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THE ROLE OF FRIENDSHIPS AMONG LATINO MALE ADOLESCENT IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE UNAUTHORIZED

by

Marcel Hernani Tassara, M.S.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University,
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May 2014

ABSTRACT
THE ROLE OF FRIENDSHIPS AMONG LATINO MALE ADOLESCENT IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE UNAUTHORIZED

Marcel Hernani Tassara, M.S.

Marquette University, 2014

It is estimated that the United States is home to three-quarters of a million immigrant Latina/o youth who do not have proper authorization to be in the country (Passell, 2011). Given their unauthorized status these youth face a bevy of constraining factors, both proximal and distal. Furthermore, migration is typically characterized by a loss of social networks and cultural practices in exchange for disorienting social and cultural changes in a new land (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). The importance of friendships during adolescence, has been well documented across cultures (Hartup, 1996). While a few studies have demonstrated the positive role friendships play in educational attainment for unauthorized Latina/o youth (e.g..Gonzáles, 2010; Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2007), there exists little understanding of the role of friendships among unauthorized Latino adolescents.

The purpose of the current study was to investigate the role of friendships in the lives of this growing and vulnerable population: Latino male adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. The study employed grounded theory research methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1992) to examine friendships from the perspective of such youth. Twelve adolescents participated in individual interviews during which they were invited to discuss their conceptualizations of, and experiences with friendships, pre- and post-migration.

Results revealed that friends: (a) are important because they provide advice and help youth navigate the new environment, (b) help youth feel part of a group, (c) influence them in both positive and negative ways, and (c) are not completely trusted ang family is seen as the primary source of emotional support. Additionally, participants indicated that support and trust are critical to friendships, and that friendships are tested during difficult times. Also, their parents gave them advice to not fully trust friends, and when queried they stated that they would provide similar advice to recently arrived immigrants. Limitations and implications of the present study as well as future directions are also discussed.

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Marcel Hernani Tassara, M.S.

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The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants Who Are Unauthorized

Chapter I: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The United States is often thought of as an archetypal country of immigrants (Suárez-Orozco, 1995). The country's infrastructure is rooted in its history as a nation of immigrants. Currently 13 % of the country's population is immigrants. A quarter of these immigrants are living in the U.S. without legal authorization, and the majority of these individuals are from Mexico (6.8 million) (Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2012). Of these, roughly 1.1 million are under the age of 18, three-quarters are Latina/o, and two-thirds are from Mexico (Passel, 2011). Little is known about this population of young Latina/os beyond the aforementioned demographic data (Gonzáles, 2011), and their unique circumstances and psychological well-being have only begun to receive scholarly attention. The little that is known about Latina/o immigrant youth who are unauthorized suggests that they face considerable challenges (Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011; Yoshikawa, 2011), including racism and discrimination (Szalacha et al., 2004), school and community violence (García-Coll & Magnuson, 1997), and high levels of poverty (Capps, Fix, Ost, Reardon-Anderson, & Passel, 2005). Furthermore, these youth lose their social networks and cultural practices for disorienting cultural changes in a new land – which leads to markedly diminished, if not non-existent social circles (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999).

The importance of social support, in particular, friendships during adolescence, has been well documented across cultures (Hartup, 1996). While a few studies have demonstrated the positive role friendships play in educational attainment for Latina/o immigrant adolescents who unauthorized (Gonzáles, 2010; Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009; Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2007; Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009), there exists little understanding of the role and characteristics of friendships among Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized.

Research on the friendships of majority, White culture has found that during adolescence youth become increasingly dependent on their friends and less dependent on their parents for emotional support (Allen & Land, 1999). Adolescent friendships, in turn, become more intimate and complex as youth develop the ability and willingness to share their thoughts and feelings with each other and provide emotional support (Burhmester & Furman, 1987). In addition, their perception of friendship quality improves during this time (Way & Greene, 2006). The ability to maintain close relationships has been found to be consistently associated with positive adolescent mental health (Burhmeister, 1990) and self esteem (Connolly & Konarski, 1994), while youth who don't have meaningful peer relationships are more likely to feel lonely (Pedersen, Vitaro, Barker, & Borge, 2007), have lower levels of self-esteem, have less effective coping strategies (Seiffge-Krenmke and Shulman, 1993), and not succeed in school (Dennis, Phinney, & Chuateco, 2005). Adolescents with good social skills are better adjusted than those with poor ones – as evidenced by positive academic, social, and emotional outcomes (Berndt & Murphy, 2003; Brown, 1990; Brown & Larson, 2009; Bukowski & Adams, 2005).

The majority of friendship research, however, has been conducted with White, middle class adolescents. Researchers have yet to fully explore the role of friendships among ethnic minority youth, let alone Latina/o immigrant adolescents who unauthorized (Way, Cowal, Gingold, Pahl, & Bissessar, 2001). Gaining an understanding of positive functioning in Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized requires consideration of how these youth adapt and function in both the majority culture and their culture of origin or home culture (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2005). While researchers have concluded that most friendships share common features such as equality and reciprocity, as well as an affinity for similarity (Brown & Klute 2003), these findings do not always translate to the experiences of adolescent friendships across cultures (Way, 2006). There has been a call for research that examines Latina/o youths' friendships as unique cultural practices by members of a larger cultural community (Rogol & Angelillo, 2002; Way, 2006), whose specific values and beliefs underlie relationship processes and outcomes (Gonzalez, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Siroli, 2002). Given the increased vulnerability for poor adjustment faced by Latina/os during adolescence (Umaña-Taylor, 2009), in addition to the growth of this population, it is becoming increasingly important for researchers to have a better understanding of their social world (Garcia et al., 2002).

Conceptualizing this world through an ecological paradigm (Bronfenbrenner, 1979,1989; Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001) reveals unique challenges and strengths from the macrosystem to the individual level (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The quality of social relationships can be seen as a function of these broader ecological factors (Serdarecic & Chronister, 2005).

At the macrosytemic level, youth who are unauthorized are affected by a plethora of factors from immigration policy to public stigma, all of which are evidenced by increasing anti-immigrant sentiment (Pérez-Hubner, 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). At the neighborhood and community level, or the exosystem, being unauthorized is specifically associated with a lack of legal protection, employment opportunities, and access to information/assistance or healthcare (Messias, 1996). These tangible forces of inequality act to impede youth from obtaining resources that have been demonstrated to foster healthy, positive development (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The lower levels of education and greater economic distress among Latina/o immigrants are posited as factors contributing to their poorer psychological adjustment when compared to other immigrant groups (Fuligni, 1997).

At the microsystem level, youth who are unauthorized are commonly enrolled in underresourced schools that are highly segregated (by race, poverty, and language) and plagued with a host of concerns. These schools often have curricula presented at less challenging levels by teachers who are less qualified and have fewer years of experience, as well as high turnover of enrollment and low levels of academic competition (Schofield, 1995). Other risk factors include large class size, high dropout rates, and limited social capital or social relationships from which the youth may potentially glean various types of institutional resources and support (Orfield & Lee, 2006; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995).

Also nested within the microsystem level is the family system. Youth with parents or caretakers who are unauthorized live with the fear that their parents might be arrested, detained, or deported (Chaudry et al., 2010). Families often experience drastic shifts after

immigration, such as transitioning to dual earner households and spending less time together, changes which act to strain relationships and leave adolescents grieving the loss of the past and feeling lonely (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). These factors are further compounded at the family level by low wage-paying jobs, which are chronically unstable, leading to high rates of poverty for new immigrants.

At the individual level youth who are living in the "shadow" of unauthorized status "take the body blows of both distal and proximal contexts" described above (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, p.450). For those youth of school age who move to the U.S., the Supreme Court ruling in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) gives them the legal right to K-to-12 education (Olivas, 2005). Exit from this formal education system entails entry into an informal one of learning to live as an adult who is unauthorized or "illegally" (Gonzáles, 2011). As children, they live under the protective umbrella of their families, and have a clear(er) sense of belonging. As they transition towards young adulthood, social belonging may become increasingly frustrating due to stiff boundaries of liminality which hinder youths' ability to participate in in the rituals that define personhood and early adulthood (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Clearly, youth who are unauthorized have far less resources and experience a very different social milieu than that of their authorized peers. Given the dearth of resources available to youth who are unauthorized and the social capital afforded through friendship (Enriquez, 2011; Ream, 2005; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995), research is needed that explores how these youth develop and utilize friendships in order to access much needed emotional, financial, and informational resources (Enriquez, 2011); as well as the qualitative features of these relationships.

Definition of Terms

Before examining the pertinent literature, it will be helpful to clearly define several key words that appear throughout this manuscript. The term *first generation* refers to those foreign born youth who migrated between the ages of 12-17. The term Latino will be used to denote the male gender, while *Latina/o* will be used to describe both genders. The term *Latina/o* will be used to describe those individuals from South and Central America, Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. The term *relationship* refers to a pair of persons who affect and are affected by the behavior of the other person over time (Collins & Madsen, 2006). The term *friendship* denotes a *relationship* where firm, positive affective bonds exist that are intended to facilitate the accomplishment of socioemotional goals (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). This operationalization of friendship presupposes, at it's most base level, that the members of the dyad like each other (Bukowski et al., 2009). The term *unauthorized* is used to describe foreign-born non-citizens who live within the country without proper authorization to do so (Hoefer et al., 2012). This term has been suggested as a more neutral description that encompasses a broader swath of persons than such terms as *undocumented, alien, and illegal* (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Rationale for the Study

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that adolescent friendships play an important role in satisfying desires for intimacy, enhancing interpersonal skills, understanding, and sensitivity, and contributing to social, cognitive, and psychological development across

cultures (Hartup, 1996; Patterson; Dishion, & Yoerger, 2000; 2000; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). The majority of the friendship literature tells the story of the European American adolescents and so there does not exist an analogous understanding of the relational experiences of Latina/o adolescents (Fuligni, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Way et al., 2001). While studies of academic achievement among Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized point to the importance of friendships (Perez et al., 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), very little is known about their experience of friendships (Graham, Taylor, & Ho, 2009), and none of the extant literature attends to possible gender differences. Lastly, no studies to date provide a comprehensive understanding of the roles of friendships for youth who are unauthorized.

Considering the number of potential stressors faced by the upheaval of social networks that occurs as a result of migration, having a better understanding of the processes and characteristics that underlie friendships for Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized is critical. This study will explore the roles that friendships play in the lives of first generation Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. As the number of Latina/o immigrant youth in the United States continues to grow (Passell, 2011), promoting their positive social development will be important not only for immigrants themselves but also for the economic well-being of the country, given that over the next forty years virtually all growth in the young adult population (the majority of the labor force) will come from immigrants and their U.S. born children (Passel, 2011; Perreira et al., 2007). Therefore this study will act to shed light on the social world of a growing and vulnerable population (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Research Question

The overarching research question of this study is “What role does friendship play in the lives of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized?” While certain aspects of friendships are of interest to the principal investigator (e.g., definitions, development, maintenance, importance, feelings towards, use of, and history with), this inquiry adhered to traditional grounded theory methodology and focused on an overarching phenomenon of inquiry, the role of friendships. Since very little is known about friendships among Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized, Grounded theory methodology (Glaser; 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was particularly appropriate for this study because it enabled the research team to focus on the reconstruction of social action without having to rely on existing hypothesis. In line with these methods participants will be invited to discuss what is relevant to them (not the researcher) in regards to friendships.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

The choices that immigrants make and the chances they take as they forge ahead in a new land are inextricably tied to factors greater than their individual selves (Glick, 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The multiple spheres that influence these experiences include public policy and sentiment, community contexts, peers and friendship networks, and family environments. More recently, scholars have begun to embrace a more interactive model that takes these multiple contexts into consideration, in their approach to conceptualizing immigrants (Fuligni, 2001; Glick, 2010, Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005; Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The American Psychological Association, Presidential Task force on Immigration (2012) called for research that identifies coping strategies and strengths that immigrants use, culturally specific definitions of well-being, as well as focused examination of contexts which serve to enhance or impede peer relationships. This study aims to explore the roles of friendship in the lives of Latino youth. In the following sections I will expand on the ecological levels introduced in the previous chapter to contextualize the milieu in which these relationships occur. I will begin by highlighting the most recent demographic data on Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized to better understand their makeup and size, and also to relay the dire need for more scholarly attention.

Demographic Background

Currently 13% of the country’s population is immigrants. A quarter of these immigrants are living in the U.S. without legal authorization to do so, the majority of

which are from Mexico (6.8 million) (Hoefer et al., 2012). Other parts of Latin America make up a significant portion of the total, with 11% from Central America, 7% from South America, and 4% from the Caribbean (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Approximately 37% have entered since 2000, 44% entered between 1990 and 2000, and 19% entered before 1990. It is estimated that 60% cross the U.S. southern or northern borders "uninspected," and the remaining 40% overstay their visas (Hoefer et al., 2009). Of these, roughly 1.1 million are under the age of 18, three-quarters of which are Latina/o, and two-thirds are from Mexico (Passel, 2011). Thus the population of Latina/o adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized is greater than that of such sizable cities as Boston, Denver, and Seattle. The majority (75%) of all immigrant youth who are unauthorized live in just ten states – Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Texas, and Washington. Wisconsin is estimated to be home to 1% or some 11,000 (Passel, 2011). In recent years, 20% of the all-arriving immigrants have been under the age of 18, roughly 40% of which were between the ages of 13 and 17 (Passel, 2011). Increased understanding is especially important given that over the next forty years virtually all growth in the young adult population (the majority of the labor force) will come from immigrants and their U.S. born children (Passel, 2011).

Migration is typically catalyzed by economic transformations, wars or violence, and environmental catastrophes (Gould & Eldridge, 1997). Trends in migration are typically driven by desires to reunite with family, a search for work, and humanitarian refuge (Zhou, 2001). These factors are similar to the immigration policy of the United States government: a) to reunite families by admitting immigrants who already have family members in the U.S., b) to admit workers with specific skills and/or those able to

work in areas experiencing labor shortages, c) to provide refuge to those facing risk of political, racial, or religious persecution, and d) to ensure diversity by admitting those from countries with historically low rates of immigration to the U.S. (Congressional Budget Office, 2006).

While migrating to another country in search of work may be seen as an individual choice, it is highly associated with the flow of global production, distribution and consumption of goods (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). This flow of capital acts to influence patterns of immigration, and so immigrants often migrate from areas devoid of economic opportunity to ones ostensibly bursting with them (Polaski, 2004). Such economic factors coupled with a decrease in pathways to regularize documentation status have led to a dramatic increase in unauthorized immigration to the U.S. over the last two decades (Massey, 2008). Within the last decade, this increase has occurred within the context of a spiraling U.S. economy as well as increasing rancor towards immigrants (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

This migration journey can take months and may involve severe physical and emotional hardship. In one study with immigrant Latina/o adolescents, almost half reported feeling concerned for their safety during travels, while 59% stated that the journey was somewhat to very stressful (Potochnick & Perreira, 2010). During migration many of them experience separation from one or both parents. These separations have been associated with poor emotional and physical health (Heymann, Flores-Macias, Hayes, Kennedy, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002). A significant proportion of youth have migrated to the United States without their parents and thus are

termed unaccompanied minors. In 2005 alone, the Department of Homeland Security apprehended over 110,000 unaccompanied minors.

Immigrant youth are disproportionately less educated than their peers. For those who arrive at age 14 or older, less than half complete high school, compared to 75% of those who arrive before age 14 (Passel, 2011). Unfortunately these figures do not take into consideration youth who immigrated to the U.S. and never enrolled in school. It has been suggested that their inclusion in these data would lower already bleak figures on educational attainment (Oropesa & Landale, 2009). Therefore, immigrants who are unauthorized are more likely to hold low-skilled, low-wage jobs (Flores, 2010; Suárez-Orozco, 1995) and are overrepresented in manual labor industries. For example, they make up one-quarter of all farmworkers and nearly one-fifth of all building, construction, grounds keeping, and maintenance workers (Passel & Cohn, 2009), while constituting less than 5% of the general U.S. population (Hoefer et al., 2012).

The median annual household income of immigrants who are unauthorized is $14,000 less than those born in the U.S., even though immigrants' who are unauthorized households have more workers on average than their authorized counterparts (1.75 to 1.23) (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Based on these statistics, it is estimated that a third of all youth who are unauthorized live in poverty and nearly half are without health insurance (Passel, 2011).

The Immigrant Experience. For Latina/o immigrant adolescents the processes of immigration and acculturation add complexity to their life stage. These transformational processes involve separation and loss associated with their culture and country of origin, and a transformation and re-editing of identity within a new cultural milieu (Yoshikawa,

2011). How these youth adapt and adjust within the greater ecological contexts is said to be contingent on several key individual level factors (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011), such as socioeconomic resources, acculturation, and social support (Fuligni & Hardway 2004).

The migration journey and subsequent acculturation and enculturation experiences of Latina/o adolescent immigrants expose them to unique developmental demands, and may act to expedite the transition to adulthood (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). Amongst all young adults (aged 18 to 34) living in the United States, first generation immigrants are the least likely to be living with their parents or attending school and most likely to be married, with children, and working full time (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). In fact, only 5% of first generation Latina/o immigrants between the ages of 18 and 24 are enrolled in college. Furthermore, very few recently arrived immigrant Latina/o teens are enrolled in school (Bachmeier & Bean, 2011; Fry & Lowell, 2002). Their experiences are not well chronicled in the literature (Abrego & Gonzáles, 2010; Oropesa & Landale, 2009), as the majority of research that has been conducted with Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized has investigated those youth enrolled in school (Abrego, 2008; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Madera, 2008; Perez et al., 2009; Perez-Huber, & Malagon, 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009;). Clearly, focusing on education is critical given its role as a key determinant of the future prospects of these youth (Bloom, 2004), but these studies exclude a significant portion of the Latina/o immigrant population, youths who have never enrolled in school (Oropesa & Landale, 2009). Many Latina/o adolescents migrate to the United States for the explicit purpose of working (Perreira et al., 2007). Much less is known about these youths' psychosocial transition in a new land.

While experiences vary considerably depending on the broader social context of settlement, many youth must wrestle with a large number of acculturation stressors once they arrive to the U.S. These may include learning a new language, coping with changes in family roles and responsibilities (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), protecting one's legal status, as well as encountering racism and discrimination (Perreira & Ornelas, 2011). This process of adaptation between the dominant host culture and the culture of origin is otherwise known as *acculturation* (Marin & Gamba, 1996). It is considered a complex set of behavioral and attitudinal changes from exposure to new values and different lifestyles (Perez & Padilla, 2000). A person's *culture of origin* is comprised of both cultural practices and beliefs of an individual's country of origin.

Berry (2003) put forth a framework that distinguishes four strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization) for how individuals go about adapting to a new culture. Integration refers to maintenance of the home culture while actively involving oneself in the dominant culture, while assimilation refers to the abandoning of ties to the home culture and/or refusal to maintain a native cultural identity. The strategy of separation involves avoiding contact with the host culture, while remaining primarily involved with the home culture. Finally marginalization refers to those that withdraw from both cultures. Berry (2003) goes on to distinguish between sociocultural acculturation – the development of behaviors and skills needed to function with others in a new environment, and psychological acculturation – the internal changes individuals undergo as adjustment to the new culture occurs (Berry, 2003).

For Latino adolescents the demands to adapt to the dominant culture could be external and/or internal forces that vary greatly depending on the individual and his or her

context. A Latino teen who is unauthorized in Oshkosh would most likely experience different social pressures at school than one in Milwaukee. Research has shown that the process of adaptation is associated with psychological stressors (Cervantes & Cordova, 2011; Gonzáles, Deardorff, Formoso, Barr, & Barrera, 2006; Liu, Gonzáles, Fernandez, Millsap, & Dumka, 2011; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Latina/o adolescents have reported acculturative stress surrounding issues of language, immigration status, intergenerational acculturative gaps, within-group and out-group discrimination, and peer, social, and economic stress (Cervantes & Cordova, 2011; Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Taken together, the existing data on Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized illuminates the stark reality of a sizable proportion of individuals living in the shadows of American society (Chavez, 1997). The estimated number of Latina/o immigrants who are unauthorized and below the age of 18 is said to be near three quarters of a million persons. There appears to be a steady influx of adolescents between the ages of 13 and 17. A sizable, but unknown number of these youth never enroll in school; it is suggested that this occurs because many of these youth migrate to the U.S. for work. Yet many live in poverty and without health insurance. Overall, immigrants who are unauthorized are less educated than their authorized counterparts, which translates to low-skill, low-wage paying jobs. Thus their household incomes follow the same pattern. These bleak conditions are often met after a stressful migration process, possibly spanning several months. It appears fairly common for families to be separated at some point in their migration journey, and in fact many youth come without their parents. Clearly youth who are unauthorized are entrenched in shadowed and liminal state of being. While some of the contexts in which they find themselves are within their control,

the majority loom overhead, acting to restrict mobility. Therefore a systemic approach will be taken as a means of understanding how various levels of context influence a sizable body of young individuals living in the U.S.

Ecological Contexts and Systems of Latina/o Youth who are Unauthorized

Given the risk factors and the increased vulnerability for poor adjustment faced by Latinos during adolescence (Umaña-Taylor, 2009), it is becoming increasingly important for researchers to have a better understanding of their social world. This social world is nested within various contexts that span from neighborhood characteristics to political climate. Therefore the experience of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized can be seen as a result of reciprocal interactions between the individual and his or her environment (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). This experience can thus vary as a function of the individual, his or her culture, and time (APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration, 2012). An ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979,1989; Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011) offers the ability to conceptualize their position within a complex system of interlinked and interdependent relationships. The quality of social relationships can be seen as a function of these broader ecological factors (Serdarecic & Chronister, 2005).

From a psychosocial point of view, migration is a stressful, non-normative life event that leads to a process of re-adaptation on a personal as well as collective level (Garcia, Ramirez, Jariego, 2002). In Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory (1979, 1989) the adolescent is viewed as situated within layers of settings that include family, neighborhood, public policy, as well as broader geographical contexts. The individual's

immediate settings are seen as affected by the larger contexts in which the setting is embedded. Thus the examination of multiple individual and contextual factors allows for a holistic conceptualization of the interconnection between adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized and their environment. Moreover, this theory emphasizes the mutuality of the adaptational processes as individuals and the systems surrounding them respond to each other (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). In this model, migration is conceptualized as a process of ecological transition, where youth face the challenge of rebuilding their social support system.

The Macrosystem. The macrosystem is considered the superior-most layer of the ecological model, encompassing all other layers. Thus it is as distal from the individual youth as any layer in this conceptual model. While this system does not impinge directly on the life of the individual youth, it contains a societal ground plan for the ecology of human development. It represents cultural, economic, historical, legal, political values, as well as xenophobia (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). These values find expression in what is considered legal and permissible, and so their influence bleeds through each of the subsequent layers (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). In this section, macrosystem factors looming over Latina/o youth who are unauthorized which have received scholarly attention, will be discussed. Recent shifts in the origin of the immigrant populations have given rise to the concern that current immigrants face limited opportunities within the United States on the basis of ethnic and racial discrimination (Glick, 2010).

Currently new immigrants, particularly Latina/os, are arriving to the United States during a time when the political climate and public opinion towards them has been termed hostile by immigration scholars (Pérez-Hubner, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al.,

2011). Regardless of the celebrated and romanticized transatlantic European immigration waves of the past two centuries (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995), many Americans see current immigrants as a burden to U.S. economy and taxpayers. Yet research reveals that immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in public services, generate more jobs than they take, and are less likely to be on public assistance than U.S. born residents (Fix & Passel, 1994). It has been suggested that the term "illegal," commonly used to describe immigrants who are unauthorized, acts to portrays them as criminal and tolerates a social and political climate rampant with anti-immigrant policies, practices, and sentiment (Haas, 2008; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006, Pérez-Hubner, 2009). It has been suggested that media portrayal has further dehumanized "illegal aliens" as a homogeneous group of workers without ties to U.S. communities or families (Abrego, 2011).

Such fears and perceptions of immigrants, foster policy that invariably acts to control the immigrant, rather than immigration (Calavita, 1998). Though such contextual factors have received more attention by immigration scholars in recent years (Abrego, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011), they have not been a particular focus of interest for psychologists (Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008). In the little research that has been conducted in both Europe and the U.S., findings suggest that poor public perception acts to negatively impact the mental health of immigrants (Ben-Sira, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Rueter, 2006; Pernice & Brook, 1996), and may increase a sense of vulnerability among foreign-born residents, regardless of their documentation status (APA Presidential task force on Immigration, 2012). Although the "psychic weight" of legal status has been underemphasized in the literature (Abrego,

2006), it has paradoxically appeared central to current legislation that has further marginalized an already vulnerable population: youth who are unauthorized (Gonzalez, 2009). Therefore the vast majority of these youth have "no avenue to provide a pathway to citizenship" (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, p. 447), and so will never have the opportunity to vote or directly benefit from their contributions to social security.

The macrosystem is further complicated by changes in migration over the last two decades. Whereas immigrants historically settled in six gateway states (California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas), many have begun to inhabit new destination states across the Midwest and South. Latina/o youth are now living in states that have inadequate institutional resources and multilingual professionals to help them settle and navigate complex health systems (Perreira & Ornelas, 2011).

These economic and societal level factors shape the macrosystem of youth who are unauthorized. While the effects at this level are often impersonal and indirect, they act to inform the subsequent layers, dictating what is legal and permissible. As such, their influence on the more proximal contexts in which Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized live will become evident in the following sections.

The Exosystem. Embedded within the macrosystem is the exosystem, defined as the larger community in which the adolescent lives. Although Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized do not participate in exosystem decision-making, these decisions do have a direct, and sometimes an indirect, influence on the adolescent. Examples of social settings and institutions that make up part of an exosystem include the neighborhood, government, a parent's employer, and churches (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Exosystem decisions may affect what a youth who is unauthorized can and cannot do,

therefore imposing significant leverage over the subsequent micro- and mesosystems. Given their uniquely liminal state of being, examination of these distal contexts provides a more comprehensive understanding of well-being and mental health development (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). In this section the relevant exosystem factors at play in the lives of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized will be discussed.

Recent shifts in immigration policy have reverberated harshly to reduce the already limited rights of youth who are unauthorized, many of which find themselves living in a foreign land because of decisions their parents made. Many youth with family members who are unauthorized live with the fear that their parents might be arrested, detained, or deported (Chaudry et al., 2010). These fears of deportation are not unfounded. Between 2010 and 2011 a record number of nearly 400,000 individuals were deported from the U.S., and an even greater number returned voluntarily (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011). Roughly three quarters of the individuals deported in 2010 were Mexican (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010), most of which were not criminal offenders (Human Rights Watch, 2009). The reach of these deportation policies goes far beyond the millions of youth living in the United States who have had a parent or family member deported (Dreby, 2012) as the possibility of deportation affects an even greater number of youth, both subtly and overtly (DeGenova, 2010; Dreby, 2012). It is estimated that nearly one in three children of immigrant parents has at least one parent who is unauthorized (Passel, Van Hook, & Bean, 2004).

Because of a fear of deportation, immigrant parents often avoid contact with and/or are unaware of organizations that may provide assistance to families in need.

Many of these programs were established to foster children's health and development, such as WIC, center-based childcare, and health insurance coverage. Welfare reform introduced in the late 1990's made non-citizens entering the United States ineligible for such resources as SSI, Medicaid, State Children's Health Insurance Program, and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Program until they have been in U.S. for at least 5 years (Gonzalez, 2009). Many will never benefit from these resources even though they regularly contribute to the federal system, since taxes and social security payments are automatically taken out of their paycheck (Chiswick, 2011). Other restrictions include access to resources such as food stamps and public health insurance, both of which raise concern for the well-being of dependent children and the elderly (Prentice, Pebley, & Sastry, 2005). For many immigrant families the wide variation of eligibility requirements, particularly the extent to which different forms of identification and proof of employment are required, act as limiting agents to accessing services. Immigrants who are unauthorized may not have identification and may not wish to share proof of employment in order to protect themselves, and by extension their employers (Rhee, Belmonte, & Weiner, 2009; Yoshikawa, 2011).

While those immigrants who are of school age are protected under *Plyler v. Doe* (Olivas, 2005), which gave all children the right to public K-12 education, several states have passed legislation that impinges on this freedom. In Alabama, a recently passed policy requires children to report their undocumented parents to authorities and parents to report the documentation status of their foreign born children to schools (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The literature suggests that youth who perceive or experience discrimination

report more depressive symptoms, more anxiety, lower self-esteem, reduced academic motivations, and more risky health behaviors (Gonzalez, Fabrett, & Knight, 2009).

For youth who are unauthorized and enrolled in school, the minimal protection afforded during elementary and secondary education diminishes significantly after high school graduation. While federal law does not overtly prohibit their participation in post-secondary education, youth who are unauthorized are unable to compete for financial aid, legally work, vote, or drive in most states (Gonzalez, 2011). Of the approximately 65,000 youth who are unauthorized who graduate annually, only about 5% to 10% move on to college (Passel, 2003). Congress has introduced a bill called the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act) multiple times in the past decade. The purpose of the DREAM Act was to provide access to financial aid and in-state tuition for certain youth who are unauthorized, along with potential conditional residency and eventually citizenship (Immigration Policy Center, 2007). In the wake of this failed bill, a sizable segment of taxpayer-funded, publically-educated youth leave high school unable to enter the workforce or access resources to pursue a college degree (Gonzalez, 2011). Their situation represents wasted talent (Gonzáles, 2009), and their state of being represents one of "liminal legality" (Menjivar, 2006). This is clearly seen under the recently passed SB-1070 legislation in Arizona, which makes it illegal to give a ride to and/or harbor an undocumented immigrant, also individuals may be detained by law enforcement on suspicion that they might be without papers (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Varela, 2011). Such laws serve to intimidate many immigrants who are unauthorized from reporting crimes out of fear of exposing not only themselves but also their families (Glick, 2010). For example, women who are unauthorized who are battered have been

found to be particularly reluctant to seek legal assistance (Salcido & Adelman, 2004). This timidity extends to the reporting of housing problems and violations to landlords, as well as lower use of public resources such as libraries (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The lower levels of education and greater economic distress among Latina/o immigrants are posited as factors contributing to their poorer psychological adjustment when compared to other immigrant groups (Fuligni, 1997).

Where they settle can have profound influence on the experiences and adaption of immigrant youth. Some findings suggest that those immigrants who live in neighborhoods with greater co-ethnic concentration benefit psychologically because they are more likely to retain their native culture (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005). While living in these ethnic enclaves means immigrants are protected from cultural isolation, it often comes with other negative consequences. Many new immigrants settle in urban areas that are highly segregated and extremely poor (Orfield & Yun, 1999). These areas can affect the quality of the schools, access to desirable jobs, and are associated with increased exposure to violence (Elliot et al., 1996; Portes & Hao, 1998). A social ecology perspective suggests that negative effects from these risk factors can be mediated by relationships between adolescents and their family, peers, and others in their communities (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Therefore resources available to new immigrants through networks of relationships play a key role in their transition (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008), though more research is needed that explores immigrants' points of view (APA Presidential task force on Immigration, 2012).

The Microsystem. The microsystem consists of the immediate context, or individuals and communities with whom the youth who are unauthorized comes into

direct contact (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). These social networks of interpersonal relationships involve direct face-to-face interactions and may include family members, co-workers, school, and friends. They tend to influence development in a more frequent and direct manner than the aforementioned layers (Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). The microsystems change with time and experience, as adolescents move in and out of important social settings. For many Latina/o adolescent immigrants, significant social settings are abruptly lost after migrating to the U.S. Having a greater understanding of how they successfully navigate such unknown territory is crucial (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

The family is a critical context for understanding Latina/o adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. While there exists a sizable body of research on the characteristics of Latina/o families in general, very little is known about immigrant families who are unauthorized, or how they function (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Research suggests that the process of migration inflicts immense stress on family members (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Furthermore documentation status often creates a level of vulnerability that leaves their family dynamics out of sight of researchers (Glick, 2010). Moreover, their composition is characterized by heterogeneity, as many immigrant families are made up of a mix of individuals who are unauthorized, authorized, and native-born (Berry et al., 2006). While some Latina/o adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized live in traditional two-parent households, many others live with extended or blended families, with non-parental caretakers (such as godparents, aunts, grandparents), or on their own (APA Presidential task force on Immigration, 2012). It is also very common for families to face long and/or permanent separations (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008), as a result of

stepwise migration, where one or two family members migrate at a time. Youth with parents or caretakers who are unauthorized live with the fear that their parents might be arrested, detained, or deported (Chaudry et al., 2010).

Families often experience drastic shifts after immigration, such as transitioning to dual earner households and spending less time together. These changes act to strain relationships and leave adolescents grieving the loss of the past and feeling lonely (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Though families physically leave behind beloved people and places, they remain keenly present in the psyche of the immigrant. This "ambiguous loss" has been described as unclear, incomplete, or partial (Boss, 1999). Thus the stresses of adaption and homesickness may leave family members emotionally unavailable to others (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Furthermore, many immigrant families live with the long-lasting dream of returning home, which acts to reinforce the gap between physical absence and psychological presence (Boss, 1999). This state of limbo may find families unable to take full advantage of situations or make settlement decisions. Also, this dream of returning may not be felt by all members of the family, and so family polarizations often ensue where each spouse represents the opposite side of the conflict (Glick, 2010). Exposure to parents' mixed emotions for immigrant adolescents can act to compound their own ambiguous grief and stress, especially when they are recruited to one side or the other (Falicov, 1998). For Latina/o immigrant families, a lack of family cohesion has been shown to be associated with psychological distress (Rivera, et al., 2008).

Family attributes such as family cohesion and *familismo* have been identified as protective factors from the stresses related to adolescent development, acculturation, as

well as against problem behaviors (Dinh, Roosa, Tein, & Lopez, 2002; Marsiglia, Miles, Dustman, & Sills, 2002). *Familismo* refers to the sense of duty and responsibility towards ones family (Updegraff, Mchale, & Whiteman, 2005). Thus it is experienced as interdependence among family members, high family unity, as well as high social support (Falicov, 1998). These youth and their parents reported that adolescent children have more obligations to the family and fewer individual rights than their national counterparts. Over time youths' sense of obligation towards family appears to diminish, whereas parents do not vary in their sense of adolescents' obligations (Berry et al., 2006). This discrepancy is associated with poorer psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Kwak, 2003). Typically, youth acculturate more quickly than their parents, which often upsets traditional family roles (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Other import cultural values that may be affected by this process include *personalismo, respeto,* and *simpatía,* as well as the traditional gender roles of *machismo and marianismo. Personalismo* stresses interdependent relations and a warm personal way of relating. *Simpatía*, a relational style that emphasizes social harmony through expressive displays of graciousness and hospitality, as means of creating a highly personable atmosphere. *Respeto* stresses dignity and respect toward others, particularly parents and elders (Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra, 2000). *Machismo* is the traditional gender role for Latino males characterized by bravery, invulnerability, and self-control. *Marianismo* is the traditional gender role for Latina females that consists of being self-sacrificing, passive, and pure (Ojeda, Flores, Meza, & Morales, 2011). Thus acculturation gaps are generally assumed to correlate with greater parent-child conflict, as families balance two different and sometimes opposing cultures

(Juang & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Typical conflicts between adolescents and parents may be exacerbated by theses gaps in acculturation.

These factors are further compounded at the family level by low wage-paying jobs, which are chronically unstable, leading to high rates of poverty for new immigrants. Poverty often coexists with other factors that amplify risks, such as residence in neighborhoods plagued with violence, gang activity, and drug trade, as well as school environments that are “triple segregated” (by race, poverty, and language) (Orfield & Lee, 2006). These schools often have curricula presented at less challenging levels by teachers who are less qualified and have fewer years of experience. Additionally, these schools have a high turnover of enrollment and low levels of academic competition (Schofield, 1995). Other risk factors include large class sizes, high drop out rates, and limited social capital or social relationships from which youth may potentially glean various types of institutional resources and support (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Orfield & Lee, 2006; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Many Latina/o immigrant students in turn perceive these highly segregated schools as dangerous, and riddled with gang activity, crime, drug dealing, and racial conflict (Gaytán & Suárez-Orozco, 2011). Such school contexts are said to undermine the student’s ability to concentrate, their sense of security, and consequently their ability to learn (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, Todorova. 2005). The drive to succeed academically may be further hampered after watching older siblings or relatives excel in high school only to end up working undesirable jobs with few options due to their documentation status (Abrego, 2006).

A key microsystem in the lives of youth who are unauthorized appears to be friendships (Gonzáles, 2010; Perez et al., 2009; Perreira et al., 2007;Suárez-Orozco et al.,

2009). Given that the goal of this study is to understand the role of friendships among Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized, it seems pertinent to review the literature on adolescent friendships in general before describing the scant body on Latina/os who are authorized and unauthorized.

Towards Understanding Adolescent Friendships

Philosophers have theorized about the concept of friendship for well over twenty centuries (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995). The friendship literature suggests that peer relationships have evolved into organized frameworks, comprised of interlocking relationships embedded in interlocking social networks to protect individuals from environmental danger and increase chances of reproductive success (Hartup, 2009). Early relationships provide a template for communication, impulse regulation, "playing" well with others, and knowledge about the world, all continuously refined within relationships (Bukowski, Motzoi, & Meyer, 2009). As a context for social development, friendships provide youth a greater opportunity to learn and to use competencies associated with effective interpersonal interaction (Hartup, 1989). Friendship affiliations are built upon a common base and then maintained and perpetuated by the practice of basic interpersonal skills (i.e., sharing and cooperating, resolving disputes), allowing adolescents to gain competencies such as loyalty and closeness (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995) in relations outside of the family while gaining experience in displaying and regulating their emotions (Parker & Gottman, 1989). That interdependence has the ability to buffer against stress and provide a space for cooperative and competitive problem solving. This in turn has considerable implications on well-being (Hartup, 2009).

Formal theories of adolescent development provide varying perspectives on relational alteration and differentiation during this time period. Cognitive writers (Youniss, 1982; Youniss & Smollar, 1985) have highlighted transformations that take place in youths' understanding of relationships; they see the changing features of friendships during adolescence as paralleling increases in improved abstract thinking, meta-cognition, and perspective taking (Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). Psychoanalytic conceptualizations of adolescence focus on both pubertal maturation and functional significance of changes in relationships (Collins & Madsen, 2006; Hartup, 2009). Biological changes as seen from this perspective are the driving force behind individuation from parents and increased attraction towards peers. Simultaneous with these strivings for autonomy are issues of mastering the cognitive and social skills needed to function in the world which Erikson (1968) encompassed as the ego development stage. From this perspective, conflict with parents serves to enable the formation of sexual relationships outside of the family.

John Bowlby's attachment theory (1958/1973), popular among researchers of friendship (Hartup, 2009), builds on the aforementioned work of Sigmund Freud. Bowlby approached relationships, from an evolutionary angle, as attachment systems that protect the infant from danger and orient them to toward caregiving sources that can provide nourishment (Hartup, 2009). Central to this system is its security-regulating function: children seek emotional support from caregivers when they feel distressed and don't' feel capable of autonomous emotion regulation (Zimmermann, 1999). A child forms internal working models of the self and of the caregivers by experiences of effective or ineffective emotion regulation by the caregivers. The internal working model in turn influences

information processing as well as behavior and emotion regulation and allows for the development of mutually satisfying peer relationships that are characterized by competent seeking and giving of support (Bowlby, 1973; Zimmerman, 1999).

Scholars frame adolescent attachment as an organizational construct, capturing facets of behavior and cognition such as intrapsychic and relational functioning, rather than a feature of a particular attachment relationship (Allen, Porter, McFarland, McElhaney, & Marsh, 2007) as youth begin to transfer attachment to parents to other close relationships (Allen & Land, 1999; Zimmerman, 1999). Attachment theory proposes functional similarities in adolescent's relationships pre and post transfer (Collins & Madsen, 2006). Those youth with secure attachment histories have been found to participate more smoothly in a broad range of social encounters, including those that entailed a degree of emotional vulnerability (Sroufe, 2005). They also have appropriate emotional regulation during conflicts with their best friends, as opposed to those with insecure representations who have been found to have problems with affect regulation and social skills, and a lower ability to cooperatively regulate conflicts with a best friend (Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Zimmermann, 1999).

When attachment security is threatened individual differences in attachment representations are theorized to be more pronounced (Bowlby, 1980). Thus the examination of conflict resolution strategies provides not only a salient portal into the activation, but also the resulting expression of attachment orientations (Creasey, Kershaw, & Boston, 1999). Though more research is needed with Latino/as to better understand expression and meaning of attachment behaviors (Peluso, Miranda, Firpo-Jimenez, & Pham, 2010).

A classification model based on family systems theory as well as attachment theory (Shulman, 1995) posits well-functioning friendships to be balanced between closeness and intimacy, on the one hand, and individuality, on the other. This model suggest three friendship types: interdependent friendships, with cooperation and autonomy balanced; disengaged friendships, in which friends are disconnected in spite of their efforts to maintain proximity with one another; and consensus-sensitive or enmeshed relationships, in which agreement and cohesion are maximized. This typology approach to friendships will be expanded upon later in this review.

Common among the various theoretical viewpoints is that the significance of peer relations in development emerges from the equal status of the participants; whether that equanimity be age, social experience, or cognitive capacity, it is a unique force. Also, it is assumed by most formal theories that part of the significance of adolescent friendships are that they are not with a mature adult and that their reciprocity or mutual exchange plays an important role in sustained relations (Hartup, 2009).

That adolescent friendships are distinct from those of childhood and adulthood is many times simply assumed in the literature, often with the implication that these distinctions are those that help to account for common problems associated with adolescents (e.g., depression, conformity to peers, risk taking). This leaves the question of how they truly differ somewhat unrecognized (Collins & Madsen, 2006). It is clear that adolescents begin to experience intimacy at a significantly deeper level with friends than children (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995), consequently their peer relations become more salient during adolescence (Brown & Larson, 2009).

As adolescents venture out to experience the world, they begin to form their first voluntary intimate relationships (Collins & Madsen, 2006), commonly reporting that friends are their most important extrafamilial resources and influences (Brown & Larson, 2009). The improved reasoning and conceptual skills that begin to take shape in adolescence translate to a more complex view of these close peer relationships (Blakemore, 2008; Brown & Larson, 2009; Youniss, 1982). Thus expectations of close friends grow to include commitment and intimacy (Youniss & Smollar, 1985), the latter closely related to friendship satisfaction in early and middle adolescence (Hartup, 1996). Improved social-cognitive abilities also allow for a more sophisticated interpretation of friends' behaviors and emotions, taking into consideration such variables as context and history (Selman, 1980), though these reasoning skills are still developing (Horn, 2003).

Friends provide opportunities for collaboration and effective problem solving which require an exchange of viewpoints and the testing of ideas (Azmitia & Montgomery, 1993), and so they have been seen as primary settings for the acquisition of skills, ranging from social competencies to cognitive abilities to motor performance (e.g., athletics) (Hartup, 1996). Positive outcomes are more likely when one has friends that are well socialized and one's relationships with these individuals are supportive and intimate. In a longitudinal study, Bagwell, Newcomb, and Bukowski (1998) found that having friends supports good outcomes across developmental transitions such as school entrance, illness, divorce, and death of a family member. Children and adolescents who have friends are more cooperative, altruistic, self-confident, and socially competent than those who do not (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995). Among adolescents, supportiveness between friends is positively correlated with school involvement and achievement (Berndt,

Hawkins, & Jiao, 1999) and negatively associated with school-based problems (Kurdek & Sinclair, 1988), identity problems (Papini, Farmer, Clark, & Micka, 1990), as well as delinquency and depression (Windle, 1994).

Increased incidences of loneliness, depression, and decreases in achievement in school and work settings, have been associated with poor quality friendships (Hartup, 1996). Difficult and chronically conflicted relations with peers have been linked persistently to negative personal and social characteristics (Abecassis, Hartup, Haselager, Scholte, & Van Lieshout, 2002). Individuals across the lifespan seeking clinical referrals or other forms of assistance with psychosocial problems are more likely to be friendless than better adjusted ones (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984). Hostility towards friends in adolescence is positively correlated with alcohol abuse, delinquency, and depression (Windle, 1994). During adolescence perceived support from friends increases, while that from parents decreases such that friends are experienced as providing the same (Scholte, Van Lieshout, & Van Aken, 2001) or greater (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992) support as parental relationships. Helsen, Vollebergh, & Meeus (2000) found that adolescents who received little support from parents and greater support from friends report more emotional problems.

Having friends is important. Unfortunately the impact of having friends is difficult to disentangle from friendship quality and the variance accounted for by individual markers of quality are certainly not equal (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). Confounding this are the facts that measures of social skills often fail to assess the full range of tools that adolescents must develop to negotiate their social system effectively (Brown & Larson, 2009), and that friendships and their respective developmental

significance may vary from adolescent to adolescent (Hartup, 1996), and culture to culture (Fuligni et al., 2009).

The extant literature demonstrates that adolescents are drawn to one another because of similarity, and as these characteristics are affirmed within the relationship, the dyad is then more likely to become even more homogeneous. Divergence of attitudes and activities over-time, in turn, will often produce negative effects on the bond (Brown & Larson, 2009). While reciprocity remains an intricate part of the deep structure between adolescent friends, status or prestige is an important element of peer relations at this life stage. This is not surprising given conventional wisdom of the hierarchies that emerge in crowds and cliques at this age. Yet within the friendship dyad, purportedly founded on the principles of equality, one partner often appears to have more power than the other (Updegraff et al., 2004).

It is important to consider qualitative differences in friendships; that is, what individuals do together, how conflict is treated and resolved, whether friends influence one another, whether friendships are supportive and secure, and their closeness (Hartup, 1996). It has been suggested that intimate friendships appear first in early adolescence, in part because the ability to balance closeness and individuality in friendships does not emerge until this phase of development. Selman (1989) proposed that adolescence is defined by two developmental levels of intimacy. During early adolescence, perceived closeness and individuality are relatively low, primarily because closeness is expressed by sharing experiences with regard for the other's opinion but individuality is negotiated in a persuasive manner, with focus on individual needs. In this framework, perceptions of closeness are reported to increase from middle adolescence onward as individuality is

negotiated in a more collaborative manner, taking into consideration not only the needs of the self but also that of the other (Selman, 1989).

Positive friendship qualities encompass companionship, intimacy, assistance, loyalty, caring, warmth, closeness, and trust; while negative ones include rivalry, betrayal, hostility, antagonism, and competition (Burk & Laursen, 2005). Thus, good friends support well-being through the reciprocities that occur between the friends, and also assist one another in coping with the developmental challenges that confront them, the consequences of which may extend from present to future adaptations. Their contribution as such can be seen as either an asset or liability, and so the quality of one's relationships can be inferred to be of more developmental significance than their quantity (Hartup & Stevens, 1997).

The quality of adolescent friendships has typically been examined using dimensional models in which the focus is on levels of intimacy, satisfaction, or support in the relationship (Bukowski, Newcomb, & Hartup, 1998). Inquiry has sprung from the notion that adolescents seek the aforementioned social provisions in their close relationships (Furman, 1996). While, as already discussed, these provisions are considered defining characteristics of close friendships (Furman, 1996), a blossoming area of inquiry is into how these dimensions cluster together to form patterns and/or typologies of friendships (Selfhout, Branje, & Meeus, 2009; Shulman, 1995; Shulman & Knafo, 1997; Way et al., 2001).

The importance of adolescent friendships in satisfying desires for intimacy, enhancing interpersonal skills, understanding, and sensitivity, and contributing to their social, cognitive, and psychological development (Hartup, 1996; Savin-Williams &

Berndt, 1990) have been repeatedly cited in the literature as critical for adolescents across multiple cultures (Patterson et al., 2000). Despite this, researchers have neglected to focus on friendship processes among ethnic-minority adolescents and commonly omit cross-cultural results and/or participants' ethnicities in their respective findings (Graham et al., 2009). The majority of the aforementioned friendship research has been conducted with White, middle-class adolescents – and so researchers are still working towards gaining an analogous understanding of the relational processes of all youth of color in the United States; and more specifically Latina/o adolescents (Fuligni et al., 2009; Way et al., 2001). There exists only a handful of research on the friendship, in particular, of ethnic-minority adolescents; a fraction of which furthers understanding of Latina/os friendships during this developmental epoch (Fuligni et al., 2009). Given that even less research exists examining the friendships of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized, this review will first focus on what is known about Latina/o adolescent friendships in general. To begin the discussion of their friendships, it is necessary to consider the cultural backdrop which informs these relationships.

Towards Understanding Latina/o Adolescent Friendships

The underlying perspective of adolescent interpersonal relations put forth by the extant foundational literature is based on modern North American individualism; a worldview that has tended to be defined in terms of independence (Greenfield, 1994). Inherent in that independence is the assumption that human beings are ideally free and of equal status (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). Given that European Americans tend to lean towards this value system (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994), relational processes have been

formally understood as seen from the cultural lens of the majority population. Latina/os, on the other hand, tend to favor a collectivistic cultural perspective (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994) that values interdependence, and is based on the core assumption that human beings are primarily members of groups (Triandis, 1990). Collectivism, thus, approaches social relationships as links that ideally establish interdependence and reciprocal obligations – which is in stark contrast to that of an individualistic approach which views relationships ideally in terms of choices and goals of individual participants (Raeff et al., 2000). The function then of social roles and relationships, from the collectivistic paradigm, is one of preserving group welfare, which also represents the welfare of its individual members (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994).

Much of the ethnic-minority adolescent friendship literature aims to detect racial and/or ethnic differences in the characteristics and quality of friendships among ethnically diverse youth (Cauce, 1986; Goza & Ryabov, 2009; Hamm, Bradford Brown, & Heck, 2005; N. Way & Chen, 2000; Way et al., 2001; Way & Robinson, 2003; Way & Greene, 2006), and so can be viewed as comparative in nature. Among the most studied characteristics has been the extent to which minority and majority youth have cross-ethnic/racial friendships (Bellmore, Nishina, Witkow, Graham, & Juvonen, 2007; Goza & Ryabov, 2009; Hamm et al., 2005; Rude & Herda, 2010; Way & Chen, 2000; Way et al., 2001; Way & Robinson, 2003). These studies suggest that more often than not, adolescents are more accepting of peers from their own ethnic/racial group, evidenced by their clear preference for selecting same race/ethnicity friends (Mouw & Entwisle, 2006). While this is true for overall friendship selection numbers, Hamm (1998) found that 75% of the Latina/o adolescents in her study reported having at least one non-Latina/o friend,

which was found to be considerably more than European American adolescents, half of which reported having a non-White friend. In their study of best friendship stability, Rude and Herda (2010) found that Latina/os had more cross-race friendships than African-American and White youth. Though other scholars have found a high degree of racial/ethnic homophily – or the degree of similarity between friends – to be commonplace in the make up of Latina/o's social or friendship network (Way & Chen, 2000). Hamm and colleagues (2005) found that for Latina/o high school students, cross-ethnic friend nomination was more likely when parents had attained greater education. Cross-ethnic friend nomination was also positively associated with greater English proficiency and longer family history in the U.S, though these cross-ethnic friendships were much more likely to have members of minority ethnic groups than White friends (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005).

Academic implications for this are unclear as peer network homogeneity for Latina/os has been found to be a positive predictor for educational outcomes (i.e., GPA and high school graduation) (Goza & Ryabov, 2009) and friendships with dominant culture peers have been found to provide social capital that promotes the academic success of Latina/o students (Ream, 2005; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995). Scholars have also examined how the ethnic/racial and generational status composition of Latina/o friendship groups are related to their academic success (Riegle-Crumb & Callahan, 2009). Their findings mirrored the above noted work of Goza and Ryabov (2009), with additional findings of significant gender differences for Latina/os. For Latina girls the only positive effect of homophilic friendships was found for those having more friends who were third-plus generation. For Latino boys they found that having

friendship ties with both immigrant and non-immigrant Latino friends to be a positive predictor for higher achievement. Also noted as a positive predictor for academic achievement was having friends whose parents attained higher education (Riegle-Crumb & Callahan, 2009). In her study of Latina/o high school students, Benner (2010) found that support from friends buffered the negative relationship between loneliness and academic difficulty.

Much of the research that has been conducted on Latina/o adolescent friendships has focused on the influence of these relationships on academic functioning, though a small body of research exists examining the nature and characteristics of these friendships. Like their European American counterparts, Latina/os indicate that their perceived level of support in both close friendships and friendships in general increases over the course of adolescence (Way & Greene, 2006). The racial/ethnic make-up of the schools, where Way and colleagues' investigations occurred, was such that no one racial/ethnic group was in the clear majority (Way & Chen, 2000; Way & Greene, 2006). They posited that youth attending schools with a diverse student body would feel less pressure and interest to befriend students from other racial/ethnic groups than if they attended schools where the clear majority was European American students (Way & Chen, 2000). While it appears that adolescents are more likely to have friends from their own ethnic/racial group, the academic ramifications of this remain somewhat unclear. That notwithstanding, the aforementioned friendship composition data highlights the importance of research into intra-ethnic friendships qualities.

A small body of work suggests a positive association between psychological well-being and friendship support for racial/ethnic minority adolescents (Way & Chen, 2000;

Way et al., 2001; Way & Robinson, 2003; Way & Greene, 2006); which previous studies among White middle-class adolescents have demonstrated repeatedly (Lerner, 2009). In a study with 286 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents (128 male, 46% first generation, and 47% Latina/o), Sirin et al. (2013) found that social support acted as a buffer against anxious/depressed symptoms related to acculturative stress. They found that when the participants in their study experienced acculturative stress, which were associated with anxious thoughts, they appeared to be alleviated when the youth perceived themselves as having social support (Sirin et al., 2013). In a longitudinal study of friendship typology among urban African American, Asian American, and Latina/o adolescents from low-income families, Way et al. (2001) clustered friendship types into four profiles: disengaged, ideal, average, and engaged. The ideal friendship group was composed primarily of Latina/os (76%) and females (62%), and common themes among those interviewed in this group were open expressions of intimacy, having the same closest friend from Time 1 to Time 2, and high levels of trust. Interestingly, most of those in the ideal group spoke of having disagreements or conflicts with best friends which were followed by swift resolution. They suggested that this friendship group consisted primarily of Latinas due to *simpatía*, a relational style that emphasizes social harmony through expressive displays of graciousness and hospitality, as means of creating a highly personable atmosphere (Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000).

For the last decade Niobe Way's name has been synonymous with the study of ethnic-minority friendships. Mixing quantitative and qualitative methodology, Way and colleagues' work with urban ethnic-minority teens has furthered scientific understanding of friendships as well as the aforementioned typological approach to understanding

patterns and trajectories in friendships amongst diverse cultures (Way & Chen, 2000; Way et al., 2001; Way & Robinson, 2003; Way & Greene, 2006). Emergent themes amongst racial/ethnic minority adolescent friendships have included closeness, desire, and distrust. Way and Chen (2000) found that Latina/o adolescents report higher level of friendship support than Asian Americans.

Closeness has been identified and defined in their studies as believing that one could trust his or her best friends with secrets and money (Way, 2004). Latina/os expressed the importance closeness had on the quality of their friendships by talking about their best friends. For Latina/os, trust was consistently the foundation of closeness in friendships, though the ways in which the adolescents felt close to their friends varied across gender (Way, 2004). Common in their reports were feelings that their friends were there for them when in need. For females this was evidenced by emotional support, while for males it was physical support. Finally, they expressed feelings of closeness to their best friends due to the fact that their family knew their friends and their friends' families (Way& Chen, 2004).

The theme of desire found by Way and colleagues (2011) spoke to adolescents yearning for friendships that involve high levels of self-disclosure as well as support (Way & Chen, 2000). These stories were heard across genders, and the researchers went to great lengths to make explicit how these findings contrast what previous scholars suggested about boys' friendships. Though they found that Latina girls reported significantly higher levels of general friendship support than Latino boys (Way & Chen, 2000), which leads to the emergent theme of distrust. This dimension was characterized by feelings of mistrust for peers other than best friends. They saw this distrust of peers in

general as the larger context in which youth develop close and trusting same-sex friendships (Way, 2004).

In a study conducted with 246 Mexican American adolescents and their older siblings, Thayer, Updegraff, and Delgado (2008) found that boys were more likely to manage conflict with friends by using control strategies. These gender differences appear commensurate with previous work with White-majority adolescents, which has found adolescent girls to be more likely to choose prosocial and withdrawal strategies when experiencing conflict with a friend, while adolescent boys were more likely to choose an aggressive strategy (Lindeman, Harakka, & Keltikangas-Järvinen, 1997; Wied, Branje, Meeus, 2007). As such, research on gender differences with majority White adolescents, suggests that boys experience more conflict between friends than girls (Furman, 1996). Furthermore, Rose & Rudolph's (2006) seminal review of gender differences in friendships suggests that boys engage in less prosocial interactions, are less likely to emphasize the importance of connection-oriented goals, are less sensitive to the status of their friendships, and less likely to seek support and express their emotions with friends. It is not yet clear yet how the friendships of Latina/o adolescent boys and girls differ from White adolescents. It appears that in some ways Latina/o adolescent friendships do mimic their White counterparts in respect to gender differences (Thayer et al., 2008), while in other ways they are in stark contrast (Way & Chen, 2000). Clearly more research is needed to better understand how adolescent friendships may be different for Latinas and Latinos.

Towards Understanding Friendships Of Latino Adolescent Immigrants Who Are Unauthorized

It has been suggested "that the establishment of an interpersonal network is one of the most critical and difficult problems facing the recently arrived immigrant" (Garcia et al., 2002, p. 289). This lengthy and difficult process often serves to replace many interpersonal functions that the lost network in their country of origin accomplished (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). Social support has been shown to predict psychological well-being amongst immigrant adults (Garcia et al., 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Rueter, 2006; Jibeen, 2011; Salinero-Fort et al., 2011) and academic success among Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized (Enriquez, 2011; Gonzáles, 2011; Perez et al. 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). In their study of Latina/o high school students who are unauthorized, Perez et al. (2009) found academic success was mediated by both personal and environmental resources. They found that students with higher levels of environmental protective factors performed better academically, and that extracurricular participation and volunteerism were the strongest predictors of academic achievement amongst these youth who are unauthorized. Their impact on academic performance, in the face of strong risk factors (e.g. elevated feelings of societal rejection, low parental education, and high employment hours during school), demonstrates the power of increased opportunities to develop relationships with supportive adults and peers engaged in prosocial activities. The researchers acknowledged that the quantitative methodology employed did not consider what was happening inside the contexts studied, and went on to say that more qualitative studies

are needed to better understand the psychosocial impact of immigration (Perez et al., 2009).

These results were mirrored in another study with immigrant youth which found school-based supportive relationships to be the most robust predictor of academic engagement and school performance (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). These researchers found that youth "often spoke about the importance of conational peers in their lives as they acclimated to a new country, a new neighborhood, and a new school" (p. 730). The youth in their study often described peers as providing an emotional sense of belonging and acceptance (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Perreira, Harris, and Lee (2007) found that for first-generation immigrant youth, English language abilities and the capacity to network with school peers from higher SES families helped to improve access to jobs and the likelihood that these youth would work. While these findings demonstrate the value of social support and friendship amongst Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized and enrolled in school, many other youth never enroll in school (Fry & Lowell, 2002) and thus no data exists on how they develop, maintain, and exchange social capital. Furthermore, none of the extant literature attends to gender differences in the friendships of Latina/o youth who are unauthorized.

Enriquez (2011) enlisted a social capital framework to understand how Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized navigate and succeed in school. Social capital is defined as social relationships from which an individual is potentially able to derive various types of institutional resources and support (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Much like Suárez-Orozco et al. (2009), Enriquez (2009) found that peers who were also unauthorized were key providers of unauthorized specific institutional

knowledge (e.g., scholarship eligibility), as they knew how to navigate the system. These peers were found not only provide information but often engaged in resource sharing. Conversely those youth who did not live in neighborhoods or attend schools with large unauthorized populations reported having a difficult time accessing information.

While this small body of research on the friendships of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized aids in understanding the academic ramifications of these relationships, very little is known about their experience of friendships (Graham et al., 2009) in other systems within the lives of adolescents. No research was found that focused solely on the role(s) that friends play in the lives of Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized; therefore many questions remain unanswered (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Considering the number of potential stressors faced by the upheaval of social networks that occurs as a result of migration, having a better understanding of the processes and characteristics that underlie friendships for Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized is critical. As the number of Latino immigrant youth in the United States continues to grow (Passell, 2011), promoting their social development will be important not only for immigrants themselves but also for the economic well-being of the country, given that over the next forty years virtually all growth in the young adult population (the majority of the labor force) will come from immigrants and their U.S. born children (Passel, 2011; Perreira et al., 2007). Therefore, this study will explore the roles that friendships play in the lives of first generation Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized, to shed light on the social world of a growing and vulnerable population (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Chapter III: Methods

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of friendships in the lives of Latino adolescents who are unauthorized. While this population has recently been receiving increasing scholarly attention, most of the literature has examined factors related to academic achievement (Enriquez, 2011; Gonzáles, 2011; Perez et al. 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). This small, but valuable body of literature provides much needed insight into the lives of a large and vulnerable population of youth, some of it highlighting the importance of friendships. Nevertheless, many questions remain about the nature and roles of friendships in this population. This study, therefore, explored the roles that friendships play in the lives of Latino male adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized, to shed light on the social world of a growing and vulnerable group (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). The extant literature hints at the importance of friendships in the lives of unauthorized Latino youth; the current study adds to the literature by describing the role of friendships pre and post-migration.

In order to best study friendships in this population, qualitative methodology was utilized. Qualitative research is a particularly useful approach to understanding the meanings people make of their experiences (Morrow, 2007). Its design allows for the study of the "experiential life of people" and aims to "describe and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in awareness" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 138). In this qualitative study, therefore, language was the tool that was used to fully appreciate the meaning individuals gave to experiences that would not otherwise be captured or observed using quantitative methods.

Qualitative methods are especially appropriate when scant literature exists on a topic (Morrow, 2007). These methods allow for contextual analysis through personal interaction between researchers and participants (Hill, 2006). Unauthorized Latino youth are understudied in the field of psychology and that there has been a call for research that examines Latina/o youths' friendships as a unique cultural practice (Gonzalez et al., 2002; Rogol & Angelillo, 2002; Way, 2006). Utilizing research methodology that allows for in-depth exploration into the phenomenon of friendships in their lives is critical. Including the voice of unauthorized Latino adolescents in empirical research allows for greater understanding and detailed comprehension of the role that friendships plays in their lives.

The literature review did not reveal a consistent framework for understanding the role of friendships in this population that could serve as a guide in this research. Therefore the research process focused on the description of friendships as conveyed by unauthorized Latino youth. This study employed a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective to conceptualize friendships. Symbolic interactionism posits that meaning arises out of the interaction between people (Blumer, 1986), thus humans act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The meaning of such things is derived from social interaction and the meanings are handled in an interpretative process (Simmons, 2011). A constructivist approach to methodology, which takes implicit meanings, experiential views, and analysis as constructions of reality (Ponterotto, 2005), complements symbolic interactionism well because both are concerned with the study of how action and meaning are constructed (Charmaz, 2003).

Grounded theory methodology (Glaser; 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was particularly appropriate for this study because it enabled the research team to focus on the reconstruction of social action without having to rely on existing hypothesis. Its methodology allowed for systemically deriving empirically based theories of human behavior and the social world, through examination of an individual's meaning of a construct (Fassinger, 2005; Kendall, 1999). The research team enlisted an inductive process that was based on theoretical sampling (the constant comparative method of analysis), the processes of open, axial, and selective coding, and constant memo writing and sorting (Artinian, Giske, & Cone, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1992). The research team aimed "to learn participants' implicit meanings of their experiences to build a conceptual analysis of them" (Charmaz, 2003, p. 314). The aim of grounded theory is to produce a theory that fits, works, and is relevant to the area under study (Simmons, 2011). One of the strengths of this method is its ability to move data from the descriptive level to the conceptual level (Artinian, 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is to detail Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) procedures, which were utilized to investigate the role of friendships among Latino adolescents, including participant selection and recruitment, data collection, data analysis, and research team composition.

Target Population

This study's target population was defined as 13 (1 pilot and 12 participants) Latino male adolescents who were unauthorized (e.g., without U.S. citizenship) at the time of the interviews. Since it appears that adolescents' experiences of friendship

changes over time (Way & Greene, 2006), this study focused on late adolescence to allow for a more detailed understanding of their particular experience of friendships. Also, this particular demographic represents a growing percentage of the population (Passel, 2011), of whom little is known. Participation was limited to those who have been in the United States for a minimum of one year so they would have some post-migration experience with friendships from which to draw upon.

Participants

Twelve participants completed the study; 11 more youth were approached and informed about the procedures but did not proceed with the study, as they did not meet the aforementioned inclusion criteria. All participants immigrated to the United States between the ages of 12-18, and ranged in age from 16 to 22, with an average age of 19.33. Demographic information about the 12 participants can be found in Table 1. Nine of the youth immigrated from Mexico, while two immigrated from Peru and one from Guatemala. Their ages at the time of immigration ranged from 12 to 19. Six stated that they arrived to the United States walking across the border, three stated that they came via car, and three reported arriving via airplane. Nine of them made the journey with family, while two came with friends, and one by himself. Eleven of the participants reported living with family members (i.e., parents, cousins, brother); while one stated that he lived with friends. Eleven out of the 12 reported that they have family who lives in the area. Their number of close friends in the area ranged from zero to 20, the average was 5.67, and six of the 12 stated that they had someone they considered a best friend in the area.

Participants' education level ranged from 6th grade to two years of vocational/technical college coursework. At the time of the interviews, two participants were enrolled in technical college, one had graduated from high school, six were enrolled in high school, while the other three did not complete high school.

Table 1

Research Participants' Demographic Information and Brief Personal Details

Pseudonym	Demographic Information	Information Related to Immigration	Information Related to Friendships
Alberto	Age: 19 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~12,000 Current Grade in School: 11th	Age at Immigration: 17 Mode of Transport: Car Immigrated with: self Currently lives with: 2 Brothers Family in the area: Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: None, Only Brothers. Best Friend in the Area: None
Bernardo	Age: 20 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~8000 Highest Grade Completed: 6th	Age at Immigration: 18 Mode of Transport: Walking Immigrated with: A Friend Currently lives with: 2 Brothers Family in the area: None	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 5 Best Friend in the Area: None
Carlos	Age: 22 Country of Origin: Guatemala Size of hometown/city: ~50 Highest Grade Completed: 6th	Age at Immigration: 17 Mode of Transport: Walking Immigrated with: Friends Currently lives with: Friends Family in the area:	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 2 Best Friend in the Area: No

		None	
Diego	Age: 22 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: City (size unknown) Highest Grade Completed: Graduated High School	Age at Immigration: 12 Mode of Transport: Car Immigrated with: Family Currently lives with: Wife and child Family in the area: Aunts, Uncles, Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 3 Best Friend in the Area: No
Eduardo	Age: 21 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~70,000 Current Grade in School: 2nd year of college	Age at Immigration: 17 Mode of Transport: Foot Immigrated with: Family Currently lives with: Parents Family in the area: Uncles, Aunt, Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 4 Best Friend in the Area: Yes
Felipe	Age: 22 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~1000 Highest Grade Completed: 11	Age at Immigration: 15 Mode of Transport: Foot Immigrated with: Two Cousins Currently lives with: Wife and in-laws Family in the area: Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 6 Best Friend in the Area: Yes
Gerardo	Age: 18 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~500 Current Grade in School: 12	Age at Immigration: 13 Mode of Transport: Foot Immigrated with: Family Currently lives with: Family Family in the area: None, other than in household	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 20 Best Friend in the Area: None

Hector	Age: 20 Country of Origin: Peru Size of hometown/city: ~7.6 million Current Grade in School: Second year of technical school	Age at Immigration: 19 Mode of Transport: Airplane Immigrated with: Mother Currently lives with: Parents and brother Family in the area: Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 10 Best Friend in the Area: None
Ivan	Age: 16 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~150,000 Current Grade in School: 10	Age at Immigration: 12 Mode of Transport: Foot Immigrated with: Mother Currently lives with: Family Family in the area: Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 3 Best Friend in the Area: Yes
Jose	Age: 18 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: ~550,000 Current Grade in School: 12	Age at Immigration: 12 Mode of Transport: Car Immigrated with: Brothers Currently lives with: Family Family in the area: None	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 3 Best Friend in the Area: Yes (fiancé)
Luis	Age: 18 Country of Origin: Mexico Size of hometown/city: City (size unknown) Current Grade in School: 12	Age at Immigration: 12 Mode of Transport: Airplane Immigrated with: Mother and Sister Currently lives with: Family Family in the area: Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins	Number of Close Friends in the Area: 6 Best Friend in the Area: Yes
Marco	Age: 16	Age at	Number of Close

	Country of Origin: Peru Size of hometown/city: ~7.6 million Current Grade in School: 10	Immigration: 15 Mode of Transport: Airplane Immigrated with: Mother Currently lives with: Family Family in the area: Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins	Friends in the Area: 6 Best Friend in the Area: Yes

The Research Team

The principal investigator conducted all of the participant recruitment and interviews. This study utilized a collaborative research team to carry out data analysis. A team-based approach to analysis was especially useful because it allowed for credibility checks that served to verify (or disconfirm) findings. Such checks acted to challenge team member's analysis of the data through parallel peer coding; and occurred in the context of a reflexive process whereby biases and assumptions were shared (Fassinger, 2005; Morrow, 2005).

The team was comprised of the following members: the team leader/principal investigator, a "primary research team" of three members who were responsible for analysis, four interview transcribers, and an external auditor. The principal investigator and interviewer for this study, was a 33-year-old European-American/Latino male with over 4 years of clinical experience counseling Latina/os and adolescents. The principal investigator was born and raised on the east side of Milwaukee, in a multilingual, poly-ethnic immigrant family and grew up learning to speak Spanish, English, and Italian.

Members of the primary research team included: a 28-year-old Mexican male who immigrated to the United States at the age of 25, and a 21-year-old North American/Costa Rican woman, who is the child of an immigrant. All members of the research team were bilingual in English and Spanish: 2 members who were bilingual since birth, one with an immigrant parent from Costa Rica, and the other member with an immigrant parent from Peru, the third member of the research team was a Mexican immigrant who was also bilingual. Though neither of the two members had experience with qualitative research, both had prior research experience and also brought a wealth of cultural knowledge and experience to the data analysis process. Both were provided training by the principal investigator prior to conducting data analysis. This training included: reading articles and book chapters on Grounded Theory, meeting to discuss readings, as well as going over the pilot interview transcript together.

During the initial meeting, the primary research team discussed and recorded their assumptions, expectations, and biases that would potentially affect the study (Morrow, 2005). These included: (a) participants will report experiences with friendships different from their European-American peers, (b) family will be reported as very important, (c) good friends will be seen as family, (d) participants will report that parents are weary of their friendships, and (e) participants will report that post-migration friendship have been key in their transition. Furthermore, throughout analysis, the research team members challenged one another to consider how their own life experiences influenced their analysis of data.

In addition to the research team, Lisa Edwards, Ph.D., the principal investigator's dissertation advisor, served as an external auditor and was consulted throughout every

phase of the study. An external auditor "is yet another way that the interpretive lenses of the researcher are obviated and scrutinized in grounded theory" (Fassinger, 2005, p. 163). This auditor had extensive experience conducting research focused on Latina/o culture, experience with qualitative studies, and was bilingual in English and Spanish. From the onset of recruitment and data collection the auditor was consulted to ensure procedures were being followed, as well as to provide feedback that aided in their successful completion. This auditor was also consulted during each stage of data analysis (open, axial, and selective coding). The auditor's feedback was always taken to the research team and incorporated into subsequent analysis.

Instruments

Background Information Form. Prior to being interviewed, each adolescent was asked to complete a Background Information Form (see Appendix A). This form was administered orally by the principal investigator to aid in building rapport before beginning the interview protocol. It has been suggested that collecting such data early in the interview may ease participants into the interview process while helping them feel more confident about their ability to answer questions (Ojeda et al., 2011). This form requested various types of background information, including their age, education level/history, country of origin, length of residence in U.S., family composition in U.S., employment status, and relationship/marital status.

Interview Protocol. In grounded theory (Glaser, 1978) studies, data are usually collected through tape-recorded interviews (Artinian, 2009). Therefore interviews were this study's primary means of eliciting data. Whereas the "why" question is the focus of

logical positivism, in interpretive or constructivist research "how" social experience is organized, perceived, and constructed by interacting individuals is the emphasis (Denzin, 1989). Therefore, the interviews were approached as a sharing, conversational interaction. This less structured approach has been suggested as a valuable aid in facilitating adolescent respondents in describing their points of view (Faux, Walsh, Deatrick, 1988).

The interviews began with an opening question to stimulate participants to share their experiences. This open or "grand tour" question (Charmaz, 1990) was designed to convey to the respondent that they are being invited to discuss what is relevant to them (not the researcher) in regards to friendships. This "grand tour" question invited them to share their experiences of friendships (e.g., "How would you define the word friend?"). Additionally, an interview guide with a list of potential questions was utilized (See Appendix B). This guide contained four basic types of questions, modeled after Charmaz's (1990) grounded theory interview question format: informational (e.g., "What kind of advice did your parents give you about friends when you were growing up?"); reflective (e.g., "Could you talk about how your friends are important to you?"); change over time (e.g., "How have your friendships changed and/or remained the same since moving to the U.S.?"); and finally ending questions designed to wrap up the interview on a positive note (e.g., "What advice would you give to a teen who has just immigrated to the U.S. when it comes to making friends?"). Theoretical sampling allowed these questions to evolve and become increasingly more specific as the theory emerged. Theoretical sampling is "the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next

and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges." (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.45). Therefore data collection is guided by emerging concepts and conceptual hypothesis from data analysis. These emerging concepts and their theoretical relevance are constantly compared to one another until no new incidents can be analyzed (Giske & Artinian, 2009; Glaser, 1978). Theoretical sampling directs data collection by deciding who might be the appropriate participant, and it also directs data analysis by posing questions to previously collected data that arise from analysis and emerging concepts. As such, it allows for the analysis of emerging concepts against previously collected data (Glaser, 1978).

Follow-up questions were formulated in relation to the participant's reply to the previous question (Simmons, 2011); therefore the participant's responses determined the direction of the interview so that data were grounded in what the participants deemed significant (Giske & Artinian, 2009; Glaser, 1978). While all of the participants were given the choice whether to be interviewed in Spanish or English, all of the participants chose to be interviewed in Spanish.

Data Collection Procedures

Participant Recruitment and Obtaining Consent. Participants were recruited by the principal investigator through community centers, churches, flyers at supermarkets, as well as contacts at social service agencies in the Milwaukee community. Youth who met the inclusion criteria were informed of the study and its procedures. Those youth who were willing to participate were provided with a brief information packet, which included a summary of the study and parent/guardian consent forms (in

English and Spanish). The principal investigator was available (in person or phone) to inform potential participants and their family about the research process, their rights as research participants, and how the data would be used, as well as to answer any questions they might have. This was especially important because for Latino immigrants who are unauthorized, participation in research places them in a vulnerable position (Ojeda et al., 2011). The principal investigator went to great lengths to address and assure confidentiality and anonymity with participants and their families; as well as with those youth who were made aware of the study procedures but did not meet inclusion criteria.

Once the parent/guardian consent form was returned, informed consent was reviewed with the youth and an interview was scheduled. All interviews were conducted in a quiet and private place, where the participant felt comfortable and free to talk (Faux et al, 1988). This locations included Walker's Point Community Clinic, Sixteenth Street Community Clinic, and a local church. Participants were provided with $25 cash as a token of compensation by the primary investigator.

Pilot Data Collection. The aforementioned recruitment and data collection procedures were piloted with one individual who met the study's inclusion criteria. The purpose of pilot data collection was to test the clarity of the interview protocol and to assure questions were being presented that facilitate in-depth inquiry into the subject matter (Fassinger, 2005). The pilot interview also help to establish a general template for how much time would be needed to conduct the interviews. The principal investigator conducted the pilot interview and solicited feedback about the clarity of questions, the order of the questions, and any suggestions the pilot interviewee had in regards to the interview. After the pilot interview was conducted the principal investigator discussed the

experience and feedback with the auditor and team and it was deemed that no major revisions to the protocol or data collection procedures were warranted.

Interviewing. Each participant in this study was interviewed once, face-to-face, for approximately one hour. Interviews ranged from 44 minutes to 78 minutes. All of the interviews were conducted in Spanish by the principal investigator and audio recorded. The interviewer followed a semi-structured interview format (see Appendix B for Protocol Questions), and took notes during the interview to aid in formulation of follow-up questions as well as for later data collection and analysis purposes. At the completion of the interview, the participants were thanked and provided their token of compensation.

Transcription. To honor participants' confidentiality, names were never recorded on any protocols, nor were they used during the interviews. Pseudonyms were used to protect the participant's privacy. The completed interviews were transcribed by a member of the research team who was fluent in both verbal and written Spanish. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim, with the exception of filler words and minimal encouragers. Each interview was reviewed for accuracy by the principal investigator.

Data Analysis Procedures

The process of analysis in a grounded theory study is called coding; therefore a code is the essential relationship between empirical data and theory (Artinian, 2009). Coding has been defined as "conceptualizing data by constant comparison of incident with incident and incident with concept to emerge more categories and their properties: (Glaser, 1992, p. 38). Three stages of coding were conducted: open coding, axial coding,

and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The process of data analysis will be described in detail below.

To preserve participants' intended meaning and avoid potential limitations in the analysis, data were analyzed in the original language of the interviews, as recommended by van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, and Deeg (2010). This meant that all of the research team meetings (i.e., Grounded Theory training, data analysis) were held in Spanish. Each member of the primary research team coded in Spanish, and data were not translated into English until the final stage, selective coding. During this process the team worked in concert to ensure that each translated code accurately reflected the Spanish language code's meaning. Consistent with grounded theory methodology, participants' own words were utilized to present findings (see Chapter IV) (Fassinger, 2005). The principal investigator translated these illustrative quotes from Spanish to English.

Open Coding. Open coding is the first level of coding, in which the researcher codes the interview line-by-line in anyway possible. The coding at this stage involves the summing up of what the participants share with a keyword or phrase. In open coding everything is coded so as to find as many codes as possible without consideration of relevance (Glaser, 1978). These conceptual labels typically act to capture the essence of several lines to a short paragraph (Fassinger, 2005), and often include the participant's own words in them (Giske & Artinian, 2009). Open coding involves constant comparisons between incidents, codes, and emerging categories. This constant comparison acts to facilitate the grouping of concepts into categories that "encompass those concepts" (Fassinger, 2005, p.160). During this process the analyst writes memos, this includes recording thoughts, questions, relationships between interviews, specific

themes that emerge, and references to concepts and themes in the literature (Giske & Artinian, 2009). These coded concepts are constantly referenced (and often modified) as new data is gathered, analyzed, and categorized (Fassinger, 2005). Glaser (1978) suggests that the analyst must ask the following questions during open coding: (1) What is the data a study of? (2) What category does this incident indicate? (3) What is actually happening in the data? (p.57).

Each transcript was open coded by 2-3 members of the primary research. Each transcript was open coded line-by-line, utilizing a web-based program developed for the coding of qualitative data (Saturateapp, 2008). This free online application allowed coding to be centralized and easily accessible to the principal investigator. The primary research team then discussed the properties and dimensions of each code until consensus was reached. These codes were then compared to one another and gradually grouped together into "categories that encompass those concepts" (Fassinger, 2005, p.160). This involved organizing the concepts of open coding into variations or dimensions. Overall, 989 open codes emerged from this stage of coding. Some examples of open codes include, "Trust takes time," "Parents counseled to know what type of friend you have," "Language barriers limit the possibilities to make friends," "Emotional support comes from mother," and "Experience less liberty and more limitations here."

Axial Coding. Axial coding is the second stage of coding where categories are related to subcategories in a way that links them at the level of properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This linking, groups open codes "into more encompassing (key) categories that subsume several (sub) categories; thus, axial coding puts the fractured data back together in the form of categories and their interrelationships"

(Fassinger, 2005, p.160). Therefore they integrate the concepts of a theory to each other in a clear and distinct way that produces a whole theory from fractured concepts (Giske & Artinian, 2009). For the findings to be truly grounded in participants concerns, it is vital that axial codes emerge from the data and are not forced. Consistent with the logic of grounded theory, axial coding is an emergent process where unexpected ideas emerge (Charmaz, 2006).

While axial coding is known as the second stage in the Strauss and Corbin (1992) version of grounded theory analysis, it often occurs in concert with open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Thus the primary research team began to create tentative categories during open coding. After all of the transcripts were open coded, the team reviewed and edited these initial categories and organized them according to categories and subcategories together. The team worked to fully understand the causes, conditions, and consequences of each category to better conceptualize and organize them according to their relationship to one another. Once the team concluded this phase, an outline was submitted to the external auditor for review. All discrepancies were explored at length, and data were reexamined until consensus was achieved. This process resulted in 13 categories and 58 subcategories.

Selective Coding. Selective coding is the final stage of Strauss and Corbin's (1992) version of grounded theory analysis. This stage entails identifying a core category that acts to integrate and link all of the other categories and subcategories into a theoretical scheme. The theoretical scheme serves as an explanatory story line of category relationships. This core category not only pulls all of the categories and subcategories together, it also acts to explain variation within them (Strauss & Corbin,

1998). The development of this scheme is a process of ongoing refinement, which involves reviewing for internal consistency, further developing and/or reducing categories, and consulting with an external auditor for review.

The primary research team worked together from the onset of this stage to select a core category that reflected the aim of the study. This process entailed the weaving together of the major categories that emerged during axial coding to create an integrative story line. The research team approached this phase of coding as an ongoing process, which involved development, checking for internal consistency, refinement, and consultation with the external auditor for further review and subsequent revision, until an explanatory statement of category relationships is found (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The story line that emerged from these processes was, “Friends serve as important resources to help youth navigate their post-migration environment; however, friendships are secondary to family and approached with caution by youth.” The core category that was identified through selective coding is presented and discussed in Chapter IV.

Quality Assurance Processes

The principal investigator took several steps towards ensuring conceptual and analytical soundness (Fassinger, 2005). Criteria that have been established to judge the trustworthiness and quality of qualitative research include: credibility, transferability, external validity, dependability, and confirmability (Artinian, 2009; Charmaz, 2006). Throughout this study several strategies were utilized to ensure trustworthiness and quality.

The first step taken towards reaching this goal was reflexivity. The research team discussed and recorded their assumptions, expectations, and biases at the onset of the study. Furthermore, throughout analysis, the research team members challenged one another to consider how their own life experiences influenced their analysis of data. Secondly, the primary investigator reviewed all of the interview transcripts against the audio recordings to ensure accuracy. The third step in ensuring trustworthiness involved consultation with an external auditor throughout each phase of the research study. Artinian (2009) suggests that the best argument for the validity of a grounded theory is the affirmation of the knowledgeable person when the theorist is able to explain how her world fits together and works. The findings, along with the aforementioned research team's reflexive process, were shared with an external auditor. This external auditor served to oversee and evaluate these data collection and analysis processes. Lastly, a detailed audit trail was maintained to keep track of team meetings, decisions, and activities – so that procedures would be followed in a systematic way and appropriately documented.

Chapter IV: Results

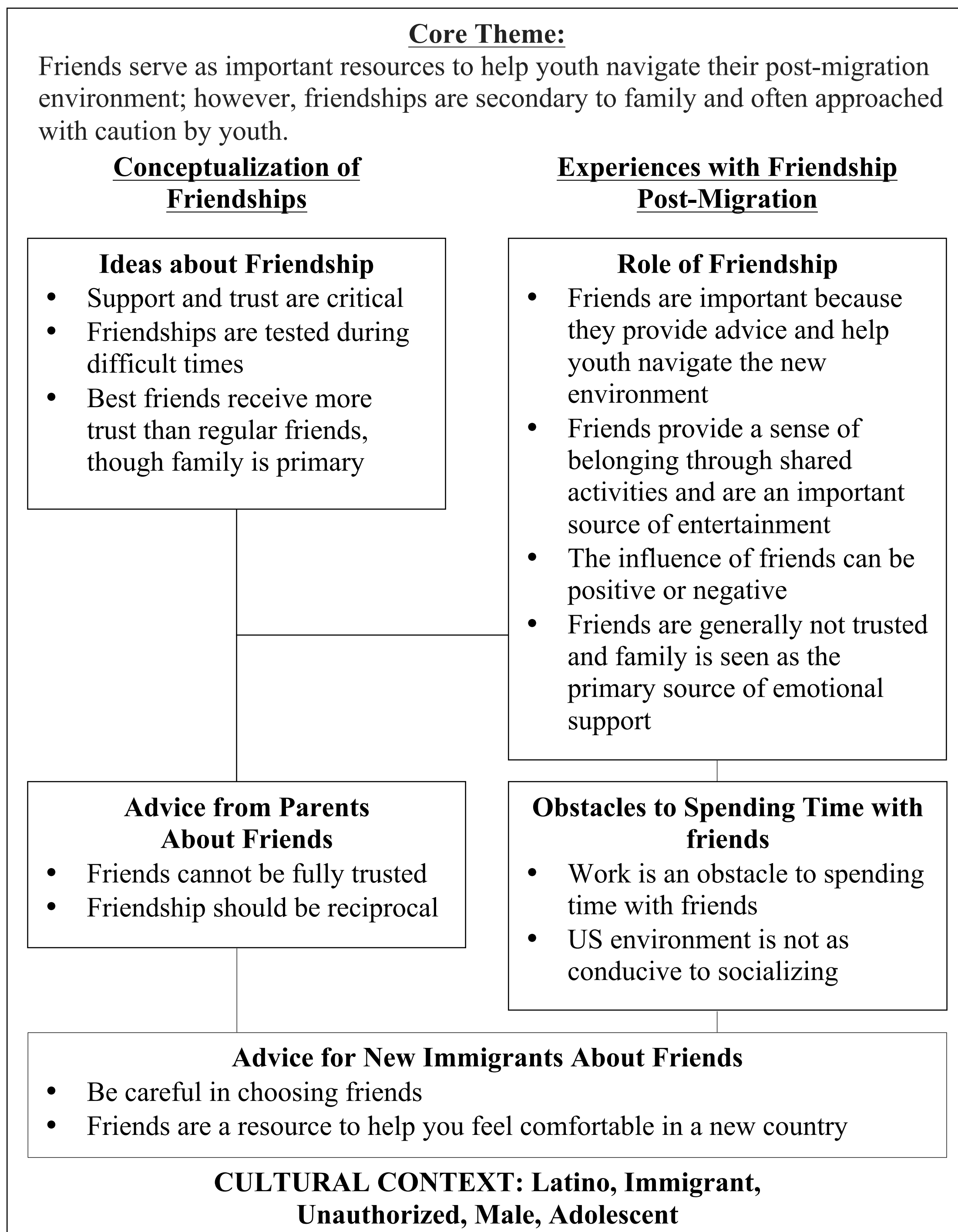
The aim of this study was to develop a theory of the role of friendships in the lives of male Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. The overarching research question of this study was “What role does friendship play in the lives of Latino adolescents who are unauthorized?” More specific research questions included: (a) “How do Latino unauthorized youth conceptualize the word *friend*?” (b) “How important are friends to Latino unauthorized youth?” (c) “What experiences have these youth had with friends since immigrating to the United States?” and (d) “How do relationships with friends vary from relationships with family?” To better understand these questions, 12 male Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized were interviewed using a semi-structured protocol. A collaborative research team analyzed data over the course of several months.

The core theme (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) that emerged from the data in this study was the following: *friends serve as important resources to help youth navigate their post-migration environment; however, friendships are secondary to family and often approached with caution by youth.* Figure 1 provides a visual summary of the theoretical model, major categories and subcategories, along with their relationship to one another. In the sections that follow, illustrative quotes and examples will be utilized to expand upon the visual summary and present the studies findings. The following words and phrases were utilized as qualitative descriptors to note the number of youth endorsing each categories/subcategory: (a) Usually, generally, the majority, and most are indicative of responses of 8 or more participants; (b) some, several, and a number signify responses

of 4 to 7 participants; (c) a few is reflective of 3 or fewer participants (Gomez et al., 2001).

Figure 1

Model of The Role of Friends in the Lives of Male Latino Adolescents who are Unauthorized



Cultural Context

The participants in this study all shared a similar cultural context. All of these youth were Latino male adolescents who had immigrated to the United States without authorization to do so. Also, at the time of the interview, all of the youth had immigrated after the age of 11 and lived in the United States for a minimum of 1 year. The majority of the youth were Mexican (9), while 2 were Peruvian, and 1 was Guatemalan. All of these participants were currently living in an urban, Midwest city with customs and weather with which they were unfamiliar. For all of the participants, the move from warmer climate to cold climate (in the winter) was a large change.

A number of the youth stated that they shared similar immigration histories with their friends. As Luis described: "Well, with [other] Latinos, we feel like we are all the same as immigrants and different from the legals. As they [did] not live what we had to live. The battles we had to fight when we got here and our lifestyle is way different than theirs. They have it much easier than us." Marco noted: "The Mexicans… in our culture [we] value family, church and soccer. The other [Latina/o immigrants] that are from other countries, they all passed thru the same stuff when they first arrived here, [they] had to learn English, go to a new school, leave everything in their country to start over. They know how difficult it is. So we share this in common, because they know what I have been through."

Several of the participants also described how they share cultural and ethnic backgrounds with their friends. Many of these youth noted that language was a component of their shared culture backgrounds that tied them together. As Jose noted:

"We speak in Spanish all the time and English only once in a while." The majority of the participants also stated that they share similar interests with their friends. Hector, for instance, noted that: "There are several things that we like to do together. We are similar and we like the same stuff…we like to play soccer, so that is something we have in common." A few of the participants noted that they share similar goals with their friends. As Bernardo, for example, stated, "Well, we came to do the same and want to do more or less the same stuff. To work, so we are similar in that way. We work hard to be able to have whatever we want back in Mexico… to have a house or something else back home. So as immigrants we feel we are the same." A number of the youth also described coming from different regions or countries than their friends, and how this was a new phenomena for them. However, they felt they still had common experiences with friends who were unauthorized.

Conceptualization of Friendships

Ideas about friendships. Prior to exploring the participants' experiences with friends post-migration, questions were posed to gather a better understanding of their conceptualization of friendships and to ease them into the interview process. These open ended questions included "What comes to mind when you think of the word 'friend?'" and "How do you know that someone is your friend?" Below is a presentation of the findings related to participants' ideas about friendships.

Support and trust are critical. Most of the youth described a friend as someone who will offer support. Some of these youth offered more specific examples of how such support would be offered. Jose, for instance, stated, "a friend is someone who is

supporting you and who wants the best for you." Diego reported that the "form of support is ideas, good advice, [friends] support me in what I want to do, to do it better. Or to be with me in the good and the bad. They support me here and there, take me where I need, and are not inconvenienced [by me]." Many of the participants described expecting unconditional support from a friend. Nearly all of them stated that a friend is someone who offers support in both good times and bad.

These ideas where also reflected in their responses to questions aimed at understanding their perspective of themselves as a friend. The majority of these youth saw themselves as reliable and many stated that they were very helpful and supportive towards their friends. As Ivan noted, "Well, I guess… I have learned to be patient with everybody, lots of patience, support, to help people that are not feeling good to feel better. Because I have been with people that are down and are very stressed and don´t want to know about anything. Then I have tried in the last few years to help them out and give them positive advice. Even when I might not have the best idea or the best advice but at least I try always to help them and support them."

Almost all of the youth who participated in this study stated that trust was an essential element in friendships. For some of the participants, trust meant they could count on someone for help in times of need, while for others it meant confiding in someone. Bernardo, for instance, stated that he knew someone was trustworthy when that person is always "there to help and to listen when I have a problem." Hector noted, "When I feel that I can trust to tell them things that I wouldn't tell to just anyone, that's when I know that they are my friend." Eduardo described a friend as "a person who you can tell almost everything. Someone who you can trust in."

For several of these youth, time was a key factor for them in determining how trustworthy a person really is. These participants saw time as important in getting to know someone, as it allowed for more opportunities to observe how they conduct themselves and whether they were reliable and trustworthy. As Hector noted, “Actually, I think, that telling them things or spending time together or actually – spending more time, how many years of friendship and how their behavior is, you can come to a conclusion [about] how much trust you can have in a person.”

A number of the youth discussed how growing up with friends and knowing them over time was important to developing trust. As Eduardo explained, “I felt more comfortable with those friends [in Mexico], because I grew up with them and I had more trust in them because I’ve known them since we were little. There is more trust with people who grow up with you – and here, since I haven’t been here that long I don’t have much trust because I don’t know how they really are.” Also, a number youth described that they felt they could trust a friend when it was clear that this friend had trust in them.

Friendships are tested during difficult times. For the majority of these youth, stressful situations tested the quality of their friendships. As Alberto provided, “A friend is always there to correct you, or give you advice, to help you when you are going through rough times. And they don’t turn their backs on you.” Ivan offered an experience with friends to convey how he knows someone is his friend: “in days past we were without work, and we thought that they were our friends…we saw the reality – that they did not support us when we were going through bad times. And I think that a friend has to support you when you are going through bad times.” Luis noted, “When someone is going through rough times is when they discover who is not sincere.” For many of the

participants it was important that their friends were there for them when they needed help, which they qualified as favors or resources. As Carlos noted, "Three supported us, they wanted to loan us money and support us however they could." Similarly, Felipe described, "They are my friends because of favors. They are there when you need something and they help you. There are friends who need a favor, not only money… or you need a ride and they can take you and they don't help you, they say that they are busy. My friends haven't done that to me nor I to them. For that I consider them my friends."

Best friends receive more trust than regular friends, though family is primary. While for most of the participants distrust towards regular friends was common, they sometimes stated that best friends merited more trust than common ones. For instance, Gerardo noted, "I have a concept that you can be friends with someone but only to a certain limit. But it's different when you have a best friend. It's a bit more…you confide more in him. It's like, like a best friend is converted to a…like he is a brother. And they have more trust, you share more things, and instead, a common friend, it's like, in your things, you are a little more reserved." Jose stated, "A true friend, if I confide in him, I am going to trust the same as if he were my family. But that I know that my friend is going to trust in me also."

All of the participants discussed, in various ways, how their family took priority over friends. Bernardo, for instance, stated, "I have always thought that family is the most important. I always think first in my family and later in my friends." Several of the youth also discussed how their relationships with family members were more profound and trustworthy than those with friends. Alberto offered, "You can´t trust friends with

everything as you can with family. In my case I always trusted my siblings more than my friends. For me my siblings are first and friends are second."

Along with having greater trust in family members, several youth talked about feeling more comfortable confiding in family as compared to friends. As Ivan stated, "It depends on the emotional support. I'd rather talk to my closest friend, the one that I trust the most. But if it's a serious problem, probably I talk to my mom." A number of the participants stated that they considered family members friends as well. Some of these youth specified that they consider their siblings to be friends, while others included their parents as friends. For instance Diego, noted, "A friendship that [I consider] sincere is my parents, that is for sure."

Advice from parents regarding friends

Friends cannot be fully trusted. The interviews included questions that were aimed at understanding what messages these youth received from parents in regards to friendships, and thus at obtaining a richer understanding their conceptualization of friendship. The majority of the participants stated that their parents promulgated the idea that friends could not be trusted fully. As Hector noted, "For sure, not to tell them all the time how you feel, eighty percent of your personal life. Not to talk about all you´re going to do or what you have, as they may hurt you, [and/or] steal from you. You never know who your real friends are. If you have some friends that you trust [with] all of your stuff, they know a lot about you and they can betray you, hurt you, steal from you or something like that." Ivan stated, "I was taught that trust in friends is necessary. But not too much trust in friends, because you never know how they will react. There is a limit on trust, we

shouldn´t trust too much. It´s ok to trust but not like if they were your siblings or part of your family, you never really know who you´re talking to." Most of these youth reported receiving direct counsel from their parents to not trust completely in friends, but rather to rely on family.

The majority of the participants also stated that parents advised them to pay attention to the type of friend they had. For some of these youth this message became amplified after immigrating to the United States. As Alberto provided: "Yes, they told me to be careful here, as they are not like the friends I had in Mexico. They won´t help you if you´re caught in problems, [they] won´t defend you. And to be careful with the gangsters as there are a lot." Several of these participants reported that parents also conveyed this message by saying that there are different kinds of friends. For example, Felipe noted, "Since the time when my parents gave me the liberty to go out and get to know people they inculcated that… you have to know who are your friends that you can confide in and who are your friends only to have fun." Jose added, "I have learned from my parents that there are friends that say they are your friends but they really aren´t, because if one of them says he is my friend but invites me to do something bad like drink alcohol or smoke, then my parents said they are not really my friends. That's a person that wants me to end up like them. Because people that drink alcohol and smoke always end up having problems, [or] in jail or dead. They always told me that those are not real friends. A real friend is the one that invites you to study or do good things, like church, work out, play games… so I think I have learned from my parents…they told me this since I was a little kid. My parents were always telling me this."

Friendship should be reciprocal. A number of the participants stated that parents counseled that there is reciprocal nature to friendships. They reported that parents conveyed the importance of respect going both ways in the friendship. As Ivan noted, “They showed me respect first. If you want respect you have to respect others. If you don’t disrespect someone there won’t be problems.” Marco added, “My parents showed me that to be a friend you have to give and receive.” Diego discussed a friendship he had that this parents did not approve of: “He was hanging out with the wrong people and my parents taught me that we came to [the United States to] succeed in life and to do good for me and for people, so I realized this friendship was not good. So in high school I met more Latinos and Chicanos and… we had the same hobbies and values.”

Experiences with Friendships Post-Migration

All of the participants in this study described their experiences with friendships post-migration. Almost all of the youth reported that friendships have played an important role in their lives since immigrating to the United States. The majority went on to describe that friends have offered support and aided their navigation of the new environment. Other roles that emerged included: friends are a source of entertainment, influence of friends may be positive or negative, and friends are not sought for emotional support. These findings are presented in detail below.

Roles of friendships

Friends are important because they provide advice and help youth navigate the new environment. When asked about the importance of friends, the majority of the

participants in this study expressed that friends are a very important component in their lives. Jose, for example, stated, "I believe that friends are very important, because a man without friends…would feel very empty inside because friends are part of life." Alberto described friends as, "Something important for one's life, because you spend time together, you share experiences from each other's countries, and you hang out and aren't in the house alone, bored." Gerardo noted that friends "are like my family here, since I almost don't have any family here. So my friends are like my family here." Lastly, Bernado offered, "I see them as very important, they are the brothers that you choose."

The participants in this study typically reported that friends have played an important role in their transition to living in a new country. For many of these youth, making friends was reported as the turning point in their comfort here. Ivan, for instance, shared "Yes, it has helped me very much…I wanted to go back because I didn´t have any friends, but once I started to make friends and started getting surrounded by different people, the situation changed and I got used to this. You cannot stay home, you need to get out… it is important." Gerardo stated, "Yes, they have helped me a lot, mostly the ones that were born here as they taught me their culture, to watch basketball, the music, to learn English, If I didn´t hang out with them probably I wouldn't speak English. They have helped me to have more fun." Luis added, "Yes, when I met them. Because at first… the first months I didn´t go out so much, but once I started meeting friends I started to do different things and with time I started getting used to life here."

Generally, participants stated that since immigrating to the United States, friends have provided support through advice giving, encouragement, and also helping them feel a part of a group and thus less lonely. As Carlos described, "They have helped me

because they too have gone through the same, because they know how it is. They told me… you get used to it little by little." Eduardo offered specific advice that he has received from friends: "Yes, like how life is here. Well for us it is more difficult because we come to work. We work more here than we do in Mexico. We spend most of our time working and in that part it is different because here we don't have time to go out much. They tell me to work, because later things will be normal and better. That it's worth the pain to work hard, and that it doesn't matter if here we don't go out much. But one day things will be better and we will be able to do what we want. Luis noted, "When someone gets here, they need someone, like a friend so that they don't feel alone, so I think that in that regard my friends have helped me to feel less alone. They have always been there, like talking with me and stuff." Felipe described, "Good friends are the ones that give you advice and you have healthy fun with them, like going to eat, to the gym, to the movies, the club, play sports, and they don't take all of your time. Someone who always helps you and gives you advice/tips and they don't let you go down the wrong path."

Several of the youth stated that the advice they received from friends was that they have to "get used" to how things are different here. As Eduardo noted, "They put in my head that I have to get accustomed, because I am here now, that is life. It is a different life, so if I don't get used to living here then I'll have to return another time." Marco stated, "Well, they told me it is different here, that life here is not the same and we have to get used to it, as it is a different lifestyle than in Mexico."

The majority of the participants stated that friends have also helped them to learn to navigate their new environments. Many of the youth talked about how friends have been helpful in understanding how to have fun and socialize in a new city. As Diego

stated, “For example, when I arrived here there were places I didn´t know, and they took me to these places, friends that were already here. So you start copying their lifestyle here. What they do, how they do it. Where I used to live there was not a movie theater and [they] showed me stuff like that…on the weekends we used to go to play pool.” Marco noted, “[Friends] helped me to know what places to go with friends and where to meet new ones or to go with my family if they would like to go.” For Hector, friends help him get used to a new climate: “And they also helped me to get used to the cold weather and showed me what jackets are good for winter and which ones are not.” For some of the participants, friends helped them with language barriers. As Carlos noted, “I´m learning English and they answer my questions as some of them were born here or have been here a long time. I always ask them about events and they do help me with that.”

Friends provide a sense of belonging through shared activities and are an important source of entertainment. Many of the youth described ways in which friends provide an opportunity to feel a part of a group. As Gerardo suggested: “They are very important emotionally, no? Otherwise you would feel too lonely, no? With your friends you get entertained, have fun. But if you´re home alone you get bored and feel lonely.” For many of these participants friends have served as an antidote to boredom and loneliness. As Alberto noted: “I see it now… it’s important for life, because with these relationships you share experiences from each country, go out and stop being home alone and bored so much, you get out to chat.”

All of the participants described different ways in which they spend time with friends. Felipe stated, “Well, sometimes we go out to eat or take a walk and we talk about what we want to do and what we want to learn to be able to enjoy a safe future.” Carlos

shared: “We hang out, when we go out to parties is when we see each other, like family get-togethers that they have and they invite us. It’s mostly the only way to see each other as most of the time we are all working.” Eduardo noted, “Sometimes we go out to the mall, play soccer, go to swim. But now since I´m working I spend most of the time with my fiancé more than with my Friends. We talk on the phone, but you know when someone is getting married, you still hang out with friends but is not the same as when you´re single. Now I have more responsibilities.” Other activities that participants noted were going to the gym, playing music, playing video games, going to movies, going out to eat, and playing sports together- particularly soccer.

Several of the youth stated that school has been an important place to meet and spend time with friends. Marco stated, “Well, since I got here, the only place where I made friends, I think it was in school. Because it was winter and it is too cold here compared to Peru. Most people are at home-I guess- so I made my friends in school.” Diego described: “At first I didn´t know anyone, because it is different over here, but with time people started talking to me and I started talking to them too, asking questions in class. At lunch we got together, started talking about ourselves and sharing moments, so little by little friendships started growing.”

The influence of friends can be positive or negative. All of the participants discussed ways in which friends have acted to influence their behavior in both negative and positive ways. For example, Jose stated, “Well this one, he changed my ideas, that I have to be a better person. Or that I have to do good things for my life.” On the other hand, Gerardo, described how friends have acted to influence him negatively: “My old friends didn’t give me sensible ideas, so for a time I got used to doing bad stuff, because

that’s how they were. If I hang out with bad people I’m going to become a bad person, if I hang out with good people, then I’ll be like them.”

Several of the participants stated that their friends want the best for them and do not invite them to participate in negative activities. As Luis noted: “Friends don’t want to do you harm, but there are good and bad friends. The bad ones are the ones that are only with you for entertainment, they like to go to parties and drink. Then the good ones are the ones that give you advice and you have fun with them in a healthy way.” Similarly Felipe stated, “I don’t want to say that they were bad people, no. When I was fifteen was when my friends started to stick ideas in my head, to go in other directions, and at first they started with beer, and that…those friends are not true friends.”

Friends are generally not trusted and family is seen as the primary source of emotional support. The majority of the youth reported that they did not confide in friends for emotional support and also felt that they had to be cautious with trusting friends. As Felipe provided, “Since I got here I have made some friends, but it’s not the same, because I don´t go out with them. But in Mexico I had more people that I could trust, I spent more time with them in parties and the streets, but here I don´t hang out so much with my friends as they are always drinking alcohol and going to parties, so I don’t really trust in anyone here.” Participants typically stated that they confided more in family members for emotional support rather than friends. For instance, Diego stated that he relies more on his parents, “Because even though they are my friends, there are certain things that I can’t talk to them directly about.” Ivan noted, “You have to be more careful here as it is a new country and you don´t really know how things are over here.” Gerardo stated, “With my siblings we tell each other everything. We trust and talk about

everything. We are confident that as siblings we wouldn´t do anything to hurt each other. With friends yes, you can have some trust but its not the same. It's a different kind of relationship and trust."

Notably, the majority of the participants went on to report that they did not feel that they could confide their friends about everything. As Felipe provided, "you can trust a friend but you have to be cautious and not totally trust because sometimes they fail. You can talk about everything if you are sure that you can count on this friend." Several of the youth stated that they felt comfortable sharing trivial issues with friends, but not more profound personal ones, such as emotional turmoil or family problems. As Alberto, for example, noted, "I can tell them things that are not so important, even about my feelings. But not my secrets, as they could reveal them. But things that are not so important, yes I trust them." In reference to confiding in friends Marco added, "Yes but no, on little things yes, but no on personal stuff like my parents having a fight or their issues." Generally youth conveyed distrust towards friends and stated that their family was the primary source of emotional support.

A number of the participants noted time as a key factor in regards to making friends. Some of these youth reported it taking a few months to make friends, while others simply stated that it started slowly and was difficult. As Eduardo noted, "[I made friends] with time. When I got here I had problems trusting in people, as I didn´t know them. I was very shy, but with time I started to trust more in people and talk more. But you never know who will make you believe that he is your friend and might just hurt you. You always have to be careful and take your time, time to know people. In Mexico it was faster to get to know people, but here it's more difficult."

When asked about the topics of their conversations several of the participants stated that they talk about various topics. Jose noted, “How their day went, what´s new in their lives, how school is going. My friend dropped out so I keep telling him to try to get focused on his studies, because if he is making money now, after studying he will make much more. He is legal and needs to take advantage of that, there is so many people that want to have legal documents and a good job, so he should appreciate that.” Several of the youth stated that they keep their conversations with friends light. As Luis stated, “We don´t talk about that. We kid around, we don´t talk about serious stuff, we just have fun and laugh a lot.”

Obstacles to spending time with friends

All of the youth who participated in the current study described life circumstances which limited their ability to spend time with friends. The majority of the youth indicated that the main obstacle to spending time with friends was having to work, as noted above in several quotes. Youth also indicated that the environment was not as conducive as their home country to spending time with friends. These findings are expanded upon below.

Work is an obstacle to spending time with friends. The majority of the participants identified that their jobs got in the way of their spending time with friends. When asked “What gets in the way of spending time with friends?” most of these participants simply stated that “work” interrupted their time spent with friends. This included several of the youth who were currently in high school. As Felipe noted, “Work, sometimes you have to work, and they also work… [therefore] it’s difficult to get together. Sometimes when I work they are off and when I´m off they have to work.”

Diego, who was also enrolled in college, stated that "[working] full-time," limits the time he can spend with friends. Eduardo noted, "We spend most of our time working… we don't have time to go out much." Also, as Carlos suggested above: "We hang out, when we go out to parties is when we see each other, like family get-togethers that they have and they invite us. It's mostly the only way to see each other as most of the time we are all working."

US environment is not as conducive to socializing. One of the things that several of the participants reported as a challenge was the change in ways in which they are able to socialize with their friends. These youth described feeling limited in what social activities they are able to partake in with friends. Gerardo offered, "It´s different here in the U.S. than in Mexico, because over there after a game you can go out and hang out on the streets and it is not boring, you can go out to the mountains, there is more freedom… here you can only go to the movies." Similarly, Jose provided, "Yes, there was a big change. Over there, where I came from there is a lot of corn farms and close by there are trees with plums and peaches. In the right season we would go with friends to the mountains to buy fruits, walk and enjoy. But here you go to the store and come back." Many of these youth noted that they were more accustomed to spending time with friends outside, and that the milieu of the United States is not as conducive to that. Some also discussed how the winter also affected their ability to spend time with friends. As Marco noted above, "…it was winter and it is too cold here…most people are at home-I guess-so I made my friends in school." Youth also noted that friends often did not live in the same neighborhood and that this living distance between friends limited their ability to

spend time together. As Alberto noted “the distance, we don´t live in the same neighborhood or too far away.”

Advice for new immigrants about friendships

Youth were asked about advice that they would provide to new immigrants regarding friendships. Two main themes emerged. First, youth stated that they would warn new immigrants to have caution in choosing friends, and second, they stated that friends could be a source of support to feel more comfortable in a new country.

Be careful in choosing friends. When asked what advice they would offer to new immigrants regarding friendship here in the United States, the majority of the participants stated that they would advise them to be careful with whom they hang out with and become friends with in this country. As Bernardo provided, “[That new immigrants should] be careful with things they do and where they go. And not to trust people they don´t know, or new friendships, to talk with them but not to tell them everything. Because you don´t know them yet, and don´t know where they come from. When you talk to them you may think they are your friends, but you really can´t know what they do and what they want. So to be careful [with] who are you hanging out with.” Similarly Diego noted, “I would tell them the same that my parents told me. That not everybody who says they are your friends are really your friends. I would tell them to be cautious when choosing their friends.” Marco noted that he would advise new immigrants, “To be careful with the people you make friends with, to make sure who are [your] real friends… It’s not good to have a friend that will bring problems.” Jose suggested that he would tell them, “To be careful who you hang out with and the areas where you are hanging out.”

Friends are a resource to help you feel comfortable in a new country. Several of the participants also stated that they would advise new immigrants that friends can be a great resource in helping you get accustomed in a new country. As Hector noted, “I would tell them that when you first arrive you will be sad, but not to be sad because soon you will make friends and will start to like it here. So not to be sad and not to stress about it, that´d be what I would tell them.” Ivan noted, “Well like everybody in a new country, at first you will miss everything …your habits, your people. But soon you will make new friends at school, and will learn a new language.” Several of these participants noted the importance of choosing friends who would help youth learn to speak English. For example, Hector stated he would advise youth, “to choose friends that will help them and that will help them [to] speak English.”

Summary

The overarching theoretical theme (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) that emerged from data analysis was that friends serve as important resources to help youth navigate their post-migration environment; however, friendships are secondary to family and often approached with caution by youth. Participants indicated that support and trust are critical to friendships, and that friendships are tested during difficult times. Results revealed that friends: (a) are important because they provide advice and help youth navigate the new environment, (b) help youth feel part of a group, (c) influence them in both positive and negative ways, and (c) are not completely trusted and family is seen as the primary source of emotional support. Also, their parents gave them advice to not fully trust friends, and

when queried they stated that they would provide similar advice to other immigrants coming to the United States.

Chapter V: Discussion

The aim of this study was to develop a theory of the role of friendships in the lives of male Latino adolescents who are unauthorized. The overarching research question of this study was "What role does friendship play in the lives of male Latino adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized?" To better understand these questions, 12 male Latino adolescents who are unauthorized were interviewed using a semi-structured protocol. Grounded theory methodology (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was utilized to analyze data generated from the interviews. The core theme that emerged from these processes was, "Friends serve as important resources to help youth navigate their post-migration environment; however, friendships are secondary to family and approached with caution by youth." Overall findings revealed several major themes, including ideas about friendships, advice from parents, experiences with friends post-migration, and advice for new immigrants regarding friends.

Discussion of findings

The purpose of this chapter is to review the study findings and discuss them in relation to the extant friendship literature. Additionally, implications of the findings, as well as limitations and future directions will be discussed. This section is organized by themes identified in the model about friendships among Latino male adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized.

Ideas about friendship. The majority of the research participants described a friend as someone who will offer support and someone who they could trust with certain

information. The participants in this study typically went on to report that a true friend's support should come in the form of advice, encouragement, and or favors. To them, a true friend was available to provide such support, especially in times of need. These youth expressed that times of need act to tested the quality of their friendships, and that a true friend would not turn his back during these rough times. Several of the participants in the current study discussed having expectations of instrumental support from friends, for example when they were unemployed and needed help finding work. Previous research with Latina/o immigrant adolescents who are unauthorized has also found that friends provide tangible support, such as help finding work (Perreira et al., 2007) and institutional knowledge that is specifically helpful for those who are unauthorized (Enriquez, 2011). Similarly, in their longitudinal study, Way et al., (2001) found that Latina/os adolescent males commonly reported feeling that their friends were there for them in times of need with instrumental support (e.g., rides, money).

Interestingly, the youth in the current study stated that trust was a necessary element when asked to conceptualize friends, but they went on to describe only being able to confide in their friends up to certain point. It appears that for these youth, therefore, the experiences of trust with a friend have less to do with disclosure of personal and/or emotional material and more to do with having confidence that someone will be available to provide resources and instrumental support when needed. Perhaps this is due to the unique challenges and needs that these unauthorized youth face (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; Yoshikawa, 2011), including a lack of legal protection and employment opportunities (Messias, 1996), fear that they or their family might be arrested, detained, or deported (Chaudry et al., 2010), post-migration alterations to the family system which

strain familial relationships (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), racism and discrimination (Szalacha et al., 2004), school and community violence (García-Coll & Magnuson, 1997), and high levels of poverty (Capps et al., 2005). If these youth are navigating a new environment with such stressors, it is likely that practical support (e.g., financial, transportation) might be most necessary from friends, perhaps above and beyond more emotional support.

Alternatively, it might be that youth only rely on their friends for instrumental support because they trust and receive emotional support from their family members. Several of the participants noted that best friends can sometimes be considered like family, though family is primary. While the finding that participants see their family as primary is not in line with research with majority, White culture youth (Allen & Land, 1999), it is similar to one study conducted with immigrant Latina/o adolescents demonstrating that family is most prominent (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). One possible reason for the prominence of the family in this particular population is that the immense amount of stress inherent in the migration experience may act to draw family members closer, highlighting the prominence of family support. It is also likely that the cultural value of *familismo* is important for these youth, as it is for many individuals of Latino descent (Dinh et al., 2002; Marsiglia et al., 2002). *Familismo* is experienced as interdependence among family members, high family unity, as well as high social support (Falicov, 1998), and has been associated with protection against some problem behaviors (Dinh et al., 2002; Marsiglia et al., 2002). It Having a strong sense of *familismo* may influence youth to see friends as secondary to their family members, and to rely on friends solely for practical help.

Advice from parents regarding friends. In discussing advice they received from parents in regards to friends, the majority of the participants stated that their parents recommended that they not confide completely in friends, and that they should be cautious when picking their friends. As noted above, this caution with regards to friends was also described by the youth themselves, suggesting that perhaps these participants had internalized these messages from their parents.

For Latina/o immigrant parents, advice to be cautious with friends may stem from a desire to maintain family cohesion, particularly in the context of complex immigration and acculturation experiences. Given that youth typically acculturate more quickly than their parents (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008), it may be alarming for Latino immigrant parents to see their children assimilating quickly to White, mainstream culture and losing elements of their culture of heritage. Parents may fear the influence of new friends in the U.S. who appear to draw their children away from their family and cultural values.

A final possible explanation for this advice from parents might be that as members of low income and/or ethnic minority families, these parents have had experiences with discrimination and oppression that have led them to be weary of those outside the family (Salguero & McCusker, 1996; Way 1998). Additionally it is possible that their post-migration living environment may influence parents' advice. Many new immigrants settle in urban areas that are highly segregated and extremely poor (Orfield & Yun, 1999), living in such areas can affect the quality of the schools, access to desirable jobs, and are associated with increased exposure to violence (Elliot et al., 1996; Portes & Hao, 1998). As such it is possible that not only living in similar urban neighborhoods, but

also experiencing variations in acculturation influenced the advice that the youth in this study received from parents.

Experiences with Friendships Post-Migration

Roles of Friendships. The majority of the research participants reported that since migrating to the United States, friends have become a very important component in their lives because they provide advice and help youth navigate the new environment. Several participants noted that making friends was the turning point for their getting accustomed to living in a new country, and some even stated that making friends helped change their mind about wanting go back to their native country.

These findings regarding the importance of friendship are similar to previous research on adolescent friendships. In a longitudinal study of White, majority adolescents, Bagwell, Newcomb, and Bukowski (1998) found that having friends supported positive outcomes across developmental transitions such as school entrance, illness, divorce, and death of a family member. While immigration is not generally considered a typical transition for the majority of adolescents, it can clearly be seen as a developmental transition for these youth. It is likely that the importance of friendships are magnified given the stress imposed by such a transition, and the dearth of institutional resources and multilingual professionals (Perreira & Ornelas, 2011) in the cities where the participants were recruited.

The importance of friendships to the youth in the present study are similar to the experiences expressed by immigrant youth in two other studies (Enriquez, 2011; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), which examined academic achievement. Enriquez (2011) sought to

understand how unauthorized Latina/o youth navigate and succeed in school. Findings revealed that unauthorized peers were key providers of unauthorized specific institutional knowledge (i.e., scholarship eligibility), as they knew how to navigate the system. These unauthorized peers were found not only to provide information but often engaged in resource sharing. Similarly, the participants in the current study stated that friends played a key role in helping them understand the new environment.

In their study of newcomer (defined as arriving within 5 years) immigrant youth, Suárez-Orozco et al. (2009) found school-based supportive relationships to be the most robust predictor of academic engagement and school performance. These researchers found that youth "often spoke about the importance of conational peers in their lives as they acclimated to a new country, a new neighborhood, and a new school" (p. 730). The youth in their study often described peers as providing an emotional sense of belonging and acceptance (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Participants in the current study also revealed that friends post-migration help youth feel a part of a group and that this social inclusion had been vital to their transition to a new country.

Similarly, research with White, majority adolescents, has found that supportiveness between friends is positively correlated with school involvement and achievement (Berndt, Hawkins, & Jiao, 1999) and negatively associated with school-based problems (Kurdek & Sinclair, 1988), identity problems (Papini et al., 1990), as well as delinquency and depression (Windle, 1994). In a study with 286 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents (128 male, 46% first generation, and 47% Latina/o), Sirin et al. (2013) found that social support acted as a buffer against anxious/depressed symptoms related to acculturative stress. Given that the youth in the current study were

undoubtedly facing acculturation stressors (i.e., learning a new language, coping with changes in family roles and responsibilities) (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), it is likely that the sense of belonging (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009) and the resources that friends provided helped to reduce loneliness and ease the transition.

Many of the participants in this study noted that the friends who have provided the most assistance in their transition are youth who had also gone through a similar immigration experience. The extant literature with White majority youth demonstrates that adolescents are drawn to one another because of similarity, and as these characteristics are affirmed within the relationship, the dyad is then more likely to become even more homogeneous (Brown & Larson, 2009). It is possible, therefore, that immigrant youth such as those in the current study are drawn to other youth like themselves, and found the most support in friendships with them because they provided resources and support most necessary for navigating the unique transition with which they were faced. Similar to the findings of Enriquez (2011) and Suárez-Orozco et al., (2009), the participants in the current study expressed gratitude for the resources provided from friends who had immigrated before them (i.e., advice giving, emotional belonging). Several of the youth stated that friends encouraged them to "get used to" how things are different here (in the U.S.) and, in turn, accept the numerous changes inherent in immigrating to a new land.

When discussing their experiences with friendships post-migration, rather than their conceptualizations of friendship, the majority of the youth reported that they do not completely trust friends, and family is currently their primary source of emotional support. These participants generally stated that they had to be careful with trusting

friends in the United States, and could only confide in them certain things. In contrast, they felt comfortable confiding in family. These findings are similar to the general views of friendships that these participants held, as well as the advice given to them by parents. Interestingly, these findings are in contrast to research with White, majority adolescents which has found that during adolescence, perceived support from friends increases, while that from parents decreases, such that friends are experienced as providing greater support than parental relationships (Allen & Land, 1999; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). As mentioned above in the discussion of participants' and parents' views of friendships, several factors may account for participants' current experiences with friends in the U.S.. One possible reason for their caution may be a result of their unique status as immigrants. Many immigrants live with the long-lasting dream of returning home or reconnecting with family, which acts to reinforce the gap between physical absence and psychological presence (Boss, 1999). This state of limbo may find adolescents unable to take full advantage of situations or make settlement decisions (Glick, 2010), and ultimately affect how they approach friendships.

Additionally, it seems likely that the aforementioned advice participants received from parents, as well as their utilization of family for emotional support reflect cultural values (i.e., *familismo*) and the importance placed on family as a resource. Previous qualitative research with Latina/o adolescents has found that they report that family is more important to their life satisfaction than friends (Edwards & Lopez, 2006). Additionally, it is possible that the level of closeness between parents and children diminishes participants' interests in such closeness with friends, and that preserving

family cohesion took precedence over that of social/peer relations (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

In their study of perceived friendship quality among ethnic minority, low-income adolescents, Way and Pahl (2001) found a negative association between mother support and change in friendship quality, positing that the closer that adolescents felt to their families, the more likely they shared their family's belief system and "maintained a distrustful stance toward their nonfamilial peers" (p. 356). Though in the current study the effect of relationships with parents, or mothers in particular was not investigated, the general findings suggest similar processes could be at play.

Developmental factors also appear to be influencing participants' current utilization of friendships, as many of the youth in the present study conveyed that it was easier for them to trust in friends in their native country. Many of the these youth reported that their close friends, prior to migration, consisted of boys that they had grown up with, and that this 'lifetime' of shared experiences cemented a trust that they struggled to replicate in the United States. For them, it seems as though this loss of trust reflected not only a reaction to migration and its accompanying stress, but also a seemingly appropriate developmental transition. Research with urban minority adolescents (Way, 2004; Way, 2013; Way & Chen, 2000; Way & Chu, 2004) has found that as boys transition from middle to late adolescence, the intimacy once experienced during early and middle adolescence with friends is lost, as these youth often express a fear of betrayal and distrust of peers other than best friends. Thus as adolescent males grow older, they speak increasingly of their fears of betrayal and their desires not to be hurt by their peers (Way, 2013). Similarly, youth in the current study often reported that they had to be

careful and could only confide in friends up to a certain point, perhaps because of a fear of betrayal.

Obstacles to spending time with friends. Given that “the establishment of an interpersonal network is one of the most critical and difficult problems facing the recently arrived immigrant” (Garcia et al., 2002, p. 289), having a greater understanding of what contributes to this problem seems crucial. The majority of the youth in this study reported two main obstacles to spending time with friends. First, participants stated that their jobs kept them from spending time with friends. This finding is especially compelling considering that many Latina/o adolescents migrate for the explicit purpose of working (Perreira et al., 2007), yet the extant literature has not taken into account how such a mindset and goal affects their social world. It appears that for these participants, work is prioritized over friends.

Given their developmental stage and immigrant status, it is likely that these youth are caught between age appropriate desires to socialize with friends and those to work and fulfill family obligation by making financial contributions to the household.

Second, participants expressed feeling limited in what social activities they are able to do with friends. These youth described situations and experiences in their native countries where they were able to spend time with friends outside and engage in activities that did not require money. Some of these youth highlighted the challenges a Midwestern winter climate presented to socializing since they were more accustomed to spending time with friends outside. Others noted that the United States is not as conducive to spending time with friends because of living distances between friends. It is possible that this is exacerbated for those participants who lived in the more rural city where the

catchment area for school is larger and thus youth most likely live further away from friends. Thus, in addition to being limited by work, their time with friends is spent doing a small amount of activities in a social environment that is experienced as constraining as compared to the environment in their native countries. These findings about obstacles, none of which have been described in previous literature about Latino immigrant friendships, provide important information regarding the unique cultural context in which these youth find themselves. While friends are experienced as vital to their transition to a new country, it seems that work is prioritized over time with friends – likely out of obligations felt towards family. Moreover time spent with friends is made difficult by the social environment, which these youth find as limiting.

Advice for new immigrants about friendships. Participants' advice for immigrants about friendships closely mirrors their perspectives on friendships pre- and post-migration, as well as their parent's advice. Participants suggested that it was of utmost importance that new immigrants approach friendships carefully. It appears that approaching friends with caution is more important to them than taking advantage of the resources (e.g., instrumental support) afforded through friendship post-migration. Nevertheless, several of the youth stated that they would counsel new immigrants about how friendships could be useful post-migration, particularly with getting accustomed to a new country (i.e., curbing loneliness, help with finding a job).

Conclusion and Implications

Taken together, the findings highlight the unique role of friends in the lives of Latino male immigrants who are unauthorized, as well as the importance placed on

family as the primary source of support. It appears that these youth experience friendships as a vital component in their transition to a new land, as friends help them to understand and navigate the post-migration environment and help to curb loneliness through shared activities. However, friends are approached with caution and they are not trusted as much as family. The reasons for this cautious approach to friendships appears to be multifaceted, including the fact that youth receive messages from parents to not trust friends, are confronted with a foreign and limiting social environment, have to balance work, school, and social obligations, and are living in a country without authorization to do so. Within this unique context, it is understandable that youth believe they must be cautious of with whom they surround themselves.

While the majority of the research conducted with this population has focused on academic achievement, the findings of the present study about the role of friends contribute to the literature highlighting immigrant youth who never enrolled in school post-migration. Given that many Latina/o adolescent immigrants migrate to the United States for work, and never enroll in school (Perreira et al., 2007), the current study's findings help to clarify how work impacts their social life. It is possible that these youth must reconcile age appropriate social goals with newfound family and work responsibilities post-migration. Given their documentation status, it appears that these youth often choose work over friends, as a means of not only contributing to their family's stability, but also ensuring family security by limiting who they socialize with. While more research is needed to better understand this phenomena, the current study's findings are an important first step.

The findings from the present study have several implications for those working

with immigrant Latino unauthorized adolescents. Given that these youth describe friendships as important to their post-migration transition, professionals should consider having discussions with such youth that help them maximize the roles of friends in their lives, while still managing parental and cultural expectations. It is possible that these discussions would aid youth in reconciling various pressures (e.g., fear of deportation, parents who are weary of friends, age-appropriate social desires, and work) that they face in their post-migration lives. Such processing may also serve to help youth reflect on their choices and help them to understand the reasons behind their choices. Exploring the ways in which a friendship can be different from those that were experienced in one's native country can be useful for gaining clarity about how to support their transition to the United States. Additionally, for those youth who plan to return to their native county, it seems pertinent that clinicians help them to consider how such a goal may influence their experience with friends and relationships in the U.S..

Professionals should also be aware of the level of caution with which Latino immigrant youth who are unauthorized might approach a friendship. Assessing a client's perspective and experience with, as well as changes to friendships since migrating, may act to build therapist-client rapport, as well as allow therapists to become sensitive towards how to best support their client's friendships. Furthermore, given the obstacles to spending time with friends detailed above, clinicians might provide psychoeducation in regards to positive social activities that youth can engage in (e.g., sporting activities, youth groups/clubs). This is especially important since several of the youth in this study expressed frustration with what they saw as a lack of variety in social activities available in the United States, as compared to their native countries.

Finally, Latina/o mental health agencies and community centers that are already serving many of these youth and/or their families might consider developing programming that provides social support and allows a forum where youth can find support and feel comfortable with other adolescents who are unauthorized. Such programming (i.e., after school social groups) could work to promote healthy transitioning for new immigrants and provide positive and healthy social activities that incorporate new and accustomed immigrants. For example these groups could provide instrumental support in reference to resources, work opportunities, and lessons learned by other immigrant youth who are unauthorized.

Limitations

There were several limitations with the current study that should be noted. First, the participants in the current study were from several Latin American countries, and previous research has found divergent experiences among Latina/os adolescents from different countries (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Given the different types of immigrant and adaptation experiences that might exist depending on one's country of origin, a useful future study could involve investigating whether differences exist in friendships among youth from Mexico or El Salvador, for example.

Another limitation of this study is that the findings are based on one in-depth, semi-structured interview with each participant. Multiple interviews in qualitative research allow researchers to follow up with participants with more specific questions directed by the emerging theory (Fassinger, 2005). It is possible that multiple interviews with the same participants would have provided additional information, such as how

being unauthorized factors into their conversations with friends in the United States, as was mentioned as an issue by one participant. It is also possible that additional data would have been obtained during a second interview due to increased comfort on the part of the participants (Knox & Burkard, 2009). While this approach has been utilized in previous Grounded Theory research (e.g. Rennie, 1998) with success, given that no identifying information was collected to protect privacy and ease comfort for these unauthorized participants, this was not feasible for the current study.

Future Research

The results of the current study suggest that additional research would be beneficial in continuing to understand the roles of friendships in the lives of Latino/a adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. Given the changes that occur over time in adolescents' friendships (Way, 2013), a valuable next step would be to conduct longitudinal research on changes in the role of friendship over the adaptation process within this population. Longitudinal research would also be useful to explore how an individual's desire to eventually return to their native county impacts the development of friendships. Also, given that the youth indicated that work was an obstacle to spending time with friends, more research is needed to better understand their work/life balance and perspective. This is especially important given their developmental stage and the importance that friendships play in the lives of immigrants. Future research could also aim to determine if work is seen as more important than spending time with friends for such youth, and how that influences the quality of friendships and well-being of youth. Additionally, quantitative research is needed to determine what, if any, associations exist

between friendship quality and mental health outcomes for these youth. For example, studying how perceived friendship quality is associated with life satisfaction would help to better understand the role that friendship plays in their transition to life in the United States.

Future studies should also explore if the results found by the current study with males is similar to the experience of female immigrants. Given that research has found that boys engage in less prosocial interactions, are less sensitive to the status of their friendships, and less likely to seek support and express their emotions with friends (Rose & Rudolph, 2006), research is needed that explores the friendships of immigrant Latina female adolescents who are unauthorized. Finally, given that the establishment of an interpersonal network is a vital yet difficult endeavor that recently arrived immigrants face (Garcia et al., 2002), research is needed that also explores the role of friendships among Latina/o adult immigrants who are unauthorized.

Summary

In summary, the aim of this study was to develop a theory of the role of friendships in the lives of male Latino male adolescent immigrants who are unauthorized. Grounded theory methodology was utilized to explore this topic (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Twelve male Latino male adolescent immigrants who were unauthorized participated in individual interviews. Results revealed that “Friends serve as important resources to help youth navigate their post-migration environment; however, friendships are secondary to family and often approached with caution by youth.” Several major themes emerged from data analysis including: conceptualizations of friendships,

experiences with friendship post-migration, and advice for new immigrants about friends. Further investigation about friendships in this population is warranted, as many questions about their role during the adaptation process remain.

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APPENDIX A: Oral Informed consent form for participants who are 18 years old (ENGLISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized

Investigator: Marcel Tassara MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Under the direction of Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology.

You have been invited to participate in this research study. Before you agree to participate, it is important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to give permission to participate.

PURPOSE: We want to investigate how friendships are important to immigrant Latino adolescents who do not have authorization to live in the U.S. We are asking you to be part of this study because you are a first generation, teenage Latino. We are interested in hearing about your experience with friendships since moving to the U.S. You will be one of approximately 14 participants in this research study.

PROCEDURES: You will be asked to participate in an interview that will take 1 to 1 ½ hours and will be tape-recorded. The recordings will be transcribed. The interview will include questions about your experience of friendships.

RISKS: There are minimal risks involved with this study, but since the study is about friendships and immigration, you may feel uncomfortable talking about this topic with others. You do not have to answer questions or share information that you would rather keep private.

BENEFITS: This study may not directly benefit you; however, being a part of research about friendships among Latino immigrant youth in this study may be indirectly beneficial for you. What we learn from the research may also be used to help other teenagers some day. Everybody in this study will receive a list of community mental health resources.
.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study and stop participating at any time. We will destroy your interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Marquette University is committed to the protection and privacy of individuals who choose to participate in research. That is why we are sharing this information with you and requesting your permission. Your participation is strictly voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your information at any time.

The information you reveal in this study will be kept confidential. We will not share content of the interviews, with a few exceptions. We will notify the police if you talk about hurting yourself or someone else in some way. We also are required by law to report child abuse to the Child Protection Services (CPS). You would be notified in advance if we make a report.

Data from this study will not be associated with your name. Any contact information obtained during the course of the study (such as phone number), will be destroyed after the completion of the interview. To protect your identity and non-citizen status, your real name will not be recorded anywhere during the study. The tape recordings will be stored on password protected computers of the researchers until they are deleted. The database and transcripts, which will have all identification removed, will also be stored on password protected computers of the researchers. Data will be stored indefinitely in a file cabinet in a locked office that only the PI will have access to.

Your research records may be inspected by the Marquette University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowable by law) state and federal agencies.

COMPENSATION: As a token of compensation, you will receive **$25.00** for completing the interview.

CONTACT INFORMATION: If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Marcel Tassara at 414-301-3006. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you can contact Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

If you agree to be in this study, please let us know by saying YES.
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to participate in the study), could I ask you its reasons?:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Thank you for your agreement in participating in this study. Next, we would like to obtain your agreement to tape-record our questions and your responses.

If you agree to be tape-recorded your responses, please let us know by saying YES.
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to be tape-recorded), could I ask you your reasons? :

____

____
____

Participant's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator) **Signature of Investigator**

____
____

Place **Date and Time**

____
____

APPENDIX B: Oral Informed consent form for participants who are 18 years old (SPANISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized
El papel de los amistades entre adolescente immigrants Latinos sin documentos

Investigadoras: Marcel Tassara, MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Abajo de la dirección de Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology

El proposito de esta carta es el invitarte a participar en un proyecto conducido a traves del Departamento de Consejeria y Psicologia Educativa de la Universidad de Marquette. La investigador, Marcel Tassara, esta interesada en estudiar los amistades de adolescentes Latinos. Por favor haga cualquier pregunta si el contenido de esta carta no le es completamente claro.

PROPOSITO DEL ESTUDIO: Queremos estudiar como y que tal importante son los amistades para adolescentes Latinos immigrantes que no tienen autoracion para vivir en Estados Unidos. Les estamos pidiendo a que participas porque eres adolescente Latino. Tu serás uno de 14 participantes en este estudio.

PROCEDIMIENTOS: Les estamos pidiendo 60-90 minutos de su tiempo para completar una entrevista anónima.

RIESGOS: Los riesgos de participar en este studio son minimos, pero como el tópico es sobre los amistades y imigracion, podrás sentirse incomodo discutiendo este tópico. No tienes que discutir information que no quiera compartir.

BENEFICIOS: Este estudio no benificiara directamente. Sin embargo, los beneficios de participar están representados primero en ser parte de una investigacion que se relaciona con los jovenes Latinos, y segundo en la información que podrá ayudar a otros adolescentes Latinos.

PARTICIPACION VOLUNTARIA: Tu participacion es completamenta voluntaria. Puedes salir del estudio en cualquier momento que lo desee y su record será destruido.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD: La Universidad de Marquette apoya la protección de individuos que deciden participar en proyectos de investigación. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y confidencial. Sinembargo, las unicas situaciones en que la informacion no seria privada son las siguientes: Si expresas explicitamente que necesita ayuda, si revelas algun tipo de abuso, o si hablas de querer hacerse daño a si mismo o a otra persona. En cualquiera de estos casos, los investigadores son responsables bajo la ley de reportar cualquier abuso físico o sexual a la agencia de Child Protection Services

(CPS). En caso de que el investigador tenga que llamar a CPS, los padres seran notificados de antemano.

Los datos de este estudio no serán asociados con el tu nombre, desde que los nombres no serán usados durante la entrevista. Los datos de este estudio serán guardado indefinidamente. Cualquier información referente al participante (encuestas, grabaciones, permisos de padres) se mantendrá separada en un gabinete cerrado con llave o conservado en un computador con acceso limitado a clave secreta.

Los records podrán ser inspeccionados por el Marquette University Institutional Review Board o sus designados, y agencias de el estado o pais.
COMPENSACION: Cada niño recibira **$25.00** en agradecimiento si cumplen la intrevista.

INFORMACION DE CONTACTO: Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta con respecto a este proyecto de investigación, pongase en contacto con Marcel Tassara a 414-301- 3006. Si tiene pregunta o dudas sobre los derechos de su hijo como participante, pongase en contacto con Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

Si usted esta de acuerdo con este proyecto, por favor diga SI:
[ACTION: Interviewer]   Please circle: YES   or   NO

Si dicen NO, pregunta por que:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Esta bien si grabamos nuestro conversacion? Si usted esta de acuerdo, por favor diga SI:

[ACTION: Interviewer]   Please circle: YES   or   NO

Si dicen NO: pregunta por qué?

Participant's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator)   Signature of Investigator

____
____

Place   Date and Time

____
____

APPENDIX C: Oral Parent consent form for participants who are under 18 years old (ENGLISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
PARENT PERMISSION FORM

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized

Investigator: Marcel Tassara MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Under the direction of Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology.

Your child has been invited to participate in this research study. Before you agree to allow your child to participate, it is important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to give permission for your child to participate.

PURPOSE: We want to investigate how friendships are important to immigrant Latino adolescents who do not have authorization to live in the U.S. We are asking your son to be part of this study because you are a first generation teenage Latino. We are interested in hearing about your son's experience with friendships since moving to the U.S. Your child will be one of approximately 14 participants in this research study.

PROCEDURES: Your child will be asked to participate in an interview that will take 1 to 1 ½ hours and will be tape-recorded. The recordings will be transcribed. The interviews will pose questions about your child's experience of friendships.

RISKS: There are minimal risks involved with this study, but since the study is about friendships and immigration, your child may feel uncomfortable talking about this topic with others. Your child does not have to answer questions or share information that he would rather keep private.

BENEFITS: This study may not directly benefit you; however, being a part of research about friendships among Latino immigrant youth in this study may be indirectly beneficial for your chld. What we learn from the research may also be used to help other teenagers some day. Everybody in this study will receive a list of community mental health resources.
.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF PARTICIPATION: Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your child may withdraw from the study and stop participating at any time. We will destroy your child's interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Marquette University is committed to the protection and privacy of individuals who choose to participate in research. That is why we are sharing this

information with you and requesting your permission. Your child's participation is strictly voluntary and you have the right to withdraw their information at any time.

The information your child reveals in this study will be kept confidential. We will not share the contents of the interview, with a few exceptions. We will notify the police if your child talks about hurting himself or someone else in some way. We also are required by law to report child abuse to the Child Protection Services (CPS). You would be notified in advance if we make a report.

Data from this study will not be associated with your child's name. Any contact information obtained during the course of the study (such as phone number), will be destroyed after the completion of the interview. To protect your child's identity and non-citizen status, real names will not be recorded anywhere during the study. We will not use real names during the interviews, so your child's name will not be tape-recorded. We will enter your child's information from the interviews into a computer database. You will not be identifiable in the database or the typed transcripts, so we will not destroy them. We may use the database and transcripts in other research studies. The tape recordings will be stored on password protected computers of the researchers until they are deleted. The database and transcripts, which will have all identification removed, will also be stored on password protected computers of the researchers. ***Data will be stored indefinitely in a file cabinet in a locked office that only the PI will have access to.***

Your child's research records may be inspected by the Marquette University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowable by law) state and federal agencies.

COMPENSATION: As a token of compensation, your child will receive **$25.00** for completing the interview.

CONTACT INFORMATION: If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Marcel Tassara at 414-301-3006. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you can contact Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

If you agree to allow your child to be in this study, please let us know by saying YES.
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to allow child participation in the study), could I ask you its reasons?:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Thank you for your agreement to allow your child to participate in this study. Next, we would like to obtain your agreement to tape-record our questions and your child's responses.

If you agree to allow your child to be tape-recorded responses, please let us know by saying YES. [ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to allow tape-recording), could I ask you its reasons? :

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____
____

Participant's Child's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator) Signature of Investigator

____
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Place Date and Time

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APPENDIX D: Oral Parent consent form for participants who are under 18 years old (SPANISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
PARENT PERMISSION FORM

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized

El papel de los amistades entre adolescente immigrantes Latinos sin documentos

Investigadoras: Marcel Tassara, MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Abajo de la dirección de Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology

El proposito de esta carta es el invitar a su hijo a participar en un proyecto conducido a traves del Departamento de Consejeria y Psicologia Educativa de la Universidad de Marquette. La investigador, Marcel Tassara, esta interesada en estudiar los amistades de adolescentes Latinos. Por favor haga cualquier pregunta si el contenido de esta carta no le es completamente claro.

PROPOSITO DEL ESTUDIO: Queremos estudiar como y que tal importante son los amistades para adolescentes Latinos immigrantes que no tienen autoracion para vivir en Estados Unidos. Les estamos pidiendo a su hijo participar porque son adolescentes Latinos. Su niño será uno de 14 participantes en este estudio.

PROCEDIMIENTOS: Les estamos pidiendo a su hijo 60-90 minutos de su tiempo para completar una entrevista anónima.

RIESGOS: Los riesgos de participar en este studio son minimos, pero como el tópico es sobre los amistades y imigracion, su hijo/hija podrá sentirse incomodo discutiendo este tópico. Su hijo no tendrá que discutir information que no quiera compartir.

BENEFICIOS: Este estudio no benificiara a su hijo directamente. Sin embargo, los beneficios de participar están representados primero en ser parte de una investigacion que se relaciona con los jovenes Latinos, y segundo en la información que podrá ayudar a otros adolescentes Latinos.

PARTICIPACION VOLUNTARIA: La participacion de su hijo es completamenta voluntaria. Su hijo podrá salir del estudio en cualquier momento que lo desee y su record será destruido.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD: La Universidad de Marquette apoya la protección de individuos que deciden participar en proyectos de investigación. La participación de su niño es completamente voluntaria, y los padres tienen el derecho de interrumpir la

cooperación en cualquier momento. Sinembargo, las unicas situaciones en que la informacion de su hijo no seria privada son las siguientes: Si su hijo expresa explicitamente que necesita ayuda, si su hijo revela algun tipo de abuso, o si su hijo habla de querer hacerse daño a si mismo o a otra persona. En cualquiera de estos casos, los investigadores son responsables bajo la ley de reportar cualquier abuso físico o sexual a la agencia de Child Protection Services (CPS). En caso de que el investigador tenga que llamar a CPS, los padres seran notificados de antemano.
Los datos de este estudio no serán asociados con el nombre de su hijo, desde que los nombres no serán usados durante la entrevista. Los datos de este estudio serán destruidos después de 5 años. Cualquier información referente al participante (encuestas, grabaciones, permisos de padres) se mantendrá separada en un gabinete cerrado con llave o conservado en un computador con acceso limitado a clave secreta.

Los records de su hijo podrán ser inspeccionados por el Marquette University Institutional Review Board o sus designados, y agencias de el estado o pais.

COMPENSACION: Cada niño recibira **$25.00** en agradecimiento si cumplen la intrevista.

INFORMACION DE CONTACTO: Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta con respecto a este proyecto de investigación, pongase en contacto con Marcel Tassara a 414-301- 3006. Si tiene pregunta o dudas sobre los derechos de su hijo como participante, pongase en contacto con Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

Si usted esta de acuerdo en permitirle a su niño participar en este proyecto, por favor, por favor diga SI:
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

Si dicen NO, pregunta por que:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Esta bien si grabamos la conversacion? Si usted esta de acuerdo, por favor diga SI:

[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

Si dicen NO: pregunta por qué?

Participant's Child's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator) Signature of Investigator

____

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Place **Date and Time**

____

____

APPENDIX E: Oral Assent form for participants who are under 18 years of age (ENGLISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized

Investigator: Marcel Tassara MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Under the direction of Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology.

You have been invited to participate in this research study. Before you agree to participate, it is important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to give permission to participate.

PURPOSE: We want to investigate how friendships are important to immigrant Latino adolescents who do not have authorization to live in the U.S. We are asking you to be part of this study because you are a first generation teenage Latino. We are interested in what you hearing about your experience with friendships since moving to the U.S. You will be one of approximately 14 participants in this research study.

PROCEDURES: You will be asked to participate in an interview that will take 1 to 1 ½ hours and will be tape-recorded. The recordings will be transcribed. The interviews will pose questions about your experience of friendships.

RISKS: There are minimal risks involved with this study, but since the study is about friendships and immigration, you may feel uncomfortable talking about this topic with others. You do not have to answer questions or share information that you would rather keep private.

BENEFITS: This study may not directly benefit you; however, being a part of research about friendships among Latino immigrant youth in this study may be indirectly beneficial for you. What we learn from the research may also be used to help other teenagers some day. Everybody in this study will receive a list of community mental health resources.
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VOLUNTARY NATURE OF PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study and stop participating at any time. We will destroy your interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Marquette University is committed to the protection and privacy of individuals who choose to participate in research. That is why we are sharing this information with you and requesting your permission. Your participation is strictly voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your information at any time.

The information you reveal in this study will be kept confidential. We will not share content of the interviews, with a few exceptions. We will notify the police if you talk about hurting yourself or someone else in some way. We also are required by law to report child abuse to the Child Protection Services (CPS). You would be notified in advance if we make a report.

Data from this study will not be associated with your name. Any contact information obtained during the course of the study (such as phone number), will be destroyed after the completion of the interview. To protect your identity and non-citizen status, your real name will not be recorded anywhere during the study. We will not use real names during the interviews, so your name will not be tape recorded. We will enter your information from the interviews into a computer database. You will not be identifiable in the database or the typed transcripts, so we will not destroy them. We may use the database and transcripts in other research studies. The tape recordings will be stored on password protected computers of the researchers until they are deleted. The database and transcripts, which will have all identification removed, will also be stored on password protected computers of the researchers. ***Data will be stored indefinitely in a file cabinet in a locked office that only the PI will have access to.*** Your identity will be protected on the surveys and the tape recordings of the interviews.

Your research records may be inspected by the Marquette University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowable by law) state and federal agencies.

COMPENSATION: As a token of compensation, you will receive **$25.00** for completing the interview.

CONTACT INFORMATION: If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Marcel Tassara at 414-301-3006. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you can contact Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

If you agree to be in this study, please let us know by saying YES.
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to participate in the study), could I ask you its reasons?:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Thank you for your agreement in participating in this study. Next, we would like to obtain your agreement to tape-record our questions and your responses.

If you agree to be tape-recorded your responses, please let us know by saying YES.
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

In case NO (not wishing to be tape-recorded), could I ask you its reasons? :

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____
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Participant's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator)   Signature of Investigator

____
____

Place   Date and Time

____
____

APPENDIX F: Oral Assent form for participants who are under 18 years of age (SPANISH)

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

The Role of Friendships Among Latino Male Adolescent Immigrants who are Unauthorized
El papel de los amistades entre adolescentes Latinos sin documentos

Investigadoras: Marcel Tassara, MS, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. Abajo de la dirección de Lisa Edwards PhD, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology

El proposito de esta carta es el invitarte a participar en un proyecto conducido a traves del Departamento de Consejeria y Psicologia Educativa de la Universidad de Marquette. La investigador, Marcel Tassara, esta interesada en estudiar los amistades de adolescentes Latinos. Por favor haga cualquier pregunta si el contenido de esta carta no le es completamente claro.

PROPOSITO DEL ESTUDIO: Queremos estudiar como y que tal importante son los amistades para adolescentes Latinos immigrantes que no tienen autoracion para vivir en Estados Unidos. Les estamos pidiendo a que participas porque eres adolescente Latino. Tu serás uno de 14 participantes en este estudio.

PROCEDIMIENTOS: Les estamos pidiendo 60-90 minutos de su tiempo para completar una entrevista anónima.

RIESGOS: Los riesgos de participar en este studio son minimos, pero como el tópico es sobre los amistades y imigracion, podrás sentirse incomodo discutiendo este tópico. No tienes que discutir information que no quiera compartir.

BENEFICIOS: Este estudio no benificiara directamente. Sin embargo, los beneficios de participar están representados primero en ser parte de una investigacion que se relaciona con los jovenes Latinos, y segundo en la información que podrá ayudar a otros adolescentes Latinos.

PARTICIPACION VOLUNTARIA: Tu participacion es completamenta voluntaria. Puedes salir del estudio en cualquier momento que lo desee y su record será destruido.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD: La Universidad de Marquette apoya la protección de individuos que deciden participar en proyectos de investigación. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y confidencial. Sinembargo, las unicas situaciones en que la informacion no seria privada son las siguientes: Si expresas explicitamente que necesita ayuda, si revelas algun tipo de abuso, o si hablas de querer hacerse daño a si mismo o a otra persona. En cualquiera de estos casos, los investigadores son responsables bajo la ley de reportar cualquier abuso físico o sexual a la agencia de Child Protection Services

(CPS). En caso de que el investigador tenga que llamar a CPS, los padres seran notificados de antemano.

Los datos de este estudio no serán asociados con el tu nombre, desde que los nombres no serán usados durante la entrevista. Los datos de este estudio serán destruidos después de 5 años. Cualquier información referente al participante (encuestas, grabaciones, permisos de padres) se mantendrá separada en un gabinete cerrado con llave o conservado en un computador con acceso limitado a clave secreta.

Los records podrán ser inspeccionados por el Marquette University Institutional Review Board o sus designados, y agencias de el estado o pais.

COMPENSACION: Cada niño recibira **$25.00** en agradecimiento si cumplen la intrevista.

INFORMACION DE CONTACTO: Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta con respecto a este proyecto de investigación, pongase en contacto con Marcel Tassara a 414-301- 3006. Si tiene pregunta o dudas sobre los derechos de su hijo como participante, pongase en contacto con Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-7570.

Si usted esta de acuerdo con este proyecto, por favor diga SI:
[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

Si dicen NO, pregunta por que:

[ACTION: Interviewer: Please END here.]

[If YES] Esta bien si grabamos nuestro conversacion? Si usted esta de acuerdo, por favor diga SI:

[ACTION: Interviewer] Please circle: YES or NO

Si dicen NO: pregunta por qué?

Participant's Pseudonym (Written by the Investigator) Signature of Investigator

____
____

Place Date and Time

____
____

APPENDIX G: Background Information Form (ENGLISH)

Participant Fake Name___________________________

Language of Interview___________________________

Let the participant know that you are going to start with some basic questions about their history and current living situation.

1. How old are you?
2. What grade are you in? What was the highest grade in school you completed?
3. Where were you born and raised? Did you live in a city or town?
4. When did you migrate to the U.S.? Did you come directly to Milwaukee?
5. What mode of transportation did you use?
6. With whom did you come?
7. Who do you currently live with?
8. What family members do you have in Milwaukee? Wisconsin? United States? Back home?
9. How many close friends do you in the area?
10. Do you have someone you consider a best friend in the area? Are you related to them?

APPENDIX H: Interview Protocol (ENGLISH)

Participant Fake Name___________________________

Language of Interview____________________________

Before turning on the audio recorder say: "Thank you for taking the time to complete this interview with me. If you remember, I will be asking you some questions about your thoughts, feelings, and experiences with friends since coming to the U.S. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions—I just want to get your thoughts. Feel free to let me know if you have any questions or if what I am asking doesn't make sense."

1. What comes to mind when you hear the word friend?
2. How do you know that somebody is your friend?
3. What activities do you and your friends do together?
4. What do you and your friends talk about?
5. In what ways are your friends are important to you?
6. How would you describe yourself as a friend? How do you think your friends would describe you (maybe a further prompt?)
7. What gets in the way of spending time with friends?
8. What did you learn from your parents about friends when you were growing up?
9. How are you and your closest friends similar? How are you different?
10. How have your friendships changed and/or remained the same since moving to the U.S.?
11. How have your friends helped you get used to living in a new country? How have they made it more difficult?
12. What happens when you and your close friends disagree? Can you describe a disagreement you had and what happened?
13. How do you think Latina/o friendships are different from those of teens of other backgrounds?
14. How do you think friendships might be different for Latino adolescents who have immigrated and don't have citizenship as compared to other adolescents?
15. What, if any, differences do you see between male and female Latino friendships?

<u>Ending questions</u>

1. What advice would you give to a teen who has just immigrated to the U.S. when it comes to making friends?
2. What else do you think is important to ask in a study of friendships among Latina/o adolescent immigrants?

APPENDIX I: Background Information Form (SPANISH)

Participant Fake Name____________________________

Language of Interview____________________________

Let the participant know that you are going to start with some basic questions about their history and current living situation.

1. ¿De Donde Eres?
2. ¿Hasta donde llegaste en escuela?
3. ¿Adonde naciste? Fue un pueblo o ciudad?
4. ¿Cuando llegaste a Estados Unidos? Veniste directo a Milwaukee?
5. ¿Qué medio de transporte utilizó? Con quién viniste
6. ¿Con quién vives?
7. ¿Qué miembros de la familia tiene en Milwaukee? Wisconsin? Los Estados Unidos? En tu pais?
8. ¿Cuántos amigos íntimos tienes en este area?
9. ¿Tiene alguien que usted considera su mejor amigo en este area? Está relacionado con ellos?

APPENDIX J: Interview Protocol (SPANISH)

Participant Fake Name___________________________

Language of Interview___________________________

Before turning on the audio recorder say: "Gracias por tomarse el tiempo para completar esta entrevista conmigo. Si recuerdas, te estaré haciendo algunas preguntas sobre sus pensamientos, sentimientos y experiencias con amigos desde que llegó a los EE.UU. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas a estas preguntas, sólo quiero conseguir sus pensamientos. No dude en hacérmelo saber si usted tiene alguna pregunta o si lo que estoy pidiendo que no tiene sentido. "

1. ¿Qué le viene a la mente cuando escuchas la palabra amigo?
2. ¿Cómo sabes que alguien es tu amigo?
3. ¿Qué actividades y sus amigos hacen juntos?
4. ¿Qué es lo que usted y sus amigos hablan de?
5. ¿De qué manera tus amigos son importantes para usted?
6. ¿Cómo te describirías como amigo? ¿Cómo crees que tus amigos te describen (tal vez un nuevo sistema?)
7. ¿Qué se interpone en el camino de pasar tiempo con amigos?
8. ¿Qué aprendiste de tus padres acerca de los amigos cuando estabas creciendo?
9. ¿Cómo están usted y sus amigos más cercanos similar? ¿Cómo se diferencian?
25. ¿Cómo han cambiado sus amistades y / o sigue siendo el mismo desde que se mudó a los EE.UU.?
11. ¿Cómo han ayudado a tus amigos que te acostumbras a vivir en un nuevo país? ¿Cómo han hecho que sea más difícil?
12. ¿Qué sucede cuando usted y sus amigos no están de acuerdo? ¿Puede describir un desacuerdo que tuvo y qué pasó?
13. ¿Cómo crees Latina / o amistades son diferentes de las de los jóvenes de otros orígenes?
14. ¿Cómo crees que amistades pueden ser diferentes para los adolescentes latinos que han inmigrado y que no tienen la ciudadanía en comparación con otros adolescentes?
15. Lo que, en su caso, las diferencias ve usted entre las amistades latinos de ambos sexos?

Finalización de las preguntas

1. ¿Qué consejo le darías a un adolescente que acaba emigraron a los EE.UU. cuando se trata de hacer amigos?
2. ¿Qué otra cosa crees que es importante hacer un estudio de las amistades entre Latinas / os inmigrantes adolescentes?