The Undocumented Graduate

Is UC Berkeley Failing to Prepare its Undocumented Students for Life After Graduation?

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Introduction

In the spring of 2019, the Undocumented Research Cohort (URC) set out to study the experiences of undocumented students at UC Berkeley (Cal). The URC was established to produce research about undocumented students by undocumented students, distinguishing this study from other research on the undocumented student experience. We began our study by surveying the resources available to undocumented students on campus, including fellowship and research opportunities, scholarships, academic advising, basic needs, and legal aid. Next, we conducted in-depth interviews with 25 undocumented students from different majors and with varying immigration statuses. The URC used snow-ball sampling to recruit respondents. We recruited students of diverse backgrounds, ages, ethnicities, and countries of origin.

One of the disparities that the Undocumented Research Cohort was keen to explore was the difference in experiences between students with and without Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) status. In 2012, President Barack Obama issued an executive order that created the DACA program. DACA provides temporary relief from deportation and work authorization to about 185,000 people in California alone. As a result, students with DACA are able to access more opportunities than their non-DACA counterparts.

We find that Cal fails to provide professional development opportunities to undocumented students, whether they have DACA or not. Students without DACA, however, are more likely to struggle to find paid work opportunities and scholarships on campus. Consequently, these students are forced into low-wage work that interferes with their ability to succeed academically. We also found that Cal does a poor job of preparing unDACAmented students for life after graduation. While the post-Cal future seems brighter for undocumented students with DACA, these students worry that their liminal status will be revoked; the risk of losing their DACA status keeps them in constant fear of the future. Thus, the lack of guidance and support affects both unDACAmented and DACAmented students.

We begin this report by documenting the barriers to accessing professional development opportunities while...
at Cal. Next, we examine the availability of jobs and other paid opportunities for students with and without DACA status. Lastly, we explore the career advice available to undocumented students and the barriers they will likely face when they leave Cal. We end the report by outlining a series of recommendations for Cal to better support undocumented students.

Professional Development Opportunities Limited

We found that professional development opportunities are limited for undocumented students whether they have DACA or not. Most research and internship opportunities at UC Berkeley are not open to undocumented students. Out of 42 research opportunities our team surveyed, only 16 are available to DACA and unDACAmented students. What is more, in some programs like the Undergraduate Research Apprentice Program (URAP),2 eligibility is on a case-by-case basis depending on the project. A senior unDACAmented transfer student describes asking a counselor about applying for the McNair Scholars Program,3

The first question I heard was, ‘Do you have [a] Social Security number?’ And I said, ‘No.’ ‘You can’t qualify.’

Being told one was ineligible was a common occurrence according to our respondents. As one senior DACAmented student stated, “Undocumented students go through it all the time.” Undocumented students face significantly more barriers than their documented peers in accessing internships and research opportunities. UnDACAmented students are particularly hard hit— not because they lack qualifications or grades, but simply because they lack a Social Security number (SSN).

The lack of clarity about eligibility criteria on department websites is also frustrating for undocumented students. We found that many websites that feature research opportunities do not always distinguish between DACAmented and unDACAmented students or are simply unclear about eligibility standards. An unDACAmented senior student mentioned the difficulty of navigating opportunities on campus websites

There’s been quite a few that are sort of unclear that don’t even state anything about whether you need to be a citizen or not.’

Students must therefore contact the program directly to ask if they are eligible, and this often means disclosing their legal status. The unDACAmented senior concludes:

I email them and ask them, ‘Do you guys take DACA students or am I eligible to apply?’ and … usually they say, ‘No.’

Sometimes getting a reply can take several days, causing students to miss key deadlines or risk getting a curt response when inquiring about their eligibility.

The limited opportunities that are open to undocumented students are often impacted or underfunded. A senior interviewee expressed their frustration while talking about the few research opportunities that do exist, saying that they tend to be less prestigious:

The opportunities that are available for undocumented students are so packed already... just so impacted... They’re usually... lower-level research opportunities.

From our respondents’ perspective, the University has not opened enough opportunities for them, and the few available are generally underfunded— almost as if they were created to fail. Research opportunities that allow participation of undocumented students, such as Firebaugh Scholars,4 are not as nationally recognized as McNairs5 or Mellon Mays.6 Compared to McNairs and Mellon Mays, the funding for programs such as Firebaugh is lower and it is constantly threatened with funding cuts. The lack of dedicated resources at a world-class research university like UC Berkeley suggests to talented undocumented researchers that they are not valued and that the university is not invested in their development. UC Berkeley does not feel any pride of having talented undocumented researchers and it is constantly undermining it.
Professors aren’t always helpful in finding research and internships either. Like many first-generation students, undocumented students sometimes lack the social capital to approach professors. A junior STEM interviewee told us how “intimidating” it was to ask questions to faculty members in class given the way they sometimes respond:

I don’t know what I would tell my professors, because even telling [them] about my status or anything related to my status makes me a little anxious. The math department—it’s just, ‘Follow the rules.’

Disclosing immigration status is understandably difficult when professors are not always mindful of these dynamics in classroom settings. Undocumented students report feeling like they are a number rather than a student.

Sometimes the reluctance to open up about one’s undocumented status is the result of fear of being stigmatized and identified as someone who is studying at UC Berkeley without documentation. A junior UnDACAmented student explained their experience with a professor who bluntly and invasively questioned them about their undocumented status, “You’re undocumented and you’re here without DACA... How’s that?... How is that a thing?” Some faculty are unaware of the intricacies of different legal statuses including the difference between being unDACAmented and DACAmented. Undocumented students sometimes worry that being open about their status might endanger their safety. Undocumented students do not know if professors may keep information about a student’s immigration status private and confidential. In this political climate, being open about your status could mean the difference between safety and a possible deportation.

Our respondents also mentioned that professors are not always mindful of the unique struggles that undocumented students face. One senior student requested an extension on an assignment when their family members were detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The professor refused, saying: “I grew up in the Coachella valley around undocumented people and... I know that the deportation threat is real but I’m not giving you an extension.” The student advocated for themself, enlisting the help of other faculty and staff, but according to the student, “He was still like not budging.” The student laughed in disbelief when recounting this experience. Even though the professor was aware of their situation and the consequences, the professor was more worried about the assignment than the student’s mental wellbeing and their family member’s safety. For the professor, what mattered was the deadline.

Undocumented students are aware of the harsh reality that many professors are not allies. Some of them may not be knowledgeable of the struggles that undocumented students face every day. Even worse, when some professors become aware of having undocumented students in their classrooms, they are not willing to support undocumented students. One DACAmented student in the STEM field compared their professor unfavorably to immigration officials:

I had my biometrics [appointment] and I couldn’t miss it because then your DACA renewal gets canceled. And I had a midterm... I asked my professor if I could take it earlier. He said, ‘No...you have to show up to your midterm.’... So honestly, [the immigration officer] was nicer than the professors here because Immigration actually allowed me to show up to my appointment earlier than I should have so... I could show up to my midterm.

This lack of accommodation means that students are forced to choose between their education and the stringent requirements of maintaining their DACA status.

Even when professors want to be advocates of undocumented students, or as we call them, “undocu-allies,” they may not know how to support and advocate for their undocumented students. A transfer unDACAmented student explains their desire for better support for undocumented students on campus:

I wish that they [could] show us where to find or what professors [we] should talk to about research opportunities... or... how we can succeed here.

Some professors are not aware of the realities that undocumented students face, and therefore professors may not know how or if they can help them.
Some professors go out of their way to find opportunities for their students. A junior DACAmented student reported that when they asked one of their professors about research opportunities for DACA students, their professor didn’t initially know the answer to the question, but took the time to find out more:

A couple of days later she sent me an email, ‘Hey, look, this one is open... It’s eligible for DACA students... You may wanna check it out...’ It was very nice to see that she actually took the time.

But many faculty do not take the time to help in this way. Most undocumented students find their way to the Undocumented Student Program (USP)/Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) for advice and support. However, in another example of the university’s underinvestment in undocumented students, the USP has been scrambling to support undocumented students due to threatened funding cuts by the UC system. For this reason, undocumented students have mixed responses to their experiences with the program. While students generally had positive things to say about staff there, they did complain about the lack of responsiveness. One UnDACAmented student expressed their experience with USP/EOP, “I think they need more people, more employees to handle some of the grunt work.” Underfunding the USP directly impacts students’ experiences and the services available to undocumented students on campus. The demand for USP services has increased since its creation, but there are not enough staff members to support the growing population and needs of undocumented students at Cal.

The only complaint I have about the USP is that the resources are not on the page... You need to go to the office and... We don’t have the time to go. What if we are working?

UnDACAmented students are thus forced to spend precious time searching in vain for opportunities that are open to them.

Consequently, undocumented students are conditioned into believing that there are limited opportunities and programs that would positively impact their professional life during and after their time at Cal. Some are discouraged and frustrated by the lack of opportunities available at UC Berkeley. Some of them stop looking or lose hope. A junior UnDACAmented student explains how dispiriting the lack of resources and guidance is and how it limits her efforts to look for available opportunities and scholarships:

If there are resources for AB540 students... why not make them available for everyone?... That’s what is frustrating.

This fatalistic attitude is in part the result of years of marginalization and being told that there are limited opportunities for those without legal status. UC Berkeley reinforces that sentiment by failing to offer and expand programs for current and incoming undocumented students.

**Paid Opportunities Limited, Especially for Students without DACA**

Most undocumented students reported that they struggle with financing their way through school and that they have to find additional ways of supplementing their financial aid packages. Those with DACA, however, have more opportunities finding paid work since they have work authorization and have access to on-campus work study jobs. One participant stated:

Since I have DACA, fortunately it [not being authorized to work] wasn’t something that I had to be worried about because I knew that that kind of gave me that, that leisure to just choose wherever I want to work.

Students with DACA status still encountered problems securing or maintaining employment. As one participant noted:

I definitely do think it has and does affect my employment opportunities... I’ve gotten fired because my DACA was about to expire and my renewal hadn’t come in... I’ve gotten fired for that... not from my work-study job, but, like, an outside campus job... But that has happened to me.
Even with DACA, job security is not guaranteed. Individuals with DACA also have to renew their status every year or two.\textsuperscript{11} Having to come up with the $495 to pay for renewal fees plus the threat of being fired if their status runs out keeps students on edge. DACAmmented students reported fewer problems securing paid opportunities than unDACAmmented students, but their limited status did not take away all the problems that come along with being undocumented.

UnDACAmmented students reported far more problems obtaining paid opportunities. Given their lack of a Social Security number, they are unable to obtain employment through traditional means, such as work-study or payroll. This means that they have to look for financial support exclusively through scholarships, stipends, non-federal grants, or any other way that can supplement their financial aid packages. Even when paid opportunities are made available for students without DACA, they typically require guidance from a staff or faculty member to navigate through how to get paid. Undocumented students might be eligible to be paid through stipends instead of hourly pay, but getting paid via stipend may not help when they have no room left in their financial aid package. At UC Berkeley, all students are faced with a cap on how much financial aid can be received. This is important to note because when a student is unable to work due to a lack of status they have to resort to finding creative ways to make money while still going to school. Even if a staff or faculty member is able to find a creative solution around such barriers, that workaround is often not shared with others, leaving the next student back at square one. The students involved in this project, for example, were paid a stipend by the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, yet it was a very complicated process that took a lot of back and forth between multiple people. Even though a payment method was eventually figured out, the blueprint for how to do it isn't widely known among other departments. This lack of institutional conversation and knowledge-sharing impedes unDACAmmented students' ability to find the support they need on-campus.

Due to scarcity in scholarships and paid research opportunities coupled with the inability to opt into work study, off-campus minimum wage jobs are one of the most popular alternate ways of supplementing financial aid packages for unDACAmmented students. These jobs, which are already hard to find due to a lack of a SSN, become a priority over students' academics because they depend on them to make ends meet. As one student explains, “Last year I would have morning shifts and stuff like that so... I just like... would sleep less to go work and so that was how it was affecting [my academics] like throughout the days... I would be tired in my classes and it would be hard for me to study because I was so sleepy.” With off-campus jobs, students are faced with disadvantages like less schedule flexibility around classes, lower pay, added commuting time, and worst of all, they may be stuck in a job where the work is not at all related to their academic interests. When given the proper resources and documentation, it is easy to “just be a student” but for a lot of these undocumented students, that is simply not the reality-- they have to find ways to survive.

Not all of our respondents resorted to minimum wage jobs. Some were able to find opportunities like working for non-profits or venturing in entrepreneurship endeavors. These alternative routes are more flexible around school schedules and more fulfilling from a professional development standpoint. The only problems are scarcity and lack of awareness about these opportunities.

**Post-Cal Advice Limited**

Once they graduate, undocumented students have three main options: go to graduate school, enter the workforce/try to pursue their career, or leave the country. For those without work authorization, graduate school becomes a popular next step while they await legalization. As this student puts it:

\textit{So my plan is to... use the time productively while I'm waiting for some sort of status and I know that I need to put my talent, my skills and energy and do something productive. So, I just came across public health and it seems like something... it seems like the core of what I want to do eventually. So might as well, you know, do it now.}

This student, like many others, feels like they have no other choice but to pursue a graduate degree since they have no Social Security number. Another student shared frankly how and why they ended up applying to grad school:
Most feel like graduate school is the only choice while they wait for some form of legalization which provides them with the documentation needed to allow them to put their skills to use in their career field.

One problem with graduate school is that it can be a very expensive route to pursue. DACAmented students typically have greater opportunities funding their graduate programs through fellowships or teaching assistant (TA/GSI) opportunities, but for unDACAmented students, it is exponentially more difficult. Those without DACA are ineligible for federally funded financial aid or fellowships, and their lack of a Social Security number prevents them from securing TA/GSI opportunities. So just like their undergraduate experience, those without DACA may have to rely on an off-campus job, with all its disadvantages.

The advantages that come with DACA status would disappear if the program is terminated.

The second option undocumented students have post-graduation is entering the workforce, where again, DACAmented students have an advantage because they have work authorization. UnDACAmented students aren’t as lucky. If unDACAmented students decide to go into the workforce, they are limited to the same minimum wage jobs that were available before they had a degree. One student describes the situation:

"I feel behind… because I don’t have any work experience or internship experience and… the people that I go to class with… they already have that experience, so me not having it… I feel like I have a lot of catching up to do.

Like, I can get the best grades. It’s not going to give me citizenship. No matter how hard I work, I’m still undocumented and I’m not going to get a job. And it’s tough being in your last year and seeing everyone, like, going to job interviews and, like, worrying about what they should put on [their] resume… [Hearing how they] need to do this and [how they] want to get a job at the Big Four [employers in my field] and I’m like… ‘I would kill to just work in a frickin’ restaurant and get paid properly.’

Whether it’s minimum wage jobs, ‘gig’ economy, or working for themselves as entrepreneurs or independent contractors, undocumented students end up in economic precarity. It is difficult to live off of minimum wage jobs while having a bachelor’s degree and entrepreneurship isn’t any easier. Scarce resources and limited access to loans from banks and other financial institutions are just a few of the problems that can arise while trying to become their own boss. It isn’t impossible but without a Social Security number there aren’t many good options.

The third and last option is to leave the country. A lot of students and their families have come to this country in search of better opportunities. Unfortunately, there is a limit to how far they can go without legal status. Once they reach that limit, these bright minds are faced with the option of either staying in this country without putting their professional skills and academic preparation to use or making the decision to pack up and move to a different country to advance their careers. As this student explains:

Because I can always eventually, if I can convince my dad, somehow… go to Canada and become a lawyer. So either I will be in law school in Canada or by some miracle I will have some sort of documentation that allows me to stay in the US and, you know, become a lawyer here. I really don’t ever want to leave California, but they don’t want me here.

Without a pathway to legalization, students have to consider all options available to them. Leaving the country might seem drastic and counterintuitive, but in order to not waste the knowledge and skills they have been working so hard to develop in school, this might be the only shot some students have at a career.

After exploring the three main options students have post-graduation, we notice that limited graduate school and job options means that career advice, networking and mentorship are especially important.
for unDACAmented students during their years at UC Berkeley. However, here, too, Cal falls short. Perhaps this is because the administration delegates all “undocumented issues” to USP. This means that students are often not able to access the valuable career advice from faculty or other campus resources that documented students have at their disposal. Moreover, according to many of our respondents, when it comes to post-grad advice, USP struggles. This student explains that when they sought advice from USP about what’s next for them, they got only vague information:

One time [when] I spoke to one of the counselors, it was very sugar-coated like, ‘It’s going to be okay’ kinda thing, and I mean, like, they were nice. But just, I would have liked some more help... [I wish] they had more stuff for non-DACA students.

USP staff members are doing the best they can given their limited resources, but it seems like the help they offer for what comes after graduation isn’t very helpful. Without concrete advice about how to leverage after graduation all the rigorous and intensive coursework, volunteering, and engagement in programs that students partake in while at Cal, then USP is missing their mark.

When seeking post-grad advice from USP, some undocumented students are referred to the Career Center. The Career Center on campus focuses on making opportunities available to students who have work authorization and neglect the student population that doesn’t. This student describes their perception of the Career Center:

I’ve never gone to the Career Center because I feel like I’ve always seen it as like a citizen’s space, or, like, all the resources they have are very tailored to citizens so I’ve never gone. The one time that I did interact with like the people that work there is because they were doing some form of, like, workshop when I needed food so I just went to get the food, but I didn’t really care about, like, what they were saying or, like, take any notes, cause I knew that like it wasn’t for me.

At the time this research was conducted, the Career Center did not offer any resources for undocu-friendly internships, nonprofits, entrepreneurship opportunities, advice about grad school funding, admissions for undocumented students, or grad school/work outside of the US. In effect, the university’s Career Center provides no support or guidance to undocumented students with uncertainty about what is next after graduation.

Limited job opportunities post graduation coupled with a precarious physical stability in this country, caused by the very real threat of deportation, keeps many undocumented students both with and without DACA from planning ahead. The lack of clear options for the future makes it hard to concentrate on their current studies. In our interviews, their frustration is very prevalent, as some respondents asked, “What’s the point?” Another student posed the question as, “Why bother if the lack of opportunities after graduation are so minimal?” As this student points out:

It’s going to be... accepting personal satisfaction of knowing that I earned a degree, but the reality is that I don’t have any options. I’m still an undocumented student and even though I have a career, I am not going to be able to do anything.

This is a difficult reality for undocumented students to face because while there is personal satisfaction in obtaining a bachelor’s degree, their inability to pursue their post-grad career goals negatively impacts their motivation and drive while trying to finish their undergraduate studies and even afterwards while looking to that next step.

Both those with and without DACA thus have to plan around not knowing whether they will be legally barred from pursuing their career of choice. Students with DACA understand that without the work authorization DACA provides, the utility of their degree diminishes upon graduation. In general, as the student quoted above explains, undocumented graduates without DACA may not have any options except for working in food service or other minimum wage jobs. Cal is spending time and money educating all of its students but is failing the undocumented student population because the talent of these students is either wasted or left unused. Qualified graduates either have to take jobs they are overqualified for or leave the country because there is a lack of university infrastructure in place that could create paths for qualified undergraduates without legal status to move into jobs that put their skills to use. This lack of infrastructure is bad for the US because it keeps qualified professionals out of the workforce and sometimes forces them to leave the country. While “legalization” is largely out of Cal’s control, the school isn’t helping to prepare undocumented students for the possibility that legalization might remain out of reach at least for the foreseeable future.
What Can Cal Do?

Hundreds of undocumented students enroll at UC Berkeley every year. However, the University is not providing these students with equal opportunities to succeed while at Cal, regardless of whether they have DACA or not.

Due to the constraints of the DACA program, and absent intervention from the Biden administration, over time, fewer of the undocumented students admitted to Cal will have DACA status.\(^4\) Campus must start preparing for a world without DACA.

If UC Berkeley accepts undocumented students to come and study at its campus, it should be equally invested in preparing them for post-graduation life.

UC Berkeley claims that it is committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion. Just as the University is committed to enrolling a more diverse student body, it should be equally committed to retaining and supporting them no matter their legal status.

In order for the UC system to better meet the needs of undocumented students, we recommend that UC Berkeley adopt the following policy recommendations:

A. Provide clear eligibility guidelines on campus and departmental websites that feature opportunities including research, work, scholarships, internships, so DACAmented and unDACAmented students know whether they are eligible and encouraged to apply.

B. Increase funding to the Undocumented Student Program. The program has been constantly underfunded and its budget is not growing according to the undocumented population.\(^5\) Funding for USP has declined over time, and the budget is not large enough to meet the needs of the growing population of students without DACA on campus.

C. Increase opportunities for paid work, internships, and research for all undocumented students.

D. Increase support for basic needs of undocumented students. This should include a guarantee of campus housing for undocumented students who do not have someone who can sign a lease for them.

E. Increase the communication channels among departments and units on campus (including USP) so they can share information about opportunities available for undocumented students, as well as best practices to address the bureaucratic hurdles that undocumented students often face.

F. Require that all units and departments have undocu-training to increase sensitivity to the issues that undocumented students face to ensure that professors and staff can best serve them.

G. Create a NavCal program for undocumented students: Navigating Cal (NavCal) is a peer-to-peer mentorship program that supports underrepresented students in acquiring the social and cultural capital to thrive at UC Berkeley and beyond. A NavCal program for undocumented students would give students a blueprint to navigate the university without legal status. It would help increase the communication channels among undocumented students, build community, and facilitate their access to resources.

H. Ensure that the Career Center caters to all students, including undocumented students. In addition, campus should provide undocumented students with job fairs that cater specifically to the needs of undocumented students.

I. Ensure that workshops on applying to grad school are inclusive and provide advice for both DACAmented and unDACAmented students.

J. Provide fellowships and expand work opportunities for unDACAmented students enrolled in graduate programs at Cal.
About the Authors

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About the Undocumented Research Cohort

The Undocumented Research Cohort (URC) represents a group of seven undocumented undergraduates who set out to document the experiences of undocumented students at Cal. Funded by IRLE, the URC not only provided these students with a paid research opportunity, it also allowed undocumented students to control the narrative -- research by undocumented students, about undocumented students, and for undocumented students.

About IRLE

The Institute for Research on Labor and Employment is an interdisciplinary institute at the University of California, Berkeley that connects world-class research with policy to improve workers' lives, communities, and society. IRLE promotes better understanding of the conditions, policies, and institutions that affect the well-being of workers and their families and communities by informing public debate with hard evidence about inequality, the economy, and the nature of work.

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7. Nearly every year, the DACA renewal process includes visits to submit renewal applications as well as a biometrics appointment, which can interfere with work or school activities. https://www.uscis.gov/forms/filing-guidance/preparing-for-your-biometric-services-appointment.
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10. Assembly Bill 540 was signed into law in October 2001 and allows eligible undocumented, legal permanent resident and U.S. citizen students to pay in-state tuition at public colleges and universities. https://undocu.berkeley.edu/legal-support-overview/ab540-eligibility/
11. The DACA program and the renewal procedures are in constant flux due to changes in presidential executive orders as well as litigation. For information on the latest updates, see https://undocu.berkeley.edu/legal-support-overview/what-is-daca/
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13. https://career.berkeley.edu/
14. The program is only open to undocumented individuals who “have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007” which means that anyone who came to this country after 2007 will not be eligible for DACA. In addition, individuals have to be at least 15 years old to apply for DACA. This means the last wave of people eligible for DACA--absent intervention from the Biden administration--will be youth that were 13 as of 2020. https://www.uscis.gov/archive/consideration-of-deferred-action-for-childhood-arrivals-daca
15. https://undocu.berkeley.edu/supporting-dreamers-at-berkeley-2/#:~:text=Berkeley's%20more%20than%20500%20undocumented,average%20family%20income%20is%20%2424,000