

Being a Latinx Adolescent under a Trump Presidency:
Analysis of Latinx Youth's Reactions to Immigration Politics

Laura Wray-Lake¹

Rachel Wells¹

Lauren Alvis²

Sandra Delgado¹

Amy K. Syvertsen³

Aaron Metzger²

¹University of California, Los Angeles

²West Virginia University

³Search Institute

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Corresponding Author: Laura Wray-Lake, Ph.D.; University of California at Los Angeles; Department of Social Welfare, 3250 Public Affairs Building, Room 5317, Los Angeles, CA 90095; wraylake@luskin.ucla.edu

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Abstract

The 2016 presidential election of Donald Trump has ushered in a turbulent time in U.S. history. Given the Trump administration's emphasis on anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric, scholars and practitioners need to better understand how Latinx youth are responding to and affected by the political climate. Using written, open-ended responses from 562 Latinx adolescents from Southern California, the current study documented reactions to Trump's immigration politics. Forty percent of youth articulated views about immigration in their election reactions, and 96% of immigration-related responses were critical of the President's approach. Salient themes identified in immigration-related responses included feeling afraid and/or anxious; expressing anger, contempt, and/or disgust; recognizing and experiencing racism; offering pro-immigrant narratives; and increasing civic engagement. Findings align with social contract theory and suggest that many Latinx youth are feeling marginalized and threatened by government and recognizing injustices in the rights and protections afforded to their racial/ethnic communities. This work can raise awareness among educators and social workers about the tangible consequences of immigration policies and rhetoric for Latinx youth. This sociopolitical moment may also offer opportunities for youth empowerment through civic engagement.

KEYWORDS: presidential election, immigrant youth, mental health, civic engagement, discrimination, deportation

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1 Introduction

"When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending the best. They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we're getting."

"I will build a great wall -- and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me --and I'll build them very inexpensively. I will build a great, great wall on our southern border, and I will make Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words."

Donald Trump, June 16, 2015, New York, New York

The United States is uniquely defined by its rich history of immigration, with a national identity built on the diversity of our ethnic roots (Walzer, 1990). Unfortunately, the status of ethnic minorities with immigrant origins — and the rights they are or are not guaranteed— continues to be a highly contested and racialized debate in the United States, and such debates can impact how people of color are included and integrated in society (Masuoka & Junn, 2013). Anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric undoubtedly affect Latinx individuals, a fast growing segment of the population and the nation's largest minority group, representing 18% of the U.S. population and 39% of California's population (Census Bureau, 2016a, 2016b). Through his 2016 presidential campaign and presidency to date, Donald Trump has prioritized an immigration reform platform that includes explicit and implicit anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx rhetoric (Reilly, 2016; Trump, 2016). Many scholars, practitioners, and civic leaders have voiced concern that Trump's rhetoric and policies threaten the health, safety, and psychological well-being of the Latinx community (e.g., Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC, 2016; Sulkowski, 2017), and more empirical research is urgently needed. Sociohistorical events such as elections may influence adolescents in particular, as adolescence is a time with substantial potential for growth in worldviews, identities, and societal engagement (e.g., Flanagan, 2013; Wray-Lake,

Syvertsen, & Flanagan, 2016). The current study examines a series of written, open-ended responses from a sample of 562 Latinx adolescents from Southern California, many of whom are first- or second-generation immigrants, to document their reactions to Trump's election that pertain to immigration. This work is critical to understanding how Latinx youth are experiencing the current sociohistorical moment and provides valuable policy and practice implications aimed at supporting, advocating for, and empowering Latinx youth.

1.1 Adolescents and the Current Political Context

Scholars across disciplines have long argued that adolescents are influenced by the social, political, and historical contexts in which they come of age (Davis, 2004; Mannheim, 1952; Putnam, 2000; Ryder, 1965; Schuman & Corning, 2011). A major developmental task of adolescence is exploring and developing worldviews, values, and identities; adolescents are actively questioning the world around them and grappling with who they are and want to be (Erikson, 1968; Flanagan, 2004). This phase of exploration and openness gives adolescents a “fresh take” on society, and thus, adolescents tend to experience current events differently than other age groups and often are shaped in more lasting ways by their sociohistorical contexts (Mannheim, 1952). Indeed, empirical evidence has shown that temporary shocks in history such as elections, wars, economic downturns, and social movements that are experienced during adolescence have long-term effects on attitudes, memories, and behaviors (e.g., Davis, 2004; McAdam, 1990; Schuman & Corning, 2011). Other research on adolescence has documented historical fluctuations in many constructs such as adolescents' social attitudes, civic engagement, mental health, and sleep, demonstrating that youth are shaped in various ways by their historical context (e.g., Keyes, Maslowsky, Hamilton, & Schulenberg, 2015; Syvertsen et al., 2011; Shuman & Corning, 2011; Twenge, 2000; Wray-Lake, Shubert, Keyes, & Schulenberg, 2017).

Trump's election as President of the United States may be a historical moment that has lasting impacts on today's youth. New presidential administrations promote policies, offer rhetoric, and lay out agendas for the future – all of which can influence adolescents' experiences of the world and impact their social and political attitudes, behaviors, and sense of identity. Thus, in today's current historical moment, a critical and timely question is: How are adolescents, particularly those from targeted backgrounds, experiencing the Trump era? Hearing Latinx youths' experiences and perspectives on this sociohistorical moment creates an unprecedented opportunity for scholars, policymakers, social workers, and educators to empower youth and support their thriving at this critical moment in American history (Richards-Schuster & Pritzker, 2015; Zeldin, Christens, & Powers, 2013).

The Trump era has ushered in a turbulent time in U.S. history: we have seen contentious political rhetoric in an already polarized environment, heightened threats to civil liberties of vulnerable groups, and contestation over objectivity of information and legitimacy of media and other institutions (Milhailidis & Viotty, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2017; Slate, 2017). In the months immediately following his inauguration, Trump began to outline and enact his plans to reduce immigration from Mexico and Latin America by creating a U.S.-Mexico border wall, dramatically increasing deportations, and reducing employment opportunities for immigrants (Trump, 2016). In January 2017, Trump enacted an executive order restricting travel to the U.S. from seven Middle Eastern countries (Trump, 2017a), which prompted confusion and threats to many individuals and protests in airports around the country (Blake, 2017). This order was challenged in court on grounds of unconstitutionality and was followed up with a revised executive order in September 2017 indefinitely banning travel from certain individuals from eight Middle Eastern and African nations (Trump, 2017b). Moreover, the status of many

undocumented youth has been in question due to the Trump administration's efforts to dismantle the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program (Sessions, 2017). Certain immigrant groups with temporary legal status may also feel increasing threat of deportation, for example, by decisions to terminate Temporary Protected Status designations for El Salvadorian individuals who have been residing in the U.S. for over two decades (Nielsen, 2018). Trump often pairs these anti-immigrant policies with anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican, and anti-Latinx rhetoric (e.g., Reilly, 2016), which adds a framing to his immigration views that may be especially marginalizing for Latinx individuals in the U.S. Thus, it is important to hear the perspectives of Latinx youth and document how they are reacting to this moment in history.

Several relevant findings have emerged pertaining to individuals' post-Trump election reactions. Journalists have documented a rise in protests and increased civic engagement among individuals who are resisting Trump's policies (e.g., Holland, 2017); similarly, a poll found that millennial Clinton voters reported more interest in civic engagement and willingness to resist the Trump administration after the election (CIRCLE, 2017). The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) conducted two convenience-sampling surveys of educators before ($N = 2,000$) and after ($N = 10,000$) the election; teachers, counselors, and administrators extensively described the fears and anxieties expressed by youth of color and the heightened visibility of bullying and discrimination in schools (Costello, 2016; SPLC, 2016). Rogers and colleagues (2017) echoed these findings with reports from teachers across the nation that schools have become more hostile environments for students of color since the election, and that some students of color were experiencing heightened socioemotional consequences. This report also documented teacher reports of increased student interest in national politics and political issues since the presidential election. Andrade (2017) interviewed a sample of undocumented (majority Latinx)

college students and reported that many expressed fear and terror; some were afraid of the political unknown and others expressed fear for themselves and their families. Some undocumented youth also noted that they turned to protests and demonstrations to cope with their fears. We expand this work by drawing on a much larger, younger, and heterogeneous Latinx youth sample to better understand the broader potential impact of Trump's election on these youth. Next, using social contract theory as a lens, we review research that sheds light on how feelings of exclusion and marginalization may impact Latinx youth.

1.2 Latinx Youth and the Social Contract

A social contract refers to a collective agreement between individuals and governing bodies in a society; to create a functioning society, individuals must give up certain freedoms in exchange for the government's protections of welfare and guarantee of liberties (Flanagan, 2013; Rousseau, 1968). The social contract is a useful concept for understanding how macro-level societal forces such as national values, policies, or discourses of presidential administrations trickle down to influence how individuals interpret the rules of the social order and engage in society on a daily basis. Indeed, the terms of the social contract often undergo revision by those in power as well as reexamination by citizens in times of political and social change (Flanagan, 2013). Unfortunately, scholars have long noted that those who make the rules of society are much more likely to reap the benefits of these rules (Flanagan, 2013).

Young people's interpretations of the social contract represent an important aspect of their social and political development (Flanagan, 2013). As youth integrate their views of government, policy, and society with their own experiences of inclusion or exclusion, they begin to form lay theories or belief systems about what opportunity structures are available to whom in society and whether all individuals equally benefit from government promises and policies

(Flanagan, 2013). Youth of color are less likely to feel that terms of America's social contract – such as equal opportunity and equal protections under the law – apply to themselves and their communities. For example, Wray-Lake et al. (2008) found that when Arab immigrant youth perceived Arabs as targets of discrimination in the U.S., they were more dubious that the tenets of the American social contract applied to them. Likewise, Latinx individuals have faced a long history of racial exclusion and discrimination in the U.S. (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002).

Today's political climate necessitates examining Latinx youth's views, given that through immigration policies and rhetoric, the Trump administration is narrowing the protections of the social contract for many immigrants of color. In asking youth to reflect on the 2016 presidential election, recognition of exclusionary policies and exclusionary or derogatory rhetoric would indicate perceived violations of the social contract between individuals and the government, particularly violating principles that the U.S. is a country of equality, fairness, and inclusion that is obligated to protect individuals against injustice and other harms.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that Latinx immigrant youth likely vary substantially in their perceptions of exclusion and societal beliefs. For example, research has found that first-generation immigrant youth are more likely to endorse ideas that American society is fair and just, whereas second-generation immigrant youth are more likely to question this tenet, perhaps due to greater time in the country and accumulation of experiences of exclusion (Bedolla, 2000; Perreira et al., 2016; Wray-Lake, Rote, Gupta, Godfrey, & Sirin, 2015). Also, research has documented significant heterogeneity in Latinx immigrant youth's views about immigration policies, such that some immigrant youth espouse inclusionary views about immigrants whereas others endorse beliefs and policies that would exclude some immigrants (Dabach, Fones, Merchant, & Kim, 2017).

1.3 Implications of Social Contract Violations for Latinx Youth

When youth perceive that their ethnic group is systematically denied rights and protections that society offers, various consequences are plausible. For example, perceived violations of the social contract may take a toll on Latinx youth's mental health and socioemotional development, lead to withdrawal or alienation from society, or, for some, lead to more civic engagement through questioning the system and demanding revisions to the social contract. We briefly examine each of these three possible implications of social contract violations and supporting literature on Latinx youth.

Research suggests that feelings of systemic marginalization or exclusion could negatively affect Latinx youth's mental health and socioemotional development. Accumulated exposure to discrimination contributes to higher levels of stress, which puts Latinx adolescents at increased risk for mental health difficulties such as lower self-esteem, more depressive symptoms, higher levels of stress, and increased substance use (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Hovey & King, 1996; Romero, Martinez, & Carvajal, 2007; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solorzano, 2009). Immigrant youth are also more vulnerable to being victimized by peers and report more socioemotional, health, substance abuse, and relational problems relative to native-born peers (Maynard, Vaughn, Salas-Wright, & Vaughn; 2016; Sulkowski, Bauman, Wright, Nixon, & Davis, 2014).

More specifically, studies have examined the socioemotional consequences of recent anti-immigration laws and deportation policies for Latinx youth, indicating youth's responses to perceived exclusion at the hands of government. Using a largely Latinx sample of adolescents, Santos and colleagues (2013) examined youth's awareness of SB 1070, an Arizona law that made it illegal for any non-citizen to be in Arizona without carrying proper documentation and required law enforcement to determine an individual's immigration status if there was

“reasonable suspicion” of illegal status (SB 1070, 2010). They found that youth’s knowledge of SB 1070 in Arizona was associated with increased self-reported ethnic discrimination from authorities, lower self-esteem, and higher risky behavior such as aggression, truancy, and school suspensions (Santos, Menjivar, & Godfrey, 2013; Santos & Menjivar, 2014). In addition, U.S. deportation policies and practices may be perceived by Latinx youth as violations of the social contract’s promises of protection and safety. U.S. deportation practices disproportionately target Latinx individuals and a substantial percentage of deported individuals (22%) are parents of U.S. born children, putting many Latinx youth at risk of being separated from their parents (Sulkowski, 2017). Studies show that undocumented youth or youth with undocumented parents may feel highly stigmatized, fearful about the future, and are at risk for higher internalizing symptoms including anxiety, depression, and feelings of hopelessness (Abrego, 2006; Dozier, 1993; Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013; Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011).

Second, Latinx youth’s perceived social contract violations may result in disconnection or alienation from civic life. Historically, vast racial/ethnic and class disparities in political participation and pervasive exclusion from politics has shaped the nature of civic engagement for minorities (Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 2012). As posited by social contract theory, marginalized youth report feeling alienated from social and political systems (Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Levinson, 2007) and are often more distrustful of the government and authority (Baldi et al., 2001; Niemi & Junn, 2005) relative to White youth. Thus for many, experiences of discrimination and exclusion can lead to lower conventional civic participation, lower civic beliefs, and less connectedness to the polity through civic identity (Ballard, 2015; Chan & Lutzman, 2015; Schildkraut, 2005; Wray-Lake et al., 2008). In addition, policies that threaten the status of immigrants may result in disconnection from school, health care, or other community

institutions (Abrego, 2006; 2011; Martinez et al., 2015; Santos et al., 2013). At the same time, youth from across ethnic backgrounds have been shown to distrust and criticize government and other authority structures, a reminder that exclusion is not the only reason for negative beliefs about government (e.g., Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Syvertsen et al., 2011).

Third, Latinx youth may react to perceived social contract violations by challenging political systems. To varying degrees, political theorists argue that individuals have rights to challenge an unjust political system that has violated social contract principles with its citizens (Habermas, 1985; Rawls, 1971). Likewise, research on critical consciousness has documented that greater awareness of social injustice may prompt some youth, particularly youth from marginalized groups to challenge the system through advocacy or activism (Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer & Rapa, 2016). Another study showed that perceived institutional discrimination due to race was related to higher civic engagement among Black youth (Hope & Jagers, 2014). Among Latinx adults, knowledge of racial inequalities has been associated with more pro-Latinx stances on policy issues including immigration and bilingual education and greater participation in Latinx-specific political actions, such as attending demonstrations relevant to Latinx issues (Sanchez, 2006a, 2006b). Thus, youth who recognize their ethnic group's marginalization may develop a sense of collective agency and become more motivated to advocate for their ethnic group (Flanagan et al., 2009; Kirshner, 2009).

1.3 Current Study

In this salient political moment, few studies have had the timely opportunity to investigate how youth are responding to the changes wrought by the recent presidential election and transfer of power. The current study analyzed written responses of 562 Latinx youth in Southern California, who attend schools with predominantly Latinx students. Latinx individuals

are certainly not a monolithic group: they originate from many countries and have diverse cultural experiences, backgrounds, and political views, including wide-ranging views on immigration (Dabach et al., 2017). We thus expected that Latinx adolescents would express a variety of viewpoints about Trump. Our study's primary aim was to document Latinx youth's reactions related to the politics of immigration, given social contract theory and research pointing to the potential effects of marginalization and exclusion on the well-being and societal contributions of youth of color. By capturing the voices of Latinx youth, findings can inform a wide range of stakeholders who value youth's perspectives and want to support their thriving during a critical sociopolitical moment.

2 Method

2.1 Research Design and Sample

This study used open-ended responses provided by 562 Latinx students (age range 14-19; $M_{\text{age}} = 15.97$; 62% female) collected from seven high schools in one metropolitan school district in Southern California between February and May 2017, with most responses gathered in February and March. Thus, responses were collected shortly after President Donald Trump's inauguration and capture early reactions to Trump's presidency. Students were surveyed as part of a multisite longitudinal survey focused on the development of civic engagement, and we focused on Latinx students in California given study aims. Participants were originally recruited through classrooms that were selected in partnership with school staff to achieve a fairly representative sample of the student population in each school. Data for the current study come from Wave 4, in which youth who were surveyed in previous waves were recruited to participate (retention rate = 70%). In 2016-2017, 86% of students enrolled in the participating school district were Latinx, 84% of students qualified for free and reduced meals, and 29% were English

language learners (EdData, 2017). These schools are located in an urban city as classified by the 2010 Census based on a city population of over 150,000 and a population per square mile of nearly 6,500 (United States Census Bureau, 2018).

The full California sample included 694 high school participants. Eighty percent self-identified as Latinx and were selected as the subsample for this paper ($n = 562$). Table 1 describes the sample demographics. Only 10% of the sample was born outside of the U.S., but 77% of respondents reported having one or more foreign-born parent. While youth all identified as Latinx, some youth ($n = 64$; 11% of Latino sample) also identified with other race/ethnicities: 36 students identified as White while others identified as Asian ($n = 11$); African American ($n = 17$); Pacific Islander ($n = 4$); Native American ($n = 19$); or another race ($n = 9$). Adolescents reported parent education using a 3-point scale (1= *High school or less*; 2= *Some college*; 3= *College or more*); youth reports of mother and father education were averaged and the sample mean ($M = 1.48$) was between high school and some college. Family financial security was assessed via youth's selection of one of the following: (1) "We have a hard time buying the things we need," (2) "We have just enough money for the things we need," (3) "We have no problem buying the things we need, and we can also sometimes buy special things," or (4) "We have enough money to buy almost anything we want." The sample average ($M = 2.32$) was closest to having just enough money to meet needs. Family political orientation was measured from *very conservative* (1) to *very liberal* (5); the sample was normally distributed and the average ($M = 2.94$) was close to "evenly conservative and liberal."

Participants first completed a survey lasting 30 – 50 minutes that asked about their civic engagement and relevant family, neighborhood, and school factors. At the end of the survey, participants were presented with a set of open-ended questions about their reactions to the

election, reasons for these reactions, and any changes to their attitudes and behaviors.

Participants completed their responses on a tablet or a desktop computer during school time, and began with these instructions: "Donald Trump was elected President of the United States. We would like to know what you think about this. Please take at least 5 minutes to respond to the questions below. Your views are important." Then, participants were asked two open-ended items: (a) "Describe your feelings about Donald Trump being President. Be as specific as you can. Positive and negative views are equally valued." (b) "What is it about Trump being elected President that made you feel this way?" Participants were then asked if they had changed any attitudes or behaviors as a result of Trump being elected (yes/no). If participants answered *yes*, they were then presented with this item: "Describe any changes in your attitudes and/or behaviors that resulted from Trump being elected President." The researchers intentionally wrote these items to broadly capture any reaction that youth wanted to share. In reported quotations, we fixed capitalization, spelling errors, and punctuation solely to help with readability as most were likely typing errors. Our edits did not change the meaning of responses. Procedures were in compliance with the Institutional Review Boards from the authors' universities.

2.2 Data Analysis

Research team members inductively developed a coding scheme by examining a random selection of responses, generating a list codes from the data, and combining them into a coding scheme. The coding scheme was refined through an iterative process of four rounds where research team members coded a random selection of responses, discussed coder discrepancies and reached agreement, and refined the scope of codes and added new codes as needed. We calculated Cohen's kappa for each major code across each pair of coders. Focusing on the coding categories used for the current analysis, the average kappa ranged from .75 to .90 across the 10

pairs of coders. Many consider .60 and above to indicate good agreement (Cicchetti, 1994; de Vries, Elliott, Kanouse, & Teleki, 2008). After achieving reliability, codes were applied to all responses using Dedoose software. Identities of research team members shape how we interpret data (Charmaz, 2014). All authors (5 females, 1 male) engaged in data coding and interpretation: four team members identified as White, and two as Latina. None of the researchers voted for Trump. Our positionalities could shape data interpretation, and we took steps to incorporate multiple perspectives and interpretations into analysis to minimize potential bias: we used memos to document reactions, frequently discussed coding decisions and themes, and involved all members in coding and analysis. We calculated reliability among each pair of coders to ensure that each researcher was reliable with every other researcher. We looked for counterfactuals (perspectives contradicting identified themes) to ensure we were representing youth's diverse views on the subject. The research team kept a clear audit trail of findings as part of transparency (Tracy, 2010).

Our analyses focused on a subset of responses related to immigration, which emerged unprompted as a salient content area for analysis. We selected the 224 Latinx youth responses that referred to immigration for in-depth analysis. After analyzing the demographics of participants who mentioned immigration compared to the rest of the sample, we examined basic code frequencies as a first step in identifying salient topics. Then, we engaged in interpretive analysis of all immigration-related responses provided by our Latinx subsample to identify themes and patterns. We also examined code co-occurrences between immigration and other salient codes (e.g., negatively valenced emotions, racism), and a second round of analysis identified themes in these responses. Additional processing was done to integrate themes across codes into a more holistic set of themes. As themes became solidified, we identified a range of

responses within themes and compared and contrasted between themes. Finally, we briefly summarized the range of other responses that did not mention immigration.

3 Results

3.1 Overview of Immigration Themes

Overall, 224 youth wrote about an immigration-related topic in the open-ended responses, representing 40% of the Latinx responses. We examined sociodemographic differences between Latinx youth who wrote about immigration-related concerns and Latinx youth who did not using independent samples *t*-tests (see Table 1). Those who discussed immigration were more likely to be female and first-generation immigrants compared to those not mentioning immigration. Latinx youth with immigration-related responses reported lower parental education than other Latinx youth. There were no significant differences between those who discussed immigration versus those that did not by age, being a second-generation immigrant, family financial security, or political orientation.

Table 1. *Sample Descriptives for Full Sample and Subsample Comparisons*

		Full Latinx Sample	Immigration Response	No Immigration Response	<i>t</i>-test
		<i>N</i> = 562	<i>n</i> = 224	<i>n</i> = 338	
Age	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	15.97(1.20)	15.88(1.06)	16.03(1.28)	1.40
Age 14	Freq	50	19	31	
Age 15	Freq	150	67	83	
Age 16	Freq	172	74	98	
Age 17	Freq	137	48	89	
Age 18	Freq	51	16	35	
Age 19	Freq	2	0	2	
Female	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	.62	.73	.54	-4.58***
	Freq	346	163	183	
First-generation	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	.10	.15	.07	-3.42**
	Freq	56	34	22	
Second-generation	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	.77	.78	.76	-.67
	Freq	425	171	254	
Missing	Freq	9	3	6	

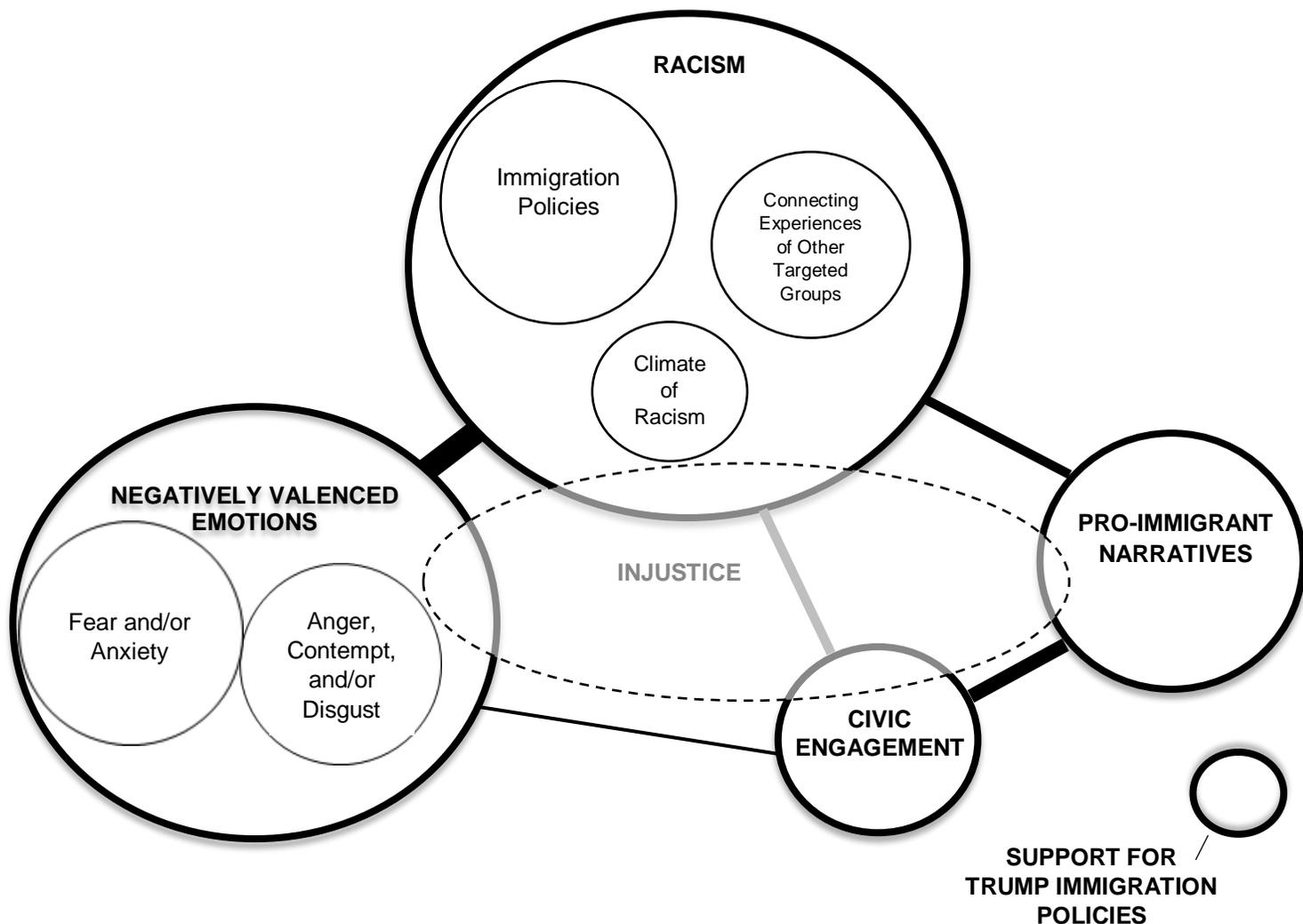
Parent education ^a	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	1.48 (.64)	1.35 (.58)	1.50 (.64)	2.48*
HS or less (1)	Freq	289	123	166	
(1.5)	Freq	69	25	44	
Some college (2)	Freq	84	28	56	
(2.5)	Freq	24	7	17	
College degree (3)	Freq	33	10	23	
Missing	Freq	63	31		
Financial security	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	2.32 (.74)	2.30 (.75)	2.33(.73)	.54
Hard time meeting needs	Freq	71	33	38	
Just enough for needs	Freq	254	98	156	
No problem meeting needs	Freq	211	86	125	
Enough for any wants	Freq	19	7	12	
Missing	Freq	7	0	7	
Political orientation ^b	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	2.94 (.97)	2.83 (.91)	3.02(1.04)	1.82 ⁺
Very conservative	Freq	34	19	15	
Mostly conservative	Freq	53	23	30	
Evenly cons and liberal	Freq	188	71	117	
Mostly liberal	Freq	59	19	40	
Very liberal	Freq	21	9	12	
Missing	Freq	207	83	124	

Note. Immigration Response = Youth who provided an open-ended response on the theme of immigration. No Immigration Response = Youth who did not include immigration in their response. Proportions are reported for dichotomous variables. Means and standard deviations are reported and *t*-tests compare immigration to no immigration. ^aCategories include decimal values because youth report of mother and father education was averaged. ^bThere were higher numbers of missing values for political orientation because “don’t know” was recoded as missing. ⁺*p* < .10, **p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .001.

Responses related to immigration varied in length and detail, ranging from 7 to 360 words. Of the 224 immigration-related responses, the overwhelming majority ($n = 214$, 96%) were critical of Trump’s positions related to immigration; 6 (3%) were critical and also had an element of support for Trump’s immigrant policy; and 4 (2%) expressed support. The following five themes were particularly salient in immigration-related responses: feeling afraid and/or anxious; expressing anger, contempt, and/or disgust; recognizing and experiencing racism; offering pro-immigrant narratives to challenge anti-immigrant stereotypes; and increasing civic engagement (see Figure 1). Although mentioned by only 10 Latinx youth, we also reviewed a sixth theme involving support for Trump’s immigration views. In our analysis, we noted ways that themes interrelate and identified the cross-cutting theme of injustice. In reporting theme

frequencies, none of the themes were mutually exclusive, meaning that themes could overlap and thus percentages within a category (e.g., negatively valenced emotions) do not add up to 100%.

Figure 1. A Concept Map of Major Themes and Sub-themes in Latinx Youth's Election Responses Pertaining to Immigration



Note. The circle size of each major theme roughly corresponds to its frequency in responses. The proximity of each theme to other themes and the thickness of the lines correspond to how interconnected the themes were in the data. Dotted lines illustrate connection to the cross-cutting theme of injustice.

3.2 Negatively Valenced Emotions

Of Latinx youth with immigration-related responses, 47% expressed a negatively valenced emotion. Fear and anxiety were very salient among these, representing 52% of all negatively valenced emotions reported in relation to immigration. Some youth mentioned fear

and worry in general, while many others reported personal fears of deportation for oneself or immediate family members. For example, a 16 year-old Latina shared this: "As an immigrant, it's living in fear everyday...of not seeing your parents come home one night after work." Another 16 year-old Latina similarly reported anxiety over her family's potential deportation: "I am nervous for my family who don't have papers and the fact that they might get deported and I might not see them again." Indeed, many youth who expressed fear or anxiety felt like their parents were targets of Trump's rhetoric and policies, such as this 15 year-old Latina:

I am very scared [Donald Trump] will harm my family. My parents are not from this country but they do the best they can to be here with us and have us live the American dream. My father is not a rapist nor a criminal. He is the most hardworking man I know and Donald Trump is totally being selfish. He should try to pay attention to our families more. He doesn't care if he splits up a family with many children who only have their parents to depend on.

Other youth reported fear of being deported and sent to a country that is unfamiliar or where youth feel like they do not belong, such as the 14 year-old Latina who said, "I for one would not like to live in Mexico with my family over there because of our differences. I would just [be] the outsider and the 'white' girl."

Relatedly, some Latinx youth described how increased fear and anxiety have changed the way they behave, becoming more cautious and hyper-aware of their behavior in order to avoid authorities or those who might perceive them as undocumented. As one 15 year-old Latina described: "I'm careful of where I go and who I talk to;" a sentiment that is representative of how youth's fears of deportation manifest in their daily lives. Another 15 year-old Latina described fear of Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) along with a more generalized fear, saying how she often thinks about "how people from different races think of me... I have also become scared of cars that slowly roll by from where I live or cars going slowly wherever I'm at because I think it may be the immigration police." She went on to say she expected this

fear to only get worse: “at some point I just won’t be able to step outside of my house [because] of how bad my fears have gotten.”

Indeed, heightened fear and anxiety has led some Latinx adolescents to think differently about their futures. One 18 year-old Latino discussed preparing for increased responsibilities in case his parents were deported: “I fear for my own education since if [my parents] left then I would have to drop out of high school and start working full-time in order to financially support my twelve year old sister as well as myself.” A few others mentioned fear of deportation affecting their education and job prospects, such as this 17 year-old Latina who wrote, “If I ever leave the U.S., I will not be able to continue my education and my life would be a mess. Not that I don't like Mexico, but I’ve heard that there are almost no jobs available over there.” Other Latinx youth similarly mentioned negative impacts of the anti-immigration climate on their education. One 16 year-old Latina stated, “I am not as happy. I live in fear. [My fears] don’t let me concentrate in school. I’m always thinking if my parents are still with me if they haven’t been deported.” These examples highlight ways that fear and anxiety have been permeating some youth’s daily lives and how they think about the future. In describing their fears and impacts of the current climate on well-being, these Latinx youth are perceiving a social contract violation, that the government may be compromising the safety and well-being of some of its residents.

Anger, contempt, and disgust were also salient emotions expressed by Latinx youth when discussing Trump’s immigration politics; together these three emotions represented 50% of negatively valenced emotions about Trump’s immigration politics. Anger, contempt, and disgust were originally coded and analyzed separately, but were combined into a single theme because they conveyed a similar reaction to perceived social contract violations of fairness and equality, and thus were unified as negative emotional reactions to injustice. In addition, combining our

presentation of anger, contempt, and disgust is compatible with research on these three emotions as “other-condemning” moral emotions that are often evoked by violations of moral norms (Dastani & Pankov, 2017; Haidt, 2003).

Anger was invoked most often due to Trump’s deportation promises, as youth felt that it was unfair for Trump to attempt to remove a group of people and that his reasons for doing so were unjustified. As one 15 year-old Latina put it:

My feelings towards Donald Trump are of anger and despise. I have anger towards Donald Trump because he wants to deport all immigrants even though they are the ones who work the hardest...Instead of focusing on the major issues we have, he is trying to make stupid decisions by trying to make a wall and creating a Muslim ban even though the constitution states, ‘We the people of the United States:’ not Americans, but people.

This participant articulated the view that Trump’s targeting of immigrants as well as the travel ban were unconstitutional, thus suggesting a violation of a valued aspect of the U.S.’s social contract with its people. This youth’s last statement further conveys the notion that all people in the U.S. should receive the protections guaranteed by the constitution. Feeling that one’s ethnic group has been marginalized by Trump’s policies and rhetoric seemed to fuel youth’s feelings of anger and hurt. For example, a 17 year-old Latina participant stated, “I feel mad because he is trying to deport all my people. It’s not fair, people come to the U.S. for a better life and for him to stomp on them is just unfair to me.” Another youth, a 15 year-old Latina, was angered by the reduced meaning of her race in society: “I am angry and very discouraged to attend school. I feel like our race is meaningless and our mark on the United States will slowly fade away.” Some youth expressed feeling hurt due to the unjust nature of the President's policies to deport individuals and, consequently, separate families. A 17 year-old Latina put it this way: “...I myself am an immigrant and this all hurts me and affects me, I've been here all my life going to school for what? So I can be deported for no reason?” As indicated by the rhetorical questions

raised in her commentary, this young person - who was not alone in feeling this way - was clearly upset by the immigration policy that she perceives aims to undermine her hard work and conflict with her interpretation of the social contract.

Other youth reported disgust for Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric. As a 14 year-old Latina described, "My feeling towards Donald Trump is one of the worst. I disagree on his disgusting saying about my family's race and all other races...I am super disappointed in the United States choosing the most disgusting horrible man in the whole world." Similarly, a 17 year-old Latina reflected: "I am disgusted that our nation voted for someone as disrespectful, racist, and heartless as him. The way he treats and talks about minorities and women is horrifying". Similar to feelings of anger and contempt, strong feelings of disgust seemed to be driven by a sense of injustice that Latinx individuals are targets of the President's policies and public discrimination.

3.3 Recognizing and Experiencing Racism

Slightly more than half of the immigration responses (53%) included racism-focused commentary. When youth described Trump as racist (e.g., "too racist to be President") in the context of immigration, youth discussed Trump's immigration policies as well as a broader climate of anti-immigrant sentiment. Many Latinx youth viewed and labeled several immigration policies as explicitly racist, including deportation efforts, Trump's executive order banning travel to the U.S. from select Middle Eastern countries, and the proposed U.S.-Mexico border wall as explicitly racist. For example, a 16 year-old Latina commented:

I think Donald Trump is very unfit to be our president. He is sexist and racist and is building a wall to keep my kind out. On top of that, he is asking us to PAY for the wall. He is separating families and doing much worse. He does not belong in the presidential office. He is biased and prejudiced. Presidents should be decent people.

This youth's response also illustrates a related view youth expressed that racism makes a person unfit for presidential office. As with this youth who felt that Trump wants to keep "her kind" out, some youth perceived as a commonality among immigration policies that immigrants were not wanted in the U.S. These feelings of exclusion reflect a recognition of policies that conflict with U.S. principles of inclusion and appreciation of diversity. Latinx youth most often applied this perception of exclusion to their own cultural group. As one Latino youth stated, "he is racist and wants all Mexicans out."

Although a less frequent theme, some Latinx youth expressed broader concerns about how Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric divides the country and emboldens racism from the general public. One 17 year-old Latina said, "I am very upset about Trump becoming president. I feel scared. He has made so many threats about immigrants and he is just really racist. I have heard students tell one another 'Trump is going to send you back.'" This quote echoes the fear and anxiety due to feeling threatened that was evident in the first theme, and many such responses had the added layer of viewing racism as a causal factor. Some youth integrated views about Trump's racist policies and rhetoric with concerns of growing societal racism, such as this 15 year-old Latina:

I hate Donald Trump and he does not deserve to be president. He will make no change in our community except make others hate each other because of the color on our skin. It's like he's giving white people the privilege to do whatever they want even if it's a criminal action. It's like only white people's lives matter. He wants to separate families that aren't from the United States even if they have a green card....He underestimates us Hispanics and accused us of being drug dealers.

Latinx youth perceived racism on collective and personal levels. The quote below from a 15 year-old Latina again demonstrates how themes were often layered within a single response: She expressed feeling fear as well as contempt, noting that she no longer feels safe in White spaces:

I personally despise Donald Trump. He has no respect for women or people of color. His supporters are also like this. I feel extremely uncomfortable when I am in a room with white people. Not because I'm racist, but because most Trump supporters are white and I feel so much tension. I am also much more terrified about my future since my parents are illegal immigrants. This is constantly in the back of my mind. I hate going out in public with my mom since she mainly speaks Spanish and I can feel the people around us judging. My dad owns his own business, but he is constantly getting crap for being an immigrant. All in all, I no longer feel safe.

With mentions of an increasing climate of racism and discrimination in society, these Latinx are feeling targeted, stereotyped, and marginalized in their everyday environments. Again, these voices recognize that the social contract – and particularly the governmental promise of protecting the safety of residents – is being violated.

As is evident from the emotion-related themes, youth perceived Trump's immigration platform - and particularly his deportation policies - as a personal threat to many youth and their families. The same negatively valenced emotions seemed to run especially high among youth who identified Trump's policies and rhetoric as racist, underscoring how threatened and outraged some Latinx youth feel in the Trump era climate. For example, one 14 year-old Latino's reaction exemplified the outrage of some Latinx youth in our sample: "I have to hate a man who hates my race." A 16 year-old Latina youth similarly asserted that Trump is "...not my president – he is racist and doesn't respect other groups. Threatening the rights of many [and] trying to turn America white again." As the latter quote illustrates, disrespect was also a salient feeling resulting from perception of Trump's policies and rhetoric as racist. Thus, as Figure 1 illustrates, themes pertaining to negatively valenced emotions closely intersected with the theme of racism.

It was fairly common for Latinx youth to recognize a connection between racism toward their racial/ethnic group and discrimination toward other targeted groups. For example, some pointed out that Muslim individuals were being targeted to highlight how they saw racism playing out through immigration policy, such as the travel ban. Other youth connected racism

that targets immigrants with examples of broader discrimination towards other minority groups. A response offered by a 17 year-old Latina represented the voices of multiple youth who described a broader collective of minorities that faced discrimination: "I think [Trump's election] is a slap in the face to us Mexican Americans, Muslims, African Americans, or any other group that has been discriminated." Other comments suggested some felt discriminated against due to multiple intersecting identities. Ethnicity and gender was a particularly salient combination in perceptions of discrimination: One 17 year-old Latina referred to "a president that does not respect me as I am - a Mexican woman - and my heritage," and another highlighted similar concerns: "Due to my background, even though I was born here, makes me nervous of what is to come to my people... As a female I feel like he has no respect towards us." Thus, in discussing racism and immigration, youth shared reactions pertaining to their race/ethnicity and other identities, with many recognizing a larger climate of discrimination.

3.4 Offering Pro-Immigrant Narratives

Another prominent theme in Latinx youth's reactions to the election and presidency of Donald Trump was combating immigrant and racial/ethnic group stereotypes through offering positive narratives about immigrants, representing 21% of immigration-related responses. Latinx youth appeared eager to reclaim their community's collective identity by highlighting ways in which immigrants have contributed to American society. For instance, a 15 year-old Latina youth shared this opinion: "Donald Trump will not make a good president because he is trying to deport the most hard-working people of this nation, even though immigrants are what built this nation." Some youth highlighted the rights of immigrants to be in the U.S., given that this is a country of immigrants: for example, a 15 year-old Latina commented: "Everybody has the right to be in the United States no matter what color of skin they are or where they came from." Others

mentioned contribution of labor and a strong work ethic they see in themselves, parents, and community that contributes to the economic wealth of the United States. A 17 year-old Latina wrote:

He thinks ALL Mexicans are here to take jobs but really we're the ones always trying to find a way to make money whether it's selling corn on the streets, selling roses on the side of exits, cleaning houses, working on construction to MAKE the houses which people live in. We always find a way to hustle for what we need instead of asking for a handout, in my city most of the time it's the WHITE people asking for money on the streets. I rarely see a Mexican asking for money. I say this because I witness and live the struggle people go through just to find ends meet.

As evident from the latter two quotes, a number of youth touched on the theme of racism in countering immigrant stereotypes. Another way Latinx youth defended the value of immigrants for society was to point out that immigrants take on needed roles, and particularly unwanted jobs that U.S. citizens do not want to do; as a 17 year-old Latina shared: “It angers me that he says Mexicans are rapists. Mexicans work hard and come to this country to live a better life and so their children can have in future. He can't say Mexicans take our jobs, no, Mexicans do all the jobs nobody wants to do.” Similarly, another 15 year-old Latina offered, “Mexicans and other people are the ones that are in the field in the sun all day to get the food we have on our table. I don't think that the white people will go in the field and do the jobs that Mexicans do.” These examples also illustrate that at times, youth countered anti-immigrant stereotypes by invoking positive stereotypes about their group (e.g., immigrants are hard-working) as well as negative stereotypes about other groups (e.g., poor Whites beg for money).

Some youth used personal narratives to combat anti-immigrant stereotypes and advocate for their rightful place in the U.S. A 16 year-old Latina: “My mother is an immigrant. She's been in the U.S for more than 20 years now. She's one of the most hard-working humans I have ever met. She deserves more and better for everything she has done for our family and the

community.” For several youth, pro-immigrant narratives went hand in hand with greater motivation to stand up for others and become more politically engaged. For example, the same 16-year old quoted above with a personal narrative about her hard-working immigrant mother continued on to say, “I have been stronger and I like to defend people more than usual.”

Similarly, a 16 year-old Latina discussed how “this country was built upon colonists, immigrants, and refugees....and people who want a better life just like our ancestors wanted” and went on to say “I have become much more involved in politics and social issues.”

3.5 Increasing Civic Engagement

For some youth (10% of the immigration-related responses), immigration politics sparked more civic engagement since the 2016 election. Some youth described a greater likelihood of participating in civic activities, such as voting and voter registration, political rallies and protests, community gatherings, and paying more attention to local elections. Latinx youth also described paying greater attention to the news, suggesting that the election may have heightened interest in politics and current events. As one 17 year-old Latina put it: “I have become more attentive to what is going on in our government.” In addition to these specific activities, others described making greater efforts to take a stand on key issues. As a 17 year-old Latina commented, “I have become much more aware of politics ever since the first presidential debate...I am more active on standing up for my beliefs” and a 17 year-old Latino shared: “I am more involved in politics when people talk about their standpoints on current issues and I started to stand up for people who do not have a voice.” Some youth clearly felt compelled to act, as a Latino 17 year-old stated, “I believe everyone has their own opinion but because what I believe I'm witnessing is wrong...I must take a stand.”

Perceived affronts to themselves and their families played a role in motivating many youth to become more civically engaged, such as the 16 year-old Latino youth who planned to “stand up for [his] family and [his] culture” and the 18 year-old Latina youth who responded, “I have to prepare myself and fight through the injustice I'm facing along with many others.” When Latinx youth discussed fighting for injustice, they most often used the frame of standing up on behalf of themselves, their family, and their community. Some responses illustrated interrelations between civic engagement and other themes, as greater motivation to stand up for one's community or become more engaged tended to coincide with awareness of the injustices of racism and negative stereotypes directed towards them and their community. These patterns correspond with Rawls' (1971) views of the social contract, that when citizens perceive that the government has defaulted on the social contract, they have both rights and obligations to offer criticisms and work to change the political and social order.

Across the responses fitting within the theme of increased civic engagement was a sense of hopefulness, yet there were also youth who reported feeling low efficacy. One 18 year-old Latina had a hopeful vision for her future and the nation's, writing, “I'll be attending a four year [college] and do what I can to make a difference. We have a voice and I have much hope for our nation.” In contrast, a 15 year-old Latina described feelings of low efficacy even as she was becoming engaged in protest activities: “I feel so small and useless compared to [Donald Trump] ... I feel like I can't make a difference. I am still standing up for what I believe in, but it's no use.” Thus, among Latinx youth who discussed greater civic engagement, some were hopeful for change, whereas others described feeling defeated.

3.6 Cross-Cutting Theme of Injustice

Across the themes we have described, we identified a cross-cutting theme pertaining to youth's sense of injustice. This broad recognition of injustice was at the core of youth's responses across themes, indicating that the various negative reactions to Trump's immigration policies and rhetoric seem to stem from a fundamental recognition that tenets of the social contract – that the government should treat people fairly and equally regardless of background – are not being upheld. Latinx youth often expressed injustice in tandem with anger, contempt, and disgust – signaling outrage at the ways that immigrants are treated through policies and rhetoric. Youth explicitly or implicitly tied injustice to racism in Trump's immigration politics, viewing racism as inherently unjust towards its targets. Injustice was a factor that motivated youth to articulate pro-immigrant narratives to counter anti-immigrant stereotypes and speak out about their views on immigration. Thus, injustice was one common thread connecting negatively valenced emotions, recognition of racism, pro-immigrant narratives, and increased civic engagement (see Figure 1). Injustice was not always explicitly mentioned by all youth across themes, it appeared to be a salient underlying feature of how youth were experiencing Trump's immigration politics.

3.7 Support for Trump Immigration Policies

A small number of Latinx youth expressed agreement with Trump's immigration views ($n = 10$; 4% of immigration-related responses). One half of these respondents agreed that immigrants with criminal records should be deported back to their home countries. For example, a 15 year-old Latina said, "I think [Donald Trump is] doing the right thing. He said he's gonna take illegal immigrants out who have bad records. If you don't have a bad record, well there's nothing you should be worrying about." Others stated that hard-working immigrants should stay and those with criminal backgrounds should be deported. In some instances, these youth reported

agreeing with certain negative stereotypes about immigrants, yet excluding themselves and their families from these negative stereotypes. For example, one 15 year-old Latina's views became more positive towards Trump's immigration policies after her own family became safe, saying: "At first it made [me] feel like mad. He was saying all these lies about immigrants especially about the Mexicans. But I started realizing some of these may be true. I have parents who were undocumented but... now they have papers. They are not criminals they are very hard working. I feel now that [Trump] has the right to do what he wants now that he's president." Three responses noted their agreement with border protection, arguing that undocumented immigrants should be kept out and the border should be protected, while accepting immigrants who entered legally or "the right way". Whereas positive reactions to Trump's immigration views were in the minority, it is important to recognize diversity in youth's perspectives on the issue.

3.8 Additional Variation in Youth's Views

Results also illustrated that youth can hold opposing views simultaneously and take into account multiple aspects of Trump's presidency. For example, 14% of immigration-related responses ($n = 30$) were positive about some aspects of Trump despite negative views of his immigration rhetoric and policies. For example, a 15 year-old Latina's response captured a sentiment of ambivalence: "The way I feel about Donald Trump becoming president is hopeful. I hope he completes everything he has been saying to make America great again. The only thing that bothers me is about him wanting to build a wall and send people back."

Our research aim focused on youth's reactions to immigration policy and rhetoric, but other issues and opinions were on the minds of Latinx youth. Approximately 60% ($n = 338$) of the Latinx sample did not mention immigration in their responses, and these youth's responses reflected a range of themes. Of these 338 responses, many (52%) felt that Trump and his

administration promoted discrimination in some form, mostly due to race/ethnicity, with similar themes as described above. A large proportion of youth (49%) commented negatively on Trump's personal qualities, leadership, and decision-making style (e.g., immature, impulsive, inexperienced, selfish). Others (12%) reported negative reactions related to policy issues other than immigration, such as economy, environment, women's issues, and foreign policy. Some youth provided negative views of Trump without elaboration (25%). A substantial minority of Latinx youth not mentioning immigration gave a pro-Trump response (15%), with about half of these expressing an ambivalent or mixed view that expressed both positive and negative views of Trump. Finally, a proportion of non-immigration related reactions (21%) provided an apathetic view or simply stated no opinion.

4 Discussion

In this study, many Latinx youth expressed a range of negative reactions to Trump's immigration platform. This finding is noteworthy, given that our survey did not explicitly pull for negative reactions to Trump or solicit comments about immigration: Youth's reactions were unprompted and naturally occurring. Aligning with social contract theory (Flanagan, 2013; Rawls, 1971; Rousseau, 1968), many Latinx youth we surveyed perceived violations of social contract tenets of fairness, equality, and protection in Trump's immigration policies and rhetoric, and they responded with expressions of negative emotions (fear, anxiety, anger, contempt, and disgust), feelings of exclusion due to racism, pro-immigrant narratives, and increased civic engagement. These findings offer insight into Latinx youth's experiences of marginalization and developing worldviews in today's political context. Findings suggest an urgent need for adults in youth-serving settings to pay attention to Latinx youth's experiences and views and support them during this critical sociohistorical moment.

4.1 Experiences of Marginalization

Youth in our study expressed palpable fear and anxiety concerning Trump's immigration platform, and these emotions were often tethered to a perceived lack of safety in the current immigration climate. Latinx youth's fears and anxieties were often rooted in deeply personal concerns about their own or family members' deportation and manifested in hyper-vigilant behavior such as avoiding public spaces, being afraid to go outside, or refraining from speaking their native language in public. These responses conveyed a need to literally hide as well as conceal one's identity based on threats from authorities or the public, who are vilifying immigrants even if they are documented. The barriers undocumented immigrant youth and families face in accessing financial, educational, and health services have been well researched (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Santos et al., 2013; Toomey et al., 2014; Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011), and our findings more broadly suggest that documented and undocumented Latinx youth and their families may be facing heightened barriers to full inclusion in society. Other youth expressed more generalized fear and anxiety due to Trump's immigration policies and rhetoric, reactions that speak to a pervasive sense of marginalization present among Latinx youth. Immigration-related stressors, and the fear and anxiety they produce, can have serious negative consequences for mental, physical, and social health (Gonzales et al., 2013).

Moreover, Latinx youth sensed basic social contract violations in suggesting that Trump's America is failing to provide basic safety protections for the Latinx community and in noting injustices in immigration policies and rhetoric. These feelings reflect recognition that opportunities and rights are not distributed equally in society and can translate into a broader sense of exclusion and collective discrimination, especially when experienced on a deeply personal level (Flanagan & Campbell, 2003; Wray-Lake et al., 2008). The multiple negative

stereotypes against Latinx individuals and immigrants noted by these youth (e.g., Mexicans are drug dealers or criminals) are also indicative of the collective discrimination they perceive. Anger, disgust, and contempt were often paired with responses about injustices in Trump's immigration platform: these feelings are termed "other-condemning" moral emotions because they are evoked by violations of moral norms and express concerns for the welfare of others and society (Dastani & Pankov, 2017; Haidt, 2003). Individuals cope with injustice and corresponding moral emotions in both maladaptive and adaptive ways (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011). Discrimination and collective exclusion have deleterious consequences for the health and well-being of youth of color (Hovey & King, 1996; Romero & Roberts, 2003) and for one's identity as an American and feelings of belonging (Gonzales et al., 2013; Wray-Lake et al., 2008). On the other hand, anger and a sense of injustice can motivate prosocial behavior such as civic action, collective resistance, and organizing (Groenendyk, 2011; Haidt, 2003; Oosterhoff, Kaplow, Layne, & Pynoos, 2018; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

4.2 Youth's Developing Worldviews

These Latinx youth's responses are a window into youth's developing worldviews and relationship with the policy. First, at the broadest level, our work shows that youth are actively paying attention to the news, as they could cite specific policies and speeches and articulate complex policy views. These youth were clearly developing views that were articulate, passionate, and multifaceted. This finding stands in contrast to some stereotypes of youth as uninterested in or uninformed about politics (Twenge, 2015), and may suggest that the 2016 election triggered more political interest, an idea to further test with longer-term historical data. Second, a small subset of Latinx youth reported becoming more civically engaged in response to Trump's presidency, taking action to stand up for injustices that they and others are

experiencing. A post-election increase in civic engagement has been documented in initial studies (Andrade, 2017; CIRCLE, 2017). Whereas it is possible that taking a survey on civic engagement could have primed the theme of civic engagement in these responses, this alternative is unlikely given the low frequency of the increased civic engagement theme. Third, adolescents are actively considering their place in the world, and youth who generated a positive immigrant narrative around hard work and contribution to combat the dominant negative stereotypes evidenced a developing political worldview. Resisting negative stereotypes can be a healthy source of identity development among marginalized youth (e.g., Abrams, 2003a, b). However, we also recognize that some youth countered negative stereotypes with both positive stereotypes about their own group as well as negative stereotypes of other groups. Some have suggested that stereotypes that seem neutral or positive on the surface can reinforce other negative stereotypes and prejudices about one's own or other groups (Swanson et al., 2003). Immigration is a contentious political issue, as well as a deeply personal one for many of the youth in our sample. Contentious debates with multiple perspectives can present an ideal context for youth to develop political views and seize opportunities for political action (Hess, 2009).

Many youth articulated personal experiences, often accompanied by strong emotions, in making sense of the current political context. When youth recognize that their experiences of marginalization are due to membership in a particular group, the personal becomes political (Flanagan & Galloway, 1995). Activists and feminist scholars have long understood the power of merging the personal and political to effect social change (Hanisch, 1969). Emotional responses and growing awareness of collective discrimination are important steps in youth's sociopolitical development that can lead to critical consciousness and spur ethnic identity development - two processes that can help youth cope with experiences of marginalization (Diemer & Li, 2011;

Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Although a very small proportion of sample, a few notable responses expressed deep awareness of injustice around immigration, and even engaged in actions to advocate for justice, yet also felt low efficacy or hopelessness. Other research has also identified subgroups of youth who are critically aware of injustice yet feel hopeless (Christens, Collura, & Tahir, 2013), and research is needed that can better understand the features of settings that elicit both critical awareness of injustice as well as hope and capacity for change. In addition, similar to Dabach et al.'s (2017) analysis of immigrant youth's diverse views about immigration, we noted a very small number of youth who positively endorsed Trump's exclusionary ideas about immigration, with some youth believing that not all immigrants equally belong in the U.S. and those with criminal backgrounds should be excluded. Immigrant youth with such views may have stronger values of meritocracy or system justification, whereas youth with higher critical consciousness may have stronger expressions of injustice related to immigration policy (Dabach et al., 2017).

4.3 Limitations and Future Directions for Research

Despite its strengths and timeliness, the study has several gaps for future research to fill. Some Latinx youth experienced social contract violations on a more personal level than others, and given the potential implications for mental health and civic engagement, future research is needed to better understand what factors lead to stronger personal reactions. We narrowed our sample to Latinx youth based on the importance of understanding marginalized youth's views of the social contract, yet some non-Latinx youth may have had similar views and reactions and should be further explored. In addition, we studied Latinx youth in schools where their ethnic group was the majority. Their context may have strengthened certain views or made certain Trump administration policies or rhetoric more salient for youth. Thus, the role of context may

be instructive to examine in relation to youth's developing views of self and society in general, and specifically, it would be useful to gather reactions from Latinx youth who are in settings where they are the minority group. Our completely open-ended measure may not have fully captured the myriad ways that youth have been affected by the 2016 election or the extent of changes that youth have experienced in mental health or civic engagement. Qualitative interviews (e.g., Andrade, 2017) as well as quantitative surveys could add more in-depth insights into how Latinx youth are being affected by the Trump era. There were certainly complexities in themes and intersections among youth's identities and backgrounds that we were not able to fully do justice to in this paper. For instance, we did not gather information about youth's country of origin or undocumented status and did not examine associations with mixed race identities. In addition, many quotes came from Latina youth and although males were represented across many themes, it was more difficult to find quotes that captured similar depth of expression that females utilized. Investigating gender differences was outside of the scope of this paper, yet a more concerted examination of gender could be insightful.

4.4 Implications for Practice

Our data showed that Latinx youth are actively making sense of what today's political context means for them, their futures, their families, and their ethnic/cultural group, often in emotional terms. Their voices call attention to the need for adults to support youth during crucial societal turning points and tune in to youth's perspectives on current events. To effectively work with youth in school and community practice settings, adults must be informed about the ways that youth are reacting to the political climate and how they are being tangibly affected by policies and rhetoric. Moreover, other research has shown that feeling heard has psychosocial benefits for young people (e.g., Krueger, 2005; Scales, Benson, & Roehlkepartain, 2011). It is

important for educators, social workers, and other youth workers to be aware of heightened levels of fear and anxiety that some Latinx youth may be experiencing in today's times. Many Latinx youth are feeling threatened by the current political environment and targeted by others around them, or are anxious and afraid of what will happen to their families. These fears and anxieties may have negative implications for mental health and families' interactions with social service institutions. Schools in diverse communities or with large proportions of Latinx students may want to consider gauging the feelings of students in the current political climate and fostering safe spaces and a climate of anti-racism (Cisneros & Lopez, 2016; Rogers et al., 2017). Finally, our findings show that some Latinx youth are responding to the Trump presidency by becoming more informed and empowered to advocate for social justice. Knowing that this historical moment could spark civic engagement, practitioners should look for ways to empower youth through supporting and deepening their efforts to be civically engaged (see, e.g., Hess, 2009; Niemi & Junn, 2005; Watts, Abdul-Adil, & Pratt, 2002). Hearing and better understanding Latinx youths' experiences and perspectives on current events like today's political climate may create opportunities for scholars, policy makers, social workers, educators, and others to support and empower youth at critical moments in history (Richards-Schuster & Pritzker, 2015).

4.5 Conclusion

This study has highlighted some Latinx youth's views regarding the Trump administration's immigration policies; negative emotions and recognition of racism were among the most salient themes, which converged on a cross-cutting theme of perceptions of injustice. Adolescence is a period when youth are in the midst of developing their identity and worldviews (Erikson, 1968; Flanagan, 2004). Major societal events like elections may have more long-term and lasting impacts on the attitudes and behavioral patterns of youth, given their "fresh take" on

society and active exploration of identity (Davis, 2004; Mannheim, 1952). Thus, understanding youth's political views and experiences in today's salient political moment may be important for understanding this generation for years to come. We hope our work draws attention to the importance of listening to Latinx youth's perspectives on social and political issues. Youth have unique perspectives and valuable contributions to make in today's historical moment.

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