communities. Aspirational capital refers to the "hopes and dreams" that parents have for their children's futures (Yosso, 2006, p.41). Linguistic capital is derived

from the ways that Chicanos and Latinos learn to express themselves, at times in more than one language, and with a variety of individuals. Navigational capital describes the ways that Chicanos and Latinos maneuver through "social institutions not created" for them (Yosso, 2006, p.43). They gain social capital from others in their communities, including both adults and peers. Familial capital refers to the lessons that Chicano and Latino families teach their children but also includes the knowledge they gain from other families who they meet "through church, sports, school, and other social community settings" (Yosso, 2006, p.46). Finally, as part of their experiences with inequality, Chicanos and Latinos also develop resistant capital, behavior that challenges the status quo and includes "behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2006, p.49). In both phases of this two-part study, I sought to identify evidence of these specific forms of capital among undocumented college graduates.

Kouyoumdjian, Guzmán, Garcia, and Talavera-Bustillos (2017) studied the kind of support that is based on a community cultural wealth model. Their study of first and second-generation Latino students took place at a California university which is designated as a Hispanic-serving institution (HSI). They used Yosso's community cultural wealth model to examine the challenges students face in college, and the resources they use to combat those challenges. In a mixed methods approach, they administered a survey which contained open-ended questions. The instrument yielded quantitative and qualitative results. The results show the influence of family members, who can provide meaningful support even if they didn't graduate from college. This study sought to identify the existing sources of community cultural wealth that immigrant and undocumented students use in their pursuit of higher education. It went further by exploring how well their mentors can identify those instances of community cultural wealth and incorporate them in their guidance of immigrant and undocumented students.

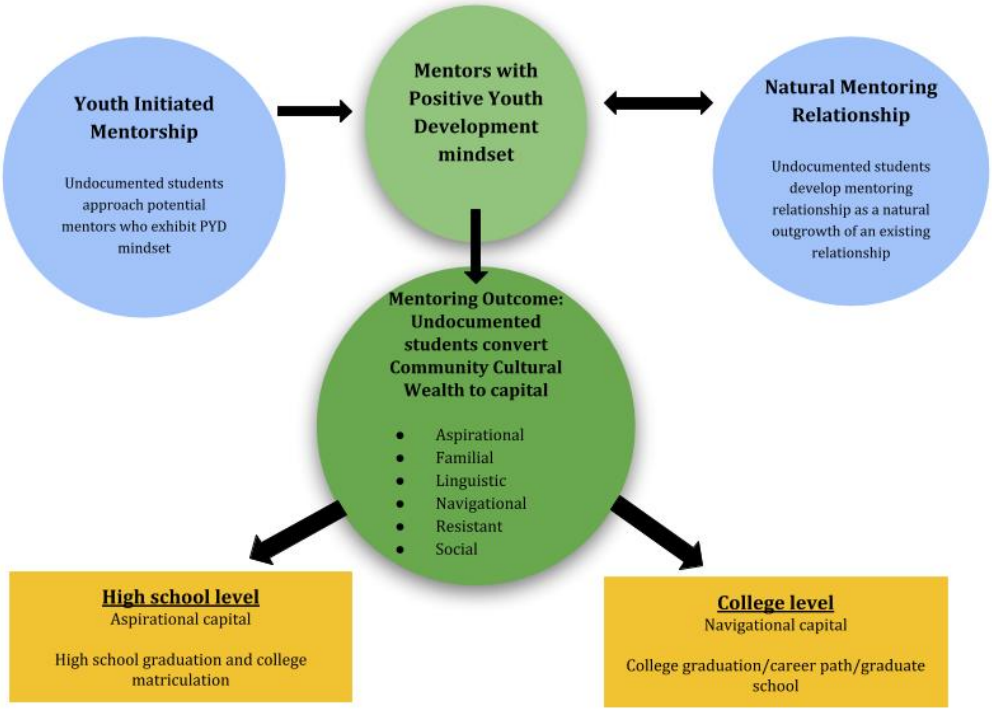

Figure 2.1. Theoretical framework to examine mentoring based on positive youth development theory and community cultural wealth theory

Summary

There is growing research about the importance of support for immigrant and undocumented students to increase their access to college. That body of work indicates a clear need for targeted mentoring for this population. However, there are no existing mentoring models that address the unique context of the immigrant/undocumented experience. This study sought to identify mentoring behaviors and patterns in the dyadic relationships between mentors and their undocumented immigrant mentees in order to make recommendations for mentors, mentoring programs, and educational institutions.

An important component of these mentoring relationships is the mindset of the mentors. Since 2003, positive youth development has become a growing influence on existing mentoring models. More mentors and mentoring programs seek to develop the existing assets of the young

people who they mentor. Yet it is unclear how mentors identify those assets and how they help undocumented immigrant students convert their community cultural wealth into the needed capital to graduate from college.

Gaps in the Literature

Based on this review, there are several gaps in the existing literature (Figure 2). The first gap is the lack of targeted research on the mentoring practices that are successful for undocumented immigrant students. As a result of this gap, there are no existing models in youth mentoring which address this population of students. The lack of successful models makes it more challenging for high schools and colleges to launch support programs in the face of limited resources.

Another gap is related to the mindsets of the mentors who have successfully mentored undocumented immigrant students to complete their undergraduate degrees. While there is more emphasis on approaching underrepresented students from a positive youth development perspective, there is much less known about the community cultural wealth that undocumented immigrant students possess. There are no studies which examine the ways in which the CCW model is used by mentors to help undocumented immigrant students develop the aspirational and navigational capital needed to attend and graduate from undergraduate institutions.

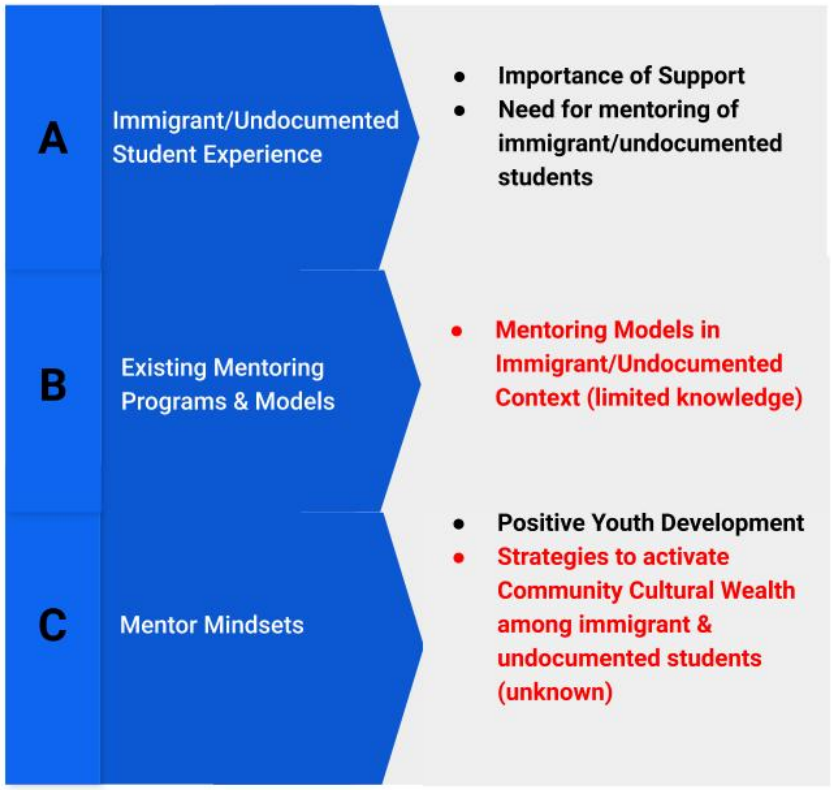

Figure 2.2. Summary of literature review and gaps in literature

Research Questions

This study explored the differences between mentoring at the high school and college levels for immigrant and undocumented students. It also examined the extent to which their mentors exhibit positive youth development mindsets and help students to activate their community cultural wealth, in order to transition from high school to college, and then to graduate from college.

Therefore, the guiding research questions are:

1. What kinds of mentoring relationships and specific aspects of mentoring help immigrant and undocumented students in high school to go on to college and those in college to graduate?
2. How do mentors of undocumented immigrant students help their mentees identify assets, known as community cultural wealth (CCW), that may not align with the assets that are valued by the current education system?
3. How do mentors and mentees leverage the aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, resistance, and navigational capital, derived from CCW, in order to transition from high school to college and then to graduate from college?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Undocumented immigrant students have non-traditional characteristics which set them apart from some of their peers. They are usually people of color, may speak at least one language that is not English, have cultural traditions and norms that are different from American ones, may have prior educational experience in a system that is structured differently from the American system, may have educational values that are different from those of their teachers and peers, and are limited by their legal status. Given these diverse factors, along with the need to examine specific mentoring relationships in depth, the topic of this study lends itself well to qualitative research design. This study made use of two samples: undocumented immigrant students who have graduated from a four-year university in the U.S. and the mentors who provided them with support in high school and college. First, the graduates completed a digital questionnaire that captured their demographic information and mentoring experiences, and asked them to identify at least one mentor who helped them make the transition from high school to college and at least one mentor who guided them through college (Appendix A).

Based on those responses, I contacted the mentors by phone or email to request their participation in the second part of the study (see Appendix B for phone call and email script). Part two consisted of semi-structured interviews with the mentors. The interview questions asked about their backgrounds, experiences as mentees, and specific kinds of mentoring, support, and practices that they used when guiding the referring students at each level of their education (see Appendix C for the interview protocol).

Sample

During my doctoral studies, I gained connections with at least five key individuals who are network influencers in the Latinx undocumented community. I sought their participation in the questionnaire by speaking to them in-person or by sending them an e-mail message (see Appendix D for the email script). I also asked for their assistance with snowball sampling to obtain as many participants as possible. In addition, I recruited additional participants through my involvement in professional and academic events. A total of 12 adults who were, or still are undocumented and who have graduated from a four-year university in the U.S. completed the questionnaire. Purposive sampling ensured that graduates in the sample are immigrants to the United States who were undocumented during high school and/or college and have earned a Bachelor's degree from a post-secondary institution in the U.S. The questionnaire also asked participants to confirm that they were undocumented during high school and/or college and that they were born outside of the U.S. While the outreach effort was targeted towards males and females, all of the participants who completed the questionnaire identify as females.

As part of the questionnaire, the participants identified at least two mentors: one who helped them gain access to college and one who helped them to graduate from college. The identified mentors became the second sample of 18 participants for the interview portion of the study. Mentors were any adult who provided support that was critical for the student's transition to college or for their completion of college. Interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes each. Two of the mentors were named by two different mentees so interviews with them lasted longer than other interviews in order to discuss the support that the mentors provided to both individuals. In cases where a questionnaire listed more than two mentors, I contacted all of the mentors and conducted with interviews with as many of them as possible.

Protection of Human Subjects

The first step to protect human subjects in this study was to gain approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Claremont Graduate University. The IRB reviewed the study protocol and requested revisions to ensure that names or other identifying information about undocumented individuals would not be recorded. Following those revisions, the IRB provided approval under the expedited review guidelines. Upon receiving IRB approval, I contacted potential participants from my personal, academic, and professional networks either in-person, over the phone, or via electronic mail. I included a written description of the purpose and design of the study, along with a brief You Tube video recording of me describing the study. Initial disclosures included the specific population being sought, the time commitment, nature of their participation, and foreseeable risks to participation. Possible risks were minimal and largely was a loss of time for the participants.

The first group of participants identified the individuals who became participants for part two of the study. There were no anticipated risks for the mentors who participated in the interviews besides loss of time. All participants signed informed consent forms (Appendix E). To protect their identities and the confidentiality of their responses, pseudonyms have replaced the actual names of people and places, with the exception of the immigrants' countries of origin. A new e-mail address was dedicated for use in communicating with participants to coordinate questionnaire and interview participation. All e-mails and the study e-mail address will be deleted upon completion of the study and final approval by the dissertation committee. Audio recordings and transcriptions of the interviews are held in a password-encrypted digital file and will be destroyed five years after approval by the dissertation committee.

Instrumentation

The primary sources of data were a digital questionnaire of the mentees and semi-structured interviews with the mentors who the mentees identified in the questionnaires. Questions included demographic ones such as age, gender, country of birth, and parents' country of birth. More specific questions addressed their mentoring experiences during high school and college and asked them to name at least two mentors.

Interview questions for the mentors asked about their background and probed for the specific types of mentoring and support that they provided to the mentees. Questions also addressed personal characteristics of the mentors and mentees. Separate interview protocols were established for the mentors who provided support during high school and for the mentors who provided support during college. Follow-up questions were less structured and were shaped by the responses of individual participants. As the responses became more personalized, the data developed greater depth. Interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes and all but one were recorded. In addition, I took notes during the interviews to capture information that shaped my follow-up questions.

After each interview, I reviewed the notes and recordings and drafted a summary of each interview. Once the interviews were transcribed, I reviewed the transcriptions, making notes of initial codes based on the research questions and theoretical framework. Next, I created a code book listing all of the initial codes that emerged from my first reading of the transcripts. Then I uploaded the transcripts with my initial coding notes to Dedoose and created code trees based on the codes in the code book. The next step was to conduct a second reading of the transcripts. As I completed the second readings, I re-coded the transcripts using the codes in Dedoose. I added and combined codes in Dedoose as needed during the second reading of the transcripts.

Questionnaires and interview questions asked about the types of community cultural wealth that students possess and whether mentors used a positive youth development approach when working with undocumented immigrant students. Gándara's (1995) study shows that Mexican-American families exhibit community cultural wealth in the form of parental encouragement, conversations in Spanish between parents and children about current events, and storytelling about their rich family legacies. Espinoza's (2012) work on pivotal moments shows the importance of educators who recognize when students need guidance and provide them with explicit support and advice to succeed in high school and college. The results of her study helped to shape the questions that mentors answered during the interviews. Additional questions that asked about specific trust-building, mentoring, and guidance behaviors were adapted from an evaluation report by Perez and Almonte (2017) of the MECHANISM scholars program at Pitzer College.

Pilot Test

The questionnaire was piloted with two undocumented immigrant college graduates to ensure that respondents interpret the questions as intended. Based on their feedback, answer choice "enrolled you in a charter/magnet/other non-traditional high school program" was added to the question about forms of support that parents provided during high school, the term "literary practices" was removed from that same question, category "Resident Advisor/RA" was added to a question about who provided support during college, added item "imposter syndrome" to the question about challenges while attending college, changed the word "assets" to "the most helpful", added the wording "If they provided different kinds of support but were equally supportive, please include that in your answer" to the question asking respondents to rank their mentors based on level of support, added answer choice "help to find internships" to the question

about specific types of help their college mentor provided, and provided the option to check multiple answers to the question about reasons parents moved to the United States.

After refining the questions based on pilot testing, both participants in the pilot test completed the survey again as part of the actual study.

Interview Protocol Development

Interview questions for college mentors were based on interview protocol used in Berardi's (2012) dissertation and adapted with his permission. During a phone call that lasted approximately 30 minutes with Dr. Berardi, I revised some of the questions and re-ordered them to suit the purpose of this study. Next, I developed the interview questions for high school mentors by using many of the same questions in the college mentor protocol. Several questions were revised or eliminated based on their relevance to the high school experience.

Demographic questions followed the model used by Montiel (2017) in her dissertation, which was based on interviews with undocumented college students at highly selective universities in the U.S. With her permission, I followed a similar pattern and wording for the demographic questions in the interview protocol. Finally, I designed questions that were meant to explore the topic of mentoring and support from the Community Cultural Wealth and Positive Youth Development perspectives.

Procedures

I used in-person, digital, and telephonic communication to request participation by members of my personal, academic, and professional networks. During my graduate studies, I met undocumented immigrant students who have graduated from college and peers who work with immigrant students in a variety of contexts. I contacted them to ask for their participation, and for referrals to other participants. The questionnaire was administered in the first part of the

study and was available for eight months. It was delivered via Qualtrics so that participants could complete it digitally at their convenience. As part of the questionnaire, participants identified at least two mentors, one who supported them in high school and one who supported them in college, to participate in semi-structured interviews. Each questionnaire participant entered a unique pseudonym that allowed me to match them to their mentors.

Twelve college graduates who were undocumented in high school and college completed the questionnaire. Most of them listed more than two mentors in their responses. They named a total of 48 mentors. Responses were available to me immediately following completion and I contacted mentors to schedule interviews at a time that was convenient for them. When I contacted the mentors by phone or e-mail, I introduced myself and explained the purpose of the study.

Eighteen mentors agreed to participate in a semi-structured interview. Whenever possible, interviews took place in-person. Mentors who were unable to meet in-person due to geographic or time constraints, agreed to an online meeting via Zoom. Each participant received a copy of the Informed Consent from the IRB prior to the start of the interview. Seventeen of the eighteen mentors gave me permission to record the interviews. In-person interviews were recorded using the Rev app and online interviews were recorded on the Zoom platform. I also provided each mentor with the pseudonym to be used when referring to the undocumented student who they mentored. These steps ensured that names of undocumented individuals would not be recorded or transcribed. During the interviews, I took notes, which allowed me to listen actively, ask clarifying questions, and return to the protocol if responses began to sway far from the probes. Follow-up questions were less structured and were shaped by the responses of individual participants. Most interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes.

Immediately following each interview, I reviewed interview notes and made memos to capture any questions, reactions, and possible themes that emerged during the interviews. I also drafted a summary of each interview so that the written narrative of each interview would contain details and impressions that could fade with memory over time. Recordings were transcribed using the Rev transcription service which provides transcripts within 24-48 hours. I reviewed each transcript while listening to the recordings. This allowed me to make corrections to minor mistakes in the transcriptions and to begin initial coding. The initial coding step included single words and phrases that captured potential findings, themes, and connections to the theoretical framework.

Interview Process

Conducting interviews to collect data produced answers to the research questions, along with information that was outside the scope of the current study. However, it's important to also highlight the intangible information that emerged from the interview experience. This data collection method incorporated the dynamics of human interaction that is really at the heart of mentoring. Only four of the eighteen mentors knew me prior to the study. The vast majority (78%) did not know me prior to the study but agreed to participate without any incentive offered. The interview required all of the mentors to set aside time and space to meet with me, whether in-person or via Zoom. Their participation demonstrates their dedication to helping others, even when there is no direct benefit for themselves.

Each mentor shared information about their educational experiences and any mentoring that they received along the way. What the transcripts, tables, and results do not reveal are the emotions that several of the mentors expressed. Some of them spoke in depth about the key people who helped them to navigate their education and career paths. Those mentors expressed

deep gratitude for the investments that their mentors made in them and explained how that fostered their own desire to help others. When questions shifted to the UIS who referred them, most mentors smiled and assumed an immediate expression that glowed with pleasure and pride. This change in demeanor allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of how much they care and it's a detail that only the researcher has the privilege of experiencing and capturing in the moment. Besides answering the interview questions, they each took the time to offer advice and encouragement for me. Their words, body language, and detailed answers provided a depth that the study did not measure and that an objective presentation of results cannot fully capture.

The interview experience also differed based on the format of the interview. Three of the interviews occurred in-person and the other thirteen occurred on the Zoom virtual platform. Two of the in-person interviews took place in the physical space where the mentor met and supported the UIS. As the researcher, I developed a more detailed picture of the interactions between the mentor and UIS when I had the opportunity to enter the places that they shared. They welcomed me into their space just as they welcomed the student who they mentored.

The remaining interviews took place via Zoom and allowed me to see and hear the mentors but not to experience the additional interaction that a face-to-face meeting provides. While a great deal of communication is lost in a virtual platform, there was one advantage that this platform offered that the in-person interviews could not. That was the ability to watch the recordings and capture expressions and reactions that I missed during the interview. In-person interviews do not allow a researcher to "rewind" the interview to examine language or expressions exactly as the participant shared them.

Data Analysis

Transcripts with my initial coding notes were uploaded to the Dedoose platform, which is digitally-based software designed for analysis of qualitative and mixed-methods research. Next, I created a code book listing all of the initial codes that emerged from my first reading of the transcripts. Then I created code trees in Dedoose based on the codes in the code book. Code trees consist of a "parent" or main code category. Within the parent category, researchers can add "child" or secondary codes that are related to the parent code but are distinct in some way. This is a hierarchical structure that Dedoose provides so that researchers can combine or collapse codes before determining if they should be eliminated.

Following qualitative analysis guidelines by Bloomberg and Volpe (2012), the next step was to conduct a second reading of the transcripts. As I completed the second readings, I re-coded the transcripts using the codes in Dedoose. During the second reading of the transcripts, I added new codes based on information in the data that was relevant to the research questions and/or the theoretical framework, but did not fit any of the initial codes in the codebook. During the second round of coding, I identified types of mentoring relationships, how and when the relationships developed, evidence of positive youth development mindset, assets of UIS, and ways that mentors helped UIS convert assets to capital. During the second reading and re-coding, I merged codes so that they became "child" codes in a larger category that served as a "parent" code. Following the second reading of the transcripts, I reviewed the 31 codes created, returned to the codes list in Dedoose and combined or eliminated codes to focus on answering the research questions. This resulted in a total of 11 parent codes that guided the identification of findings.

To identify findings, I created data summary tables for each research question (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The first data summary table captured the types of mentoring relationships and mentors whose style matched one or more types. The second data summary table captured the mentoring approach of each mentor and answered the second part of the first research question. The third data summary table described the types of support that mentors provided to UIS during two time periods. One form of data, the description of assets, was not well suited for the data summary table format and was summarized in a simple list.

Summarizing the data using tables, charts, and lists allowed me to have a visual representation of answers that emerged and to create a findings roadmap. The findings roadmap is an outline of answers that the data provide for each research question (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Each finding in the findings roadmap became a heading in the fourth chapter.

Prior to drafting the findings in the findings roadmap, I returned to the summaries I wrote following each interview. The participants provided rich details that make up the thick description that is the goal of qualitative research (Creswell, 2015). I reviewed the summaries and organized them into profiles of the individual interview participants. Profiles are presented in Chapter Four based on the time period when mentors in this study supported UIS: high school/pre-college and college. I sent the participant summaries to each mentor for their review and made some minor revisions based on their feedback. During the revision of the individual profiles, several themes emerged. I made note of the themes and included them in Chapter Four following the findings that directly answer the research questions.

While drafting Chapter Four, I continuously returned to the scripts to include quotes and details about each finding. I made hand-written notes to capture specific examples of each type of capital and each type of support. Although this was time-consuming, it made the act of writing

about these detailed findings much simpler. During that process, three additional findings emerged. Those findings were directly related to the research questions and theoretical framework so I added codes for those findings so that I could identify, describe, and analyze them.

Analysis of the data included a summary of the findings, possible explanations for the findings, and connections to the literature. I returned to several bodies of literature to inform the analysis. Studies about undocumented students, mentoring models, positive youth development, and community cultural wealth provided the basis for connections, contradictions, and deeper understandings of the results.

Summary

Immigrants continue to arrive in the United States for political, financial, health-related, safety, and/or personal reasons. In the last several decades, changes in immigration policies have led to changes in immigration patterns (Garcia Coll & Marks, 2009). As a result, more immigrants from multi-cultural backgrounds arrive in the United States and they and their children become part of the education population. Therefore, more research about these students and their families is necessary, in order to provide them with the best education and career preparation that will lead to higher quality of life for subsequent generations. In the current political climate, created in part by the Trump administration, there is elevated anti-immigrant sentiment. This has led to ongoing debates about whether to fully incorporate undocumented immigrants into America. In this time, it is critical for concerned scholars to identify additional advocacy routes, including purposeful mentoring, to support the educational advancement of undocumented immigrant students.

Positive youth development provides the framework to probe for the unknown factors that lead to undocumented immigrant students' successful transition to, and graduation from post-

secondary institutions. Several scholars acknowledge the existence of assets which exist in immigrant communities but few instruments or studies exist that examine the ways that mentors use those assets to guide undocumented immigrant students. Furthermore, prior studies of mentoring focused on identifying deficits and recommended ways to help students overcome those deficits. However, an asset-based lens in this study sought to identify the specific strengths which undocumented immigrant students derive from their communities and cultures.

The study examined the mindsets of their mentors and the steps they took to help undocumented immigrant students leverage their community cultural wealth to graduate from high school and college. This lead to new recommendations for mentors, educators, counselors, stakeholders in K-12 and higher education institutions, and mentoring program personnel who will interact with these students

Due to the existence of many factors in mentoring and mentoring relationships, the use of a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews is appropriate for identifying the specific types of relationships, support, and cultural assets that contribute to successful matriculation into, and graduation from four-year institutions. Identification of these mechanisms will help a larger number of immigrant and undocumented students who currently navigate the educational system with little or no guidance. While immigrant and undocumented students in this study are not representative of all immigrant groups, their experiences provide additional support for positive youth development and community cultural wealth as useful frameworks for studying students from non-traditional backgrounds. Details from their mentors provide valuable information for the various stakeholders who are positioned to help these students achieve Bachelor's degrees and place them on a path to social mobility and full participation in the larger American society.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND THEMES

Undocumented college graduates completed questionnaires about their mentoring experiences in high school and college. The questionnaire asked them to name at least one high school mentor who was most supportive in helping them gain access to college and at least one college mentor who was most supportive in helping them to graduate from college. Some of the respondents named more than two mentors who were supportive in one or both contexts. In addition, respondents who did not matriculate to a four-year college immediately following high school, named one or more mentors who supported them after they graduated from high school and before they began attending a four-year institution. Due to the delay between high school graduation and four-year college matriculation for some of the respondents, the high school context is named as high school/pre-college throughout chapters four and five.

Mentors who responded to an email or phone call to participate in a semi-structured interview spent approximately 30 to 60 minutes answering questions about the support that they provided to the mentee who named them in the survey. When possible, second and/or third mentors named in a survey also participated in interviews. Table 4.1 lists pseudonyms for the UIS who completed the questionnaire and for the high school/pre-college and college mentors who participated via interview. Results include high school/pre-college mentor data for 7 out of 10 students (70%) and college mentor data for 7 out of 10 students (70%). For 5 students (50%), only mentors in one of the contexts participated, whereas at least 2 high school/pre-college mentors participated for 3 students (30%) and 2 college mentors participated for 2 students (20%).

Table 4.1

List of study participants and their pseudonyms

	Undocumented Immigrant Student	High School/ Pre-College Mentor	College Mentor
1	Denise	David	
2	Emma	Levi Kim	Fernando
3	Erin	Dominic Armond Caroline	
4	Gina		Michelle
5	Grace		Ginger
6	Kayla	Anna Carla	Jenny Robert
7	Lisa	Mariel	
8	Rachel	Benjamin	Benjamin Diane
9	Sophia		Kevin
10	Stacy	Connie	Diane

Mentor Backgrounds

All of the mentors shared information about their demographic backgrounds and experiences with mentoring when they were students. Demographic information in Table 4.2 describes age, gender, and race/ethnicity of the mentors. Sixteen mentors (89%) reported their exact age at the time of the study interview. The median age of the mentors at the time of the interview was 47 years and the average age was 48.3 years. Eight mentors (44%) identify as males, nine mentors (50%) identify as females, and one mentor (.05%) identifies as queer. While all of the UIS who completed the questionnaire were females, their mentors were almost equally likely to be male or female.

Table 4.2

Mentor demographic information

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Race/ Ethnicity	Educational or Professional Role	Immigrant Background	First Generation College Grad
Armond	55	Male	Latinx	Higher Ed Faculty	Foreign born	Yes
Anna	51	Female	White	Scientist	No	No
Benjamin	44	Male	Latinx	Higher Ed Faculty	Foreign born*	Yes
Carla	33	Female	White	Lab assistant	No	No
Caroline	60+	Female	Latinx	Foundation president	Foreign born	Yes
Connie	39	Queer	White	High School Counselor	No	No
David	60+	Male	White	High School Counselor	No	Yes
Fernando	47	Male	Latinx	Higher Ed Faculty	Foreign born	Yes
Diane	43	Female	Latinx	Higher Ed Faculty	Child of immigrant	Yes
Dominic	40	Male	Black	High School Teacher	Foreign born	Yes
Ginger	47	Female	Latinx	Higher Ed Faculty	Foreign born	No
Jenny	68	Female	White	Higher Ed Faculty	No	No
Kevin	63	Male	Latinx	Higher Ed Staff	Foreign born	Yes
Kim	58	Female	White	High School Teacher	Child of immigrants	Yes
Levi	42	Male	Latinx	High School Counselor	Child of immigrants	Yes
Mariel	43	Female	API	High School Teacher	Foreign born*	Yes
Michelle	24	Female	Latinx	Undergraduate Student	Foreign Born*	Yes
Robert	52	Male	White	Higher Ed Faculty	No	Yes

Note: * Denotes formerly undocumented immigrant or current DACA recipient

Nine mentors (50%) identify as Latinx, seven mentors (39%) identify as White, one mentor (.05%) identifies as Black, and one mentor (.05%) identifies as Asian/Pacific Islander. Eleven mentors (61%) identify as a non-white race or ethnicity. This indicates that mentors of UIS are more likely to be non-white. However, white mentors accounted for 39% of the participants, indicating that white mentors can and do mentor UIS of color.

Seven mentors (39%) were professors in higher education when they mentored the UIS who referred them for the study. Three of the mentors (17%) were high school counselors and three (17%) were high school teachers at the time when they mentored a UIS. Three mentors

(17%) held a professional role in a non-educational organization where they met the UIS. Of the remaining two mentors, one (.05%) was a director of admissions at a university and one (.05%) was an undergraduate peer. The majority of mentors (78%) held a professional role in education when they met and mentored a UIS.

Thirteen mentors (72%) are first-generation college graduates. Nine mentors (50%) are first-generation immigrants to the United States with three of them (17%) being formerly undocumented. Eight mentors (44%) are first-generation immigrants *and* first-generation college graduates. Fourteen mentors (78%) were either first-generation immigrants and/or first-generation college graduates. The majority of mentors in this study shared similar life experiences with the UIS they mentored.

Besides demographic information, mentors shared anecdotes that captured the nature of their relationships with their mentees. The following sections summarize the highlights from interviews with high school/pre-college and college mentors. Pre-college mentoring emerged from the data as an additional mentoring context. Although the study's focus was on mentors in two contexts, high school and college, the data showed that there are also mentors who support UIS for one or more years between high school and college. The mentor stories in this section inform the major findings and important themes which emerged following coding and analysis of the interview data.

High School & Pre-College Mentors

David. David is a retired public high school counselor who spent most of his career working in a Southern California city comprised of poor and working class Latinx students from immigrant backgrounds. He was born in the United States and raised in a factory town in upstate New York to parents with Czech and Italian backgrounds. Both of his parents grew up in that

same town and neither his parents nor his older siblings attended college. The expectation was for him to finish high school and then go to work in the factory. As a child, he played piano at church and when he began volunteering to help special needs students during church services, he developed the desire to become a Special Education teacher.

He explained that "blue collar work was expected" and that when young people finished high school, they would work in a local factory. He struggled to finish high school, and then had to attend a community college before transferring to a four-year college to pursue his desired career path. Since his home life was "not conducive to college", he told his parents that he would need to attend a distant community college in order to transfer to a four-year college (personal communication, November 8, 2018). His parents were not college-educated and his mom assumed that he would leave school and return home by his first Thanksgiving break. When he defied his family's expectations, he described how his mother cried at his graduation, saying that his older brother and sister would have done better in life "because they are so much smarter than" him.

He attended a community college before transferring to a four-year college to earn his Bachelor's degree at the State University of New York. Unable to find work in his home state, he traveled to Nevada for an open position and spent ten years working with students who struggled with mental development. In that position, most of his students were African-Americans who lived in an area that was heavily influenced by gangs. Until that time, he "had seen maybe five African-American people" in his life.

He moved to California to pursue a career as a private therapist but accepted a position with a school district as a counselor after working there as a substitute teacher. He recalls that he knew nothing about the community but "saw kids in need" at what was considered the worst

junior high school in the city. In 1998, a student who was ranked number six in his class with a GPA of 4.0 was applying to colleges in Mexico and David questioned his decision. This was the first time that he realized that he had an undocumented student and that "people didn't talk about status". He learned that "a counselor needs to be more inquisitive; there is more to the story than what is on a transcript" and this taught him to "recognize red flags".

David noticed important signs and this is due in part to him prioritizing time with students. David learned that "quiet kids will visit once and if they feel they are disturbing you, they will not come back". As a result, he arrived to work as early as 6am to take care of required paperwork so that he had time to meet with students who would visit his office during the school day.

Levi. Levi is an administrator at a public middle school in Central California. He identifies himself as a 42-year old Hispanic male. His father was born in Spain and his mother was born in Mexico. They traveled to the U.S. as migrant workers and moved often. This meant that Levi attended many schools during his K-12 years, which contributed to his academic struggles. Although he didn't meet all of the admissions requirements of his undergraduate institution, he was admitted and given the opportunity to prove himself. Although his high school athletic coaches tried to encourage him, he felt that he didn't have meaningful support from adults prior to college. His college had a faculty mentor program and he was paired with the provost. He spoke of a desire to "know what the person in power does". Over time, he would track the actions of people who he admired. After graduation, he counseled students at a university and then pursued a Master's in Counseling so that he could work with high school students.

He met Emma during her senior year of high school, when he began counseling students at her school. Levi quickly noticed a pivotal sign when Emma told him that, despite being one of the top students in her class, she was not planning to go to college. Like other mentors in the study, he learned how to question these seemingly conflicting situations by allowing the mentee time to provide as much information as they felt comfortable giving. She eventually told him that she was undocumented and he recalled that he had family members who didn't pursue their education beyond high school due to their undocumented status. His approach was that "college was not optional for her" and described his determination to help her go to college as a person who "doesn't take no for an answer". He contacted former colleagues at the university where he had worked and "helped her to do what was necessary to go" to that school. As far as he can recall, it took at least two conversations, multiple applications, and a campus visit to secure her admission, with full funding, to the university.

Her comfort level, and trust in him, grew throughout the school year when he maintained both a literal and symbolic open-door policy. He made the deliberate choice to schedule his lunch break during times when students were in class. To demonstrate his commitment to making time for students, he has 20 clocks hanging on the wall of his office. They symbolize that he "always has time for them" and will "not use time as an excuse" for not being able to help students. This meant that he was in his office, available to speak to students, when they had free time during lunch. He recalls that Emma and her friends would stop by his office on a regular basis, sometimes to ask academic questions but many times, just to talk about their lives, school, and relationships. Like David, he prioritized face-to-face time with students and they were drawn to him as a result. He explained that he always took time to "check in" with them and so he grew to "know them better than they know themselves".

As he learned more about Emma, he recognized her strengths: an inquisitive mind, a desire to learn, motivation to make something of her life, passionate about helping her family, and a hard worker who was well-composed and mature for her age. He knew that it would be important to involve her family and met with her mother, who had not attended American schools and didn't understand the educational system. He established trust with her mother by speaking to her in Spanish, sharing his own experiences as a child of migrant workers, and expressing that Emma "wasn't just average, but could be someone great". Emma matriculated to the university that Levi identified for her, graduated, and continued her academic pursuits, while undocumented, to earn a Ph.D.

Kim. Kim is a 58-year old female whose mother was an immigrant from Sweden. She worked as a microbiologist for Foster Farms until after the birth of her second child. At that time, she made a career change to teach secondary science and has spent more than 25 years in that field. Emma was a student in one of her high school science classes, as well as a member of a student club that Kim supervised.

Although they didn't discuss Emma's status, Kim thinks that their shared love for science helped them to build a comfortable relationship. She believes that she is "approachable" and that Emma felt comfortable asking her for advice about classes to take in high school and how to select a college. Kim said that although Emma named her as a mentor, she still lacks knowledge about undocumented students and how to help them. She explicitly describes recurrent themes among educators: unawareness of who is undocumented and/or the available resources and strategies for supporting them in school. Yet, she recognized some of Emma's assets and provided her with opportunities to build navigational capital by advising her about high school coursework and the college experience.

Dominic. Dominic identifies himself as a 40-year old black male immigrant from Guyana. He teaches English at a high school in a suburban city in the Inland Empire region of Southern California, which is located approximately 60 miles east of Los Angeles. He has taught in this city and in this school for nearly 20 years as part of his commitment to serve underrepresented students. In addition, he regularly serves as a Master Teacher to aspiring teachers who are earning their California teaching credential.

Dominic invited me to conduct the interview in his classroom on a weekday after school. When I arrived in the office, the receptionist called his room and then told me that he was sending a student to escort me to his location. During our short walk, my escort shared that she graduated the previous spring, moved out-of-state with her family, and "had to visit" Dominic during her return trip to California. She described herself as "not the best student" but said that Dominic supported her, treated her well in high school, and helped her to earn a passing grade in his class so that she could graduate. My brief exchange with his former student indicated that Dominic's students value their relationships with him.

He migrated to the U.S. as a teenager and described the polarized environment at his Queens, N.Y. high school. Although there were students from many countries at his school, students separated themselves along racial, ethnic, and/or country lines. He experienced "culture shock" in the form of living in a new country with new norms, but also in the form of different power dynamics between teachers and students. He grew up in a country where students who challenged teachers "were flogged" but came to the U.S. where some students were outwardly defiant with teachers. When his family moved from New York to Southern California, he attended a public high school where he felt welcomed by teachers and students alike. He recalls

one female teacher who "went above and beyond" by exposing her students to a wide range of topics and places.

During his undergraduate years at the University of Southern California, he helped a friend who was tutoring children from a local school and found his calling to become a teacher. He pursued a Master's in Education and a teaching credential with the intent to teach students in underserved areas of Los Angeles. During his graduate studies, one of his first instructors became a mentor who he still contacts for advice. When his college mentor presented the opportunity to move from a Los Angeles school to an Inland Empire school, he accepted the position with the knowledge that he would continue to serve low income students.

Dominic met Erin, the student who named him as one of her high school mentors, when she was a student in his AP English class. He noticed that although she and several of her classmates were enrolled in the same Honors classes, but she seemed alienated from them. Even so, he noticed that during class discussions, she was willing to challenge thoughts, even if many of her peers expressed support for those thoughts. If she disagreed with a particular student who was a leader among his peers, she would express her disagreement in a way that was "very direct but respectful". He noticed that her willingness to voice unpopular viewpoints gave some of her shy classmates a greater confidence in class.

Whenever students worked on in-class projects, he interacted with them and discussed topics related to their lives outside of school. During one of those times, he learned that she had been accepted to a prestigious public university but wasn't going to attend. He recalled that he "was being very curious" about her choice not to attend a highly sought-after school. He demonstrated the ability to ask the right questions and to allow students to answer if and when they were ready.

Later, she confided that she was undocumented and could not access financial aid to pay for college. He said that she didn't seem dejected by her inability to attend the university but instead showed a level of "acceptance". His reaction was that since she had been accepted to this competitive school, he wanted to locate financing for her to go. He contacted several staff members on campus to gather information about AB540, legislation that provides college funding to some undocumented students. He had little knowledge about financial aid options for undocumented students but knew that some of the small, liberal arts colleges nearby were offering scholarships to undocumented students. He also noted that he sought this information while honoring the confidentiality that she requested.

When asked why he thought Erin was comfortable in sharing this information, he paused and pointed to his classroom door which was open to the adjoining hallway. "My door is always open", he said, and because he welcomes students into his room at all times of the day, many of them stop by during lunch "to lounge". He also described the atmosphere during class time and emphasized the importance of knowing his students and connecting what he teaches to their lived experiences. One example was visible in the room during the interview: English students are growing bean plants in jars near his desk. He explained that during a recent class discussion, he asked students where beans come from and not all of them could answer the question. That prompted him to have his students grow bean plants in his *English* classroom.

When Erin revealed that she was undocumented, he thinks there was a school policy that required him to disclose her status. However, he knew that her status made her fearful and he chose to approach colleagues for guidance without betraying her trust. He obtained information about financial aid and asked the school's family liaison to contact her family to discuss a pathway to college for her.

Dominic's steps following her disclosure about her status is another example of the unconventional methods that mentors of undocumented students use. He contacted multiple colleagues who could provide helpful information and allowed Erin to decide to whom and when she would disclose her status. He provided guidance to help her navigate uncertainty but also allowed her to lead the path for their relationship. In addition, he recognized the importance of the family and how their values influenced Erin's decisions.

She decided to attend a nearby community college following graduation and he supported her decision to do so. Although he wasn't privy to the factors which led to this decision, he spoke about the strong resistance that some of his students' families have to sending their children away to college. He noted that the family resistance is even greater when daughters consider schools that are not close to home. Knowing that she had to navigate her undocumented status, along with family expectations, he did not question her decision to forego the four-year university and attend a community college instead.

Connie. Connie identifies herself as a queer white woman who is 39 years old and from a middle-class background. She is a lecturer in the Social Work department of a public four-year university in Northern California. Her academic and professional background in sociology and social work led her to work with youth as they transitioned from a variety of difficult contexts, including incarceration, drug addiction, and foster care. During that time, she "developed an awareness of other (people's) experiences" and how they were different from her own experiences. In addition, she described her "coming out experience as a journey" as well.

She met Stacy at her high school where she worked as a counselor and described her as an outgoing student "who makes herself known". Although Connie was her assigned counselor, Stacy approached other counselors with questions if she thought they could help her. Stacy also

brought her peers, who were not as outgoing, to the counseling office and "acted as a bridge" between them and the counselors.

Connie recalls that she had to make adjustments when she moved from a more politically liberal city to the one where Stacy's high school was located and "was a bit closeted", or not open, about her queer identity. The community was a conservative one but served many Latinx students. Connie noticed that information was sent home only in English and that the school secretary was the only person available to translate for Spanish-speaking parents. The secretary was even called upon to translate during Individualized Education Plan (IEP) meetings, a role which was well outside the scope of her duties.

Due to the misalignment between resources and the needs of the families, Connie worked towards being as supportive as possible in her role. She advocated for materials to be translated into Spanish for families and for the school to have a designated translator, besides the secretary. She noticed that students also shared in the work as translators and knew that a translator could relieve them from some of this work.

Connie described her support of Stacy as being largely socio-emotional, while other counselors provided her with academic guidance. Like other mentors, Connie recognized signs that Stacy may have been undocumented. Those included her parents' limited English skills and Stacy mentioning that she couldn't travel to Mexico. She doesn't recall Stacy explicitly revealing her undocumented status but over time, they did have conversations directly related to her status. Connie noticed that there was ongoing "silence about (undocumented) status" within the school community and so she worked to help Stacy feel like she was a part of the larger community and was not alone due to her status.

Connie knew that Stacy's family was supportive of her college-going aspirations because she had several older siblings who attended college. However, her parents worked a lot and spoke only a little English. In addition to family support, Connie described her assets as a "self-advocate" who was "hard-working and committed". She knew that Stacy felt pressure to earn scholarships to pay for college and to be an academic standout like one of her older sisters. This pressure was part of a larger "cultural pressure" that she felt, an expectation that she had to be the very best in order to succeed in school.

Stacy was involved in many activities and Connie advised her about time management and self-induced stress. She spoke to her about her busy schedule and how to "manage her time and her high expectations of herself". She listened to Connie's advice at the time and during college, she told her that she finally realized the importance of not over-committing.

Connie thinks that her social worker lens led her to "meeting folks where they are at" by treating them with respect and genuine care. Although she was not explicitly open about her queer status while working at the high school, she was involved in the Queer Student Union there. At that time, she and the students who worked with the union "were not necessarily out" about their status. She referred to the conservative political atmosphere of the larger community when referring to the silence that surrounded undocumented and queer identity.

Although she may not have made explicit connections between her silence and the silence that Stacy and others maintained about their undocumented status, she recognized the isolation that the silence creates. This led her to provide critical socio-emotional support for Stacy and other members of the school community. She also attended some of Stacy's family events and as she grew to know them and some of Stacy's peers better, she learned more about

the challenges that undocumented students face due to their legal and minority status. Knowing those challenges helped her learn effective ways to "be an ally".

They continue to stay in touch via text messaging and video calls. Connie says that their relationship has evolved into more of a friendship but she still views her like a niece and affectionately calls her "chica", a term that she borrowed from her sister-in-law. Stacy refers to her as "mujer" and likes to hear about Connie's partner and young daughter. When mentors and mentees remain in touch after they transition to new contexts, there seems to be a higher likelihood that the relationship becomes a friendship.

Mariel. Mariel is a 43-year old cis gender Filipino American woman who currently teaches at a high school in Southern California. She came to the U.S. from the Philippines at age 10 and was undocumented from the time her visa expired until after she began a career in teaching. Although she did not have any mentors during high school or college, she recalls that her mom advocated for her to get the financial aid that she needed in order to afford college. Like other undocumented youth, she did not disclose her status to anyone while she was in high school. However, she also noted that the political climate was not charged with the anti-immigrant sentiment of the current time.

She met Lisa in the Advancement via Individual Determination (AVID) class that she taught during her first year at the school where she currently teaches. Lisa was a senior in high school who was applying to colleges. In the AVID class, they spent time working on college applications, financial aid applications, and visited college campuses. Lisa revealed her undocumented status to Mariel, who didn't discuss her own experience but emphasized that there are multiple sources of financial aid that would help her to afford college.

Mariel described the anti-immigrant sentiment in the city where she works and met Lisa. It was a hostile environment, where she herself didn't feel safe revealing her former undocumented status because she was unsure of how she would be received since she was a new teacher. Rather than share her former status, she told stories about her college-going experiences and the ways that her mom fought for her to get enough financial aid. Over the course of the school year, Lisa learned more about Mariel's family and home life. She knew that Mariel's father may have had some legal challenges and that her mother worked a lot. This meant that Lisa had to "parent her siblings", which was challenging for her. Mariel also shared that Lisa and her family struggled with food insecurity and so she was often hungry.

Even in the face of these struggles, she noted that Lisa had several assets that helped her to persist in her pursuit of higher education. Mariel described her as "a fighter…who doesn't give up" and that she would seek help when she needed it. For example, she would stay after school to get help in classes where she struggled and she asked Mariel if she could borrow a tablet to use at home to work on her college applications.

Mariel also shared that there were several other adults who provided support for Lisa. There is one community member who is an active and visible ally for undocumented students and Mariel would "tag team" with her to support Lisa. In addition, Lisa taught Mariel more about the undocumented student experience, existing resources in their community, and gave her the motivation to share her own undocumented experience with subsequent students. Mariel said that working with Lisa and some of her undocumented peers during that first year that their school motivated her to learn more about financial aid options for undocumented students and she has continued to actively engage in supporting undocumented students by providing after-school workshops and connecting with other allies to share resources. When asked what motivated her

to help Lisa, Mariel describes the potential she saw in Lisa and her peers and felt "inspired" by their persistence. In addition, the election of Donald Trump led her to feel that she "had to be a voice" that advocates for undocumented students.

Caroline. Caroline describes herself as a Hispanic female who is a senior citizen. She remembers moving to the U.S. as a young girl with her mother, two sisters, and a cousin. She didn't speak English when she started school in New Mexico but learned the language by the time her family moved to California five years later. Although she learned the language, school was still challenging due to the differences between her family's Mexican culture and the American culture she encountered in school.

She met Erin shortly before Erin began attending a community college in a suburban area of Southern California. Caroline is the president of a foundation that raises money to provide scholarships to low-income students in the community. The founder of the organization introduced Caroline and Erin to each other after Erin applied for one of the foundation's scholarships. Even with the scholarship, Erin was unable to attend the large public four-year university that had accepted her due to transportation and housing costs. As a result, Erin enrolled in a local community college that was near her family's home. To further assist her, Caroline created a paid internship at the foundation for Erin so that she would have a source of income while she attended community college.

According to Caroline, Erin's strengths included her proactive and creative approach to her challenges. One example of her proactive work was her development of a manual to guide future program interns. She demonstrated her creativity when she asked for help to develop a plan to start a Mary Kay business in the event that she couldn't transfer to a four-year college. Caroline said that Erin had many siblings, came from a low-income family, and had "enormous

responsibilities". As a result, Erin felt that she needed to take care of her family and put their needs before hers. In many conversations, Caroline helped her to understand that while it was okay to put her family "in the forefront", it was also time for her to prioritize her personal goals as well. Caroline showed understanding and respect for Erin's family-centered values but also encouraged her to persist on an educational path that sometimes conflicted with those values. Caroline recognized the internal conflict that Erin was experiencing and highlights the ways that undocumented students' various forms of capital can create dissonance. Erin had strong aspirational capital to earn a college degree but struggled with setting individual goals that didn't directly involve the family that provided love and support for her.

Caroline characterizes her relationship with Erin as a friendship and says that Erin taught her about what future interns like her would need from the foundation's leaders. Like other mentors, Caroline allowed Erin to lead the relationship and based her support on the specific needs that Erin had. Caroline provided space and time for Erin to grow as she navigated the challenges of being undocumented. As a result, Erin was a "role model" for other interns at the foundation and "paved the way" for her younger brother who also attended and graduated from college.

Armond. Armond is a 55-year old who identifies as a Hispanic male. He was born in Mexico to an American-born mother and described his English language skills as "not perfect" while growing up. He served four years in the military and attended a community college in Southern California before transferring to a highly-ranked private four-year university in the same region. He is a Political Science lecturer at a suburban Southern California university and an adjunct faculty member at a nearby community college. Although he has a full-time position

as an academic, he continues to teach at the community college because he gains fulfillment from working with the students who choose that path.

He met Erin in his American Government class at the community college and recalls that she wore a sweatshirt with the large letters that represent a four-year university, when she came to his class. This visual image left a lasting impression, along with the fact that she achieved the highest scores on the first two quizzes in the class. He spoke to her about the Honors program at the school and encouraged her to join student government. In addition to the leadership experience, he knew that students in those roles have greater access to information about scholarships to attend four-year universities.

Although she didn't directly disclose her undocumented status to him, he said that she shared that information with others on campus but there were no resources available for undocumented students. Since she didn't mention it to him, he didn't bring it up. However, like other mentors, he noticed some warning signs such as her worry about financial aid, wanting to be close to home, and sometimes an aura of anger. He also took note of her assets: determination, fortitude, and her refusal "to take no for an answer".

He encouraged her to apply to a local liberal arts college but she was hesitant because admission was competitive. In addition to writing her a letter of recommendation, he shared stories of his own experiences when he transferred from a community college to a private four-year university. He told her about the "culture shock" to expect when moving to an affluent campus and described how he would hide in the bathroom to look at the campus map because he didn't want to seem like an outsider. In addition to sharing some of the challenges of the transition, he told her that the experience was one of "wonderment" when you "actually meet the people whose books you read". He was honest by telling her that it would "not be easy but would

be worth it". Ultimately, he thinks that she needed "validation to take the next step" and that he needed to help her build hope. To do that, he told her that she would have more options in the future if she graduated from a four-year university and that her individual success would impact many others like her.

She transferred to that four-year liberal arts college and he continued to speak to her occasionally while she was there. She learned to adjust to increased reading assignments by choosing the most pertinent ones. He gave her advice on her thesis topic and discussed academia as a possible career pathway. In addition to academic topics, they also spoke about the daily work of adjusting to a four-year university where many students are from a privileged background. She told him about the coffee and pastries being different from any she had before, her shock when she realized that many of her peers smoked marijuana, and ways to overcome the cultural differences on the new college campus.

Armond established common ground with Erin due to his own personal experience as a community college student who transferred to a private four-year university. His mentorship of her highlights the challenges that many undocumented students face when they experience *double transitioning*, first from high school to community college, and then from community college to a four-year institution.

Anna. Anna is a 51-year old who identifies as a Caucasian female, grew up on the East Coast and still lives and works there. She earned a Bachelor's degree in Biology and later one in Anthropology followed by a Master's in History. She had several mentors during college and believes that traveling to Morocco with a college mentor taught her about the lack of opportunity that some people face. In addition, her training in anthropology taught her to consider multiple points of view.

She has worked for a historic preservation company since 2006 and was the director of the laboratory where Kayla worked before Kayla began college. The company is small and they would have lunch together on a regular basis during the five to six years before Kayla began college. They realized that they shared some traits in common: determination, a love for school, and fondness for writing. Although Anna did not have first-hand knowledge of the immigrant experience, she established common ground with Kayla. This is a recurrent theme in the mentoring relationships that developed between mentors and undocumented students who were from different backgrounds.

Kayla graduated from high school before DACA was established and lived in a southeastern state that did not provide options for undocumented students to attend college. During lunch, she and Anna would discuss ways for Kayla to get a visa but she didn't meet any of the requirements. They even spoke about other pathways to college, such as moving to another country. Anna remembers that it made her "angry" that there were no solutions to the obstacles that prevented Kayla from going to college. However, she saw herself as a "sounding board" for Kayla to express her frustrations. Anna allowed Kayla to share as much as she felt comfortable sharing and encouraged her to maintain her aspiration to go to college.

That aspirational capital was set in motion when President Obama established DACA and Kayla met the requirements of that program. Anna went with Kayla to be fingerprinted and to get her driver license. They spoke daily while she was applying to college and Anna helped her with editing her college essay. She went with Kayla to visit the out-of-state college that accepted her and continued to stay in touch with her while she was in college. Anna says that Kayla taught her about determination and the power of taking chances. Kayla began college at the age of 30 and lived in the dorms with students who were ten or more years younger than her. Like other

undocumented students, there were aspects of her college-going experience that are not typical of the "traditional" American college student. Even so, she embraced the full college experience when DACA made her college dream a possibility.

Carla. Carla describes herself as a Caucasian American female and is 33 years old. She is currently working on her dissertation to earn a Ph.D. in Sociology at a school in a southeastern state and works as a solution engineer for a software company. She met Kayla when they worked at the same archaeology company in the southeast for about ten years. Their working relationship led to a friendship outside of work and they spent time having dinner, seeing movies, and listening to music. They were close in age and knew each other for four years before Carla learned about her status.

During a car ride, Carla asked Kayla where she would go if she could go anywhere in the world. Kayla responded that she "can't go anywhere" and went on to explain to Carla that she was undocumented. Carla says that their relationship became stronger after Kayla revealed her status. Until then, she knew very little about immigration and the challenges that it can present. She listened to Kayla's stories of struggle and provided emotional support due to the highs and lows that she felt.

Carla's interview provided insight about peer mentoring relationships for undocumented students. She said that Kayla "didn't want to be different" and changed her name in high school to "seem more normal" to her peers. She realized that Kayla had aspirations to go to college and wasn't able to do what her peers were doing. They shared stories about their plans for the future, a practice that contributed to Kayla maintaining her aspirational capital. Maintaining aspirational capital was important because more than 10 years passed between Kayla's high school graduation and her start of college. In addition, her familial capital was in conflict with her

aspirational capital. She had a loving and close-knit family but they didn't fully understand her desire to go to college.

Still, Carla recognized the assets in Kayla's family story. Her parents moved from India to Guyana for more opportunity before they had children. Later they moved with their children to the United States in search of a better life for their family. Carla spoke about how hard Karla's parents worked, that her brother had various odd jobs, and that they all did what they could to "get by". Perhaps it was Carla's respect for Kayla's familial capital that lead her to discuss the dilemma she felt when DACA was introduced: by disclosing her status, she would be exposing her family members who were not eligible for the same protection. They discussed the risks to her family but also the possibilities that could emerge. In the end, Carla describes Kayla's decision to attend college as "a calculated risk". Carla said that Kayla "didn't show her vulnerability to others and needed to let that show sometimes". This peer mentoring relationship allowed her to do just that.

In addition, Carla characterizes their relationship as one that moved from a work relationship to a friendship and then to one in which Kayla is a person she admires. She described the benefits that she gained from the relationship such as learning about the many roadblocks that undocumented families face and the support that Kayla provided to her when she experienced a difficult period following the birth of her twins. The peer mentoring relationship between Carla and Kayla showcases the way peers support each other by drawing upon the capital that they have, in order to help strengthen each other's areas of need.

Benjamin. Benjamin is an El Salvadoran male in his forties and a professor of Education at a Southern California university. In over a decade in this role, he has met and worked with many immigrant or undocumented students in a variety of ways. He is an immigrant from El

Salvador who was undocumented when he started elementary school in the U.S. He described several educators who made a positive impact on him during his K-12 years. He was designated as an English Learner and had a fifth grade teacher who encouraged him to enter a competition, which he later won. He credited her willingness to let him write in Spanish. During middle school, he had a male African-American teacher who showed "radical love" for his students, had "high expectations" for them and exposed them to important African-Americans through poetry. In high school, his student council advisor drove him to his college interview and communicated with college staff about his aptitude.

He also participated in a formal mentoring program during high school. There he had a female Cuban mentor who introduced him to a key person at the college that he eventually attended. That person became his college mentor, who provided encouragement during the application process and continued providing him with support throughout his undergraduate years. Benjamin describes his college mentor as his "academic father", who connected him to an advisor at the prestigious university where he earned his doctoral degree.

He began his academic career with a focus on access to college for undocumented students. Through this work, he met others who served the undocumented community and accepted invitations to give lectures and keynote speeches focused on undocumented students. At one of these events, he met an undocumented college student who introduced him to her sister, a high school student who was struggling to stay on the college pathway. This mentee, Rachel, named him as one of two of the most influential mentors that she had in high school and college.

He met her in-person and worked with her to develop a plan, which included taking a year off following high school, in order to strengthen her profile and increase her likelihood of

being accepted to college. He knew about her undocumented status from the beginning and tailored his support to overcome the challenges that her status presented. She also faced a long-term medical condition which required multiple surgeries, which had a negative impact on her academic record. With knowledge of the full breadth of the challenges that Rachel had to overcome, Ben focused on helping her obtain full financial aid for college, since undocumented students do not qualify for most forms of financial aid. Preparation included volunteering, SAT preparation, mock interviews with counselors, speaking to colleagues who provided advice on how to use the time-off, and hiring her to be his research assistant. That mentee was accepted to a highly-ranked private college in Southern California and Benjamin continued to mentor her through college.

College Mentors

Benjamin. In her survey responses, Rachel named Benjamin as one of two people who were most supportive during her undergraduate years in college. During the interview, he described the long-term nature of his mentorship of Rachel and how it evolved while she was in college. They continued to communicate on a regular basis but he encouraged her to build relationships with members of her college community. She continued to assist him with his research projects and maintained contact through digital means.

During college, he provided support tailored towards her career path. She initially expressed interest in becoming a professor but he noticed that she possessed excellent interpersonal skills and "servicial", an aptitude for recognizing the needs of others and a desire to assist them. Benjamin gave her specific examples of her ability to "read others' emotions" and how this skillset lends itself well to a career in academic and student affairs. After graduating from college, Rachel went on to work in student affairs for her undergraduate institution and

helped to launch a program for first generation students at a nearby institution. This example shows how a mentor recognized a mentee's assets, clearly communicated those assets to the mentee, and helped them to convert those assets into capital.

Due to the long-term nature of their relationship, Benjamin answered questions about how it changed over time. Ultimately, he characterized its path as one that began as mentorship and developed into a friendship. When asked what sustained the relationship, he explained that his "philosophy is to break down barriers when mentoring". Both he and Rachel would disagree about issues and topics but they always treated each other with respect and he learned that mentoring is "not an easy seamless relationship" and he had to learn "when to push" and when to step back.

Diane. Diane is 43 years old and has ascended to a top-level university administrative position at a private institution in Southern California. She is a Mexican-American female, raised by a single father of six children. Her father had a third-grade education and she is one of two of his children who went to college. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and met Rachel through her partner, Benjamin, who mentored Rachel in high school and college. Their acquaintance grew into a relationship when she and Rachel both "started" at a small private liberal arts college in a suburb of Southern California. Diane was in her first year as a Sociology professor and Rachel was starting her first year of undergraduate study. Rachel enrolled in an introductory course that Diane taught and was drawn to the way the topics connected to her life.

Diane shared stories and personal connections to class topics and paid attention to signs that students wanted to connect with her outside of class. She was intentional about providing students with time and space to engage with her. This included an "open door" policy to visit her office, as well as opportunities to attend events or have meals together on campus. As their

relationship grew, they saw each other multiple times per week and spent informal time together such as shopping off-campus. Their relationship continued throughout Rachel's undergraduate years with Rachel taking more of Diane's classes, working as her research assistant, and eventually helping Diane to launch a program for first generation college students on a nearby campus.

Diane explained her motivation for supporting Rachel as a desire to "invest" in a growing relationship with someone who had "great potential" but didn't always recognize the possibilities of their potential. This was also true of the time she spent to support and guide Stacy, another undocumented college graduate who named Diane as a mentor during college. Diane stated that Stacy demonstrated the willingness to "meet me halfway" to make the relationship grow.

Diane and Stacy met when Stacy enrolled in her first-year seminar for freshman students. During initial meetings with advisees, Diane would spend extra time with students to learn about their needs beyond academic ones. Stacy disclosed her undocumented status to her during their first meeting and Diane thinks this is due to the extended conversations she holds with students. By discussing aspects of their lives outside of school, Diane gives students the opportunity to "enter the conversation where they feel comfortable".

Throughout her undergraduate years, Stacy experienced family challenges, many of which were tied to the undocumented status of her close family members. Each time, Diane would persuade her to remain in school when she thought that leaving school would allow her to help her family. Diane recalls that she told Stacy on numerous occasions that she would "be able to do more for her family with a college degree" in the long term. She shared stories about her own struggles as a low-income, first-generation college student in order to help Stacy and Rachel understand that they could successfully navigate the college pathway.

Fernando. Fernando is a 47-year old male who migrated to the U.S. from Mexico after he completed college there and could not find work due to an economic recession. He completed a Master's and Ph.D. in Economics in Oklahoma and developed a key relationship with a mentor while he attended a fellowship program in Indiana. He is now an interim associate dean at a public university in Central California, where he is also an Economics professor.

He met Emma when she took one of his Economics classes. Due to her high academic performance in his class, he approached her with the idea of double majoring in Economics. Over time, they would meet during office hours or in the hallways and have conversations about the social aspect of Economics, along with casual talks about other aspects of their lives. They found that they were both Spanish-speaking runners who were born outside of the U.S. Although they didn't talk outside of class frequently, he emphasized that the "quality of the conversations were more important than the quantity" and they developed a friendship as a result.

She invited him to an event at her family's home and he was struck by their warmth and strong support of her. That encounter left a lasting impression and he said he became "more motivated to help her achieve her goals". Eventually, Emma visited his home with her parents and they all met Fernando's wife and children. When he witnessed her family's support of Emma, Fernando showed her and her family that he valued them and that he places emphasis on the value of family as well. Fernando grasped the strength of Emma's familial capital and leveraged it to support Emma to reach her educational goals.

As she got closer to finishing her undergraduate degree, she struggled to find a job and was frustrated by the lack of options for undocumented adults. He told her stories about not having his family when he moved to the U.S. to help her focus on the positive aspects of her life, such as her family's proximity and support. He encouraged her to "anticipate change" and to "go

through any doors that were open". She decided to pursue a Master's in Economics and he helped her to prepare by offering tips for the GRE exam and requesting letters of recommendation from professors. He showed her how to build and use navigational capital to strengthen her aspirational capital when it wavered due to limited options.

Fernando also described some of the ways in which he benefited from his relationship with Emma. She taught him that DACA recipients cannot receive direct financial aid payments. Instead, funds must be disbursed through the institution's financial aid office. In addition, he met and spent time with her family. He described those times as ones that "helped fill the void left by the absence" of his own extended family.

Jenny. Jenny is a 68-year old widowed female who identifies as a Caucasian of English, Welsh, and Irish background. She holds a Ph.D. and an Oxford degree and will be retired from a 40-year career as a college history professor in 2020. She grew up in a small town on the east coast of the United States and was expected to fulfill a traditional female role. Instead she earned a doctoral degree and a decades-long career at a small religious college in the east. She continues to have contact with a college professor who was supportive during her years as a student.

Her relationship with Kayla began when she took a general education class that Jenny taught. She recalls that Kayla sat in the front with a smiling face from the first day of class. Her demeanor was unique since many students took the class to fulfill a requirement and had no particular interest in the content. During conversations after class, they discovered that they had similar interests and made an "intellectual connection". Jenny convinced Kayla to take another of her courses and they would talk at least twice per week during those times. Since there campus was small, they had many opportunities to see each other in passing and would sometimes talk for as much as 20 minutes at those times. Over time, the relationship evolved into a friendship

and even when they didn't talk as often during her final years at the school, there was always a "warmth" between them.

They spoke about writing, books, and movies. Kayla didn't have to explicitly disclose her status because their small institution was intentional about introducing and welcoming DACA students to the school community. During their conversations, Jenny learned more about the undocumented experience and realized that many pathways were not possible for Kayla. She calls this the "constant subtext" in her life and said "it's always there" whether or not they were having specific conversations about it.

She recognizes Kayla's strengths as someone who has "integrity, character, vibrancy, elegance, and a warm and lovely sense of humor". She went on to say that Kayla made it "easy to laugh" and was "stimulating" company due to her "depth of character". She became a vocal and visible advocate for other DACA students on her campus and eventually did a TED Talk related to her experiences. Even so, Jenny needed to remind Kayla of her strengths and their value. Over time, her confidence grew from the recognition she received as a leader among DACA students.

Jenny says she benefited from their relationship in the form of increased knowledge about undocumented students and how to better support them in the future. In addition, Kayla's enthusiasm for the subject matter that Jenny taught, gave Jenny more "confidence, certainty, and energy" regarding the value of her own work. She believes that she was able to carry that momentum into the classes she taught after she taught Kayla. This mentoring relationship demonstrates that mentors of undocumented students come from a variety of backgrounds and can build strong relationships with undocumented students by establishing common ground.

Robert. Robert is a 52-year old white male who is no longer a practicing Catholic but was once in the seminary to become a priest. He holds a Master's and Ph.D. in Philosophy and is an associate professor of Philosophy at the college that Kayla attended. He was the first member of his family to attend college and recalls the instrumental role that a college professor played in his academic decisions and who later became his graduate school advisor. He interacted with Kayla in two different roles during her first year of college: as her professor in a critical reading seminar and as her Honors advisor. They saw each other several times per week and continued to have regular contact for advising.

Robert drew upon his ability to relate to Kayla in two ways. He was also a first-generation college student who couldn't rely on his family for guidance and affirmation of his higher education aspirations. In addition, when he left the seminary, he struggled with a new phase in his life that seemed uncertain. He believes that there were some parallels with the struggle that Kayla had during the 10-year period following high school when she had no options for attending college. Early in their relationship, he said she seemed unsure of whether she should be in college and so he focused on affirming her place there and telling her that she could earn her degree. However, he also thought that she was an excellent candidate for graduate school and told her that she should consider getting a Ph.D. He focused on helping her understand her full potential so she could visualize a variety of possibilities for the future. In doing this, he drew upon the way his college mentor guided him towards the graduate school option, which he did not consider until his mentor presented the idea. As a professor, he saw that her work was a higher quality than many of her peers and so he focused on helping her to see that she had extraordinary ability.

During her junior year when she selected a major outside of his subject area, she asked him to continue to be her advisor although she had the option to choose one in her major. He had to learn the requirements of her major in order to continue advising her but also credits her with taking initiative to gather that information too. He maintained an "open door" policy so that she and other students knew that he was frequently available to meet outside of class. They discussed her interest in doing media work, possibly as a reporter, and he thought that her goals were well-aligned with her writing and critical thinking skills.

During these years, he said that "fear of the future was the overarching theme" since there were no clear career paths for undocumented college graduates. Questions surrounding job possibilities, graduate school, or having to leave the U.S. "seemed to weigh on her heavily". Robert worked on providing the "optimistic viewpoint" and told her that although her path wasn't clear, she would be successful in any role that becomes available. Although Kayla had strong aspirational capital, she needed to re-fuel her persistence motivation. This is the area in which Robert excelled as her mentor.

The opportunity to interview four of Kayla's mentors provides a more detailed picture of the undocumented student experience. First, undocumented students are non-traditional and diverse in ways that are directly and indirectly related to their status. Some undocumented students who do not receive support in high school to navigate their post-secondary choices experience a long delay between high school graduation and the start of college. In Kayla's case, she didn't discuss her status with anyone until after high school and so she could not name a high school mentor. However, she identified people who were supportive to her after high school and prior to college so the category "pre-college" mentors was added during data analysis.

In addition, her mentors included a peer at work, a supervisor at work, and later, two college professors. The diversity among her mentors in age, professional role, and type of mentorship indicates that undocumented students rely upon multiple forms of support, which is usually provided by more than one person.

Ginger. Ginger is a 47-year old female Latina who holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and is a professor and the department chair at a public university in Southern California. She moved to the U.S. at age five and her father, who was an American citizen, was able to apply for citizenship for both of his children due to the work that he was doing. Her parents divorced while she was a child and her mother would take her and her sister to visit her home country in Latin America during summer breaks. This gave her the opportunity to learn about life outside of the U.S. and helped her view the world with an expanded lens.

She met her mentee Grace at the institution where she currently works. Grace never took any of her classes but was an active member, and then president, of the undocumented student club on the campus. When Ginger became an advisor for the group, she met Grace and their relationship grew as they worked together to support undocumented students at the campus. They spoke or saw each other at least twice per week for club activities. Over time, they also began to work on scholarly projects together, applying for grants and scholarships, and eventually published a book chapter about their work.

Ginger describes Grace's assets as a leader who was "on fire" when she met her. Grace was resourceful and took initiative that helped her secure an internship. In addition, Grace was "collaborative, respectful, and receptive" to Ginger's guidance. That guidance included giving Grace affirmation that she had chosen the right path and by sharing stories about her own professional experiences in academia. During Grace's undergraduate years, Ginger was aware of

the stress that she experienced due to having family members who were also undocumented and struggles that they had due to medical emergencies. Ginger also emphasized the ongoing stress that Grace and her family felt in their city which has a "high presence of immigration enforcement".

When Grace was first denied admission to a Ph.D. program, Ginger advised her to pursue a Master's degree. Later, when she applied to Ph.D. programs again, Ginger provided feedback on her applications and essays, wrote letters of recommendation, and helped her obtain scholarships. Ginger spoke about how much she learned about the undocumented experience by working closely with Grace while she was an undergraduate and then a graduate student. Grace is currently working on her doctoral dissertation and continues to have a close personal and academic relationship with Ginger.

Ginger says that they have "become colleagues and close friends" over the years and that she has also benefited from her relationship with Grace. She enjoys their collaboration and ability to have fun while working together. Ginger appreciates working with someone who "values her partnership" and had taught her about the concerns that the undocumented community have. She believes that she is a better teacher and mentor as a result of her relationship with Grace, noting that she can "pay that forward by anticipating the needs" of other students.

Kevin. Kevin is a 63-year old Latinx male who has a Master's degree in College and University Administration. He moved to the U.S. when he was three years old with formal legal documentation with his single mother. He attended Catholic K-12 schools with peers who had a higher socio-economic status than he and his mother. Although he didn't have a mentor in high school, his peers were supportive of his college aspirations and one of his ninth grade teachers

gave him advice that allowed him to see his potential as a student. He attended a public four-year university in Southern California where he became involved in community-based programs that served underprivileged children. He did not have a mentor in college either but recalls that the advisor for a student organization helped him to widen his perspective about the work that he was doing. Kevin moved to Michigan to earn a Master's in social work but decided to focus on student affairs instead. Over the course of his career, he has worked at five universities inside and outside of California. He currently oversees services for undocumented students at a public four-year university in Northern California.

He met Sophia when he was the Associate Director of Admissions at his current institution. She contacted his office after her acceptance had been rescinded due to falling grades. She revealed her status to him right away and he invited her to meet with him in-person to discuss a plan of action. She, her mother, and her brother met with him and he helped her to develop a plan to improve the deficient grade over the course of the fall semester, with the goal of being re-admitted for the spring. He recalls that her mother was supportive of Sophia's college aspirations and that her brother also had dreams of going to college. The plan worked and she began attending the school the following spring.

Although DACA had been established, Sophia was not eligible to receive DACA benefits. Kevin describes one of her assets as resourcefulness, because she sought and found ways to earn money, such as marketing for a local restaurant. She joined one of her peers in his efforts to improve services for undocumented students on and off campus. As part of this work, she visited local high schools to conduct outreach efforts. Kevin notes that she was persistent in her mission to educate other undocumented students about possibilities for attending college.

Due to the small size of the campus and her involvement in student groups, he saw her several times a week and maintained an "open door policy" which allowed students to drop-in to see him at any time. In addition, he forwarded his office number to his cell phone after business hours so that students could contact him if they had an emergency. Whenever she needed help, she would reach out to him. He recalls that even then, one of her strengths was her awareness of issues and challenges. He would support her by providing guidance for overcoming the challenges that she faced.

Another area of struggle for her was the lack of available jobs due to her undocumented status and ineligibility to receive DACA benefits. He supported her by connecting her to members of the campus community who helped her to find work. Throughout her undergraduate years, he also provided emotional support and reassurance that her pursuit of a college degree would be worthwhile in the long run. When she expressed doubts about what the future held for her, he encouraged her to persist because "there is a lot you can achieve with a college degree" and reminding her that "opportunities will expand with a degree". Kevin also discussed the possibility of becoming an entrepreneur and establishing a Limited Liability Corporation.

When she decided to attend graduate school in order to begin a career in student affairs, he supported her by writing letters of recommendation, sharing his knowledge of work in that field, and preparing her for the ongoing financial challenge to fund her schooling. Their relationship has continued beyond her undergraduate years and she now works at the same university as Kevin. He considers her patience as another asset that she has developed over the years due to the fact that she has had to wait longer to fulfill some of her personal and professional goals.

He considers her patience and persistence to be a reminder for him that he should also cultivate those qualities in himself. He credits Sophia for being a "constant reminder" that "each generation brings new issues and thoughts" which means that he "can't be stagnant" and should continuously learn from them.

Michelle. Michelle is a 24-year old woman who identifies as Mexican, earned a Bachelor's degree in Political Science, and works as a policy advocate for a non-profit organization in Southern California. She came to the U.S. from Mexico when she was a year old, and was undocumented until DACA was established. She is currently a DACA recipient and belongs to a family of mixed status individuals. She met Gina during the first year when they both transferred from community college to a public university in Southern California. Michelle, like Carla, was a peer mentor to the undocumented college graduate who named her as an influential mentor.

Michelle met Gina at one of the first events that she attended at their four-year college campus and they both revealed their status to each other right away. Their relationship developed into a friendship quickly and they were in contact with each other daily. During their second year at the college, they became roommates. An important aspect of their relationship was that they could "relate to each other without having to explain" the many ways that their legal status affected their lives. They relied on each other whenever they faced frustration related to their status. Michelle recalls that Gina's grandmother passed away while they were in college and Gina couldn't travel out of the country to attend the funeral. Michelle had a similar experience and had an understanding of the situation that allowed her to support Gina during that time.

She described Gina's assets as "super caring", someone who has compassion for other people, and resilient. Michelle helped her to understand that her empathy for others was a

strength but that she would need to learn how to take "a step back" in order to avoid emotional burnout. In addition, they had conversations in order to validate each other as being deserving of their acceptance to their four-year institution. Their relationship is ongoing and she recently has reminded Gina of her academic worth now that she is applying to law school and feeling some self-doubt. In addition, Michelle has shared her professional experience with Gina by explaining that it may take time to find the job that is the right "fit" after graduation.

Michelle is grateful for her relationship with Gina, who she views like a sister. They have discussed topics, such as birth control, that are specific to women and that Michelle didn't discuss with her own family members. In addition, Gina provided an example of someone who sought help for mental health challenges and this helped Michelle feel more comfortable addressing some of her own socio-emotional difficulties.

Finding #1: Mentoring Models

There were seven mentoring models represented by the data. The models refer to the structure of the relationships and are based on the way that the relationship began. The models are youth-initiated mentoring, natural mentoring, mentor-initiated mentoring, peer-mediated mentoring, peer mentoring, institutionally-mediated mentoring, and pre-college mentoring. Youth-initiated mentoring (YIM) is a mentoring relationship that began when a UIS approached the mentor to seek help. This definition is based on the current definition of YIM but does not include the additional step of the mentor and UIS formalizing their relationship by joining an organized program (Spencer, Gowdy, Drew, & Rhodes, 2019). Natural mentoring refers to a relationship that developed as a result of an already-existing relationship between a UIS and their mentor and occurs outside of a formalized program (Hagler & Rhodes, 2018). Mentor-initiated mentoring is a relationship that began when the mentor approached a UIS and offered advice or

suggestions. Peer-mediated mentoring describes a relationship between a UIS and mentor that began when a peer of the UIS introduced the student to the mentor. Peer mentoring is a relationship between a UIS and a peer who was close in age and who provided support for the UIS. Institutionally-mediated mentoring refers to mentoring relationships that developed when a UIS and a mentor crossed paths due to their roles in an educational institution.

The study initially sought to gather data from mentors in the high school and college contexts. However, several mentors developed relationships with UIS who experienced a delay of one or more years between high school graduation and matriculation to a four-year college. The relationships that developed during that time period are identified in the results as the pre-college context and are reported in a combined category named high school/pre-college. It was necessary to modify the high school context description to include the mentoring that occurs when some UIS do not immediately matriculate to a four-year college.

Table 4.3 summarizes the percentages of each type of mentoring relationship in each context. The findings indicate that mentoring relationships involving UIS do not fall into the current categories defined by mentoring literature. Rather, the majority of mentoring relationships in this study developed between UIS and mentors as a result of the contact that they had with each other in an educational institution.

Table 4.3

Types of Mentoring Relationships by Context

Context	Youth-Initiated Mentoring (YIM)	Natural Mentoring (NM)	Mentor-Initiated Mentoring (MIM)	Peer-Mediated Mentoring (PMM)	Peer Mentoring (PM)	Institutionally-Mediated Mentoring (IMM)
High School/ Pre-College	N=0 (0%)	N=0 (0%)	N=0 (0%)	N=2 (18%)	N=1 (.09%)	N=7 (64%)
College	N=1 (11%)	N=1 (11%)	N=2 (22%)	N=0 (0%)	N=1 (11%)	N=4) (44%)
Total*	N=1 (.06%)	N=1 (.06%)	N=2 (11%)	N=2 (11%)	N=2 (11%)	N=11 (61%)

Note: *Table provides percentage of each type of relationship in each context and the total provides the overall percentage of each type of relationship across all mentors

Eleven of the eighteen mentors (61%) developed mentoring relationships with a UIS as a result of an institutionally-mediated encounter. Two of the eighteen mentors (11%) were peer mentors. Two of the eighteen relationships (11%) began as the result of a peer-mediated encounter. Two of the relationships (11%) were mentor-initiated, while one (.05%) was youth-initiated and one (.05%) emerged as a natural mentoring relationship that derived from an already established relationship between the mentor and the UIS. Two of the models, peer-mediated and institutionally-mediated, and the pre-college context derived from the data when mentors discussed how they met the UIS who they mentored.

Finding #2: Effective Mentoring Styles and Strategies

Intentional and proactive mentoring

The types of mentoring relationships discussed previously refer to the *structure* of the relationships. Each structure was characterized by the way that the relationships began. A closer look at each mentor then revealed unique mentoring *practices* that each of them used. While no two mentors engaged in identical practices, one-half of the mentors in the study used strategies

that are summarized in Table 4.4 as three specific styles: intentional mentoring, proactive mentoring, and/or use of an informal mentoring team (Schwartz & Rhodes, 2016). Six mentors (33%) shared that they chose to mentor UIS in intentional ways. Once they discovered some of the challenges that the UIS was facing, several of them made the conscious decision to offer ongoing support. Jenny said that the more she learned about current immigration policies, the more she realized that she disagreed with them and this drove her "to provide extensive support" to Kayla. More high school/pre-college mentors (22%) practiced intentional mentoring than college mentors (11%).

In addition, six mentors (33%) took proactive steps to support UIS. Since they were knowledgeable about the path to college and/or the path through college, some of the mentors anticipated challenges and pre-planned strategies for coping with those challenges. This was especially true regarding financial aid. David recalled that he was more anxious to read about the financial aid offer for his mentee than to hear about her acceptance to a highly-ranked school on the east coast. At that time, there were no financial aid options tailored to meet the needs of UIS and he prepared himself to explain this next step in the college admissions process to his mentee. Benjamin met with his mentee before her high school graduation and made a specific plan for her to follow immediately after graduating. He explained to her that she would take a "gap year" between high school and college and take certain steps to strengthen her application profile to increase her chances of being accepted to a college that could provide her with full funding. More high school/pre-college mentors (28%) used proactive strategies than college mentors (.06%).

Use of informal teams

Five mentors (28%) consulted other adults in their professional and personal networks who helped them to identify resources to support UIS. They realized that they lacked expertise and/or power in some domains and then reached out to their networks to tap into those resources. Kevin knew that Sophia did not qualify to receive DACA benefits so he connected her to members of the campus who helped her find work with a local business. When Dominic found out that Erin was not going to attend the four-year university that accepted her due to lack of financial aid, he contacted colleagues on his campus to learn more about California's Assembly Bill 540 (AB540) which provides financial aid to UIS in some instances. He also asked the school's family liaison to meet with her family to explain the college pathway to them. All of the mentors who made use of a mentoring team were in the high school/pre-college context while none of the college mentors used a mentoring team.

Table 4.4. shows that mentors in the high school/pre-college context used one of the three approaches more than mentors in the college context. This could mean that mentors need to use more targeted approaches when supporting UIS students during high school/pre-college years. In the high school/pre-college context, proactive and intentional mentoring emerged as effective mentoring styles while the use of an informal team was a strategy that allowed mentors to provide maximum support. This indicates that these specific mentoring styles, or approaches, and the use of a mentoring team can help UIS in high school/pre-college to achieve their educational goals.

Table 4.4

Mentoring Approaches by Context

Context	Mentoring Team	Intentional Mentoring	Proactive Mentoring
High School/Pre-College	N=5 (28%)	N=4 (22%)	N=5 (28%)
College	N=0 (0%)	N=2 (11%)	N=1 (.06%)
Total	N=5 (28%)	N=6 (33%)	N=6 (33%)

Finding #3: Mentors Identified Community Cultural Wealth of UIS

Community cultural wealth

Mentors named multiple forms of community cultural wealth (CCW) that UIS possess. Analysis of the data revealed that the CCW of the UIS could be identified as 31 descriptors. More than one mentor named the following qualities that UIS possess: gifted, dedicated, brave, hard-working, organized, mature, persistent, authentic, humble, respectful, ambitious, and determined. These descriptors were each named once across the 18 mentors in their descriptions of the 12 UIS: eager, empathetic, caring, resilient, accountable, well-composed, hungry, resourceful, appreciative, collaborative, adaptable, health-conscious, goal-oriented, outgoing, creative, proactive, responsible, patient, and helpful. Nineteen of the descriptors were unique to a single UIS while twelve of them were shared by two or more of the UIS. This extensive list of descriptors that mentors provided in describing only twelve UIS confirms that UIS possess a great deal of CCW.

Figure 4.1 provides a visual snapshot of the CCW that mentors identified in UIS. However, mentors provided additional details that capture the depth of that CCW. Anna described Kayla's CCW in this way:

> I think I've learned a lot from (Kayla) about determination and not being afraid to take chances. And I mean, I think anybody could look at (her) as a role model for that kind of thing. I mean, being willing to live in a dorm when you're 30 years old for several years just takes guts.

Diane described Rachel as a mature, adaptable, and ambitious person who "took advantage of opportunities" that presented themselves and who "believes she can do anything". Fernando said that Emma was goal-oriented and health-conscious, but also humble. In addition to describing her use of exercise to maintain her physical health, he also noticed that she maintained mental balance as well. He said that she was "aware of the risks" of being undocumented and took the time to assess risks when making decisions. This included consideration for her family members. He stressed that she was "loving towards her family" and made all of her decisions with them in mind.

Connie used the words hardworking, committed, and outgoing to describe Stacy. She was willing to ask for help, would initiate relationships with adults, and was active on campus. Caroline captured Erin's CCW as respectful, bright, proactive, and creative. She served as a "role model for her peers" and "used her abilities and talents well" when she worked for Caroline's non-profit foundation during the years that passed between her high school graduation and matriculation to a four-year college. Mariel described her mentee's persistence saying, "Lisa is a fighter. She does not give up."

Carla was a mentor to another UIS, Kayla, who experienced a gap between high school graduation and matriculation to a four-year institution. She highlighted Kayla's patience during that time when some of her high school classmates went straight to college after graduation and she could not. During those years, she found a full-time job and became the primary breadwinner

for her family. Therefore, she learned to be responsible when making financial decisions. She said that Kayla was organized, a good decision-maker and an authentic person who was "easy to laugh with". Benjamin also noticed that Rachel had a gift for interacting with others through her helpful nature. He used the words "bien educado" to describe her, saying that the words translate to English as "well-mannered" but carries much more weight than the translation reveals. Anna and Armond both described their UIS mentees as "determined" to meet their goals. Armond also highlighted Erin's persistence and courage to pursue her goals in the face of extreme adversity.

Figure 4.1 Word cloud of community cultural wealth that mentors identified in undocumented immigrant students

Finding #4: Mentors and UIS Leverage CCW as Capital

Familial capital

Seven of the mentors (39%) explicitly described the families of their UIS mentees and the ways in which they were a source of capital for them. Five (28%) of the mentors met with parents and other family members at some point during their mentorship of a UIS. David met Denise's parents and learned that they had trust in the education system. He also spoke about

how proud her father was of Denise. Knowing these things about the family, David viewed her family as an asset and expressed how much he valued their impact on her.

Fernando, who supported Emma during college, met her family and elaborated on how supportive they were of her. He also noticed that she is "very loving towards her family" and understood that the family unit is important in her culture. He stated that he was even more motivated to help her achieve her educational goals after meeting her family. In his interactions with them, they demonstrated respect for him, his family, and his professional role in Emma's life. Fernando viewed her family, their mutual love and support for each other, and the respect they showed him, as positive factors. He leveraged these assets as familial capital by referring to her family's presence and support whenever he encouraged her in her pursuits.

Levi was Emma's high school mentor and he also met her family. He said he knew that "it was important to include the family" so he made time to speak with them. Eventually, he took Emma's mother to visit the college campus that she was going to attend and answered the questions her mother had. During his interactions with her mother, he "recognized that her mother was her motivator" and this influenced the guidance he provided. As he worked with Emma to gain college admission, he kept her family in mind:

> As a counselor, you know, our conversations always, oh, what do your parents feel about this? Because we want to make sure that there's that buy in. Um, I don't remember exactly if, um, I offered for her to talk to mom first but I knew that she and mom had a really strong relationship. I knew that Dad, um, at the time couldn't just take away time from work and he was always committed to his work to help support the family financially.

In addition, he views Emma as someone with outstanding character and said that it "reflects her family's upbringing of her".

Caroline, who met and supported Erin during her pre-college years, is another mentor who met with the family of their mentee. She said that Erin's mother was her "inspiration" and that the two of them "are very close". This helped Caroline understand why Erin's primary "focus was on helping her family". She also highlighted the ways that Erin's actions led her to be a "role model for her younger brother" and the other interns who worked for the foundation where they met.

Connie supported Stacy during high school and also shared knowledge about siblings. In Stacy's case, her older sibling was an outstanding student who had gone to college and Stacy "wanted to be like her". Connie spoke about the pressure that Stacy put on herself to meet the high standard that her sister set and understood that this standard was also a motivating factor for Stacy. She attended some of Stacy's family events and found that her family was supportive of her college-going aspirations. Knowing about their support, and the path that Stacy's older sibling had taken, Connie provided support in the form of encouragement and focused on giving her advice to manage her time and socioemotional well-being. Connie used her knowledge about Stacy's family to help her navigate the transition from high school to college.

The two mentors who leveraged familial capital but did not meet their mentee's families are Dominic and Carla. Dominic understood that for his students "family comes before education and I respect that". With this understanding, he asked his high school's family liaison to contact Erin's family to talk about the college pathway. Although he wanted to help her find the financial aid to attend the four-year university that accepted her, he understood why she chose to attend a community college right after high school instead.

Carla, who served as a peer mentor to Kayla during her pre-college years, did not meet Kayla's family but had many conversations with her about them. She learned that Kayla had "primary financial responsibility" for the family as the only family member with a "real job". When they discussed possible options for Kayla to change her status, and then the possibility of going to college after DACA was announced, she helped her to weigh her options in light of her family's financial dependence on her.

These seven mentors demonstrate ways that mentors of UIS can leverage their knowledge of familial capital to enhance their support of UIS. Whether or not they meet the families, taking the time to discuss and understand the role that family plays in the lives of some UIS, helps mentors to provide personalized guidance. When mentors recognized the familial capital that UIS possess, the capital was not only a source of strength for the students, but also a factor that motivated the mentors as they worked to support the students.

Aspirational capital

Nine mentors (50%) discussed the aspirations that UIS and/or their families had for them and the ways in which those aspirations worked as a form of capital to help them achieve their educational goals. Levi was one of Emma's high school mentors and described her as someone who was eager to learn. He captured her thirst for learning as a desire to "make something of her life, something greater" and said that "she was very passionate about helping her family in any way that she could". He provided deadlines for her to prepare and gather her college application materials and noticed that she would meet the deadlines ahead of time.

Carla, a pre-college mentor to Kayla, recalled their lunch-time talks about whether or not she should take advantage of DACA after President Obama introduced it.

> I remember going out to lunch with her and we had this conversation about it and she was really worried about, um, her parents and their perspective on whether or not to go after this. She was concerned about her brother and, um, if they came forward and provided all their information, what might happen as a result. Um, but then there's also that the hope and possibility for advancement for herself, um, to do the things that she's watched others do where she was far more capable and qualified, um, and had to kind of sit on the sidelines. So she took a risk and, and she took a calculated one. Um, she's never done anything just frivolously.

Kayla was concerned about the risk she would take by exposing her undocumented family members, who would not have the same temporary protection that DACA offered her. Carla said that DACA allowed Kayla to be "able to go and pursue her dreams" with "at least a temporary sense of freedom".

Another pre-college mentor, Caroline, knew that Erin wanted to attend a four-year college because she applied for a college scholarship through Caroline's foundation. When they worked together at the foundation, Caroline learned that Erin wanted to earn a college degree so that she could help her family improve their financial status. Since she was attending a two-year college while looking for sources of funding for a four-year college, Erin also looked for "creative ways to earn money" in case she wasn't able to earn a Bachelor's degree. One specific example was when Erin started to sell Mary Kay cosmetics as an independent contractor. Armond, who supported Erin during her pre-college and college years, told her that although the four-year college path wouldn't be easy, "it would be worth it".

Benjamin was a pre-college and college mentor to Rachel and spoke about their conversations related to her career plans. Rachel started college thinking that she would become

a professor. As Benjamin learned more about her strengths through her interactions with people, he realized that she had a gift for understanding others at a deeper level. He pointed out some of those strengths to her and told her that her strengths aligned with those of an administrator at her college. He explicitly told her "you could be that" meaning that she could aim for additional paths in academia that may be more professionally and financially rewarding than the professoriate.

Diane was also a college mentor to Rachel and knew of her plans to work in higher education after earning her Bachelor's degree. Rachel took classes that Diane taught and Diane noticed that Rachel began making connections between what she learned as a scholar and the work she wanted to do in higher education. Diane hired her as an intern for a new program that she was developing for first generation students and Rachel gained professional experience related to her career goals. In addition, Diane provided the opportunity for her to work as a summer research assistant (RA), working with data that "resonated with her experience". Diane saw that RA work as Rachel's first chance to explore a "side of her background" through an academic lens.

Robert, one of Kayla's college mentors, also spent time talking to her about post-baccalaureate plans. He recognized her strengths as an undergraduate student as ones that would help her be successful in graduate school. He decided to ask her if she had thought about graduate school and encouraged her to consider it as one of her options after earning her Bachelor's degree. He remembers that he specifically suggested law school and the Ph.D. path as two options. When he recalled these suggestions, he also described his thinking by saying, "I don't know if she was hearing those things, you know, in other places. So I did feel that in all honesty, she needed to know those things".

Michelle was another mentor who encouraged the graduate school path for her mentee. She was a peer mentor to Gina and as roommates, they had many conversations during their undergraduate years. When Gina was considering law school, Michelle encouraged her to take that path. She said that she reminded "her that she was one of the very few undocumented students going through that process…but at the same time she was worthy of it".

Jenny was one of Kayla's college mentors. They connected over common interests and one of them was a love for writing. Jenny shared her own experiences as a writer in academia and believes that her conversations with Kayla "influenced her decision to write". Kayla went on to major in communications and became involved in writing and public-speaking. She also embraced new forms of communication using digital platforms such as TED Talks.

Navigational capital

Seven mentors (39%) shared the ways that they helped UIS to navigate the world of higher education. Benjamin spent time helping Rachel make sense of what she saw and heard in higher education spaces.

> A lot of our conversations are almost always about that decoding. Right? Like this is what you saw, now let's actually look at the code. It's kind of like the Matrix, the film. You see reality, but the people that have been able to step out of that artificial reality can actually see the code that creates that reality. And so if you understand the code, then you understand why that reality means something to people because you know the code. Right? I mean, the elites, they know... I mean, the codes, they learn it from birth. Those of us who were not born into wealth, we have to learn how to decode that and keep up that decoding process because that's always evolving and changing.

Armond prepared Erin for the transition from a 2-year to a 4-year college by discussing the sense of alienation that she may feel and how to move back and forth between the college space and family space. He told her that her family may begin to see her as being different or a changed person, which can cause tension that she needs to anticipate and see that it is "part of the process" of moving through that phase of her life.

He also described ways that she could prepare for other students' reception of her on campus. In particular, he explained some of the relationship dynamics among Latinx students on college campuses and that her identity could be called into question by the community in a new way. He also prepared her for interactions with students from more privileged backgrounds and how seemingly minor things could lead to a "culture shock". He gave her examples such as encountering pastries and coffee, items that she may think are familiar and yet would be different from what she had eaten with her family. When she transferred to a four-year college, he stayed in touch with her and said that she shared other things that she was navigating such as managing the reading load, and her surprise at the number of her peers who smoked marijuana.

Anna also provided support for a UIS during pre-college and college years. Before DACA was announced, she would talk to Kayla about possible ways to gain legal status so that she could go to college. She tried to help Kayla navigate the legal barriers to higher education. When DACA provided a path for Kayla to go to college, Anna continued to help her navigate the college experience by giving her advice about dating relationships and personal matters that other young women would have discussed with an aunt or older sister.

Kevin helped Sophia connect to a peer on her college campus who was organizing a group for undocumented students. He knew that his support was important but that she would also benefit from interacting with other undocumented students who faced similar navigational

challenges due to their status. Since she didn't qualify to receive DACA benefits, she also had more financial barriers than her peers who did. Kevin helped her to find work so that she could navigate through the economic challenges that she faced.

Diane recalled that she often shared her personal experiences as a first-generation low-income student with the UIS that she mentored. Her stories provided examples of ways that they could handle the new experiences they had as undocumented students. As a faculty member, she also gave Rachel advice about how to "navigate a relationship with another faculty member".

Jenny was another mentor who described her own undergraduate experiences in order to help Kayla navigate the college world. Jenny took advantage of study-abroad opportunities when she was in college and told Jenny that although she wasn't undocumented, she knew what it was like to be far away from home and to feel disconnected from family and friends. She told her about the strategies that she used to cope with those unsettling feelings so that Kayla would have some possible strategies to use when she started experiencing similar things. Jenny also described the ways that Kayla established her presence on her college campus and how that gave her confidence on her journey through her undergraduate years. She said that Kayla became a "visible person on campus" who "represented the voice of DACA students". Jenny believes that identity helped Kayla carve a unique path for herself as she navigated college.

Caroline described Erin's attempts to navigate the financial aid system when she met her through the foundation where she worked. Erin applied for the independent scholarship that Caroline's foundation offered and also sought entrepreneurial ways to earn money. Caroline supported Erin to navigate financial obstacles even before she began attending a four-year college.

Resistant capital

Seven mentors (39%) described ways that UIS resisted the legal, educational, and financial barriers that they faced. Kevin highlighted Sophia's involvement in starting a group for undocumented students on her college campus during her first year there. Not only was she present on campus as an undocumented student, but she also worked to define an explicit space for undocumented students since the institution had not.

Diane gave Rachel the chance to apply scholarly theory to professional practice by hiring her to work for a newly-formed program for first-generation college students. Diane saw that Rachel was "invigorated" by the "role she could play as a, you know, as an agent of social change" on the campus. Rachel's work in the program allowed her to be part of an explicit move to change the campus culture which could be unwelcoming to first generation college students.

Carla described Kayla's explicit actions of resistance while she attended college. Kayla shared her undocumented experience publicly on her campus and became an "advocate of others" who was "vocal about her status and how she got to where she was". Carla described her actions saying that she used her voice and her passion for journalism to advocate for other UIS "in a more meaningful way" by participating in a TED Talk and writing articles for publication.

Robert also described Kayla's active participation on her college campus as acts of resistance. He said that she was "a campus leader" who "was involved in a lot of clubs…and was here a lot". Kayla was involved in several student groups and chose to be visible and vocal about the undocumented experience on her campus. She chose to resist the barriers that undocumented students face using outspoken, public messages. Jenny is another of Kayla's mentors who remembers that she shared her story with others and "became an exemplar/representative of DACA students" through interviews and other public communication.

Caroline's description of Erin's creative solutions to financial barriers also demonstrates her resistance of those barriers. Rather than accepting the barriers as insurmountable, she looked for ways to resist the limitations by seeking her own sources of funding prior to attending a four-year college.

Mariel also spoke about ways that Lisa resisted potential barriers to college while she was still in high school. She said that Lisa experienced academic struggle at times but was "not afraid to, you know, reach out and look for those resources". She did that by staying after school to get help from teachers. When it was time to complete college applications, she asked Mariel if she could borrow a tablet so that she could work on her application at home.

Leadership capital

Some of the examples of resistant capital also demonstrate ways that UIS emerged as leaders among their peers and/or on their campuses. Six mentors (33%) described examples of UIS leadership that are part of a form of capital that has not been used in the CCW framework: leadership capital. Leadership capital has been used to assess how well an individual is prepared to lead a company to meet their goals (Ulrich, 2015). Ulrich proposed an index to determine leadership capital that is more complex than the scope of this study. Here, leadership capital refers simply to the individual characteristics which indicate leadership potential.

Kevin introduced Sophia to another student on their college campus and she helped to start a group for undocumented students. Kayla chose to speak publicly on her campus about her experience as an undocumented individual. She also participated in digitally-based public forums which means that national and global audiences can hear her message.

Other mentors spoke about the example that UIS set for siblings and peers. Caroline said that Erin paved a way for her younger brother to go to college. She also commended Erin for

writing a manual for future interns who would assume her position when she left her work at the foundation. Connie noticed that Stacy "was an influence on peers who maybe were less outgoing. She kind of brought them along with her and, um, was a branch to other students who could use that connection" to adults who could help them.

Mentors also encouraged their current students by sharing the stories of the UIS who named them for this study. They speak about the UIS who graduated from college as a way to motivate their current students to pursue their dreams even if they are facing adversity. These examples are evidence of the ways that UIS learned to lead others as a result of the challenges they faced while pursuing college degrees.

Persistent capital

Six mentors (33%) shared stories and examples that are characterized in a new form of capital that has not yet been explored in the literature: persistent capital. This form of capital emerged to describe the ways in which UIS persevered on their educational pathways in the face of numerous obstacles. The argument here is that UIS develop persistent capital over time in direct response to systemic barriers by creating strategies to navigate and resist those barriers. Some UIS demonstrated persistent capital independent of their mentors, while others needed encouragement from their mentors to develop this form of capital.

Armond helped Erin to develop persistent capital by pushing her to continue pursuing higher education. He emphasized the way that her individual success can lead to success for other undocumented students. He recalls asking her, "What's the best thing you can do? You can succeed as an individual. You can get the diploma. You can do what you can."

Kevin recalled that because Sophia didn't qualify for DACA, she had fewer financial resources than the students who did. Yet she finished her undergraduate degree and earned a

graduate degree immediately after that. He described her persistence by saying, “She could have given up at any time but chose not to”. Even in graduate school when she didn’t qualify to receive graduate assistantships, which many graduate students depend on for funding, she found funding through a non-profit organization.

Diane shared that Stacy would think about leaving college multiple times when her family was facing a new challenge. There were several times when she had to encourage her to stay in college and finish her undergraduate degree. Diane told her, “You will be able to do more for your family with a college degree than without” one. She helped her understand that it was important “to think more long term right now” even though it was hard for her not to leave school in light of some real challenges at that time. Diane shared an example of how mentors help UIS develop persistence capital.

Mariel spoke about Lisa’s unwillingness to give up during her high school years. She failed Chemistry but stayed after school to get academic help. Mariel believes that Lisa’s persistence is what helped her to achieve her goal to attend college after high school. Similarly, Caroline emphasized Erin’s pursuit of financial resources that would allow her to attend a four-year college. In these two cases, the students demonstrated persistent capital through their proactive strategies.

Four of Kayla’s mentors participated in this study and each of them shared examples of how she maintained her dream of attending college even though it took about 10 years following high school for her to be able to do so. Not only did she take advantage of DACA ten years after high school graduation, but she was also several years older than many of her undergraduate peers when she started college. Robert said:

> I felt like I had to, you know, provide her with an optimistic viewpoint because she was doing everything you could possibly ask students to do, citizens to do, you know, a good person to do. And there's just no guarantees that there would be something at the end of the road. And that was, I think that weighed on her a lot.

Each of Kayla's mentors spoke about the ways in which she took full advantage of the opportunities on her college campus. They expressed their joy in seeing her persist to achieve her educational goal after waiting so many years for the opportunity.

Figure 4.2 summarizes examples of six forms of capital that mentors helped UIS to develop and use in their pursuit of a college degree. Familial, aspirational, navigational, resistant, persistent, and leadership capital were the most common forms of capital in this study. Two additional forms, social and linguistic capital were present to a lesser extent so they are not included in the figure.

Social capital

Four of the mentors (22%) provided examples of the ways that UIS develop and use social capital in their educational pursuits. Ginger gives Grace credit for becoming involved with an undocumented student group while she was an undergraduate. Interacting with other undocumented students and advocating for their needs helped her to leverage relationships with peers and the academic community. Ginger believes that Grace's ability to build social capital lead her to earn even more of that capital in graduate school. She sees Grace's use of social capital as so powerful that she credits Grace with providing the connections that make their current academic project a success.

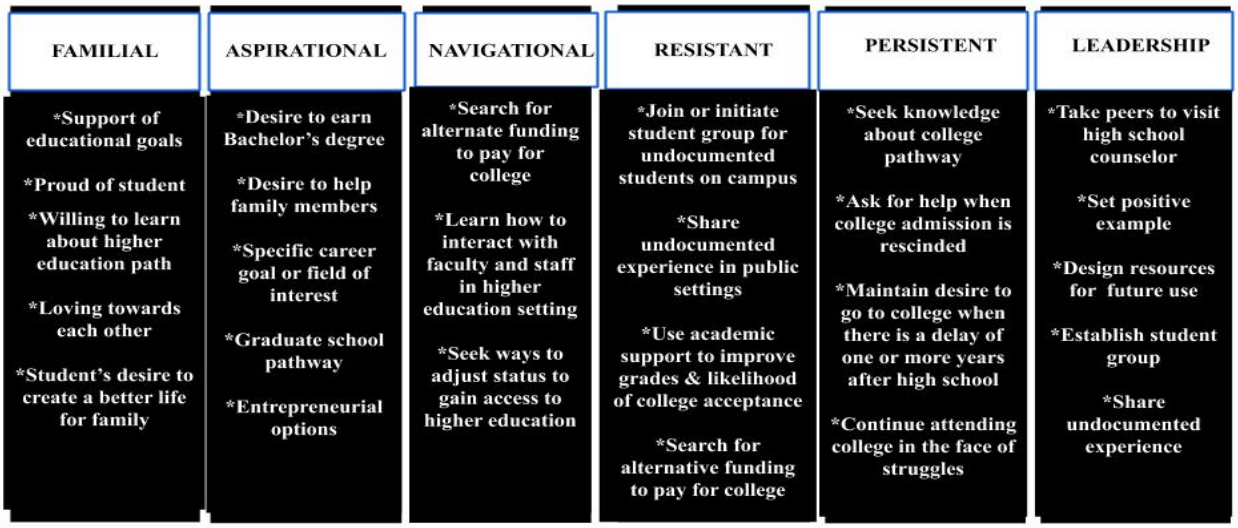

Figure 4.2 Forms of capital and examples of each form that undocumented immigrant students developed and used to achieve educational goals

Robert spoke about Kayla's involvement in several groups on her college campus. He believes that her participation in student groups led to her visibility on campus. Through that involvement, she became a vocal advocate for undocumented students and Jenny believes that Kayla's confidence grew from the social impact that her voice had. Kevin also pointed to Sophia's participation in the founding of a group for undocumented students on her college campus. By working with undocumented peers and allies, Sophia developed important social ties that helped her to find funding since she didn't qualify for DACA benefits.

Linguistic capital

Linguistic capital did not emerge as a significant form of capital for the UIS in this study. However, two mentors shared experiences that are tied to linguistic capital. Carla emphasized the way that Kayla used her voice to raise awareness of the undocumented experience. Here, if

linguistic capital is more widely defined to include the use of one's voice, whether oral or written, then this is a form of linguistic capital.

Connie made direct references to linguistic capital in her support of Stacy and other undocumented students. She recalled that her high school only provided information for parents in the English language and that the school secretary was the only available staff member who could translate for Spanish speaking parents in meetings with school officials. She advocated for her school to identify additional staff members to serve as translators and to provide information for families in other languages. In these ways, she acknowledged the linguistic capital of undocumented students and their families by seeking ways for the school to include their first languages in their communication.

Table 4.5 shows the presence of each form of capital in the two mentoring contexts: high school/pre-college and college. Aspirational capital was the most common form of capital across both contexts. UIS in college used this form slightly more than those in high school/pre-college (28% vs. 22%). UIS in this study all earned a college degree so it is not surprising that their aspirations drove them.

Navigational, resistant, and familial capital are tied as the second most common forms of capital across both contexts (39%). Navigational and resistant capital appeared slightly more in the college context, while familial capital was more commonly used in the high school/pre-college context. High school and pre/college students begin to navigate the college pathway as they seek ways to gain access to higher education. As they encounter barriers, they find ways to overcome them and therefore resist the structural boundaries that seek to prevent them from pursuing that path. During college, UIS continue to navigate the higher education structure and resist the ongoing obstacles that they face. Prior to college, they have a smaller network that may

be more family-centered and this may lead to greater use of familial capital in the high school/pre-college context than in the college context (33% vs .06%).

Table 4.5

Capital Leveraged by Mentoring Context

Forms of Capital	High School/ Pre-College Mentors	College Mentors	Total
Aspirational Capital	(N=4) 22%	(N=5) 28%	(N=9) 50%
Navigational capital	(N=3) 17%	(N=4) 22%	(N=7) 39%
Resistant capital	(N=3) 17%	(N=4) 22%	(N=7) 39%
Familial Capital	(N=6) 33%	(N=1) .06%	(N=7) 39%
Leadership capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=4) 22%	(N=6) 33%
Persistent capital	(N=3) 17%	(N=3) 17%	(N=6) 33%
Social capital	(N=0) 0%	(N=4) 22%	(N=4) 22%
Linguistic capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=0) 0%	(N=2) 11%

Leadership capital appeared with the same frequency as persistent capital across both contexts but was present more in the college context than the high school/pre-college context (22% vs. 11%). The data shows that UIS in college had more opportunities to develop leadership skills. For example, some college campuses had established groups and/or centers for undocumented students, where they could become involved and develop leadership skills.

Persistent capital appeared with the same frequency (17%) in both contexts. It was necessary for UIS to persist in their education in high school/pre-college in order to gain access to college. Similarly, in the college context, it was necessary to persist in order to obtain an undergraduate degree. While this form of capital was explicitly expressed in only 33% of the mentoring relationships, the fact that all of the UIS in this study earned a Bachelor's degree indicates that they all exhibited persistent capital.

Social capital appeared only in the college context (22%). College students may have a greater ability to develop and use social capital than high school/pre-college students. In addition, undocumented students in this study did not share their status openly in high school and this may be another reason that they did not develop or use social capital in that context. Similarly, linguistic capital appeared in only one of the contexts, high school/pre-college (11%) and is the form of capital that was least used. This may be due to the fact that the UIS in this study were all able to use the dominant language, English, and relied less on additional linguistic capital that some of them gained from their multi-lingual backgrounds.

In a closer examination of the number of times that mentors developed and recognized specific forms of capital in each context, I also made note of whether they made use of one of the three approaches: intentional mentoring, proactive mentoring, and/or team mentoring. There were 23 instances where mentors in the high school/pre-college context developed and used UIS capital. High school/pre-college mentors who used one or more of the three approaches accounted for 17 of the 23 instances, while five of the instances occurred with high school/pre-college mentors who did not use one of the approaches. This suggests that mentors of UIS in the high school/pre-college context are more likely to develop and use UIS capital if they also use one of the three approaches.

There were 25 instances where mentors in the college context developed and used UIS capital. College mentors who used one or more of the three approaches accounted for 13 of the 25 instances, while 12 of the instances occurred with college mentors who did not use one of the approaches. This suggests that college mentors are likely to develop and use UIS capital whether or not they use one of the three approaches. Table 4.6 captures the number of mentors in each context who used one of the three approaches, and the form of capital that they developed and used to support UIS.

Table 4.6

Capital Leveraged by Mentoring Approach in each Context

	High School/ Pre-College			College		
Forms of Capital	Intentional Mentoring	Proactive Mentoring	Mentoring Team	Intentional Mentoring	Proactive Mentoring	Mentoring Team
Aspirational Capital	(N=3) 17%	(N=2) 11%	(N=3) 17%	(N=2) 11%	(N=1) .06%	(N=0) 0%
Navigational capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=1) .06%	(N=1) .06%	(N=2) 11%	(N=1) .06%	(N=0) 0%
Resistant capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=2) 11%	(N=3) 17%	(N=2) 11%	(N=1) .06%	(N=0) 0%
Familial Capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=4) 22%	(N=4) 22%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%
Leadership capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=2) 11%	(N=3) 17%	(N=1) .06%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%
Persistent capital	(N=2) 11%	(N=2) 11%	(N=2) 11%	(N=2) 11%	(N=1) .06%	(N=0) 0%
Social capital	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%	(N=0) 0%
Total	13	13	16	9	4	0

Note. Total indicates overall number of instances when capital was developed and used in each context and approach

Finding #5: Mentors Increase CCW of UIS

Previous findings addressed the community cultural wealth which mentors of UIS attributed to their mentees. The fourth finding described the conversion of their CCW to capital. The following discussion addresses the ways that mentors transform CCW to capital through specific forms of support. The data revealed ten distinct forms of support: academic, advocacy, affirmation, application, encouragement, financial, network, professional, and unorthodox. The following discussions about each form of support, summarized in Table 4.7, suggests that mentors increase and expand the CCW of UIS.

Academic support

Eleven mentors (61%) gave examples of the academic support that they provided to UIS. Kim supported Emma in high school and remembers that they had conversations about the classes that she should take in high school in order to be prepared for college. Benjamin, who supported Rachel during pre-college and college years, chose her to be his research assistant during the year that passed between her high school graduation and acceptance to college. He provided this form of support as a way to boost her academic profile since some of her high school grades suffered due to an ongoing health condition.

Similarly, Armond recommended that Erin join the community college honors program at her two-year college in order to increase her chance of acceptance to a four-year college. He told her that she would also learn about additional opportunities, such as scholarships, that may not be shared widely with students who were not part of the honors program.

During Emma's college years, Fernando spoke to her about the graduate school path. He gave her advice to help her develop a more competitive graduate school application. His advice included tips for the Graduate Record Examination (GRE), the importance of maintaining a high

Grade Point Average (GPA), and building relationships with professors who could write letters of recommendation for her. Ginger was another mentor who provided academic support for graduate school. She wrote letters of recommendation for Grace and gave her feedback on her essays. When Grace was initially rejected by graduate programs, Ginger suggested that she apply to Master's programs, which could increase her chance of acceptance into a Ph.D. program.

Kevin also supported Sophia when she considered graduate school. He provided her with advice about the graduate school experience. In addition, he knew that she would continue to have fewer financial aid options than her peers who qualified for DACA. He spent time discussing possible sources of funding for her graduate school education.

Diane was one of Rachel's first professors during her undergraduate years and advised her about which major to select. They weighed the various career options available to psychology and sociology majors and Rachel eventually chose sociology as her major. Diane also involved Rachel in the grant-writing process and when the grant was awarded, Rachel was able to work as her research assistant, gaining valuable research skills as an undergraduate. Diane took the time to teach her the research process by helping her to work through different parts of the project.

Robert, who met Kayla when she took one of his classes, agreed to be her academic advisor even though this was atypical at their institution because her major was outside of his field. He said that he took the time to learn about her major and its requirements so that they could have productive meetings about her academic progress each semester. He also gave her credit for being proactive and seeking that information prior to their meetings.

Jenny also supported Kayla during her college years and took time to talk with her about writing. Jenny gave her feedback on her assignments and encouraged her love of learning. Their

shared love for writing made it easy for them to have many conversations about writing and Jenny told her to continue exploring all of the opportunities that writing offered.

Encouragement support

Twelve mentors (67%) described the encouragement they gave to UIS throughout their educational journeys. During Emma's high school years, Kim spoke to her about the college experience. Emma would ask her to describe college and what to expect. She told her that college is "what you make of it" and that it would be necessary for her to "seek out things that will help you" achieve goals. Although Kim was unaware of Emma's legal status at that time, she now realizes that sharing her viewpoint about college encouraged Emma to take the college pathway.

Ginger and Grace spoke about the value of a college degree. Ginger emphasized the permanence of the degree and the fact that it cannot be taken away once it is granted. She told Grace, "No one can take it away from you. It's yours…and it might intersect with possible pathways you know, to residency, citizenship…" When Grace received initial rejections from graduate school, Ginger encouraged her to continue pursuing the path to a Ph.D. by getting a Master's degree first. Grace was eventually accepted to a doctoral program at an elite university and successfully defended her dissertation as this chapter underwent final revisions.

Anna's encouragement of Kayla during her pre-college years centered around ways to change her legal status. They would discuss possible steps that Kayla could take to change her status and attend college. Since Kayla's status prevented her from gaining access to college in her state, Anna encouraged her to consider ways to change her status so that she could achieve her educational goals.

Carla was another of Kayla's pre-college mentors who spent time encouraging her to find ways to change her legal status. They had conversations about whether joining the military or working for a different employer would open a path for her to change her status. Keeping Kayla's long-term goal of college in mind, Carla also helped her to consider colleges in other states that are more welcoming to UIS. During these years of uncertainty for Kayla, Anna and Carla provided encouragement when it seemed that there were no options for her.

When Kayla started college and Robert became one of her mentors, he developed the sense that she continued to struggle with multiple obligations. He knew that she had several jobs and worked during the summers rather than taking a break to travel for leisure like some of her peers did. He reminded her to "think about how far" she had come and that her work would be worthwhile in the end.

Kevin provided encouragement to Sophia, who could not take advantage of DACA benefits while she was in college. He helped her to find other sources of income and reminded her to continue looking for alternate ways to earn money. He reminded her that a degree would provide her with additional options in the future in professional, financial, and legal matters. Kevin told her that "only 39.8% of people in this country" have Bachelor's degrees and that she would be one of them.

Diane also encouraged Stacy to persist in college, especially when her family faced ongoing struggles. She said that Stacy thought about leaving college on more than one occasion because she wanted to help her family and Diane would spend time convincing her to stay in school. She would tell her about her own struggles when she was an undergraduate and "helped her develop a long-term perspective" when she had to make difficult decisions that seemed to conflict with her family values.

When Michelle and Gina spoke about their shared experience as a UIS and the challenges they faced, Michelle would remind her that "we were there for a reason". Michelle was a peer mentor who had a full understanding of what Gina experienced in college and encouraged her to continue to pursue her college degree. Gina's journey had taken longer than Michelle's up to that point and Michelle knew when she needed her to give her some encouragement.

Armond also knew that the length of time that it takes to get a Bachelor's degree could be discouraging. During Erin's pre-college years, he reminded her on several occasions to continue applying to four-year colleges. He believed that she wanted "…somebody to say, 'Go ahead. Jump. It's okay'". He told her that she would be in a better position if she earned a Bachelor's degree. He saw his encouragement as "instilling hope, which can be difficult especially now" when anti-immigrant sentiments seem to be increasing.

Fernando also had the political climate in mind when he encouraged Emma during college. He told her that "things are going to change…you cannot close doors that may be open later". He reminded her to focus on the positive aspects of her life, such as having her family nearby. He used their support and proximity as ways to encourage her to persist.

Affirmation support

Eleven mentors (61%) provided specific examples of the affirmation support that they gave to UIS. Affirmation refers to the confirmation of one's strengths, ability to overcome challenges, and worthiness of academic achievement. Mentors encouraged UIS as they worked to overcome obstacles in pursuit of higher education. However, they also found it necessary to remind UIS that they were making good decisions and could achieve their goals.

Armond was one of Erin's professors at the two-year college that she attended following high school graduation. Prior to meeting him, she declined an offer of admission to a public four-

year university because she didn't have enough funding to cover the costs. Knowing this, he continuously reminded her that she should transfer to a four-year college. He suggested that she apply to competitive four-year schools and to consider some of the private institutions near her home. By doing this, he affirmed that she was a competitive candidate and taught her that her outstanding profile could lead to a generous financial aid award from a private institution. Erin applied, was accepted to, and attended one of the highly selective institutions that Armond recommended.

Diane provided cultural affirmation for the UIS that she mentored. She was a professor at the private institution where she met Stacy and knew that the Eurocentric atmosphere was intimidating for students of color. She told Stacy to be proud of who she was and to embrace all aspects of her culture, including the music, food, and language. This affirmed Stacy's sense of cultural worth and helped her to sustain cultural pride in an environment that did not send those messages.

Ginger also shared positive messages with Grace about her academic value. They talked about post-baccalaureate options and Ginger told her that graduate school was the right path for her. Similarly, Robert confirmed Kayla's academic choices throughout her college years. He told her that she was in the right place and that she was "well suited for the academic world". He was aware that she was struggling with her financial obligations and told her that she "was going to be successful" because her academic work and other college accomplishments demonstrated that potential.

Michelle also affirmed Gina's potential. When they discussed options for their post-college years, Gina would question whether to pursue law school. Michelle helped her to visualize law school as the right path for her by telling her explicitly that she was "worthy of it".

Affirmation of their plans was important for Stacy and Erin as well. Connie, Stacy's high school mentor understood that she placed a lot of pressure on herself to go to college. Knowing this, Connie let her know that she believed in her ability to achieve her goals. Caroline supported Erin during her pre-college years and knew that she sometimes felt conflicted about pursuing a college degree, which seemed like a selfish desire when her family was struggling. Caroline told her that it was okay to pursue her educational goals and that she "should be in the forefront" at that stage of her life.

Professional support

Ten mentors (56%) at the pre-college and college levels spoke about the professional guidance that they gave to UIS. Benjamin spoke to Rachel about some of her specific strengths and interests and how they aligned with academic and administrative careers. Armond and Erin discussed her interest in psychology and family therapy. He helped her understand the ways in which the fields overlapped and diverged. Ginger drew upon her experience as a college professor when she and Grace talked about the professoriate as a career option for her.

Kevin's professional support of Sophia focused on entrepreneurial paths. Without DACA benefits, she had fewer career options than some of her peers and he told her to consider business opportunities as an independent contractor or by forming a Limited Liability Corporation (LLC). Caroline also exposed Erin to alternative career options by giving her the chance to work on various projects for her foundation. This gave Erin professional experience that she could draw upon in the event that she did not transfer to a four-year college.

Diane's long-term relationship with Rachel, which began while Rachel was an undergraduate, allowed Diane to provide multiple forms of professional support. They spoke about career paths for different majors but also worked on projects together. Through her work

with Diane, Rachel gained skills and experience in grant-writing, research, and programmatic initiatives. Their continuous contact meant that they also talked about how to navigate professional relationships and even had some difficult conversations about a project that was extremely challenging for Rachel.

Unorthodox support

In his interview, Benjamin used the term "unorthodox" to describe the kind of support that he provided to Rachel. In subsequent interviews and during data analysis, this form of support emerged as the one that best describes the atypical but necessary strategies that mentors of UIS use. The data revealed seven components of unorthodox support:

1. Emerges when mentors recognize barriers and seek ways to overcome or confront them
2. Derives from the need to develop solutions that do not exist
3. Incorporates existing strategies in ways, contexts, or with intentions that are different from the ones for which the strategies were designed
4. Requires mentors to identify flexibility in the use of resources
5. Includes mentor assistance with practical matters that may be routine matters for others
6. Leads mentors to assume informal roles and duties that are outside the scope of their formal roles
7. Takes longer to implement than "orthodox" forms of support

Fourteen mentors (78%) provided examples of support that are part of this category. Benjamin described his thoughts and what he said to Rachel at the start of their relationship:

> Okay, we're going to do something that will sound unorthodox. And it was unorthodox. I mean, that's the reality. When you're undocumented, you have to be unorthodox to get where everyone else gets to without having to be unorthodox, right? Because there's a straight path. And when you're undocumented, there's never a straight path. You have to take all kinds of deviations.

In Rachel's case, the unorthodox action came in the form of her taking a gap year after high school to take specific steps to increase the likelihood that a college would accept her with full financial funding.

Some UIS lacked other resources that they needed to attend college. Mariel recalled lending a tablet to Lisa so that she could work on her college applications at home. Caroline's foundation gave Erin a computer that she used to complete her college and financial aid applications. In addition, they created a paid internship so that she could earn money for the work that she did for the organization. Caroline said that they "incorporated her into the foundation work" since she was the kind of young person they sought to support.

During Kayla's pre-college years, Anna discussed the idea of Kayla getting married in order to gain legal status. When DACA was announced, Anna drove her to complete the fingerprinting step. Then she went with Kayla to visit the college that she wanted to attend. After she was accepted to that college, Anna drove Kayla to college to help her move into the dorms.

Kevin was another mentor who played an instrumental role even before Sophia began attending the college where he worked. She contacted him after her offer of admission was rescinded due to a decline in her grades. He met with her and her family members and designed a plan for her to regain admission. When she began attending the college, he continued to support her and described his role as one of a "father figure" because he knew that her father wasn't involved in her life and she sometimes sought him for the kind of advice that other students would have sought from their fathers.

Diane also offered gestures that were familial in nature. She lived near the college campus where she taught and invited students, including Rachel and Stacy, to her home. She interacted with UIS in spaces outside of the institution so that their relationship grew in multi-dimensional

ways. She gave Stacy advice when she faced family struggles and spoke about rising tension between her and Rachel when they had a difficult conversation about a project that Rachel wanted to end. During that difficult conversation, Rachel wanted to leave but Diane pushed her to stay until they reached a solution.

Robert is another mentor who provided unorthodox support. He was Kayla's initial academic advisor but when she declared a major outside of his field, she was supposed to select a new advisor. However, she asked Robert to continue to advise her and he agreed to learn her program requirements in order to fulfill that role.

Connie supported Stacy by stepping outside of her traditional role as a high school teacher. She noticed that written notices for families were only available in English and she advocated for them to be translated into Spanish for Spanish-speaking families. She also pushed her high school to have additional translators available for meetings with parents so that they could have better access to the information shared in those meetings.

Levi provided unorthodox support in the way he included the family as well. He took Emma and her mother to visit a college campus and explained to her mother the ways that higher education would provide additional opportunities for Emma's future. He described the targeted search he made for a college that would provide full financial support for Emma. Once he identified that campus, he contacted several people in his professional network to help ensure her admission and full funding. He described his persistence in that process by saying, "I was fortunate enough to, to just have open and honest conversation with some of my colleagues at Farmland State at the time. And so they guided me to the right people. It took two conversations and then it took a visit."

These examples of support are atypical because they do not fall into the job description and duties of the mentors in the study. Most of them were faculty or staff in a high school or college. Several were co-workers and/or peers to the UIS who identified them for this study. Their examples of unorthodox support occurred in response to the unique challenges that UIS face and in the absence of any defined solutions for them.

Table 4.7 summarizes the specific forms of support that individual mentors provided in each context. The table includes a brief description of each type of support and shows that mentors implemented academic, encouragement, affirmation, professional, and unorthodox support in greater numbers than the other forms. These findings deviate from the CCW framework but are important to explain the work that mentors of UIS do. In reporting the findings, I acknowledge that there are limits to using the CCW framework to examine mentoring of UIS. In Chapter 5, the analysis includes a discussion about this limitation as well as how the PYD framework helps to explain the fifth finding.

Table 4.7

Forms of Support Provided by Mentors in each Context

	Academic	Advocacy	Affirmation	Application	Encouragement	Financial	Network	Professional	Socioemotional	Unorthodox
					High School					
%	11%	22%	6%	17%	11%	11%	17%	0.0%	0.0%	22%
David		X					X			
Connie		X	X		X					X
Levi		X		X		X	X			X
Kim	X				X					X
Dominic	X	X		X			X			
Mariel				X		X				X
					Pre-College					
	11%	0.0%	17%	11%	17%	6%	6%	17%	6%	22%
Armond	X		X		X			X		
Benjamin	X		X	X			X	X		X
Caroline			X			X		X	X	X
Anna				X	X					X
Carla					X					X
					College					
	39%	0.0%	33%	11%	39%	11%	11%	33%	6%	28%
Benjamin	X		X	X			X	X		X
Diane	X				X	X		X		X
Derek	X		X		X					
Jenny	X		X		X			X	X	
Robert	X		X		X					X
Ginger	X		X		X			X		
Kevin	X			X	X	X	X	X		X
Michelle			X		X			X		X
TOTAL	61%	22%	56%	39%	67%	28%	34%	50%	12%	72%

Note 1. Percentages listed indicate the frequency of each form of support in each mentoring context (high school, pre-college, and college). Total percentage in the last row indicates the frequency of each form of support across all mentoring contexts.
Note 2. Academic: Teaching, providing feedback or other resources to improve grades; Advocacy: Speaking to others on behalf of UIS; Affirmation: Reinforcing the abilities of the UIS; Application: Assistance with any part of college application; Encouragement: Reminding UIS that they can accomplish goals; Financial: Connecting UIS to sources of funding; Network: Introducing UIS to peers and colleagues who can provide resources; Professional: Giving advice regarding career and work options; Socioemotional: Serving as a person who UIS could turn to during times of stress; Unorthodox: Using methods and strategies that are atypical

Figure 4.3 provides a broad view of the frequency of each form of support by context. The figure indicates that support in the forms of advocacy, application assistance, and connections to mentor network are more important for UIS during high school and pre-college years. The need for support to find financial aid appears with the same frequency during both high school/pre-college and college. This finding corresponds with current research that shows that UIS face an ongoing struggle to finance their college expenses.

In the college context, there is a higher incidence of academic support, affirmation of abilities, encouragement to persist, and professional advice. These findings align with the experiences of first-generation college students who need time and help to adjust to the academic demands of college. In addition, as these students experience imposter syndrome, they need to be

reminded that they do belong in higher education. Besides imposter syndrome, UIS continue to face obstacles related to legal and financial matters. They also remain connected to their families and show great concern for their family members' struggles as well. Therefore, mentors provided ongoing encouragement to help them persist along the college pathway. Even as they persisted, UIS begin to realize that their options for careers are limited by their status. Mentors provided advice to help them determine potential professional pathways.

Figure 4.3 further highlights the importance of unorthodox support. This form of support, named by one of the mentors, describes the broad range of creative strategies that mentors use in order to help UIS overcome obstacles that have no prescribed solutions.

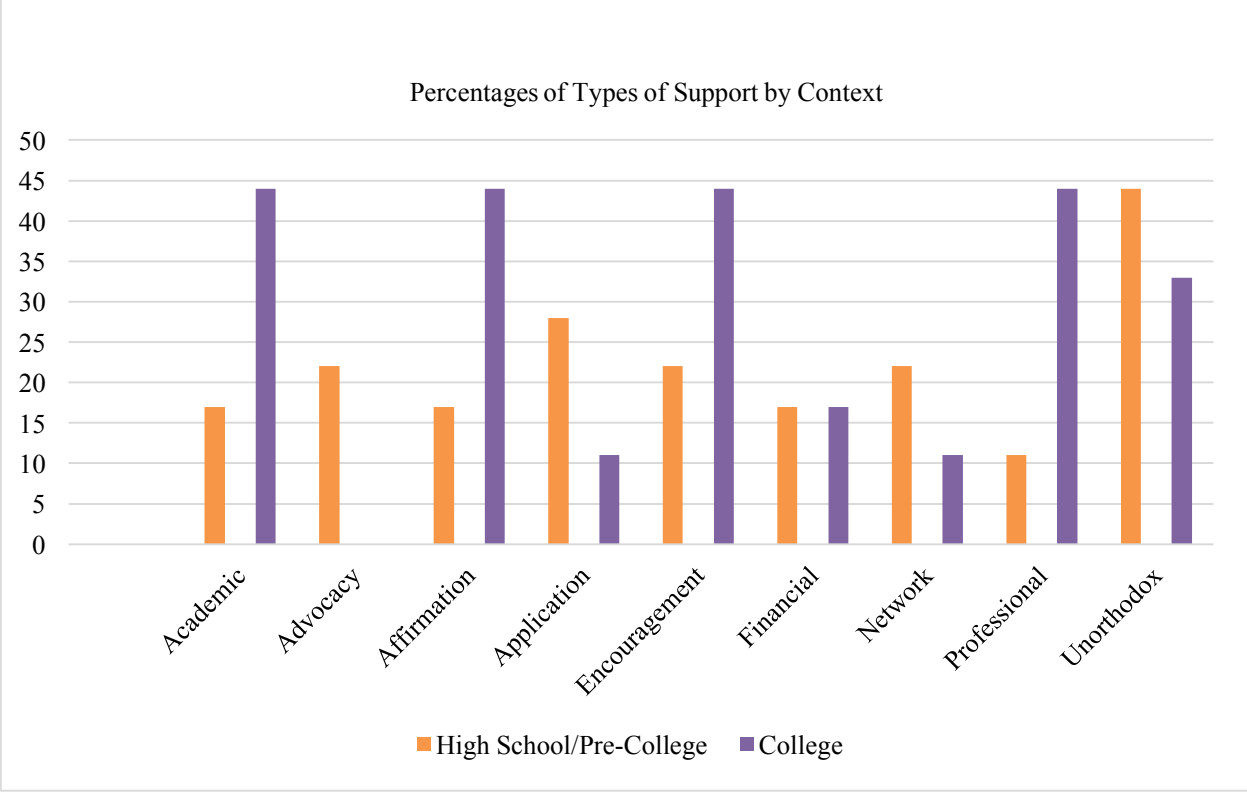

Figure 4.3 Bar graph summarizing frequency of support types in each context

Themes

Interviews with mentors revealed several important themes. Each interview began with mentors sharing information about themselves and their backgrounds. As they revealed more about themselves, it became apparent in each interview, that the mentor's background, including place of origin, educational experiences, family expectations, and receiving mentorship influenced their mentor mindset and thus, their approach to mentoring.

Mentor background, mindset, and approach to mentoring

Mentors in this study are from a variety of demographic backgrounds. They included males, females, first generation immigrants, second or subsequent generation immigrants, Latino/as, European-Americans, and members of the working class. Regardless of their demographic, ethnic, or socio-economic background, each mentor shared some key aspect of their background that influenced their mentor mindset and approach to mentoring.

Several mentors were immigrants themselves and had navigated the American higher education system with the support of key individuals who served as formal and informal mentors. Some mentors grew up in working class families and were the first in their families to attend college. They too relied on the assistance of older adults who offered guidance and connected them to needed resources. Benjamin credits multiple people for their help and believes that his path would have been different "if not for mentors".

One mentor's background stood out from others in the way it shaped his mentor mindset. David's ethnic background is a mix of Czech and Italian and he grew up in a working-class family in upstate New York. Pursuing a college degree as a first-generation student with no support from family and no long-term mentoring influenced his mindset in a way that impacted his approach to mentoring. His mentor mindset, shaped by his background, was activated when

a series of events caused him to move to California and eventually accept a position as a middle school counselor. He described his "tough love" approach to mentoring and said that the students he served worked hard to please him. He overcame obstacles in his own background as a first-generation college student with no exposure to the world outside of upstate New York. By using the "tough love" technique in his approach to mentoring, he helped his students to develop the strength that they would need to navigate a difficult path.

That path is difficult for all first-generation students and is even more challenging for UIS. The mentors from immigrant and/or undocumented backgrounds also shared details of how their own experiences shaped their mindset and approach to mentoring. A mentor who migrated from Mexico after earning a college degree there, recalled that he had very little support while he went to school in Mexico but met several individuals in the United States who helped him to navigate the graduate school path. He received very little guidance during childhood but then experienced the positive impact that effective mentors made on his advanced educational journey.

Benjamin moved to the U.S. as an undocumented immigrant in early childhood. He named multiple adults who provided encouragement, support, and growth opportunities from elementary school through graduate school. In elementary school, he had a teacher who encouraged him to use his existing literacy skills in Spanish, and another who exposed him to African-American poetry. Throughout his educational journey to a Ph.D., he received housing assistance from one of his high school teachers, participated in formal mentoring programs during high school, and met the person who he calls his "academic father" at his undergraduate institution. As he recalled the ways in which his academic father mentored him to and through graduate school, this mentor became emotional and needed to pause briefly to collect himself.

This demonstrated the significant impact that his mentor made on his life. He described the impact that his mentors had on him in this way:

> Yeah, I mean, mentoring, it's a topic that's very important, central to everything that I do as a scholar, as a teacher. Because as I reflect back about my education trajectory, I mean, it was sort of these key people. And I'm always explicit when I talk about my journey to point out that it wasn't something I could do myself on my own, pull myself by my bootstraps or through just my sheer will and individual effort; that without sort of key folks that went above and beyond, my educational trajectory at various points would have taken a very different path.

He clearly articulated that he "developed a sentiment of paying it forward", which perfectly describes his mentor mindset. As he began his academic career with a focus on access to college for undocumented students, he interacted with other advocates and activists in a variety of settings. Due to his experience of receiving personalized mentoring, and the development of a mentor mindset that seeks to "pay it forward", he approached mentoring as a long-term commitment that is tailored to individual needs.

Kevin also demonstrated this mindset when describing what motivated him to support Sophia:

> We have purpose. What we do has meaning, what we do impacts young people and in the process creates a ripple effect in what we do for the young people we engage. Yeah. We modeled that for them to do the same in their own lives with others. And so therefore, you know, we create that ripple effect. Um, but I think for those of us, you know, it's, this profession is about having purpose.

Levi stressed the importance of the concept of paying it forward in his approach to mentoring Emma:

> You pay it forward. And that's something, one thing that I've always learned from my mentors is that everything that you do, you give with your heart and your mind and go all in and, and in time, you know, that is paid back somehow or you pay, you pay it back by paying it forward. And I, I know that her work, um, and what she's been able to accomplish in her work just speaks to that as she continues to pay forward. And I think if I were to reflect on what I helped create, I think she's helping a tremendous amount of people and I'm honored that I had a small part in that piece of her success.

Fernando also had a long-term outlook that shaped his mentoring mindset. When he described how he encouraged Emma in college, he spoke about the need to "take advantage of available opportunities" with the "idea of anticipating change" in the future. His words inspired the naming of *anticipatory mindset*, or the belief that UIS should continue to pursue their dreams because positive change will occur in the future. By persisting in the face of uncertainty, UIS can be in a position to benefit from any new legislative changes that are made in their favor. This newly named anticipatory mindset is supported by the idea of "anticipatory leadership…that relates to the future" and recognizes a "need for new ways of thinking, planning, directing, communicating, and managing…" (Ratcliffe & Ratcliffe, 2015, p.1).

Institutionally-mediated relationships

Some of the mentees approached their mentors to seek advice related to their education. This was most likely to happen when the mentors held an official position in the mentee's educational space and mentees had institutionally-sanctioned access to them. An example at the high school level is the school-assigned counselor, who students can visit to plan their

coursework and set their goals for high school graduation and/or matriculation to college. High school students have direct access to counselors as part of the established system. Mentors in this study who were their mentees' high school counselors noted that those students took the initiative to set up initial meetings and would return for additional meetings or brief check-ins throughout high school.

In the mentor-initiated model, the mentors approached the UIS at the beginning of the relationship. This typically occurred in an educational space where mentors had contact with the UIS. Mentors who initiated contact described characteristics of UIS, who stood out from their peers in a number of ways. Professors who served as mentors to UIS noticed their academic aptitude and would approach them to discuss subject-specific topics. Being in the same educational space also meant that there were numerous opportunities for the mentors and UIS to have formal and informal conversations following the initial contact.

Being approachable and available

When undocumented immigrant high school students initiated contact with their counselors, some key signals determined whether or not they continued to pursue the relationship. High school counselors who had long-term mentoring relationships with UIS emphasized the importance of being approachable and available to students. One high school counselor grew to realize that students will visit one time and if they feel that they "are bothering you, they won't come back". He adjusted his work schedule so that he was always in his office during the students' lunch period and would complete paperwork during early morning hours when students were in class. Other mentors described their "open door policy" and made it clear to students that they were always available to them. One college staff member would forward his

office phone number to his cellular phone if he needed to be away from his office during business hours.

Making time for UIS was the first step towards learning more about them, building a relationship with them, and earning their trust. Levi, who has been a counselor to as many as 500 high school students at one time described his mindset about time:

> Time is an enemy. Um, and so I think if you use time as an excuse, then we won't serve students. Um, I symbolically on my wall in my office have 20 wall clocks. And when people come into my office, they'll come in and the first thing they see is all the clocks. And they ask, 'why the clocks?' I say, 'Look, as a school employee, there is never enough time for us to do our job, but I cannot use time as an excuse.' And so the clocks represent that I have plenty of time to serve you.

Building multi-layered relationships by establishing common ground

Another recurring theme was the importance of building relationships and the multi-layered aspects of those relationships. Interviews with the mentors revealed that they learned to find common ground between themselves and UIS. This was one of the keys to building a relationship with a strong foundation. David, a white male mentor to Latinx students found common ground with his students when he recognized that they lacked guidance that he also lacked as a first-generation college student from a working-class background. Sharing stories about their own lives and experiences was another way that mentors established common ground with UIS.

Stacy drew upon her experience saying, "something that kind of helped me awaken to the challenges that other folks have was my experience, was my own coming out experience. I'm queer and that was its own journey". She understood that undocumented students have a hidden

identity and that there is a justified fear in their reason for remaining silent. She used her experience of coming out as a way to understand the difficulty that UIS have in revealing their status and managing the way it impacts their lives.

Building multi-layered relationships by establishing trust

Another important aspect of relationship-building emerged from finding common ground: a strong sense of trust. The mentors and UIS in the study did not know each other before their mentoring relationships began. As the mentors established common ground with the UIS and had multiple interactions with them, the UIS' trust in the mentors also grew.

Diane explained the way her relationship grew with Rachel:

> I really try hard to, you know, um, blur those lines so that I develop a relationship with a student. They know who I am, I know who they are. And that in my mind opens up opportunities to develop a trusting relationship that can facilitate other types of conversations that help them navigate college. Um, and for Rachel, that certainly was the case. We then started having a very close relationship that allowed me to talk to her about a lot of different things, um, to have conversations about what she was thinking too, you know, in terms of her professional career, in terms of her next three years, um, at the institution during her undergraduate studies. Um, and then from there it was just really a blossoming of a very, you know, wonderful relationship…

A greater amount of trust preceded the peer-mediated mentoring model. In these cases, UIS met their mentors through a peer such as a schoolmate or family member. Some of the trust that they held for the peer who introduced them to their mentor, was transferred to the new relationship with the mentor. For UIS who feel isolated from the established education system due to their legal status, the peer-mediated model provided them with another way to be

connected to capable adults. In the peer-mediated mentoring relationships, mentors sometimes belonged to an institution outside of the UIS's current institution. This is due to the fact that their peers used their network connections when identifying a potential mentor for their undocumented immigrant peers.

Informal conversations were also an important part of the trust-building aspect of the relationship. Mentors recalled discussing non-academic topics, including family and extracurricular activities. One college mentor explained that the "quality of the conversations were more important than the quantity" of conversations that he had with one UIS during the early phase of their relationship.

Carla described the importance of her conversations with Kayla and how they lead to greater trust between them.

> Um, she kinda had a limited friend group and I think um, yeah, it felt really special to be included in that and to be one of those people that she could just open up to because she really did have to hide behind this shell of positivity all the time. So I saw a side of her that, um, I didn't see at work and I didn't even see with other friends that it was, it was almost just too much of an emotional lift for her to be herself and in some of these settings and to show the vulnerability because she knew at that point in time there was nothing that anyone could do about it.

Relationship-building by establishing relationships with family

Several mentors noted that meeting the mentees' families solidified their commitment to supporting them, because they learned more about the family's aspirations for the UIS and felt the family's overwhelming gratitude for their support of the UIS. All of the mentors met some of their UIS' family members at some point during their relationship. When mentors spent time

around key family members, they learned more about the love, support, encouragement, and hopes that the

family held for the UIS. Mentors noted how much more seriously they viewed their role in their UIS's lives after meeting their families and learning how much they valued the mentors' support and the touching ways in which they showed their gratitude. Families shared food and invited mentors to celebrate special occasions to show them that they played an important role in their families' lives.

Figure 4.4 illustrates what mentors and UIS brought to the mentoring relationships that developed in specific contexts. They built relationships based on trust and establishing common ground. As the relationships grew, mentors recognized the CCW of UIS and supported them to increase their CCW so it could be leveraged as capital to achieve their educational goals.

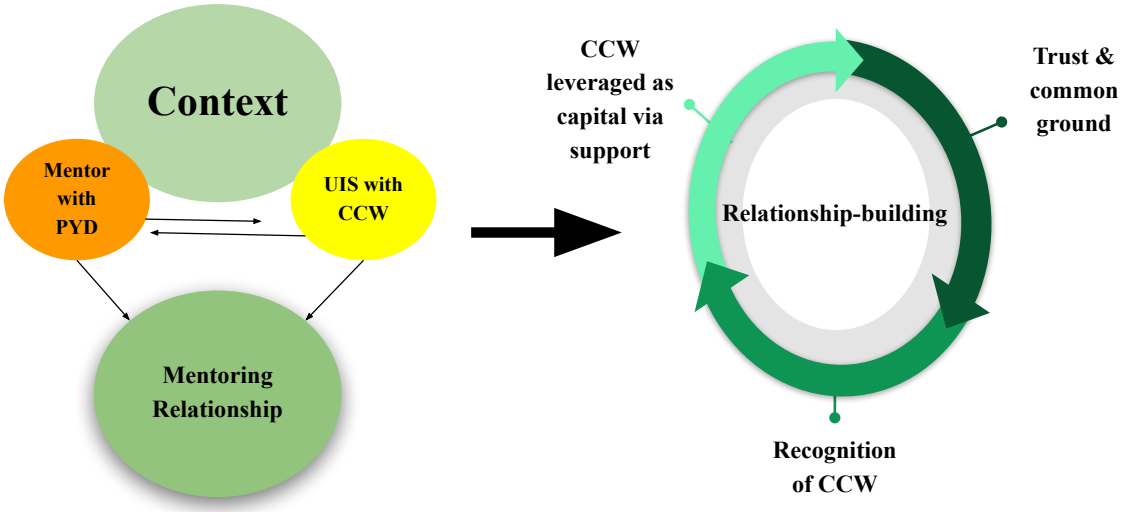

Figure 4.4 Flow chart of findings in the context of the theoretical framework

Learning about challenges UIS face in order to support them

As the relationships grew, trust was built, and mentors met family members, they also learned more about barriers that UIS face. All of them confronted financial barriers in high school and college. David shared that he had more fear surrounding how the UIS would pay for college than he had about whether she would be accepted to the Ivy League school that was her top choice. In addition to legal barriers to financial aid, mentors shared that UIS from poor and working-class backgrounds could not rely on family members for assistance with costs associated with applying to, and attending college.

College mentors of UIS also discovered the career barriers that UIS faced. Although the UIS gained access to higher education, it was challenging to guide them along specific career paths that stipulated permanent residence or citizenship status. When Emma completed her undergraduate degree, but had few options to find work in her field, Fernando helped her to identify other opportunities, while he "tried to encourage her to anticipate change" in policies that could benefit her in the future. Mentors of UIS learned to provide guidance and direction for their mentees in the absence of any clear paths.

In addition to the financial, legal, and career barriers related to their undocumented status, mentors also described some of the personal struggles that were unique to each UIS. Those struggles included trauma from an attempted rape, physical, emotional, and psychological scars related to injuries suffered during childhood, and unanticipated health conditions related to accidents. Carla summed up Kayla's struggles by saying, "she's just always been kind of struggling against all odds". The mentors supported UIS through these long-term adversities and helped them to leverage the strength that they developed through their struggles. This was one of

the ways in which mentors helped UIS to convert obstacles into assets, which in turn built needed capital to persist and complete their higher education goals.

Recognizing pivotal signs

Mentors who did not know about the legal status of the UIS at the beginning of their relationship would eventually learn about it in some way. In the cases where mentors were unaware of status, there were signs that mentors recognized that lead to the discovery. Connie said, "I may have also, I probably guessed prior to her actually telling me, um, just given you know, various details about her family and experiences and stuff".

David described signs such as a college-ready student who stated she was not going to apply to college and others who would not apply to out-of-state schools. He emphasized the importance of probing further when these signs emerged, something he learned to do when he realized that undocumented high school students often believed that they could not attend college. Espinoza (2011) refers to pivotal moments that educators need to seize and provide underrepresented students with needed guidance. Her work provides the naming of the signs that mentors recognized as *pivotal signs* that students were struggling with an undisclosed challenge.

Mentors shared the challenge of guiding UIS when their liminal status presented continuous roadblocks. This required them to help UIS create opportunities that would allow them to access college, find non-traditional funding sources, earn their degree, and find meaningful work after college graduation. As they learned to be creative in their mentorship of UIS, mentors drew upon the community cultural wealth of UIS, which is a source of assets that they could leverage to overcome ongoing obstacles.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to identify the mentors who supported undocumented immigrant students who have earned an undergraduate degree from a four-year higher education institution in the United States. The study sought to describe the types of mentoring relationships that UIS had with their mentors. There was a focus on the mindsets and practices of the mentors within the frameworks of positive youth development theory and community cultural wealth theory. This chapter includes a discussion of the key findings and themes, the relationship of the key findings to the theoretical framework, strengths and limitations of the study, implications for undocumented students, recommendations for K-12 and higher education institutions, recommendations for mentoring programs, final reflections from the researcher, and suggestions for future research.

The study sought to answer these three questions:

1. What kinds of mentoring relationships and specific aspects of mentoring help undocumented immigrant students in high school to go on to college and those in college to graduate?
2. How do mentors of undocumented immigrant students help their mentees identify assets, known as community cultural wealth (CCW), that may not align with the assets that are valued by the current education system?
3. How do mentors and mentees leverage the aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, resistance, and navigational capital, derived from CCW in order to transition from high school to college and then to graduate from college?

Seven types of relationships emerged between UIS and their mentors: youth-initiated mentoring, natural mentoring, mentor-initiated mentoring, peer-mediated mentoring, peer

mentoring, institutionally-mediated mentoring, and pre-college mentoring. Within these relationship types, the most prevalent mentoring approaches were intentional mentoring, proactive mentoring, and the use of an informal mentoring team. Mentors identified over 30 unique assets (CCW) that UIS possess and helped them to convert CCW to multiple forms of capital by providing various forms of support. In addition, several mentor-influenced themes emerged from the interview data.

Interpretation of the Findings

The data collected in this study indicate that UIS engage in natural mentoring relationships with supportive individuals who they encounter in educational and non-educational settings. The settings provide the context for the initial contact between UIS and their mentors. However, the mentors exhibit specific practices that drive the development of the mentoring relationship. The mentors are from diverse backgrounds and allowed the needs of the UIS to guide the mentoring that they provided.

Impact of context on mentoring model

Although the mentoring relationships between UIS and their mentors were largely informal in nature, the context in which their relationships developed had an impact on the structure of each relationship. In high school settings, the mentors held professional educational roles as teachers or counselors. This finding is not surprising since high school students spend many hours in the school setting and have daily contact with teachers and the potential to have multiple contact with counselors during the week. Since the structure of traditional high schools dictates that students and teachers spend many hours together each week, there is a greater chance that UIS can develop a mentoring relationship with a teacher. This corresponds with research by Enriquez (2017), who found that undocumented students and education professionals

form relationships in “classes, academic support programs, or extracurricular activities” (p.1536).

In four-year higher education settings, several mentors held academic or professional roles in the institution. Mentors in academic roles were professors who met UIS when the students took one of their classes. Mentors in professional roles worked as academic or admissions advisors. These institutionalized roles provided the context for UIS to have contact with the individuals who eventually became their mentors. This finding supports previous findings by Stebleton, Soria, and Huesman, Jr. (2014) that “faculty interactions with students contribute to a sense of belonging” for some immigrant students (p.200). Similar to the high school context, the structure of the institution provided a space for UIS and potential mentors to initiate a relationship.

However, the development of the relationships was not automatic. One reason is related to the large number of students that teachers, counselors, and professors serve. High school teachers have over 100 students across all of their classes and meet with them in large groups of 30 or more. High school counselors often serve hundreds of students, which makes it difficult to get to know students well. At the four-year institutional level, contact with professors and staff may not be as frequent as contact with teachers and counselors at the high school level. College classes do not usually meet daily and meetings with advisors are sometimes only required on a semester or annual basis. Data in this study show that it was necessary for UIS or the mentor to initiate the relationship by having one-on-one contact.

Levi and Emma had one-on-one conversations during her visits to his office which he described:

> There were times where we would have conversations about just life, how things are going in school, relationships, you know, and as a counselor, I think my role is to get to know the students better than they know themselves.

Peer mentors and mentors who held non-educational professional roles also provided support at the college level. One peer mentor provided pre-college support to a UIS and continued when she started college. This peer mentor relationship developed in the workplace when the UIS and her peer mentor built a relationship based on their common interests. They had daily contact in the workplace and used their lunch time away from the workplace to talk about their personal lives. When undocumented individuals graduate from high school and are unable to begin college right away, they develop relationships with people in other contexts, including work. This corresponds with work by Sanchez, Esparza, Berardi, and Pryce (2011) which found that some young people rely on adults in "the workplace, school, or church" for guidance and support (p.239).

Another peer mentoring relationship began when a UIS met another UIS during their first year at a four-year institution. They soon realized that they were both undocumented and they provided socio-emotional support for each other throughout college. This peer mentoring relationship was based on their shared experience of having an identity that they cannot readily share with others due to the risk it poses for them and their families. Figueroa (2017) found that youth choose to be silent about their legal status when it feels unsafe to reveal it. The undocumented peer mentor in this study confirmed that finding. The mentor emphasized how much easier it was to relate to each other because they "didn't have to explain" things, such as not having a driver license, to each other.

Impact of mentoring approach

Half of the mentors of UIS chose to be intentional with the support they provided, took proactive steps to help UIS overcome challenges and/or relied on a team of their colleagues to provide informal team mentoring. These approaches correspond with the work of Schwartz & Rhodes (2016) who encourage potential mentors to be proactive and leverage opportunities to give young people intentional guidance. Mentors in this study who were intentional described either the strong support they received from their mentors or the lack of support they experienced during high school and/or college. They indicated that their own mentoring experiences led them to make a clear decision to support UIS in specific ways. This was true in cases where mentors had strong support and in cases where mentors had little to no support. It appears that both experiences influence mentors' decision to guide UIS. Diane was a first-generation college student who understood how intimidating college can be for students from underrepresented backgrounds. She took intentional steps to make herself more accessible to UIS by opening her home to them. She demonstrated the importance of using "pivotal moments" to cultivate relationships (Espinoza, 2014).

Mentors took proactive steps such as approaching UIS to ask about their academic plans. Dominic was curious about Erin's decision not to attend college even though she earned good grades in high school. He thinks that his probing led her to reveal her status to him. Since he had little experience with supporting UIS, he contacted a colleague who had some knowledge, to ask about possible financial aid options for Erin to attend a four-year college. Dominic described one of his high school teachers as someone who made a lasting impact on him by taking extra steps to help her students. This suggests that mentors' proactive behavior may be linked to the examples that their mentors set.

Some mentors are immigrants and shared stories about their experiences in American high schools and colleges. They each connected their intentional and proactive support to their own lived experience of being an immigrant student. Dominic compared the first school he attended in New York to the second school that he attended in California. The school culture in California was more welcoming and he recalled that it helped him to thrive in ways that he didn't thrive at the first school in New York. Benjamin also spoke about at least two teachers who were intentional in their support of him when he entered an American elementary school as an English learner. One teacher allowed him to write a story for a writing competition in his first language. He won an award for that work and gained confidence as a result. He had a middle school teacher who had "radical love" for his students and shared poetry from diverse authors, including African-American poets. Mentors in this study were able to point to the positive examples of mentoring that they experienced in school settings when they were students. These findings help deepen understanding of how mentors' own experiences influence their approach to mentoring. Much of the current literature focuses on youth mentoring and on those who are mentored. These findings add new insights about the mentors.

Like Benjamin and Dominic, Mariel took proactive steps, which included the use of an informal mentoring team. Mariel shared some of her personal college experiences with her high school students. This established her classroom as a safe space for her students, and led Lisa to disclose her status to her. Mariel was undocumented throughout college and understood that UIS need allies in the educational space who are visible. These strategies align with what current scholars advise. The work of Clark-Ibañez (2015) includes recommendations for high schools and colleges to create safe spaces and visible forms of support for undocumented students. Mariel demonstrated ways to do this through the stories she shared and by drawing upon her

personal experiences as an undocumented student. She also reached out to colleagues on and off her high school campus to learn about resources for undocumented students who are applying to college. She credits this spirit of advocacy to her mother, who "fought for (her) to go to college". Mentors of UIS recognize the importance of being proactive in their support of undocumented students by advocating for them when they are unable to advocate for themselves.

Importance of the three mentoring approaches

The three mentoring approaches reveal that mentoring of UIS should encompass their needs within the current context. Each of the approaches: proactive, intentional, and use of a mentoring team derived from the needs of the UIS. Therefore, it is important for mentors to learn about the specific needs of each UIS in order to determine the best way to support them. The approaches highlight the significance of mentoring that is student-centered or mentee-centered. Weiston-Serdan (2017) stresses the importance of keeping youth at the center of mentoring. This includes listening to what mentees say and using their input to structure the design of the support.

In this study, the three approaches were used most often by mentors in the high school/pre-college context. Therefore, it is also important to understand how context affects the needs of UIS and that mentors may have to use approaches that are more intentional, proactive, and/or collaborative. There are several reasons that mentors may need to use a more targeted approach at the high school/pre-college level. One reason is that UIS in the high school/pre-college context are just beginning to face the additional limitations that becoming an undocumented *adult* presents. In addition to navigating the complicated college application process, they are also managing the shock of new limitations such as being unable to obtain a driver license, traditional employment, or a bank account (Vaquera, Aranda, & Sousa-Rodriguez,

2017). This means that mentors need to take a more proactive or intentional approach to mentoring in this context because they are mentoring UIS who have limited adult experience and face barriers to participating in society as emerging adults.

While these limitations continue to exist when UIS enter the college context, they have had more time to adapt to these realities. In addition, institutional forms of support become more visible in the college context than in the high school/pre-college context. While these institutionalized forms of support are still very limited, their existence on some campuses provides access to resources that are still largely non-existent in the high school/pre-college context. Nguyen and Kebede (2017) point to the lack of financial support for school-based resources for immigrant students. With fewer institutional supports in the high school/pre-college context, mentors have to reach out to their network or use the mentoring team approach more often than college mentors.

The mentors' use of these approaches also highlights the negligence of our schools. Although undocumented students have a legal right to a K-12 education, schools do not provide them with the resources and support that they need in order to be successful. This means that their mentors have to take extraordinary action to help UIS achieve their educational goals. Just as supports are in place for other students who experience challenges (such as physical limitations or learning differences), schools are responsible for providing supports for UIS.

Recognizing and nurturing CCW that becomes capital

Previous studies indicate that natural mentors increase the social capital of young people (Hagler & Rhodes, 2018; Stanton-Salazar, 2011). In this study, mentors recognized and nurtured UIS' CCW which led to the growth of multiple forms of capital. Mentors identified more than 30 CCW descriptors of UIS. Most of the mentors described four or more forms of CCW for each

UIS. Characteristics such as being dedicated, empathetic, brave, mature, resourceful, ambitious, proactive, and responsible are non-tangible qualities that are not readily apparent. Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, and Cooper (2009) emphasize the importance of educators who "continuously strive to know their students, their families, and their communities well" (p.542). Mentors were able to identify these assets because they actively built relationships with UIS and sustained those relationships for one or more years.

The mentors' recognition of the UIS' CCW also indicates that they have a positive youth development (PYD) mindset. PYD encourages the development of existing strengths or "assets in youth, including those located in the individual…as well as those located within the environment" (Schwartz & Rhodes, 2016, p.154). Rather than viewing UIS and their legal status as deficits, mentors learned about the positive personal qualities of UIS and the positive aspects of their families and communities. Mentors made the effort to learn deeply about UIS and identified strengths that they could leverage in their pursuit of a Bachelor's degree.

Within the high school/pre-college context, mentors identified more forms of CCW when they also took a pro-active or intentional approach, and/or made use of a mentoring team. Leveraging UIS CCW led to the development of capital as defined by Yosso's (2006) community cultural wealth model. Familial, aspirational, navigational, and resistant capital were more evident than linguistic and social capital in this study. In addition, two additional forms of capital, persistent and leadership, emerged from the data.

Eight mentors (44%) gave details about the role that family members played in the lives of UIS. The mentors understood the influence and importance of family and took actions that developed the familial capital that UIS have. One example is the effort that several mentors made to meet family members. Some mentors like Fernando attended family events. He left that

encounter feeling “more motivated to help” Emma because of how much her family supported her goals. He said that they “showed respect for him” and his “professional role” and he knew that they trusted him to guide her in the right direction. Levi described the importance of Emma’s family and believed that they raised her to be the respectful person that she is. He viewed this asset as one that her family instilled in her and said that he knew “it was important to include them”. He answered her mother’s questions about college and continued to ask Emma about her family’s feelings while she was applying to college.

These mentors recognized that family played a significant role in the lives of some UIS. Through their words and actions, they embraced this value so that it was a source of capital that UIS would draw upon during high school and college. One possible reason that mentors leveraged familial capital is that some of them have cultural values that are similar to the UIS. In those cases, they already had an appreciation for this form of capital. However, some mentors were not from ethnic backgrounds that were similar to the UIS who they supported. In some of those cases, mentors still took the time to learn about the family. David, a white male who grew up in the northeast U.S. in a working-class family, supported Denise, a Latina who grew up in Southern California. He learned about how much her father worked and knew he was proud of Denise. David said that he “values the trust” that Denise’s parents gave him to guide their daughter to college.

The desire to go to college is another strength that mentors described. They used words such as dedicated, eager to learn, hard-working, committed, gifted, and determined when they described UIS. These examples of CCW are some of the ones that lead to the development and growth of aspirational capital in UIS. Mentors shared that they wanted to help UIS achieve their educational goals for several reasons. Some mentors referred to the academic potential that they

saw in UIS and how that influenced the guidance they provided. In several cases, mentors encouraged UIS to consider graduate school. Robert thought that Kayla would excel as an attorney or an academic and suggested that she explore law school and Ph.D. programs. He sensed that she may not have realized that she was well-suited to those fields and said that she "needed to know those things".

College mentors realized that there were several areas in which UIS needed help to navigate higher education. Development of navigational capital was more evident at the college level than at the high school level. One reason may be that most of the UIS were the first generation in their families to attend college and needed support to make sense of cultural, academic, and social expectations at each of their institutions. This aligns with research indicating that students from immigrant backgrounds "may need to learn more about…the culture of higher education" (Stebleton, Soria, & Huesman, Jr., 2014, p.201). Benjamin and Diane both described conversations that they had with UIS about interacting with professors and staff. Some mentors shared stories about their college experiences as a way to help UIS learn how to handle situations that they hadn't faced before.

Overcoming financial challenges also lead to the growth of navigational capital among UIS. Due to the limitations of their legal status, they did not have access to all forms of financial aid. This was consistent with previous findings that show that undocumented students have fewer financial resources (Chen & Rhoads, 2016; Enriquez, 2017). Mentors spoke about how this impacted UIS, some of whom faced delays in attending a four-year college due to lack of funding. Some mentors admitted that they did not have much knowledge about how to help UIS navigate financial challenges. Yet they encouraged UIS to stay in college and connected them to

people in their networks who could help UIS find sources of income. This helped UIS to develop their navigational capital as they learned to develop financial resources for themselves.

This need to create their own solutions led UIS to develop resistant capital. Mentors described how some UIS became involved on their campus to provide support for other UIS. In one instance, this meant starting a student group for UIS and in another, it meant that a UIS shared her story in public spaces to bring attention to the challenges that they face. One pre-college mentor helped a UIS weigh the benefits and risks of applying for DACA. These actions demonstrate the resistant capital that Yosso (2005) describes as "knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (p.80).

By continuously resisting the legal and institutional barriers that made college-going difficult, UIS also developed persistent capital. In this discussion, the term persistent is used according to the Cambridge Dictionary definition of "continuing to do something in a determined way even when facing difficulties or opposition". Mentors helped UIS develop persistent capital by continuously encouraging them to pursue their dreams. Armond reminded Erin that her success would not only benefit her, but also many other students who she could help by setting an example of how much UIS can accomplish. Diane encouraged Stacy to stay in college during some difficult times when she was tempted to leave college to help her struggling family. Mentors offered encouragement and advice that helped UIS to complete their college education. Over time, this led to the development of persistent capital, a new category of capital that emerged from the data and is not part of the CCW framework. The study of persistence theory may be a useful way to analyze this finding but requires a more complex analysis that is outside the scope of this study (Metz, 2002).

Mentors explained that they encouraged UIS to persist for several reasons. The reasons included the academic potential of UIS, the support that their families provided, and the anticipation that a degree would open more professional opportunities, and could someday help UIS to change their legal status. One reason that this form of capital emerged in this study is that the sample consisted of mentors who supported UIS who earned Bachelor's degrees. The notion of persistence involves a continuous effort over an extended period to achieve a goal. All of the mentors shared the ways they supported UIS who had achieved a long-term goal and thus, all of the UIS were persistent. However, due to the nature of the challenges that UIS face, it was necessary for some mentors to continuously nurture persistence in UIS. Cebulko's (2014) study describes the ways that being undocumented limits and in some cases, eliminates career paths. UIS who persist to obtain a college degree will not have the same career and professional opportunities as their documented peers. Therefore, mentors helped UIS to develop persistent capital that they will need to continue to navigate barriers following college graduation.

Another form of capital that emerged from the data and was not part of the CCW framework is leadership capital. Mentors spoke about the ways in which UIS supported other UIS in high school, during pre-college years, and in college. At the high school level, David noticed that Denise visited his counseling office with her peers. She made the effort to check-in with him on a regular basis and introduced some of her friends to him. In the years after she was the first student at her high school to go to an Ivy League school, several more graduates of that high school have gone to Ivy League schools as well. He thinks that she blazed a trail that others have followed. During Erin's pre-college years, Caroline's foundation developed a paid internship so that she could earn money to transfer to a four-year school. Caroline described her as a "role model" for her younger brother and other interns. She also spoke about Erin's

development of an intern manual, which served as an important guide for interns who filled her position after she left. All of Kayla's college mentors mentioned that she was outspoken on her college campus about the undocumented experience. Kevin recalled that Sophia helped to establish a student group for UIS on her college campus. These examples indicate that some UIS became leaders among their peers. Their explicit actions sometimes resulted in concrete results that benefited their peers. Chen and Rhoads (2016) found that when undocumented students spoke up, they brought "real students and real faces to the issue" (p.527). This helps to explain how UIS who took leadership action had a positive impact on their peers. In turn, others on college campuses were more motivated to support undocumented students. This supports the analysis that lead to the identification of leadership capital, a form of capital that is not named in the CCW framework. It is important to name this distinct form of capital that some UIS develop, because their leadership activities can benefit other UIS who may or may not have mentors.

Providing multiple forms of support

Mentors of UIS in this study helped them to develop several forms of capital by providing specific types of support. The findings revealed ten categories of support: academic, advocacy, affirmation, application, encouragement, financial, network, professional, socioemotional, and unorthodox. Two forms of support occurred at only one level. Advocacy support appeared only at the high school level. This may be due to the fact that high school students are younger than college students and have not yet learned how to advocate well for themselves. Professional support appeared only at the college level. This finding is logical since the UIS in this study were pursuing college, not careers, when their mentors supported them in high school. When the UIS transitioned to college, mentors provided professional support as part of preparation for life after college. Six out of eight mentors gave UIS professional support. This

finding is not surprising due to a greater focus on career planning at the college level for all college students. It is even more critical for UIS who have fewer career options due to legal barriers. Gonzales (2011) interviewed 22 undocumented adults with Bachelor's degrees and nine with advanced degrees and found that none of them were able to work in their intended field. This finding continues to be true based on the experiences of the UIS in this study.

Two forms of support appeared less frequently than other forms of support in both contexts. These were financial support and network support. The lack of financial support may be caused by the overall lack of financial aid and work options available for UIS. While most of the mentors knew that financial barriers were a challenge that UIS faced, they were not necessarily able to support them in finding financial resources. Another explanation is that the existing financial aid options for UIS are not well-known by faculty or staff at the high school or college levels. Multiple studies indicate that this lack of knowledge is widespread (Clark-Ibañez, 2015, Enriquez, 2011, and Trivette & English, 2017). Several mentors in this study said that they learned more about existing legislation, funding sources for UIS, and the overall undocumented experience from the UIS who they mentored.

Network support was also a form of support that mentors used less frequently than other forms. Although mentors had personal and professional networks, there are at least three reasons they may not have used them as a support mechanism. One reason is that there is a general lack of knowledge about UIS, their experiences, challenges they face, and how to overcome those challenges (O'Neal, Espino, Goldthrite, Morin, Weston, Hernandez, & Fuhrmann, 2016). Another possible reason is that drawing upon networks to gain support for UIS can expose UIS and their families to multiple risks. Talleyrand and Thanh-Giang Vojtech (2019) stress that the "fear of deportation" is always present for the undocumented population (p.3). To protect

themselves and their families, UIS and their mentors may choose not to reach out to others for help. Unless faculty and staff in educational institutions have ways to identify allies of UIS, they may not be confident about who they can trust. Even when allies are visible, Chen and Rhoads (2016) found that allies of undocumented students have to balance their obligation to follow federal, state, and school guidelines when choosing strategies to support UIS.

Most mentors of UIS in this study provided academic, affirmation, and encouragement support. Mentors could provide these types of support without tapping into networks and tailored them based on their strengths and the needs of the UIS who they mentored. Since the majority of mentors held a professional role in education, they had the capacity to give UIS academic support through tutoring, feedback, and counseling. However, mentors in this study did more than just perform the normal duties expected for their professional roles. Their actions demonstrate "transformational caring" which Ochoa (2011) uses to describe the wide "range of activities undertaken by Mexican American women on behalf of their families and communities and in situations where the labor of caring has been compounded by a history of inequality and exclusion" (p.110) Mentors took a variety of actions that demonstrate a deep care for UIS who are largely excluded and have unequal opportunities in higher education.

Mentors recognized the need for affirmation and encouragement support at various times in their relationship with UIS. By paying attention to what UIS shared, they reminded UIS that they were worthy of being in the educational space and that they could reach their academic goals. Mentors offered affirmation support to reinforce their belief in the UIS's ability to go to college and graduate from college. Encouragement support was related to affirmation support but also went beyond the academic realm. Mentors recalled challenges that UIS had related to finances, family, health, relationships, peers, and career choices. They encouraged UIS by

helping them to put their challenges in perspective and/or to develop concrete solutions to some problems. If some challenges couldn't be resolved, the mentor's encouragement was still necessary to help the UIS persist in spite of the challenge. These findings contrast with a prior study of documented and undocumented students who hid their concerns and often relied upon themselves to cope with stressful situations (O'Neal, Espino, Goldthrite, Morin, Weston, Hernandez & Fuhrmann, 2016). This contrast in findings indicate that the socio-emotional support that mentors provide is both valuable and necessary. In this study, mentors knew about the stressors that UIS had and provided support to help them manage their stress.

The idea of persisting in the face of problems that had no apparent solutions influenced the support category that mentor Benjamin termed "unorthodox". Enriquez (2011) emphasizes that undocumented students "put the resources to good use by persisting in educational endeavors" (p.491). Benjamin described the plan that he helped Rachel to develop so that she would be accepted to a four-year college as "unorthodox" because he told her to take a gap year. While students from more privileged backgrounds have taken a gap year to travel, develop specific skills, or to simply take a break from school, he devised a plan to help a UIS use a gap year to position herself for successful admission to a university. Erin's pre-college mentor created a paid internship position for Erin at her foundation so that she could earn money for college. These examples of unorthodox support emerged from the need to develop solutions that did not exist. In addition, each mentor developed unorthodox methods based on two factors: the specific needs of the UIS and the resources that the mentor could access. Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, and Cooper (2017) point to "high-stakes information networks" comprised of "knowing adults who are effective in mentoring students and provide them with" important information that leads

to college attendance (p.550). It is possible that if mentors do not have access to a range of resources, they would not be able to develop unorthodox solutions to support UIS.

Analysis of the support that mentors provided revealed the limitation of the CCW framework to examine mentoring of UIS. The use of CCW theory in this study highlights the CCW that UIS have and the forms of capital that derive from their CCW. When looking at the specific actions that mentors of UIS took in order to help them develop and use their capital, it was necessary to turn to the PYD framework.

Roffman, Suarez-Orozco, and Rhodes (2002) encourage mentors to adopt perspectives that focus on possibilities for their mentees. Mentors in this study exhibited this positive mindset in their recognition of CCW. They applied their positive mindset through the direct actions they took to support UIS. The mentoring relationships in this study developed within institutional contexts but not as a result of a formalized mentoring program. Thus, they fall into the category of natural mentoring relationships (NMRs), or mentoring relationships that develop organically from an existing relationship.

This study provides additional evidence for the ways that NMRs lead to positive youth development among marginalized populations. Albright et al. (2017) encourage this type of research and the results of this study can contribute to a more refined model for studying mentoring of UIS. The current study also builds upon Schwartz and Rhodes' (2016) recommendation to use positive youth development to design new mentoring models.

Unorthodox support as a framework

The literature review established the lack of a mentoring model that addresses the needs of UIS and data analysis revealed the need to develop additional frameworks for studying this type of mentoring. The emergence of unorthodox support as the primary form of support in this

study provides a potential new framework to examine mentoring of UIS. I am proposing the use of an unorthodox framework to focus on the strategies and supports that are most effective in the mentoring of UIS and other youth who face challenges brought about by the current systems. The framework would examine mentoring practices that incorporate the components identified in the findings of this study: awareness of barriers, commitment to overcome or confront barriers, development of new solutions, use of existing strategies and resources in unconventional ways, attention to practical matters, assumption of additional informal roles and duties, and sustained support over an extended period.

Discussion of Thematic Findings

Connections across mentor background, mindset, and mentoring approach

Twelve (67%) of the mentors were either immigrants or had parents who were immigrants, three mentors were undocumented at one point during their education in the U.S., and 13 of the mentors (72%) were first generation college graduates. This information about mentor background is important because most mentors in this study had life experiences that allowed them to relate to some of the struggles that UIS face. Mentors who had first-hand experience as immigrant students, undocumented students, and/or had immigrant parents spoke about the ways that those experiences shaped their approach to supporting UIS. They demonstrated the sentiment of "paying it forward" which Enriquez (2011) describes as "passing the support on to others" (p. 491). Mentors who had experiences similar to UIS already had some understanding of the cultural, linguistic, familial, legal, and or/educational factors that they had to manage. Their backgrounds may also explain their ability to approach UIS with a positive youth development mindset, one which allowed them to see UIS from an asset-based, rather than a deficit-based perspective. Schwartz and Rhodes (2016) encourage mentoring that focuses on

the strengths that young people already have, and specifically for the use of positive youth development theory to develop more effective ways to support young people.

This study also included mentors who did not have close personal connections to immigrant or undocumented communities. They demonstrate that mentors of UIS do not need this prior knowledge in order to provide support to UIS. For mentors in this category, their backgrounds still shaped their ability to view UIS with a positive youth development mindset. They drew upon the experiences they had as students and used those experiences to establish common ground with UIS. A study of mentoring programs in communities and schools concluded that "having interests in common" contributes to "a close and supportive relationship" between mentors and children (Herrera, Sipe, McClanahan, Arbreton, & Pepper, 2000, p.37). Mentors in this study recognized the ways that their experiences helped them to better understand the challenges that UIS faced. David recalled the lack of support from his family and high school counselor when he decided to go to college. Many years later when he began his work as a school counselor, he immediately recognized "kids in need" of guidance and made adjustments to his work schedule so that he could be the kind of counselor who was available for students during the times that were convenient for them. Robert spoke about the lack of direction he felt when he decided to leave the seminary. All of his schooling and mentors had focused on that path and he experienced self-doubt as he moved towards a doctoral path. He recognized a similar self-doubt in Kayla and consistently told her that she was not only an excellent college student, but also that he thought that she would make a great Ph.D. candidate.

The mentors in this study demonstrate that UIS receive support from people who have both similar and different backgrounds from them. In either case, mentors drew upon their personal experiences as a way to guide UIS. They focused on similarities, not differences, and on

possibilities rather than obstacles. Their strategies were intentional and proactive because they were based on what UIS needed and what the mentors had the ability to provide. Figure 5.1 provides a snapshot of the factors that shaped mentor impact on UIS in this study. Mentors' background and prior experiences, along with their mindset that reflects positive youth development, influenced the approach that they took. Mentors determined their approach and strategies by considering the unique needs of each UIS and this resulted in their use of unorthodox forms of support.

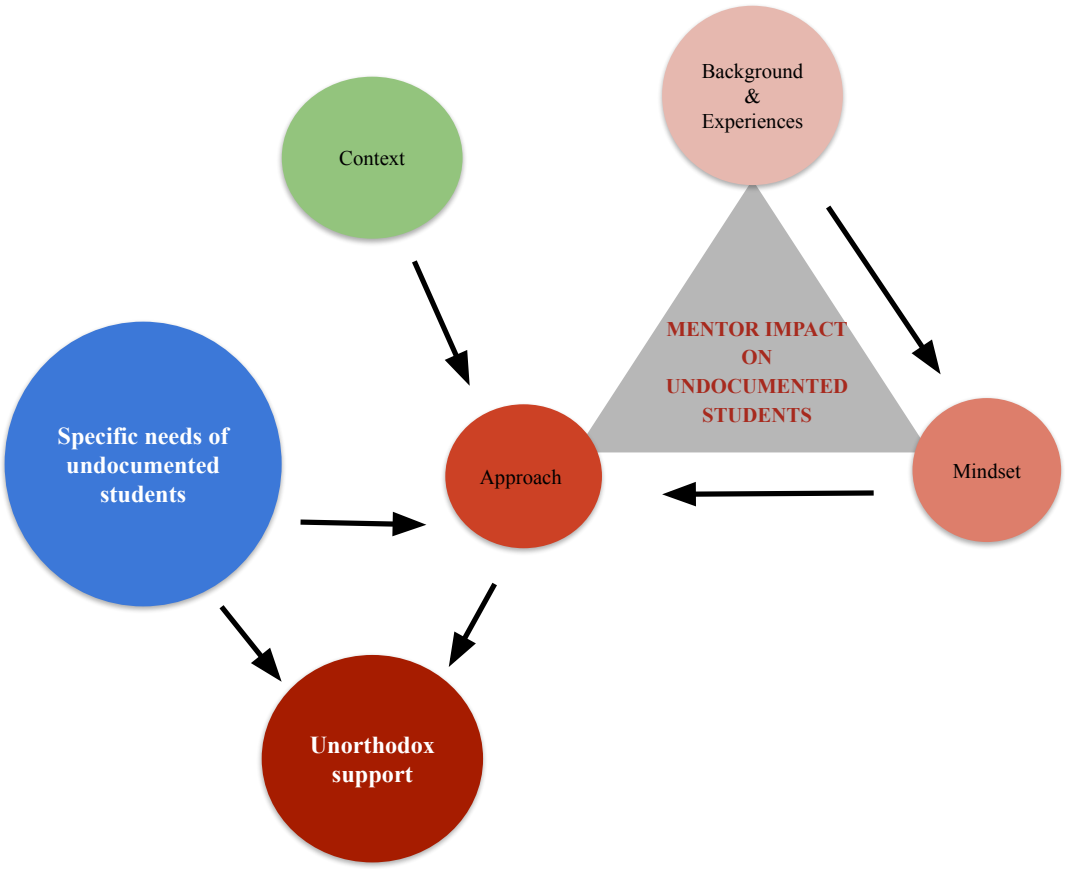

Figure 5.1 Mentor impact on undocumented immigrant students

Leveraging the context to build relationships

In most cases in this study, the mentor held a professional role in an educational institution. Others held non-educational professional roles and met UIS in those contexts. The context (school, work, foundation) provided the space for mentors and UIS to interact and meet each other. However, mentors of UIS moved beyond the limits of the contextually-mediated relationship. They all recognized the importance of being approachable and available. This seems to be the result of their professional experiences, which taught them that their initial contact with students is important and that they are responsible for keeping communication channels open. Mentors made themselves available in several ways. Some adjusted their work hours, maintained an "open door" policy, invited students to their homes, had meals with UIS, and/or made it clear that UIS could contact them on a continual basis.

These mentors who were approachable and available laid the foundation to develop multi-layered relationships with UIS by gaining their trust, establishing common ground with them, and/or meeting their family members. This theme is supported by Gonzales' (2011) finding that UIS who were "successful college goers" had "trusting relationships with teachers or other adults" (p.611). Multi-layered relationships based on trust, common ground, and/or respect for the family unit were possible because the relationships lasted for at least one year and most lasted for several years. In some cases, the mentors currently continue to have contact with the UIS who they supported during high school, pre-college, or college. These long-term relationships gave mentors time to learn more about UIS and the challenges that they faced. In cases where UIS did not reveal their legal status to their mentors in the early stages of the relationship or did not reveal their status at all, mentors learned enough about them to recognize signs that the student was undocumented. Knowing or being reasonably certain about legal status

influenced the support that mentors provided. Culturally-sustaining pedagogy encourages educators of immigrant students to "build on and recognize their experiences, attachments, and evolving identities as assets to build on and critically to sustain" (Lee & Walsh, 2017, p.203). Mentors in this study understood that the undocumented identity was an important part of the UIS experience. Instead of dismissing that identity and experience, the mentors allowed those factors to influence the guidance that they gave to UIS.

Strengths of the Study

This study is the first one that takes an in-depth look at mentors in the United States who support undocumented immigrant students in high school, pre-college, and college. The UIS identified the mentors as the "most supportive" people who helped them to graduate from high school, transition to college, and graduate from college. This strengthens the findings because mentors could not self-identify or self-select themselves for this study. Identifying the participants in this way eliminated self-selection bias and increased the likelihood that the mentors did provide meaningful support that had a positive impact on UIS graduating from college. Findings correspond with previous research that confirms the importance of mentors who "provide guidance and resources" to UIS during their journey to and through college (Gonzales, 2011, p.616).

Data collection in the form of semi-structured interviews with the mentors provided rich details about the mentors, their backgrounds, their mentoring styles, and the UIS who they supported. Interview questions probed the mentors to share details about their educational experiences and about their professional duties at the time that they supported the UIS who named them. Mentors' answers to direct questions and follow-up questions resulted in narratives

that revealed their mindsets within the frameworks of positive youth development and community cultural wealth theory.

The study identified several useful and/or unexpected findings that add to the literature on mentoring and UIS. The first is the need to identify mentors at the pre-college level, in addition to the high school and college levels. The second is the notion of mentors providing unorthodox support to create solutions that do not exist. The third is the anticipatory mindset that mentors of UIS demonstrate while encouraging them to persist in the face of uncertain futures. The fourth is the identification of two additional forms of capital among UIS: persistent capital and leadership capital.

Limitations of the Study

The starting point for data collection was to ask undocumented or formerly undocumented students to complete a questionnaire and identify their high school and college mentors. Due to the sensitive nature of legal status and the vulnerability of this population, it was necessary to develop relationships within the community. Although I had connections to potential participants prior to study approval, it was more difficult to gain participation from other UIS in their networks who did not know me on a personal level. I realized that I needed to build relationships with participants myself. I did this by spending several months networking with the undocumented community through an academic project, conference participation, professional meetings, and engagement with alumni networks.

Ultimately, this yielded 12 participants who completed the questionnaire and named their mentors. The final list of mentors included 48 people, with 18 of them agreeing to participate in interviews. This number falls short of my goal of interviewing 20 or more mentors. However, only three of the mentors knew me beforehand while the other 15 did not know me prior to my

initial phone call or email communication with them. My lack of personal connection to the mentors affected my ability to secure a larger number of interview participants.

Another limitation of the study is that only females responded to the questionnaire. I requested participation from a total of 20 people, 16 of whom were female and 4 of whom were male. Since my initial outreach included a much lower number of males and I did not have personal relationships with any of the males, no males completed the questionnaire to name their mentors. In addition, my geographic location on the west coast of the U.S. means that most of the UIS and their mentors are in California and to some degree, the data mostly represents mentoring in a single state.

Finally, there were more college-level mentors who participated in the study than high school or pre-college mentors. This may be due to a number of things. First, more time has passed since UIS graduated from high school and their mentors are more difficult to identify and/or contact. Second, UIS named more than one mentor for the college level. This could be explained by their increased ability to develop relationships and advocate for themselves during college rather than high school. In addition, they graduated from college more recently than high school and can recall college mentors and their contact information more readily than high school mentors.

Implications for Undocumented Immigrant Students

Undocumented immigrant students whose mentors participated in this study connected with their mentors via institutionally-mediated contexts. An environment that allowed youth-initiated mentoring to develop was important for undocumented high school students in this study. They needed guidance from a capable adult who participated directly in the education system that they were navigating. Undocumented high school students need to know that they have full access to

specific people who are available to help them in their current environment. When there are designated, visible individuals in their space, some undocumented high school students will initiate the mentoring relationship. In this study, this occurred when high school students visited their assigned counselor during school hours or felt comfortable talking to a teacher about their post-high school academic plans. Yet, Hagler and Rhodes (2018) caution researchers that natural mentoring relationships, such as the ones in this study, are more likely to develop for young people who have "more resources and better functioning" than some of their peers (p.176). Therefore, some UIS may not develop these valuable relationships if they are responsible for initiating them.

Due to the sensitive nature of being undocumented and the risk it poses for UIS and their families, they may not reach out for the support they need. When they do ask for support, individuals often do not know how to assist them with the unique challenges that these students face. Sometimes peers may be a richer source of mentorship. Peers who have connections to larger networks can help UIS gain access to resources and mentors who they may not have otherwise met. This means that in the absence of formal support systems for UIS, they may need to ask for help. However, they are only likely to take this step with someone who they trust.

Recommendations for Educational Institutions

While the scope of this study focused on mentors at the high school and college levels, these recommendations for educational institutions are appropriate for K-12 schools, community colleges, and four-year colleges. Educators and other education staff who interact with undocumented and immigrant youth need to recognize the pivotal signs that their students may be struggling with the fear, uncertainty, and frustration that accompanies undocumented status. Even then, they need to be respectful of students and their families and allow them to reveal

information about their status, rather than asking them. Recognizing pivotal signs will allow potential mentors to take advantage of pivotal moments, times when Espinoza (2011) encourages educators to take steps to develop relationships with students who need their help. Expanding on that framework, the recognition of pivotal *signs* is a key factor in the initiation of a mentoring relationship. In the case of undocumented students, who may not reveal their status to a mentor, there are pivotal signs which indicate that they are struggling with more than the typical academic, social, and familial strains of the adolescent years.

High school counselors need to carve out time for in-person meetings with their students or they may miss opportunities to initiate meaningful mentoring relationships. Making the time to build relationships with students increases the likelihood that counselors will recognize pivotal signs that a student is struggling with legal status concerns. Carving out time is difficult for counselors, who often serve hundreds of students at a time. In this study, counselors chose to make adjustments to their daily schedules in order to be more accessible to students during times that were convenient for the students. One example is a counselor who changed his lunch break so that he would be in his office during the students' lunch break.

To better support UIS, educators can create a network of allies who provide needed resources and services for undocumented students. UIS and mentors in this study often had to spend time searching for resources. This is time-consuming and can lead to missed opportunities and/or extended timelines to accomplish academic goals. Establishing a network that includes sources of financial aid, extraneous funding, legal services, mental health services, and a family liaison will relieve the burden on a single mentor to try to provide multiple resources.

At the institutional level, there is a need to increase visible signs of support for UIS on campus and in community spaces. Signs of support include messages to the campus community

about the legal rights of undocumented students, resources available for them, and a way for them to request assistance while maintaining privacy. Sharing messages in community spaces ensures that family members also have access to information.

Institutions also need to implement physical space for UIS. It's in those spaces that students should be able to access resources. One resource should be the ability to initiate a mentoring relationship with teachers, counselors, staff, and community members who agree to provide support. This would provide an entry point for mentoring relationships to begin. If UIS have already established a mentoring relationship with a teacher or other school staff member on their own, they can use the space as an entry point to create networks of support with other campus allies. Networks of support are important for both UIS and their mentors.

In addition, the recommendation for counselors to spend additional time can only be implemented widely if schools hire more counselors in order to decrease the number of students assigned to individual counselors. Increasing institutional support will remove some of the burden on individual mentors, like those in this study, who often work alone to support UIS. Indeed, the lack of institutional support affects mentors, who develop intentional, proactive, and mentoring team approaches in response to the lack of structural efforts. Institutions can contribute to effective mentoring for UIS by providing clear resources and strategies that mentors can access and use to guide UIS. When there is an established structure of support, mentors will also be able to connect with each other and form a network of allies beyond their personal networks.

Multiple high schools and college campuses have established student groups and/or centers to support UIS. This is another way that schools can create symbolic and physical spaces where UIS can request help and form a supportive community on their terms. Mentors who join these

established groups will be able to focus their efforts on building relationships and supporting UIS rather than having to create solutions for institutional gaps.

Recommendations for Mentoring Programs

Formal mentoring organizations and programs do not currently provide mentoring that is specifically tailored to the needs of UIS. While informal and natural mentoring relationships will continue to benefit UIS, formal programs can provide needed support as well. Based on the data collected from the informal mentors in this study, there are several points that formal programs can consider. The work of mentoring UIS is political in nature and changes rapidly based on lived experiences and legislative policies. Since the policies do not always change at a rapid pace, it is necessary to implement new solutions at the micro level.

The first step in doing this is to identify the needs of UIS by inviting them to play an active role in the development of any type of support system. Weiston-Serdan (2017) calls upon mentoring programs to broaden their ideas about youth participation. Mentoring programs need to recognize that they are not currently serving the needs of UIS and invite them to provide input and leadership in the development of programming. When programs have established support based on the input of UIS, they can begin to offer an entry point in the form of explicit invitations, for UIS to find mentors who are qualified to support them.

Since UIS and their mentors in this study developed relationships outside of a formalized program, it will be helpful for structured mentoring programs to provide an additional entry point into the program for mentors and UIS who have established a relationship but need structural support. This would need to occur after programs have increased their capacity to support UIS. In addition, programs will need to share this opportunity within schools and communities so that UIS and their mentors know that they can seek formal support with specific organizations.

Within the mentoring program, it will be necessary to establish authentic spaces that promote safety, confidentiality, community cultural wealth proficiency, and positive youth development mindset among mentors. Finally, current mentors in programs need to be aware of pivotal signs that a mentee may be struggling with legal status so that they can provide targeted support and protect any desire for confidentiality.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study produced additional questions that the data could not answer but that future research can examine. The topics and questions that emerged are:

1. Test the usefulness of unorthodox support as a framework in studies that focus on mentoring of UIS and other underrepresented youth.
2. Do mentors use one of the three approaches to mentoring on a wider scale? If so, are their approaches influenced by levels of trust, needs of the mentee, and/or context?
3. How do mentor philosophy and mentor background impact the kinds of mentoring they provide?
4. Develop a definition of anticipatory mindset (in mentors) and describe its impact on mentoring outcomes.
5. Identify additional evidence of persistent capital and leadership capital and whether those are forms of capital that lead to advancement.
6. Does a hybrid model using CCW theory and PYD theory better explain the mentoring that is effective for UIS?
7. What are the academic outcomes for UIS who are not academic standouts or who do not develop a natural mentoring relationship?

8. Do UIS who do not go to college have mentors? Who are those mentors and what kind of support have they provided?
9. Do UIS rely more on peer mentoring than other groups of students?
10. What are effective strategies for mentoring UIS during the pre-college years? In this study, pre-college years refer to the years between high school graduation and matriculation to a four-year college. Some UIS attend a 2-year college and/or enter the workforce prior to attending a four-year institution.

Final Researcher Reflection

My journey to earn a Ph.D. was rooted in my experience as an undocumented immigrant in the United States. Along the way, I realized that I unknowingly abandoned a community of students who had similar experiences: undocumented students whose status remains unchanged. I was fortunate to have a change in legal status from undocumented to legal permanent resident in the later part of high school. At that time and in the many years since then, I actually thought that none of my peers had that experience. I gladly shed the burden of being undocumented and never looked back.

That changed when I began my doctoral studies at Claremont Graduate University with the hope of working with the renowned immigrant scholar Dr. William Perez. Through coursework, readings, and interactions with undocumented peers, I realized I had to call myself in for abandoning my undocumented identity and more importantly, the undocumented community. Since then, I have had the privilege of studying and working with undocumented and formerly undocumented colleagues. I discovered that there are many more of us who are "formerly undocumented" but we are still learning how to incorporate that experience into our identity as people and as scholars. This dissertation study is my first step in learning how to incorporate

"formerly undocumented" into my identity as a person. Only then will I be able to do justice to this topic as a scholar.

Conclusion

The topics of immigration and legal status will continue to be divisive in a country that may never be able to resolve its own controversial establishment. This study focused on one aspect of the current debates about undocumented immigrant students. At the time of this writing, the Supreme Court was preparing to hand down a decision about whether the DACA program should be rescinded. By the time I presented these findings to my dissertation committee, many states and countries were observing mandatory stay-at-home orders in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. While government leaders at the federal and state levels rushed to provide financial relief to millions of people, most of the measures did not include relief for the undocumented community. In the meantime, tens of thousands of undocumented students struggle to move forward in their education in the face of even greater uncertainty for themselves and their families. Mentors like those who participated in this study are instrumental in helping undocumented students, who are active participants in our citizenry. Mentor insight reveals opportunities for institutions to join them in supporting undocumented students. When undocumented students and their families thrive and advance, their work will continue to have a positive impact on the entire country.

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Appendix A

Mentoring Survey for Immigrant (Undocumented) College Graduates

Welcome to the research study on mentoring for immigrant and undocumented college graduates!

We are interested in understanding the types of mentoring relationships that help immigrant and/or undocumented students make the transition from high school to college and to graduate from college. You will be presented with information relevant to mentoring and asked to answer some questions about your mentoring experiences. Please be assured that your responses will be kept completely confidential.

The study should take you around 20 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point during the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice. If you would like to contact the Principal Investigator in the study to discuss this research, please e-mail Keisha Chin Goosby at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com.

By clicking the button below, you acknowledge that your participation in the study is voluntary, you are at least 18 years of age, you were born in a country other than the United States, and that you are aware that you may choose to terminate your participation in the study at any time and for any reason.

Please note that this survey will be best displayed on a laptop or desktop computer. Some features may be less compatible for use on a mobile device.

- ○ I consent, begin the study (1)
- ○ I do not consent, I do not wish to participate (2)

Were you born in the United States?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

What is your current college enrollment status?

- ○ Attending a 2-year college (1)
- ○ Attending a 4-year college or university (2)
- ○ Graduated from a 2-year college and no longer in school (3)
- ○ Graduated from a 4-year college or university (4)
- ○ Taking a temporary break from attending a college or university (5)

What is the name of the college that you are attending or did attend?

_____

What year are you currently completing in college?

- ○ First year (1)
- ○ Second year (2)
- ○ Third year (3)
- ○ Fourth year (4)
- ○ Fifth or higher year (5)
- ○ Graduated (6)

What is your major or what was your major?

_____

Did you have a mentor or supportive person who helped you find information about applying to college?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Did you have a mentor or supportive person who helped you find information about financial aid for college?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Did you have a mentor or supportive person who helped you to apply to colleges?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

How many people were mentors or supportive people while you were applying to college?

- ○ One person (1)
- ○ Two people (2)
- ○ Three or more people (3)

Who is the person who had the most influence/provided the most support as you prepared for college? Enter their first and last name.

_____

Was that person:

- ○ Teacher (1)
- ○ Counselor (2)
- ○ Family member (3)
- ○ Friend (4)
- ○ Coach (5)
- ○ Employer (6)
- ○ Church member (7)
- ○ Community member or leader (8)
- ○ Mentor in a program (9)
- ○ Other (please specify): (10) _____

How did you meet this person?

_____

How often did you speak with or meet with that person?

- ○ 4 or more times per week (1)
- ○ 1-3 times per week (2)
- ○ 2-3 times per month (3)
- ○ About once per month (4)
- ○ Other (please specify how often): (5) _____

How did you usually have contact with this person?

- ○ In person (1)
- ○ Over the phone (2)
- ○ Digital communication such as Skype or Face Time (3)
- ○ By e-mail (4)
- ○ Other (please specify): (5) _____

Do you still speak to them or see them?

- ○ Yes, at least once per month (1)
- ○ Yes, 2 or more times per month (2)
- ○ Yes, but not every month (3)
- ○ No (4)

What kind of help did they provide? Check all that apply.

- [ ] Information about colleges (1)
- [ ] Tips or tutoring for SAT, ACT, or other college admissions tests (2)
- [ ] Information about applying for financial aid and scholarships (3)
- [ ] Wrote a letter of recommendation (4)
- [ ] Help with completing college applications (5)
- [ ] Financial help (such as helping to pay for tests or application fees) (6)
- [ ] Information about college visits or taking you to visit colleges (7)
- [ ] Told you about their own experiences with college (8)
- [ ] Introduced you to other people who could provide information (9)
- [ ] Helped you find resources (such as websites, flyers, and workshops) (10)
- [ ] Helped you to keep track of deadlines for various applications (11)
- [ ] Other (please specify): (12) _____

For each of the following statements, click the response that indicates how often this person did each of these things.

	Always (1)	Most of the time (2)	About half the time (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)
Shared details about her/his personal struggles in the educational system (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Asked about your personal/family life outside of school (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Personalized interactions such as addressing you by first name (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Provided a safe space for you to express your opinions/concerns (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed sympathy and care toward your dilemmas/struggles (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Made herself/himself accessible when you requested a meeting (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed understanding of your family's or culture's expectations of you (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Had discussions with you about how your experiences and your family's experiences are an important part of your story (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed support for your goals and aspirations (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed appreciation and support for your interests (academic, extracurricular activities, work) (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to explore your interests outside of school (such as music, art, dance, sports, work, or other activities) (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to find ways to attend college, even if it would be more difficult for you than for students with legal status (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to do your best in school (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Provided emotional and moral support (14)	○	○	○	○	○

Assessed your needs and identified resources to address them (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Tracked your progress and performance in school (16)	○	○	○	○	○
Held you to high expectations and standards of academic excellence (17)	○	○	○	○	○
Instilled the belief you can succeed in high school and college (18)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to enroll in rigorous classes such as Honors and AP (19)	○	○	○	○	○
Advocated for you with important school personnel (counselors, teachers, principal) (20)	○	○	○	○	○
Spoke to or met with your parents or family to discuss the college pathway (21)	○	○	○	○	○

May I contact that person to interview him/her about the support that they provided to you?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

If it is okay to contact this person, please enter an email address, phone number, or as much information you can about how to contact them.

_____

Who is the person who had the most influence/provided the most support ***while you were in college***? Enter their first and last name.

_____

Is that person any of the following? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Professor (1)
- ☐ Advisor (assigned by college) (2)
- ☐ TA (3)
- ☐ Counselor (4)
- ☐ Employer, boss, or supervisor (5)
- ☐ Co-worker (6)
- ☐ Member or leader in a student organization on campus (7)
- ☐ Older peer/classmate at the college (8)
- ☐ Family member (9)
- ☐ Friend who did not go to the college (10)
- ☐ Community member or leader (11)
- ☐ Coach (12)
- ☐ Other (please specify): (13) _____

How did you meet this person?

_____

How often did you speak with or meet with that person while you were in college?

- ○ 4 or more times per week (1)
- ○ 1-3 times per week (2)
- ○ 2-3 times per month (3)
- ○ About once per month (4)
- ○ Other (please specify how often): (5) _____

What are the specific kinds of help that they provide or have provided?

- ○ Academic advice (such as which classes to take or university requirements) (1)
- ○ Financial aid information (2)
- ○ Academic help (such as tutoring, feedback on writing, how to read academic articles) (3)
- ○ Time management (4)
- ○ Housing information (5)
- ○ Help to find a job (6)
- ○ Where to find food and dining options (7)
- ○ Other (please specify): (8) _____

Do you feel comfortable sharing personal information with that person?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Do you feel that you can call that person for “anything”?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

For each of the following statements, click the response that indicates how often this person did each of these things.

	Always (1)	Most of the time (2)	About half the time (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)
Shared details about her/his personal struggles in the educational system (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Asked about your personal/family life outside of school (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Personalized interactions such as addressing you by first name (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Provided a safe space for you to express your opinions/concerns (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed sympathy and care toward your dilemmas/struggles (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Made herself/himself accessible when you requested a meeting (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed understanding of your family's or culture's expectations of you (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Had discussions with you about how your experiences and your family's experiences are an important part of your story (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed support for your goals and aspirations (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed appreciation and support for your interests (academic, extracurricular activities, work) (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to explore your interests outside of school (such as music, art, dance, sports, work, or other activities) (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to find ways to continue your college education, even when it was more difficult for you than for students with legal status (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to do your best in school (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Provided emotional and moral support (14)	○	○	○	○	○

Assessed your needs and identified resources to address them (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Tracked your progress and performance in school or helped you to do this for yourself (16)	○	○	○	○	○
Held you to high expectations and standards of academic excellence (17)	○	○	○	○	○
Instilled the belief you can succeed in college and graduate (18)	○	○	○	○	○
Advocated for you with important school personnel (professors, dean, financial aid) (19)	○	○	○	○	○
Spoke to or met with your parents or family to discuss the college pathway (20)	○	○	○	○	○
Suggested or encouraged you to go to graduate school (21)	○	○	○	○	○
Instilled the belief that you can succeed in graduate school (22)	○	○	○	○	○

Encouraged you to take graduate school entrance exams (23)	○	○	○	○	○
Encouraged you to present at a research conference (24)	○	○	○	○	○
Introduced you to professors or campus staff who could provide you with additional guidance (25)	○	○	○	○	○
Gave you tips for meeting with professors during office hours (26)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you learn how to use campus resources (such as the library, tech lab, writing center, etc.) (27)	○	○	○	○	○
Taught you how to advocate for yourself (28)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to network with professors and other professionals (29)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to choose classes based on what he/she knew about you personally (30)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to select or change your major (31)	○	○	○	○	○

Provided tips for time management (32)	○	○	○	○	○
Showed you how to balance academic, extracurricular, social, and work activities (33)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to prepare for research conference presentation (34)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to select graduate schools, apply to graduate schools, and/or apply for financial aid for graduate school (35)	○	○	○	○	○
Helped you to identify careers related to your major (36)	○	○	○	○	○

May I contact that person to interview him/her about the support that they provided to you?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

If it is okay to contact this person, please enter an email address, phone number, or as much information you can about how to contact them.

_____

Did your college campus have a student group for immigrant and undocumented students when you were attending?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Other (please describe): (3) _____

Were you involved with that group?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Did your campus have a dedicated space/center for immigrant or undocumented students when you were attending?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Other (please describe): (3) _____

Did you use their services?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

What were your top three challenges in college?

- [ ] Finances/money (1)
- [ ] Academic/doing well in classes (2)
- [ ] Talking to professors (3)
- [ ] Making friends (4)
- [ ] Housing (5)
- [ ] Food (6)
- [ ] Health concerns (7)
- [ ] Family obligations (taking care of children or family members) (8)
- [ ] Working (9)
- [ ] Time management (10)
- [ ] Transportation (11)
- [ ] Legal issues (12)
- [ ] Romantic relationship (13)
- [ ] Other (please describe): (14) _____

Page Break

What were your three biggest assets in college?

- [ ] Motivation to earn your degree (1)
- [ ] Parents or grandparents (2)
- [ ] Significant other/partner or children (3)
- [ ] Other family member(s) (such as siblings, cousins, aunts, or uncles) (4)
- [ ] Mentor/supportive person (5)
- [ ] Friends (6)
- [ ] Student group or club on campus (7)
- [ ] Group or club off campus (8)
- [ ] Professor (9)
- [ ] Advisor (10)
- [ ] Previous teacher (before college) (11)
- [ ] RA or other college staff member who works with students (12)
- [ ] Academic preparation before college (13)
- [ ] Academic help provided by your college (14)
- [ ] Family members or friends who graduated from college before you (15)
- [ ] Other (please describe): (16) _____

What factor(s) motivated you to go to college?

- [ ] Career goals (1)
- [ ] Financial goals (2)
- [ ] Support/encouragement from family (3)
- [ ] Support/encouragement from friends (4)
- [ ] Support/encouragement from a teacher or counselor in high school (5)
- [ ] Support/encouragement from a mentor/supportive person (6)
- [ ] Desire to make parents/family proud (7)
- [ ] Desire to help family have a better life (8)
- [ ] Expect a college degree to help you change your legal status (9)
- [ ] Other (please describe): (10) _____

When you were in high school, what kinds of support did your parents or family members provide for your schooling?

- [ ] Encouragement to do well in school (1)
- [ ] Paid tuition for a private or Catholic school (2)
- [ ] Literacy practices such as conversations about current events, or reading in any language (3)
- [ ] Told stories about family struggles and wanting a better life for you (4)
- [ ] Told stories about successful family members who can be an example of what you can do (5)
- [ ] Other support (please specify): (6) _____

When you were in college, what kinds of support did your parents or family members provide for your schooling?

- [ ] Academic help (1)
- [ ] Encouragement (2)
- [ ] Financial help (3)
- [ ] Housing (4)
- [ ] Transportation (5)
- [ ] Childcare (6)
- [ ] Other (please specify): (7) _____

What is the name of the country where you were born?

_____

What is your current immigration status?

- ○ Undocumented (1)
- ○ Have DACA but it has expired (2)
- ○ DACA (not yet expired) (3)
- ○ Permanent resident (green card) (4)
- ○ U.S. citizen (5)
- ○ Applied for permanent residence or U.S. citizenship (6)
- ○ Refugee/asylum seeker (7)
- ○ Other (please specify): (8) _____

How old were you when you moved to the United States?

- ○ 0-5 years old (1)
- ○ 6-10 years old (2)
- ○ 11-15 years old (3)
- ○ 16-20 years old (4)
- ○ 21 years or older (5)

How long have you lived in the U.S.?

- ○ Less than one year (1)
- ○ 1-5 years (2)
- ○ 6-9 years (3)
- ○ 10 years or more (4)

What kind of high school did you attend in the U.S?

- ○ Regular public high school (1)
- ○ Public charter school (2)
- ○ Private school (3)
- ○ Did not attend high school in the U.S. (4)
- ○ Other (please specify): (5) _____

Did you take Honors or AP classes in high school?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

What was your high school GPA when you graduated?

- ○ 1.0-2.0 (1)
- ○ 2.1-2.9 (2)
- ○ 3.0-3.5 (3)
- ○ 3.6-4.0 (4)
- ○ Higher than 4.0 (5)

What is your mother's highest level of education?

- ○ Elementary school (1)
- ○ Junior high school (2)
- ○ Some high school (3)
- ○ High school graduate (4)
- ○ Some college (5)
- ○ College graduate (6)
- ○ Graduate school (7)
- ○ Unsure (8)

What is your father's highest level of education?

- ○ Elementary school (1)
- ○ Junior high school (2)
- ○ Some high school (3)
- ○ High school graduate (4)
- ○ Some college (5)
- ○ College graduate (6)
- ○ Graduate school (7)
- ○ Unsure (8)

Why did your parents move to the U.S.?

- ○ Job opportunities (1)
- ○ Business opportunities (2)
- ○ Better schooling for children (3)
- ○ Health care (4)
- ○ Fled war or civil unrest (5)
- ○ To be near family in the U.S. (6)
- ○ Other (please specify): (7) _____

If you have siblings, how many do you have?

- ○ One (1)
- ○ 2-4 (2)
- ○ 5-7 (3)
- ○ 8 or more (4)

Are you:

- ○ the oldest child in your family (1)
- ○ the youngest child in your family (2)
- ○ neither the youngest nor the oldest in your family (3)

Do you have other family members who are attending college or have graduated from college?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

What is the main language spoken in the home where you grew up in the U.S.?

_____

If the primary language in your family is not English, are you able to do any of the following in that language?

- ○ Speak the language only (1)
- ○ Speak and read the language only (2)
- ○ Speak, read, and write the language (3)
- ○ Don't speak, read, or write in the language (4)

What is your age?

- ○ 18-23 (1)
- ○ 24-29 (2)
- ○ 30-35 (3)
- ○ 36-40 (4)
- ○ 41 or older (5)

What is your gender?

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Other (please specify): (3) _____

End of Block: Informed Consent

Appendix B

Email to Mentors Requesting Participation in Study

Dear _____,

My name is Keisha Chin Goosby and I am a current Education doctoral student at Claremont Graduate University in California. I was referred to you by _____, who is a participant in my dissertation research study and named you as one of her most influential mentors. I created a short video to explain the study and to introduce myself.

As an immigrant from Jamaica who was undocumented until the 11th grade, I have a personal connection to the educational experiences of immigrant and undocumented students. To increase my ability to assist these students, I completed a certificate program called "Allies of Dreamers" which prepares teachers and other allies to support undocumented students in U.S. schools. As a result of studying these issues closely, I chose to focus my dissertation on *Examining the Mindsets and Assets used by Mentors of Immigrant and Undocumented Students who Graduate from American Universities*. It is a two-part study that includes a survey of college graduates, followed by a semi-structured interview with their mentors. **I am requesting your participation in a semi-structured interview that will last approximately 30-60 minutes.**

_____ named you as a mentor who provided significant support for him/her while he/she was attending college. Your efforts deserve to be highlighted in current academic research. Learning more about effective support will provide educators and other stakeholders with tools to ensure that this immigrant population achieves educational success and make valuable contributions to the country's future. Your identity, as well as theirs, will be kept confidential if you agree to be a voluntary participant. Our communication about this study is through an email address that is dedicated exclusively to this study. All messages will be deleted, along with the email address, upon the conclusion of the study.

During the interview, I will ask about your background and about the mentoring and support that you provided to the student(s) who referred you. The interview will be recorded and transcribed so that I can analyze and write up my findings. All interview records will be maintained in a password-encrypted file that is accessible only to me.

The study is being supervised by Dr. William Perez and has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at CGU (consent form attached). If you would like additional information about the study, please contact me via email at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com or by phone at (612) 516-3390. **Please let me know when you are available for an in-person meeting, online meeting, or phone call.**

Appendix C

Interview Protocol for High School Mentors

1. How did your relationship with _____ begin? (example: how did you meet, did they approach you, you approached them, or someone connected you)
2. How often did you talk or meet while he/she was in high school?
3. Was he/she planning to attend college when your relationship began?
4. If not, what or how did that change?
5. Did you share stories about your own experiences about growing up, being in high school and going to college?
6. Did _____ share personal or private information with you?
7. How did knowing those things affect the kind of advice or support you gave him/her?
8. What kind of advice did he/she ask for? (adapted)
9. Are you an immigrant and/or formerly undocumented? Or any family members?
10. If yes, did that make it easier for you to build a relationship/sense of trust?
11. If not, what do you have in common with them?
12. What are some things you said or did to help him/her feel comfortable talking to you, asking for help, taking your advice, etc.?
13. Did they discuss their immigration status with you?
14. If so, did that surprise you? Why or why not?
15. What were his/her strengths?
16. What did he/she need help with? (based on what you knew about him/her)
17. What are some of the ways that you were most helpful to them?
18. How did you help them to identify their strengths?
19. How much did you learn about their prior experiences/background (as a male/female, immigrant, member of your ethnic group, etc)?
20. How did that knowledge affect the advice/guidance that you provided?
21. What do you know about his/her family?
22. What do you know about his/her background?
23. What path(s) did you encourage him/her to take?
24. Did you feel that you needed to discourage him/her from pursuing certain paths that were not right for him/her?
25. Do you think that he/she also provided some types of support for you too? In what ways?
26. Mentor's age, gender, race/ethnicity
27. Are there other people who provided mentorship to him/her?

Interview Protocol for College Mentors

1. How did your relationship with _____ begin? (example: how did you meet, did they approach you, you approached them, or someone connected you)
2. How often did you talk or meet while he/she was in college?
3. Did you make yourself more accessible to him/her by doing things like sharing your cell phone number or agreeing to meet outside of office hours or in less formal spaces besides your office (eatery or coffee shop for example)?
4. What were his/her academic goals when your relationship began? Did they change?
5. What were his/her career goals when your relationship began? Did they change?
6. What was your influence on any of their academic or career goals?
7. Did you share stories with him/her about your own experiences about growing up, being in high school and going to college?
8. Did he/she hares details about her/his personal struggles in the educational system?
9. Did _____ share personal or private information with you?
10. In what ways did you show sympathy and care about his/her dilemmas/struggles?
11. How did knowing those things affect the kind of advice or support you gave him/her?
12. What kind of advice did he/she ask for? (adapted)
13. Are you an immigrant and/or formerly undocumented? Or any family members?
14. If yes, did that make it easier for you to build a relationship/sense of trust?
15. If not, what do you have in common with them?
16. What are some things you said or did to help him/her feel comfortable talking to you, asking for help, taking your advice, etc.?
17. Did they discuss their immigration status with you?
18. If so, did that surprise you? Why or why not?
19. What were his/her strengths?
20. What did he/she need help with? (based on what you knew about him/her)
21. What are some of the ways that you were most helpful to them?
22. How did you help them to identify their strengths?
23. How much did you learn about their prior experiences/background (as a male/female, immigrant, member of your ethnic group, etc)?
24. How did that knowledge affect the advice/guidance that you provided?
25. Are there ways that you helped him/her understand that his/her background and prior experiences could have a positive impact on their college education?
26. What do you know about his/her family and life outside of school?
27. Did you feel that you truly understood what he/she was going through with family and obligations outside of school?
28. Did you ever meet with or speak to any of his/her family members? About school or other issuse?
29. What do you know about his/her background?
30. What path(s) did you encourage him/her to take?
31. Did you provide guidance for talking to professors/other campus staff, using campus resources, finding financial aid/scholarships, going to graduate school?
32. Did you help him/her choose classes and/or a major?
33. What did you base that advice on?
34. Did you work with him/her on conference presentations or any research projects?

35. Did you provide tips for time management, balancing various obligations, etc?
36. Did you feel that you needed to discourage him/her from pursuing certain paths that were not right for him/her?
37. Did you have to find ways to encourage him/her to continue his/her college education? (perhaps due to financial or academic struggle, immigration status, family obligations)
38. Did you ever advocate for him/her with other campus staff or offices (dean, professor, financial aid, student affairs)?
39. Did you provide help with applying to graduate school (applications, LOR, test prep, school selection)?
40. Did you provide help with career preparation (job search, resume, interview)?
41. Why did you provide extensive support for him/her?
42. Did you have one or more mentors in college?
43. Do you think that he/she also provided some types of support for you too? In what ways?
44. Mentor's age, gender, race/ethnicity, highest level of education, occupation at time they mentored, current occupation
45. Are there other people who provided mentorship to him/her?

Appendix D

Study Introductory Email to UIS

Dear _____,

I am happy to share that I have advanced to the dissertation phase of the Ph.D. in Education program at Claremont Graduate University.

I am writing to request your participation in my dissertation research study. The title is *Examining the Mindsets and Assets used by Mentors of Immigrant and Undocumented Students who Graduate from American Universities*. It is a two-part study that will survey individuals who were undocumented or DACAmented during high school and/or college and have graduated from college within the past 5 years. The survey will focus on your experiences with mentors in high school and college and the role that mentors played in your academic success. The survey will be distributed via Qualtrics and your participation is voluntary. I will use a pseudonym instead of your real name to protect your identity. Our communication about this study is through an email address that is dedicated exclusively to this study. All messages will be deleted, along with the email address, upon the conclusion of the study.

The survey will ask you to identify at least one mentor who was the most supportive in high school and at least one mentor who was the most supportive in college. With your permission and based on your referral, I will contact those individuals to request their participation in the second part of the study. Part two will consist of in-depth, semi-structured interviews to examine mentors' mindsets and the strategies they used to support you during high school or college. Their identities will also remain confidential.

This study is being supervised by Dr. William Perez. If you would like additional information about the study, please contact me via email at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com or by phone at (612) 516-3390.

If you are ready to participate in the survey, **please read, sign, and return the Informed Consent form attached to this message.**
You may click here to begin the survey. When prompted, please enter the following pseudonym:
This pseudonym is unique to you and should not be shared with other participants.

All the best,

Keisha Chin Goosby
Ph.D. Candidate
Claremont Graduate University
School of Educational Studies

Study Introductory Email to UIS
(after referral by another study participant)

Dear _____,

My name is Keisha Chin Goosby and I am a current Education doctoral student at Claremont Graduate University. I was referred to you by _____ who recommended you as a potential participant in my dissertation research study.

The title of the study is *Examining the Mindsets and Assets used by Mentors of Immigrant and Undocumented Students who Graduate from American Universities*. It is a two-part study that will survey individuals who were undocumented or DACAmented during high school and/or college and have graduated from college within the past 5 years. The survey will focus on your experiences with mentors in high school and college and the role that mentors played in your academic success. Your voluntary participation in the survey will be anonymous and distributed via Qualtrics. Our communication about this study is through an email address that is dedicated exclusively to this study. All messages will be deleted, along with the email address, upon the conclusion of the study.

The survey will also ask you to identify at least one mentor who was the most supportive in high school and at least one mentor who was the most supportive in college. With your permission and based on your referral, I will contact those individuals to request their participation in the second part of the study. Part two will consist of in-depth, semi-structured interviews to examine mentors' mindsets and the strategies they used to support you during high school or college. Their identities will also remain confidential.

The study is being supervised by Dr. William Perez.

If you would like additional information about the study, please contact me via email at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com or by phone at (612) 516-3390.

All the best,

Keisha Chin Goosby
Ph.D. Candidate
Claremont Graduate University
School of Educational Studies

Appendix E

Informed Consent (UIS participants)

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN
Examining the Mindsets and Assets used by Mentors of Immigrant and Undocumented Students who Graduate from American Universities

You are being asked to take part in a research project conducted by Keisha Chin Goosby, a doctoral candidate in the School of Educational Studies at Claremont Graduate University who is being supervised by Dr. William Perez.

PURPOSE. The purpose of this study is to identify the types of mentoring relationships and the specific kinds of support and guidance that mentors provided to you during high school and college. The study will also examine the backgrounds and mindsets of the individuals who mentored you.

ELIGIBILITY. To be in this study, you must be 18 years or older, were undocumented during high school and/or college, and graduated from a college or university in the U.S. within the past 5 years.

PARTICIPATION. During the study, you will be asked to complete a digital survey that will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. The survey will ask questions about the kind of support and guidance that you received from mentors during high school and college. It will also ask you to name the mentors who were most supportive during high school and college and to provide permission for the researcher to contact them to participate in an interview about their mentoring of you.

RISKS OF PARTICIPATION. The risks that you run by taking part in this study are minimal and no greater than those of everyday life.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION. There are no direct benefits to participants.

This study will benefit the researcher(s) by providing data for her dissertation.

This study is also intended to benefit immigrant and undocumented students who need guidance to complete their high school and college education.

COMPENSATION. There is no direct compensation to you for participating in this study.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop or withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any particular question for any reason without penalty. Your decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on your current or future connection with your institution or with CGU, its faculty, students, or staff.

CONFIDENTIALITY. Your individual privacy will be protected in all papers, books, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. In order to protect the confidentiality of your responses, all identifying information will be removed from all study material and you and your mentors will be assigned pseudonyms. All of the data that is collected will be stored in password-protected files (digital files) or a locked cabinet (physical files) and will be accessible only to the researcher. All information gathered including questionnaires, audio recordings, and transcriptions will be destroyed five years after the completion of the study.

FURTHER INFORMATION. If you have any questions or would like additional information about this study, please contact me at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com or (612) 516-3390. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. William Perez at william.perez@cgu.edu.

The CGU Institutional Review Board has approved this project. You may contact the CGU Board with any questions or issues at (909) 607-9406 or at irb@cgu.edu. A copy of this form will be given to you if you wish to keep it or you may print and keep a copy of this consent form.

CONSENT. Your signature below means that you understand the information on this form, that someone has answered any and all questions you may have about this study, and you voluntarily agree to participate in it.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Participant _____

The undersigned researcher has reviewed the information in this consent form with the participant and answered any of his or her questions about the study.

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Researcher _____

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

Examining the Mindsets and Assets used by Mentors of Immigrant and Undocumented Students who Graduate from American Universities

You are being asked to take part in a research project conducted by Keisha Chin Goosby, a doctoral candidate in the School of Educational Studies at Claremont Graduate University who is being supervised by Dr. William Perez.

PURPOSE. The purpose of this study is to identify the types of mentoring relationships and the specific kinds of support and guidance that mentors provided to undocumented students during high school and college. The study will also examine the backgrounds and mindsets of the mentors.

ELIGIBILITY. To be in this study, you must be 18 years or older and mentored one or more individuals who were undocumented in high school and/or college.

PARTICIPATION. During the study, you will be asked to participate in an interview that will last approximately 60 minutes. The interview will include questions about your background and the kind of support and guidance that you provided to students who were undocumented during high school or college.

RISKS OF PARTICIPATION. The risks that you run by taking part in this study are minimal and no greater than those of everyday life.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION. There are no direct benefits to participants.

This study will benefit the researcher(s) by providing data for her dissertation.

This study is also intended to benefit immigrant and undocumented students who need guidance to complete their high school and college education.

COMPENSATION. There is no direct compensation to you for participating in this study.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop or withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any particular question for any reason without penalty. Your decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on your current or future connection with your institution or with CGU, its faculty, students, or staff.

CONFIDENTIALITY. Your individual privacy will be protected in all papers, books, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. In order to protect the confidentiality of your responses, all identifying information will be removed from all study material and you and your mentees will be assigned pseudonyms. All of the data that is collected will be

stored in password-protected files (digital files) or a locked cabinet (physical files) and will be accessible only to the researcher. All information gathered including questionnaires, audio recordings, and transcriptions will be destroyed five years after the completion of the study.

FURTHER INFORMATION. If you have any questions or would like additional information about this study, please contact me at mentoringstudy2018@gmail.com or (612) 516-3390. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. William Perez at william.perez@cgu.edu.

The CGU Institutional Review Board has approved this project. You may contact the CGU Board with any questions or issues at (909) 607-9406 or at irb@cgu.edu. A copy of this form will be given to you if you wish to keep it or you may print and keep a copy of this consent form.

CONSENT. Your signature below means that you understand the information on this form, that someone has answered any and all questions you may have about this study, and you voluntarily agree to participate in it.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Participant _____

The undersigned researcher has reviewed the information in this consent form with the participant and answered any of his or her questions about the study.

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Researcher _____