

Youths' Perspective on Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona: The Socio-emotional Effects of Immigration Policy

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Abstract

This article builds on previous research conducted by Santos, Menjivar & Godfrey (2013) and draws on a study conducted with racially and ethnically diverse early adolescents. This research explores youths' awareness of Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona, and how affected they are by the passage of this bill. Wave I (N = 726; Mage = 12.4 years; SD = .97) results revealed an indirect relation between awareness of SB1070 and self-esteem via American identity. Wave II (N = 1025; Mage = 12.1 years; SD = .98) results revealed a positive association between awareness of SB1070 and youths' engagement in risky behavior. Results also revealed a negative association between youths' report of being affected by SB1070 and their ability to regulate their emotions in the classroom. Finally, results revealed a positive association between youths' report of being affected by SB1070 with youths' perceptions of ethnic-based discrimination by authorities and teachers. Implications of these findings are discussed.

Introduction

Despite numerous protests, several states have adopted immigration laws that have potential for violating basic human rights. Recent immigration legislation in states such as Arizona and Alabama highlights a series of state-level policies that have significant and lasting impact on immigrant children and families. These policies have a wide range of impact on the psychological, social and emotional wellbeing of immigrant and non-immigrant children and families. While there have been efforts to examine the influence of immigration laws on family separation, intergenerational relations (Menjivar, 2006; Menjivar & Abrego, 2009), immigrants' path to mobility (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010), and educational opportunities of immigrants in uncertain legal statuses (Gonzales, 2010; Menjivar, 2008), these effects have received little attention from developmental scientists. And while media and scholarly attention has been given to national public opinion and to the legal and policy ramifications of recent immigration enforcement, such as Arizona's Senate Bill (SB)1070, less attention has been given to how immigrant youth and families perceive and experience these laws.

There have been media accounts of the repercussions that the passing of state-level laws have had on Latinos, immigrants and non-immigrants alike, including not reporting crimes to the police in order to avoid contacting authorities, not visiting physicians or hospitals even in emergency situations so as to avoid detection, changing driving habits and staying home more often, and weighing the pros and cons of sending children to school (González, 2011). In many cases, children whose parents are detained are sent to foster care. In other cases, children who are frequently U.S. citizens are sent to their parents' native country with little linguistic knowledge and awareness of the local culture. In this paper, we also focus on the effects of federal-, state- and local-level laws on the lives of immigrant children and of the children of immigrants who live in households with parents who are at risk of deportation. However, for empirical expediency we focus narrowly on how racially and ethnically diverse youth in one middle school in Arizona that caters to a large population of Latinos perceive these laws, as these perceptions shape their views of themselves, their identities and, their mental health.

An estimated 4 million immigrant youth live with unauthorized parents, and are U.S.-born citizens (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Indeed, a hallmark of today's immigration landscape is the presence of what are called "mixed-legal status families" (Fix & Zimmermann, 2001), composed of members with various legal statuses, including U.S. born members. Children—both U.S. born as well as foreign-born—in these families are affected by their

own legal status but also by their parents' legal status. Sometimes undocumented parents do not access social benefits to which U.S. citizen children have a right because of fear of deportation (Capps, Ost, Reardon-Anderson, & Passel, 2005); these children then represent a group of citizens who live subject to the disadvantages of their undocumented parents (Fix & Zimmerman, 1999). But parental legal status not only affects the links between the family and social institutions; parents' status may also affect children's socio-emotional development (Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011). Thus, new border enforcement and tough immigration laws, particularly those that seek to enforce strategies of "attrition through enforcement," through which immigrants supposedly will self deport, undoubtedly affect immigrants' links to different institutions, particularly when the immigrant parents are unsure of when or if they will ever become permanent members of U.S. society.

In this article, we take a look at how SB 1070 may influence one slice of social life; the perceptions that racially and ethnically diverse youth, especially Latino youth, have of these laws so as to understand the psychological effects that immigration legislation may have on these youth. Moreover, we include the perceptions of the law among the non-Latino youth with whom Latino youth live and who therefore constitute a key component of Latino youths' developmental experience. In this way we can begin to understand the broader ramifications of immigration laws. Although the threat of deportation, or as De Genova (2002) calls it, "deportability," profoundly affects the lives of those "at risk," the passage of laws such as SB 1070 reverberates well beyond the lives of undocumented immigrants, as the undocumented population is not a separate group easily classifiable and isolated from the documented (or U.S. citizens). Undocumented immigrants live, work, go to school, pray and play with documented immigrants as well as U.S. citizens, and in the context of the family and schools, they are often found under the same roof. It is within this frame that we examine some of the possible ways that the law affects the emotional lives of young individuals, Latinos and those with whom they live in close proximity, focusing on how awareness of Arizona's SB 1070 shapes their views of themselves and of their place in U.S. society.

SB 1070 and Child Well-Being

An important area in which to begin to explore the consequences of immigration legislation is in perceptions that those potentially affected might form of themselves and of their place in society. This is particularly fruitful to examine among youth during adolescence for whom identity formation is a critical developmental task (Erikson, 1968). In this regard, awareness of SB 1070 may be related to important psychological outcomes among youth such as their mental health and wellbeing. We ground our examination of youths' perception of Senate Bill 1070 at the entry of adolescence. Early adolescence is a critical period marked by important developmental changes, including biological transitions, shifts in interpersonal relationships, increased capacity for complex, abstract and dialectical thought, and increased emphasis on identity formation, racial/ethnic experiences, civic engagement and self-esteem (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Thus, it is important to understand the links between the passing of this legislation and these aspects of psychological development during this critical developmental period.

In this paper, we present findings from two waves of a longitudinal study that examines the relation between early adolescents' awareness of SB 1070, their perceptions of themselves, their mental health and wellbeing. Following research that has linked parental legal status and children's socioemotional development (Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011), the aim of this analysis is to demonstrate the potential impact of the passage of SB 1070 on key psychological aspects of youths' development such as their sense of identity and psychological wellbeing. Our examination should encourage greater attention from researchers and policymakers to the psychological consequences of immigration laws for racially and ethnically diverse youth. Further, the experiences with immigration legislation of Latino youth in a state such as Arizona are key in capturing future potential effects of this and similar pieces of legislation around the country. These youngsters constitute the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population, and their experiences today can have important repercussions for tomorrow's social, demographic, political, and economic prospects. According to the 2010 Census, nearly one in four children in the U.S. are of Latino origin; thus, their social and economic integration is fundamental for the future of the nation.

An important feature of SB 1070 is that the law, as it was written, never took full effect because a federal judge blocked several of its key (and more controversial) provisions just hours before it was to go into effect.

However, the symbolic act of signing this bill into law has had multiple consequences, which points to the powerful messages behind these legal actions. Thus, the effects on youth we examine are not necessarily linked to the most controversial provisions in the law but to the passage of the law, and how the mere awareness of the law can have serious repercussions for racially and ethnically diverse youth. Thus, as this paper shows, the mere threat of such laws passing is enough to affect the perceptions of youngsters, an observation that should be noted in policy discussions about federal immigration reform as well as in the increasing local-level attempts (Varsanyi, 2010) to enact laws similar to SB 1070.

Data and Methods

This article is based on data collected in two waves of a longitudinal study designed to investigate the effects of SB 1070 on youths' psychological development. Wave I took place during the academic year 2009-2010, and wave II took place during the academic year 2010-2011. Both waves were collected at the same middle school located in the Phoenix metropolitan area. This middle school is composed of racially and ethnically diverse children and serves primarily low-income students. According to the state's department of education, 81.1% of the student population at the school was categorized as "economically disadvantaged" using parental income as a proxy in 2010 (Arizona Department of Education, 2011).

Procedure

In both waves, students were recruited from all grades in the school (i.e., 6th, 7th and 8th grade). During recruitment, youth were informed about the study by their teachers and provided with a packet in either English or Spanish containing information and parental consent forms to take home to their parents. Prior to collecting survey data, students' assent was also obtained. Surveys were administered during two class periods (approximately 90 minutes) deemed least disruptive to students' learning by the principal and social studies teachers. Survey questions were read out loud to the class while students answered them individually. Survey administration was supervised by two to four trained research assistants. Protocols were administered in English and survey administrators circulated throughout the classroom answering questions to ensure comprehension. All survey administrators remained in the classroom while students filled out the protocol and collected the survey at the end of each administration. The length of time between the two waves was approximately 9 months. This was done so that we could follow the same children over time and explore longitudinally the associations we aim to explore.

Sample

The sample size for wave I was 726 middle school students. The average age of participants was 12.4 years ($SD = .97$), about equally divided between male (52%) and female (48%). Participants were European American (17%), African American (17%), Native American (10%), Asian American (3%), Latino/a, mostly Mexican American (49%), and Mixed¹ (4%). The percentage of participants who reported speaking either Spanish-only or both Spanish and English at home was 51%. Approximately 14% of participants reported being separated from both parents at some point in their childhood for longer than 6 months for an average of 2.6 years ($SD = 1.8$). In terms of immigrant status, 13% of participants are 1st generation immigrants (i.e., foreign-born), 40% are 2nd generation immigrants (i.e., at least one parent is foreign-born), and 47% are 3rd generation (i.e., both parents and child are U.S. born).

Wave II was conducted approximately 9 months after the assessment in wave I took place. The sample for wave II consisted of 1025 middle school students; this increase in the student population of the school from wave I to wave II was due to the closing of a nearby middle school in the district, which resulted in larger enrollment by wave II at the school where this study took place. The average age of participants in wave II

1. Those in the mixed category mostly reported having at least one parent who is of Latino/a origin.

was 12.1 years ($SD = .98$), equally divided between male (50%) and female (50%). Participants were European American (20%), African American (18%), Native American (10%), Latino/a, mostly Mexican American (44%), Other (8%). The percentage of participants who reported speaking either Spanish-only or both Spanish and English at home was 51%. In terms of nativity, 12% of participants are 1st generation immigrants (i.e., foreign-born). Thus, despite the increase in the student population of the school from wave I to wave II, the school remained fairly similar in key demographic characteristics across the two waves.

Measures

Awareness of SB 1070. Participants were asked the following question: “How aware are you of the recent act called SB 1070 in Arizona related to immigration issues?” and were asked to rate how aware they were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *Not at all aware* (1), *A little aware* (2), *Somewhat aware* (3), *Very aware* (4), *Extremely aware* (5).

American identity. Participants completed a measure of American Identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) that assesses participants' sense of being American. They were asked to rate how much they agree with statements such as “I think of myself as being American,” and “I feel good about being American.” Response options are on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1), *Disagree* (2), *Neither agree or disagree* (3), *Agree* (4), *Strongly agree* (5). Cronbach's α was .92 in wave I and .94 in wave II of this study.

Perceived ethnic discrimination. Participants completed a measure of perceived ethnic discrimination from authorities (Whitbeck et al., 2001), which assessed adolescents' experiences with ethnic discrimination from authorities. This measure has been shown reliable and valid in studies consisting of Latino adolescents (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Participants were asked to rate how often they experienced discrimination on a four-point Likert scale from *Almost never* (1), *Sometimes* (2), *Often* (3), *Very often* (4). Items include: “How often have others suspected you of doing something wrong because of your ethnicity?” and “How often has the police hassled you because of your ethnicity?” Cronbach's α for this scale was .69 in wave I and .70 in wave II of this study.

Self-Esteem. Self-esteem was assessed using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) (Rosenber, 1965). It is considered a general measure of self-esteem, and was developed for use with middle and high school students. It consists of 10 items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). Students indicate their agreement or disagreement with items such as “I feel that I have a number of good qualities” or “I feel I do not have much to be proud of”. The RSES demonstrated strong internal reliability in the study; Cronbach's α was .83 in both waves I and II of this study.

Risk behavior. This measure assesses the extent to which participants engage in risk behaviors (Eccles & Barber, 1990). Examples include: cheating on school tests, contact with the police, ruined other people's things, stayed out all night, gotten suspended from school, started a fight in school among others. Response options are on a four-point Likert scale ranging from *Never* (1), *Once* (2), *Sometimes (2-10 times)* (3), *More than 10 times* (4). Cronbach's α was .90 in wave I and .89 in wave II of this study.

Classroom regulatory behaviors. This measure assesses how easy it is for participants to follow teacher directions, stay quiet while others are talking, not yell out answers, stay in one's seat, and focus on tasks for a long time. Response options range from *Very hard* (1), to *Very easy* (4). Cronbach's α was .76 in both wave I and wave II of this study.

Affected by SB 1070. The authors developed a scale that assesses how affected children are by SB 1070 which consisted of four items. Items include: “How affected are you by the recent act called SB1070?”, “How affected are your family members by the recent act called SB1070?”, “How affected is your community by the recent act called SB1070?” and “How affected are your friends by the recent act called SB1070?” Response options ranged from “*Not at all affected*” to “*Extremely affected*.” We conducted an exploratory principal component factor analysis of these four items using varimax rotation. Results and scree plot analysis revealed that these items measured a single construct. All items loaded with an eigenvalue above .8 in the same dimension. We confirmed these results by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis. The 4-item scale was shown reliable—Cronbach's α was .92 in wave II of this study. Unlike the previous scales, this particular measure

was introduced in wave II.

Results

We initially conducted a series of analysis utilizing the first wave of data collection, as it was the only data available at the time, and which is presented below. In addition, we present results from wave II, which highlights additional associations between key study variables. In wave II, we introduced a scale assessing how *affected* students were by SB 1070—in addition to how *aware* they were which we assessed in waves I and II.

Wave I

As a first step towards understanding the relation between awareness of SB 1070 and identity development, perceptions of discrimination, and self-esteem, we calculated a series of bivariate Pearson's correlations. Results revealed that awareness of SB 1070 was positively associated with perceptions of ethnic discrimination from authorities, but negatively related to American identity. Additionally, self-esteem was positively related to American identity. Finally, ethnic discrimination was negatively associated with American identity (see Table I).

Table I. Correlation Results

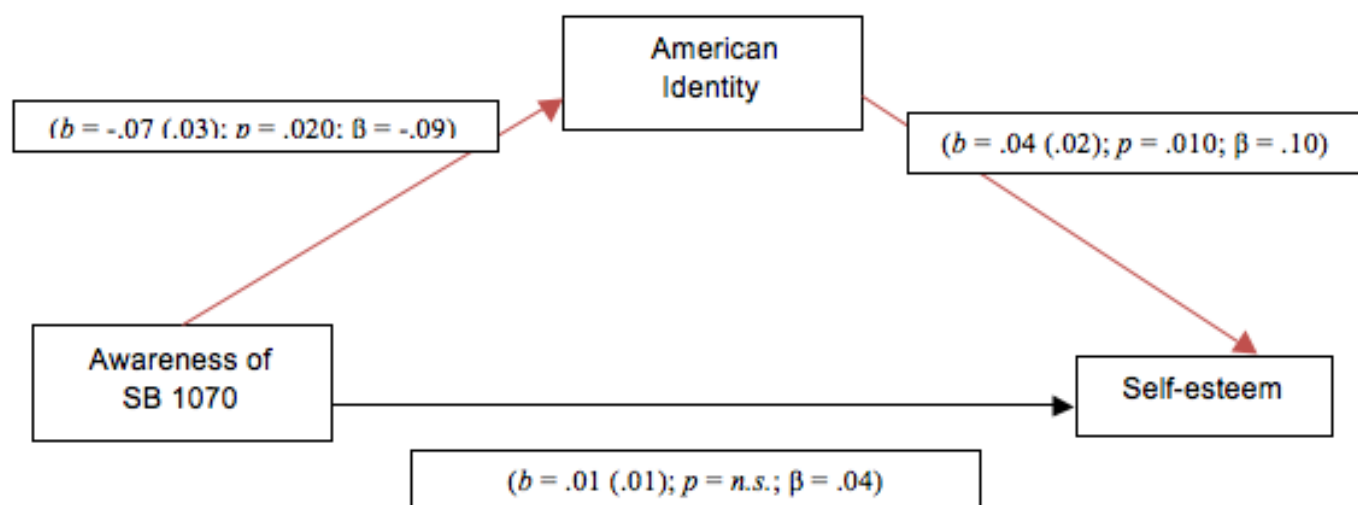
	Awareness of SB 1070	Self- esteem	Ethnic Discrimination	American Identity
Awareness of SB 1070	—			
Self-esteem	.04	—		
Ethnic Discrimination	.12**	-.04	—	
American Identity	-.13**	.10**	-.12**	—

To adjust these relations for demographic characteristics that may be related to awareness of SB 1070, we then conducted a series of multiple regression analyses controlling for age, generational status, gender and family structure. The results of these analyses indicated that generation of immigration, American identity and perceived ethnic discrimination from authorities were all significantly related to awareness of SB 1070. First- and second-generation adolescents reported greater awareness of SB 1070 than adolescents who are third generation ($b = .59 (.19)$; $p = .003$; $\beta = .13$ and $b = .48 (.15)$; $p = .002$; $\beta = .15$, respectively). In addition, there was a negative relation between American identity and awareness of SB 1070 ($b = -.07 (.03)$; $p = .020$; $\beta = -.09$). Early adolescents who reported greater awareness of the law also reported a weaker sense of being American. Follow-up analyses revealed that this association was significantly moderated by generation of immigration: the negative relation between SB 1070 awareness and American identity was *stronger* among first- and second-generation youth than among youth in the third or later generation ($b = -.21 (.09)$; $p = .02$; $\beta = -.09$ and $b = -.13 (.06)$; $p = .04$; $\beta = -.10$, for first- and second-generation youth, respectively). This relation was not moderated by race/ethnicity however, suggesting that this negative association was similar for youth of all racial/ethnic backgrounds in the sample. Finally, we found a positive association between perceptions of discrimination from authorities, and awareness of SB 1070 ($b = .28 (.11)$; $p = .011$; $\beta = .10$). Early adolescents who reported higher awareness of the law perceived greater discrimination from authorities. This association was not moderated by either generation of immigration or race/ethnicity. No significant relation between self-esteem and awareness of SB 1070 was found. However, controlling for adolescents' awareness of the law, we found that American identity was positively associated with self-esteem ($b = .04 (.02)$; $p = .010$; $\beta = .10$).

Finally, given the negative relation between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity and the positive relation between American identity and self-esteem, we explored the possibility that awareness of SB 1070 was

indirectly related to adolescent's self-esteem through its relation with American identity (see Figure 1). We tested for this indirect relation using the product of coefficients technique presented by Sobel (1982). The direct relation between awareness of SB1070 and self-esteem does not need to be significant in order for mediation to be present (Fritz & MacKinnon, 2007). Therefore, the Sobel (1982) test for mediation was still conducted. As indicated in Figure 1, the direct relation between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity, and between American identity and self-esteem (controlling for awareness of SB 1070) were both significant. In addition, the indirect relation between awareness of SB 1070 and self-esteem via American identity was significant using the Sobel (1982) test ($b = -0.004$ (0.002), $p < .05$). These results suggest that adolescents who report higher awareness of SB 1070 report a weaker sense of being American, which in turn is associated with diminished psychological health (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem).

Figure 1. Mediation Model between Awareness of SB 1070, American Identity and Self-esteem



Wave II

We added to the analysis conducted in wave I, by exploring additional associations in wave II. In wave II, Pearson's bivariate correlation results revealed a positive association between being aware of SB 1070 and youths' engagement in risk behaviors ($r = .17$; $p < .001$) and experiences of discrimination from authorities ($r = .19$; $p < .001$). Children who reported being more affected by SB 1070, reported lower levels of self-esteem ($r = -.07$; $p < .05$), and a weaker ability to regulate themselves during instruction (e.g., sitting still, focusing on material being taught, etc.) ($r = -.05$; $p < .05$). To adjust for demographic characteristics that may affect these relationships, we conducted a series of multiple regression analyses controlling for age, race/ethnicity, generational status, gender and eligibility for free and reduced lunch (a proxy for socioeconomic status)². Controlling for these demographic characteristics, results revealed a positive association between awareness of SB 1070 and youths' engagement in risk behaviors ($b = .05$ (.01); $p < .001$; $\beta = .16$). Early adolescents who reported greater awareness of the law also reported greater levels of engagement in risk behaviors (e.g., skipping school, etc.). Results also revealed a negative association between youths' report of being affected by SB 1070 and their ability to regulate in the classroom ($b =$

2. We were able to obtain data on youths' eligibility for free and reduced meals directly from the district in wave II.

-.03 (.01); $p < .01$; $\beta = -.10$). Multiple regression results also revealed a positive association between youths' report of being affected by SB 1070 with youths' perceptions of ethnic-based discrimination by authorities ($b = .04$ (.01); $p < .01$; $\beta = .22$).

Discussion

In the midst of the immigration debate in Arizona and elsewhere, there is a missing story about the potential psychological consequences, particularly on youth going through critical developmental stages, of acts like SB 1070. Our study was conducted in a middle school with a sizeable immigrant youth population (i.e., first and second generation). Most of these youth are U.S. citizens, and according to federal estimates, significant numbers of them are likely living with at least one unauthorized parent. Thus, the school where our study took place offers an important context to examine the effects of immigration reform. The population of the school is similar to other diverse urban schools in the U.S., and reflects a growing diversity in American education. Indeed, the youth in our study, as the youth in other diverse U.S. schools, are learning and living alongside youth of diverse immigrant generation and legal statuses. This reality forces us to examine how immigration issues not only affect immigrant youth directly, but how immigration (and immigration laws) also affects their peers, and the local culture of schools where youth interact. Importantly, the psychological well-being of immigrant, and non-immigrant youth alike, is critical to the development of human and other forms of capital necessary for success. Thus, a fruitful avenue for future research would be to investigate the psychological effects of contemporary immigration laws on immigrants and non-immigrants living in close proximity, to unveil links between these legal processes and the wellbeing of immigrant and non-immigrant youth alike.

Wave I of this study sought to examine more closely the unique experiences of immigrant youth and their peers by using a psychological measure of wellbeing, assessing youths' awareness of the SB 1070 legislation in Arizona, their perceptions of discrimination from authorities, and their sense of being American. Our findings indicate that awareness of SB 1070 had a small but significant negative association with youths' sense of being American, and that this weakened sense of American identity resulted in a small but meaningful reduction in psychological wellbeing (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem). In addition, our results suggest that this negative relation was stronger for first- or second-generation adolescents of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. While this finding may not be surprising given the nature of the legislation, it has potential long-term implications for the development of personal and national identity among a large and rapidly growing group of youth in the United States, the majority of whom are U.S. citizens. Because the data are cross-sectional, we cannot be certain that awareness of SB 1070 *caused* these decreases in American identity and psychological wellbeing. However, these results point to the possibility that SB 1070 may have negative repercussions for outcomes that are key aspects of the developmental period of early adolescence and have long-term consequences for development. As mentioned earlier, youths' psychological wellbeing plays a critical role in their later emotional, educational and occupational outcomes. In addition, developing a sense of positive national identity may contribute to increase civic engagement and political participation in the future. Thus, our study among a diverse sample of youth provides some initial evidence that legislation like SB 1070 may be associated with aspects of psychological development that are important to the long-term economic and democratic strength of the state and the nation as a whole. These results suggest an important avenue for research and a call to researchers and policymakers to continue to track and explore how laws such as SB 1070 may have unintended influences on youth development.

An important finding from our study is that the association between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity was not moderated by race/ethnicity. Thus, our findings are not specific to Latino children—even though a main, implicit or explicit, purpose of the law is to identify undocumented Latino immigrants. The associations we found between awareness of SB 1070, American identity and self-esteem were detected in a sample of racially and ethnically diverse youth—including white youth who attend highly diverse schools. On one hand, this is not surprising given that these youth live in environments where their peers belong to groups that are, implicitly or explicitly, a target of this type of legislation. There are various mechanisms through which peers can exert influence on wellbeing (e.g., co-rumination has been looked at as one mediator of depression contagion among friends; see Rose, Carlson, & Walter, 2007). Thus, it seems plausible that white youth in settings that are highly diverse are affected by the punitive and discriminatory culture promoted by laws like SB 1070. On the

other hand, it is striking that SB 1070's negative psychological consequences were also detected among white children as it reveals the law's reach beyond those who belong to groups that it directly targets—this is how the long arm of the law extends to have unforeseen consequences. Indeed, discriminatory messages perceived and embedded in legislation like SB 1070 may possibly affect children either directly or indirectly. And this is an area where the “unintended consequences” of the law need further study, as our results point to potential effects of this legislation on community dynamics, ethnic and racial relations, as well as possible new forms of coalitions and communities. The data from wave II further support these findings by linking directly youths' perceptions of how affected they feel by SB 1070 with lower levels of self-esteem.

The positive association we found between awareness of SB 1070 and perceptions of discrimination in waves I and II are also important to note. These results suggest that the adolescents in our study may perceive a hostile environment from authorities around them in light of practices that are seen and perceived as discriminatory, such as the SB 1070. In wave II, we show evidence that youths' perceptions of being affected by SB 1070 may be associated with perceptions of discrimination not only by authorities, but also by school staff, including teachers. Since these data are cross-sectional, it may also be that youth who already perceive a hostile environment from authorities may be more attuned to legislation such as SB 1070. Nonetheless, this positive association suggests of being affected by SB 1070 coupled with perceptions of discrimination from authorities may work together to contribute to a general sense of distrust among youth. Future research should endeavor to explore this relation in more detail and assess the causal mechanisms between them. This is particularly important given that SB 1070 awareness and perceptions of discrimination may act in accordance to further complicate key outcomes among children, including their academic engagement.

Research examining the effects of discrimination on schooling among Latino youth has reported various negative outcomes such as lower grade point averages, poor self-esteem, increases in school drop-out, and lower generalized academic well-being (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004). Academic success is critical for these youths' academic future and career opportunities, and research suggests that outcomes in academic domains during adolescence are followed by similar outcomes in later stages of development (Henderson & Dweck, 1990). School dropout rates for Latino adolescents constitute an alarming 2.4 times that of white non-Latino students, and 1.6 times that of black non-Latino students (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.). These statistics underscore the importance of understanding factors that contribute to the academic engagement of Latino youth, particularly when research by the Pew Hispanic Center also has found that young Latinos and their parents are fully cognizant, even more than other ethnic and racial groups, of the benefits of a college degree (Massey, 2007). Given the established literature linking experiences of discrimination with academic dis-engagement, our finding that SB 1070 awareness was linked to perceptions of discrimination lead us to believe that SB 1070 may also result in poorer academic engagement (although this association remains to be tested in future analyses). This is another critical avenue of research that deserves in-depth examination.

Data from wave II of our study reveals a significant association between adolescents' report of being affected by SB 1070 and a weaker ability to regulate their feelings during instruction (e.g., sitting still, focusing on material being taught). This finding reveals the potential for disruption in learning that punitive acts like SB 1070 may have on youths' ability to regulate themselves in the classroom. There is a vast psycho-educational literature that underscores the critical role that emotion regulation plays in learning (see Graziano, Reavis, Keane, & Calkins, 2007, for reviews). Additional data are needed to better understand the nuances and directions of these findings; however, this result offers initial evidence that the political and legal context seeps through to impact youth in many ways, ultimately affecting their ability to focus in school. Indeed, a striking finding from wave II is that simply being aware of SB 1070 was associated with higher engagement in risk behaviors (e.g., skipping school, stealing money, etc.). These findings point to the social and economic costs of this legislation, as it may affect the long-term trajectories of racially and ethnically diverse youth, and especially Latino youth.

Additionally, our findings parallel those of a recent report by the Pew Hispanic Research (Lopez, Morin, & Taylor, 2010) in which young Latino respondents were the most likely to either have experienced or know of someone who has experienced discrimination because of their race or ethnic group. Legal status has certainly become a central axis of stratification (Jiménez & López-Sanders, 2011; Lopez, Morin & Taylor,

2010; Menjívar, 2006) and legislation like SB 1070 accentuates the effects that legal status has, particularly with regard to perceptions of discrimination. The Pew Hispanic Center study (Lopez et al., 2010) found that of various factors that lead to discrimination, 36% of Latino respondents ranked immigration status as the most important, outranking skin color (21%), language skills (20%) and income and education (17%). Thus, paralleling our findings, these figures from the Pew study highlight the negative effects of current immigration laws that exacerbate perceptions of discrimination based on legal status, a characteristic shared by an increasingly large group of individuals.

As our findings indicate, legislation like SB 1070 has the potential to reverberate negatively in the lives of diverse youth well beyond its intent of stopping undocumented immigration. SB 1070 may foster an environment where immigrant youth *and their non-immigrant peers* are distrustful of authorities. Our examination of primarily immigrant youth and their peers suggests that these youths' identity as Americans may be undermined by punitive and exclusionary laws like SB 1070, even though the majority of the youth in our study were American citizens. Interestingly, right wing rhetoric that emphasizes so-called American values and traditions (e.g., as evident in the English-only education movement), seems to be doing a disservice to its mission by encouraging the passage of laws that promote suspicion or fear in minority youth. Ironically, these pieces of legislation may undermine the very principles of American identity and love for the country that these groups seek to promote. Failing to act runs the risk of raising adults who are distrustful of authorities and indifferent or even suspicious of those who write laws and implement them.

Lastly, an important factor to consider is the long-term effect of punitive legislation such as SB 1070 on the perceptions of young individuals as they become adults and active members of their communities. Perceptions of exclusion or of not fully belonging, even when they are U.S. citizens, are amplified by legislation like SB 1070, which are being considered in various states across the country, and can affect how individuals think of their position in society, and what their rights and responsibilities are. Thus, laws like SB 1070 may have important repercussions for political participation, citizenship, and membership more generally (see also, Fleury-Steiner & Longazel, 2010; Varsanyi, 2010). The unintended consequences of similar legislation may lead to the creation of a marginalized segment of the population with fewer rights (and responsibilities) and a tiered system of citizenship that accentuates and exacerbates the effects of other forms of social stratification (Menjívar and Kanstroom, in preparation, forthcoming). The aim of this article was to begin to explore some of the unintended consequences of SB 1070 among a small sample of youth in Arizona. We hope this work can serve as a call for both researchers and policymakers to more fully and systematically consider the influence of such legislation on the development of our nation's youth.

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Notes:

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