

Undocumented and Empowered: How different legal environments in California and Arizona impact psychological outcomes of undocumented individuals

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Faculty Adviser: Dr. Rachel Hershberg

Essay completed in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with Global Honors,
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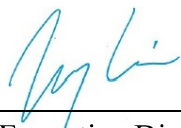
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Abstract:

The United States has always been unique in terms of our system of government, and as political tensions continue to rise the debate over immigration policies has only grown more polarized. Although all of the states in the U.S. are required to abide by Federal Law, each state has the jurisdiction to create laws and bills that are then observed within that particular state. The result of such drastic variations between state policies is that vulnerable populations, such as undocumented or mixed status immigrants and their families are at a higher risk than legal U.S. citizens for increased discrimination, educational disparities and psychological distress.

This essay will provide a case comparison between two recent anti-immigration policies: California Proposition 187 and Arizona Senate Bill 1070. Both of these states' policies are unique for the ways in which they promoted discrimination towards undocumented or mixed status families living in California and Arizona. The different effects that these two bills promoted has resulted in different psychosocial outcomes for undocumented or mixed status individuals. By recognizing the way in which anti-immigration legislation creates opportunity disparities between states, we can work towards creating more equitable laws that don't create such large gaps in the treatment of undocumented or mixed status individuals and their families.

Introduction:

In recent years as controversy over immigrants crossing from Mexico into the United States has grown so too has anti-immigration legislation, specifically targeting undocumented latinx immigrants. Although the U.S. has seen an increased rate of federal anti-immigration policies, the policies that cause the most distress among undocumented individuals occur at the state level. What's more, the fact that more conservative states such as Texas and Arizona are more likely to pass harsher policies compared to more liberal states such as California and Washington means that undocumented individuals are subjected to different contextual and environmental stressors, that create different levels of stress, worry and fear, related to the political leanings of the state they live in. Undocumented individuals may in turn experience a greater susceptibility to mental health challenges in states with more conservative and immigration restrictionist policies, creating disparities between undocumented individuals residing in conservative vs. liberal states.

In order to properly explore the different psychological outcomes of undocumented individuals living in states with immigrant restrictionist policies, it is important to begin by exploring the federal government's role in shaping current anti-immigration legislation disparities between states. By evaluating the history and impact of several key federal immigration policies, we can gather a stronger understanding of how certain federal immigration policies have shaped state-level immigration policies.

For this paper, I will be conducting a policy comparison between two state anti-immigration policies. The first of these policies will be Arizona Senate Bill 1070, and the second policy will be California Proposition 187. After giving a brief legal overview of these two anti-immigration policies, I will then move into describing the research surrounding the effects of

these two policies on the undocumented community in their respective states. Finally I will conclude my paper, by providing my suggestions and recommendations for moving forward.

A System of Checks and Balances: State vs. Federal Governments

The American system of democracy is unique for the way in which it manages and maintains power. Our current system of democracy was established by the founding fathers over 200 hundred years ago and splits the democratic power equally between three branches of government known as the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Our democratic system was designed as a system of checks and balances so that the ruling power may be split evenly between each branch of government. In addition to their own unique civic duties each branch of government must strive to uphold the values and laws as they are written in the Constitution (State and Local Government | The White House, n.d.).

Out of the three branches of government, the one with perhaps the most impact in terms of upholding and evaluating immigration policy is the judicial branch. The judicial branch is composed of the Supreme Court, which is the highest court of law, and consequently holds the highest power of authority within the United States (State and Local Government | The White House, n.d.). The Supreme Court is made up of nine judges who are appointed by the President and responsible for hearing appeals from lower-level courts in order to assess rulings for ways in which they may be unconstitutional. The unique power that the Supreme Court holds is that supreme court justices are allowed to interpret the law, and create new rulings based on this subsequent interpretation. In addition Supreme Court rulings are final and set legal precedents for similar rulings in lower-level courts (The Judicial Branch | The White House, n.d.).

The United States system of Federal Government is important for the way in which it establishes an equal system of ruling power as well as creates and maintains laws and policies that are applicable towards state governments. Each of the 50 U.S. states has its own government that is modeled off of our federal government's system of checks and balances. Although each state is required to follow a similar set of check-in balances as the federal government, states are allowed to create their own bills and policies that, if passed into law, must be followed by the individuals residing in that particular state (State and Local Government | The White House, n.d.). It is this system of state jurisdiction that creates such polarity within the United States as different political leanings of each state create different environments of reception towards undocumented individuals (Jiang, 2020).

Although the federal government is responsible for creating and upholding our national immigration policy, the last time the federal government passed any substantial immigration reform was in 1996 with the passing of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). I will go more in depth into the negative effects of the IIRIRA on undocumented individuals, but for now it's important to note that the lack of any federal immigration reform within the past 28 years has resulted in the majority of our current immigration disparities between states. Due to the fact that the federal government has failed to create clear legal parameters around immigration, state governments have increasingly felt the need to take on this legal jurisdiction. However the problem that arises when states create their own immigration bills and policies is a difference in the health and safety of undocumented individuals, depending on how restrictive or harmful a state's immigration policy is (Becerra et al., 2018).

Pre Immigration and Nationality Act:

The U.S. is the highest immigrant receiving country in the world with an estimated 13% of the total U.S. population having been born in another country. Of this foreign born population the highest number are from Mexico accounting for about 24% of the total number of foreign-born immigrants (Budiman, n.d.). In recent years as concerns over immigration have risen there has been an increasing amount of stereotypes towards immigrants from Mexico. The effects of these stereotypes has been a rise in discrimination towards Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans for the way in which these stereotypes encourage racial profiling as well as label these individuals as outsiders and “illegal” no matter their true legal status. However, despite this growing concern the reality is that 77% of foreign-born individuals living in the U.S. are legally authorized citizens and the undocumented population accounts for only 23% of the U.S. foreign born population (Budiman, n.d.).

Despite the large number of immigrants that arrive to the U.S. each year, America has a history of restrictive immigration policies that limit who is allowed to immigrate into the country. The very first law regarding immigration to the United States was passed just shortly after the birth of our country in 1790. This law known as the Naturalization Act only allowed “free white individuals” who had lived in the U.S. for 2 years to become legal citizens. Shortly after the Alien Friends Act was passed in 1798 and was the first U.S. law to make deportation action legal in the U.S (Cohn, 2015).

During the early 20th century as the U.S., along with the rest of the world was experiencing a time of rapid change during the industrial revolution, the demographic of immigrants to the U.S. also began to shift. Whereas before immigrants had primarily originated from countries in Northern and Western Europe, this changed at the beginning of the 20th

century with a higher number of immigrants now arriving from countries in Southern and Eastern Europe. This change in immigration demographics led the U.S. to pass the 1921 Emergency Quota Act. This federal act created numerical quotas for each country and capped the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. at a certain number (Cohn, 2015).

The passing of the Emergency Quota Act is just one example of the way in which the U.S. has historically restricted certain ethnic groups from immigrating into the country. The quota system of immigration was held in place for almost 40 years until 1965 when the historic Immigration and Nationality Act was enacted and officially retired racially categorized quotas as a way to manage U.S. immigration. One of the landmarks of the Immigration and Nationality Act was that unlike the Emergency Quota Act it favored the reunification of families and favored highly skilled foreign-born immigrants. To this day the Immigration and Nationality Act is still respected by the federal government and defines much of the vocabulary and legal parameters around who is considered a legal U.S. citizen and who is not (Cohn, 2015).

Post-Immigration Nationality Act:

Following the implementation of the Immigration and Nationality Act the U.S. saw a rise in the number of Asian and Latinx immigrants who were entering into the country, and consequently enacted a series of laws that strived to create a path forward for immigrants to gain citizenship. Of these laws the most influential was the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which allowed for millions of previously unauthorized immigrants to gain U.S. citizenship so long as they were considered to be a “legally authorized worker”. In addition the Immigration Reform and Control Act was also influential for the way in which it cracked down on employers who knowingly hired unauthorized immigrants (Cohn, 2015). This federal

crackdown on employers who hired unauthorized workers gave law enforcement and border patrol officers the authority to deport undocumented immigrants, which resulted in an increase of militarization enforcement within the deportation process.

Following the passing of IRCA, in 1986 the U.S. federal government continued to approve laws that were increasingly pro-immigration. But, this all came to a halt in 1996 when the U.S. enacted the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), as an attempt to crack down on illegal immigration to the U.S.. Under the IIRIRA penalties for crimes committed by undocumented individuals became much stricter and the U.S. imposed a new rule that immigrants seeking asylum must file their paperwork no later than one year after arriving in the U.S. (Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, n.d.).

With the increased restrictions put in place following the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, the number of deportations in the U.S. nearly doubled from 69,680 in 1996 to 114,432 in 1997 (Table 39. Aliens Removed or Returned: Homeland Security, 2019). What's more, in 1996 the number of undocumented Mexican immigrants deported from the U.S. was 35,428 the largest number from all of the undocumented individuals deported that same year (1996 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997). Even though immigrants from Mexico make up the largest group of immigrants arriving to the U.S. each year, the combination of the implementation of IIRIRA, and the militarization of the deportation process has resulted in undocumented immigrants from Mexico experiencing unique fears and worries surrounding the experience of deportation, resulting from federal anti-immigration policies.

In addition the other major restriction detailed in the IIRIRA, requires that immigrants and refugees seeking asylum in the U.S. file no later than one fiscal year after arrival to the U.S..

However the biggest problem with this restriction is that it imposes new processes and procedures that place a strain on our already inefficient immigration system. This in addition to the fact that many asylum seekers come from countries in which they are exposed to traumatic circumstances and are then expected to navigate a complex legal system in a language that is not their own, means that there are many immigrants who slip through the cracks and are unable to ever receive asylum (Acer & Byrne, 2017). By understanding how complex and frustrating navigating the U.S. immigration system is, especially with respect to differences in state level policies, we can have a more empathic view of undocumented individuals who flee to the U.S. in order to improve their circumstances, but are forced to navigate a system in which the path towards achieving legal citizenship is neither easy nor clear.

Describing the Landscape between Arizona and California:

Since the passing of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996, there have been several federal policies enacted as an attempt to rectify our country's current immigration crisis. Of these recent federal policies perhaps the one that has received the most security has been the DACA program. Officially introduced by the Obama administration in June of 2012, the DACA program was unique for the way in which it granted undocumented youth certain protection from deportation. However the biggest problem with DACA was that undocumented youth were only able to receive “deferred legal action”, meaning that the protective measures of DACA could be terminated at any time. In addition DACA created a distinction in which only undocumented youth who were brought to the United States during a certain time period could apply for the program (History of Immigration Policy in the United States - Ballotpedia, n.d.). In this way DACA was only a temporary fix to our immigration

system as it essentially gave undocumented youth protection against deportation, but not a path forward to citizenship.

The combination of the legal ambiguity of the DACA program and the failure of our federal government to enact any substantial immigration reform policies since the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act meant that within the past 20 years state governments have felt the need to take the issues of immigration into their own hands. However, the problem that arises when state governments take the issues of immigration policy into their own jurisdiction is that it creates psychosocial disparities between undocumented individuals living in different states.

For example, a 2018 meta-analysis of state immigration policies found that state immigration policies affected the latinx community in four distinctive ways: “through stress related to structural racism; by affecting access to beneficial social institutions, particularly education; affecting access to healthcare and related services; and through constraining access to material conditions such as food, wages, working conditions, and housing.” (Philbin et al., 2018). From this research we can understand that differences in state immigration policies create different environmental contexts for undocumented individuals to navigate, and with them the potential to create disparities between undocumented individuals.

In order to truly and accurately understand the way in which Arizona Senate Bill 1070 and California Proposition 187 have impacted the undocumented community it's important to first understand each state's current environment of reception towards undocumented individuals. In order to determine each state's environment I will be using data provided by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, which is a nonprofit organization focused on providing research, assistance, and educational materials to immigrants and individuals who work closely

with immigrants. The data collected by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center is based on an analysis of current state laws related to immigration enforcement, and evaluated on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being a large amount of harmful state policies, and 5 being a low amount of harmful state policies (State Map on Immigration Enforcement ILRC, 2023).

As of 2023, the Immigrant Legal Resource Center ranked the state of Arizona as 2.53 on a scale of 5 and labeled Arizona as promoting a harmful environment towards undocumented individuals. A large reason why Arizona has such a low ranking is that within the state, law enforcement is able to work with ICE in order to target undocumented individuals in the state. Specifically in Arizona law enforcement officers are able to ask individuals about their legal status and share that information with ICE. What's worse is if the questioned individual is arrested and taken to a jail, information about their legal status can be passed along to an ICE official who can then transfer that individual straight from a county jail to a deportation center (State Map on Immigration Enforcement ILRC, 2023).

In comparison the state of California received a ranking of 4.27 on the scale, and currently has several policies in place that serve to protect the undocumented community in the state. Some of these policies include an emphasis on transparency which allows for the public to better understand the interaction between state and local involvement in the deportation system. In addition the state of California is also productive about avoiding any private prison contract with ICE which shows that California is committed to putting the wellbeing of undocumented immigrants before the financial incentives of the state (State Map on Immigration Enforcement ILRC, 2023).

Based on the data provided by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center we can infer that in general California tends to foster a more protective legal environment for its undocumented

population, compared to Arizona. By passing policies that focus on transparency California has worked towards creating a safer legal environment for the undocumented population in the state. This is in contrast to the legal environment in Arizona which promotes relationships between law enforcement and deportation authorities, directly harming undocumented individuals in the state. In this way the different legal environments between Arizona and California create legal disparities between the undocumented population living in these two states.

Arizona Senate Bill 1070:

Within the past 10 years the state of Arizona has become an increasingly hostile state for undocumented immigrants to reside. Both legal and non-legal residents living within the state have experienced a rise in discriminatory legal policies towards Mexican's and Mexican-Americans alike. Of these discriminatory anti-immigration policies perhaps the one that has had the largest negative affect has been Arizona Senate Bill 1070. This bill was originally passed by the Arizona State legislature on April 19th, 2010, and included four critical provisions aimed at cracking down on illegal immigration within the state.

Section 2B also known as the "Show me your papers" provision gave law enforcement the authority to ask to see proof of citizenship for any individuals who looked to have "reasonable suspicion" of being undocumented. Section 3 of SB 1070 criminalized individuals who failed to carry documents that proved their ability to live and work legally within the state. Section 5C made it a crime for undocumented individuals to seek employment or be employed within Arizona without the proper legal documents. And finally Section 6 allowed police officers to arrest individuals without a legal warrant as long as the officer had "probable cause" to believe that the individual had committed a crime that would warrant deportation (2012: Arizona v.

United States - A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States - Research Guides at Library of Congress, n.d.).

As one can imagine several of the key sections of SB 1070 are highly controversial for the way in which they promote racial discrimination towards latinx identifying individuals living in Arizona. The controversy surrounding SB 1070 led a coalition of activist groups to challenge SB 1070 on the grounds of it being unconstitutional. This court case was taken all the way up to the Supreme Court, who ruled in June of 2012 that all but Section 2B or the “show me your paper’s provision” was unconstitutional due to the fact that only the federal government has the power to make and decide laws surrounding deportation (2012: Arizona v. United States - A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States - Research Guides at Library of Congress, n.d.).

Although the Federal Supreme Court struck down all, but Section 2B of Senate Bill 1070, which allowed law enforcement to seek proof of legal citizenship, the harm that has been caused as a result of this policy has not gone unnoticed by undocumented individuals. Most noticeably, the population that seems to be suffering the most as a result of this changing legal atmosphere is undocumented youth. In 2011, a year after Section 2B of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 had been enacted, researchers set out within schools in Arizona to conduct interviews with both students and staff in order to evaluate the negative effects that SB 1070 promoted in youth. Key findings from the study revealed that following the passage of SB 1070 undocumented students were dropping out of school at a higher rate and experiencing a higher number of mental-health related issues such as anxiety and depression (Left Back Report.Pdf, n.d.).

After the passage of Arizona SB 1070 undocumented immigrants living in the state began experiencing an increased fear of deportation and a lack of job opportunity, which led many to

uproot their lives and move to more undocumented friendly states such as California and New Mexico. The result of this has been disastrous on the state of Arizona and resulted in decreased economic growth for the state. The Cato Institute published a report in 2012 and found that between 2007 and 2011 Arizona witnessed a sharp decline within the agriculture and construction industries, which has created a gap in Arizona's labor market that has contributed towards economic loss for the country and exacerbated the state's economic recession (Nowrasteh, 2012).

In addition to impacting Arizona's economic situation SB 1070 created a noticeable impact on the way in which the undocumented population interacts with law enforcement. Due to the fact that SB 1070 gave law enforcement in Arizona the legal authority to racially profile and potentially arrest undocumented individuals it caused many undocumented individuals to change their perception as law enforcement officers from being individuals who could help you to figures who now presented a threat to one's safety (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016).

Another change that has been observed following the implementation of SB 1070 has been a change in undocumented individuals' mobility and interactions with law enforcement. Following the implementation of SB 1070 as law enforcement was given the power to detain individuals they suspected of being undocumented, daily activities such as driving to work or school become dangerous for the ways in which they could quickly turn into a dangerous situation for undocumented individuals (Berger Cardoso et al., 2018). In addition the mistrust of law enforcement has led many undocumented individuals to refrain from contacting the police or local authorities following a domestic dispute for fear of incarcerating themselves or individuals within their family or community (Lopez, 2011). These observed changes within the undocumented community are discriminatory for the ways in which an already at-risk population

faces increased barriers when it comes to accessing public resources that are readily available to legal U.S. citizens.

The threat of deportation goes beyond altering one's routine to avoid confrontation with the police. Perhaps one of the most sinister effects of SB 1070 is the way in which it places huge emotional and psychological stress on undocumented youth and their families. A 2018 article published in the *Journal of Adolescent Health* found that undocumented parents who had encounters in which they were stopped, questioned, or harassed by law enforcement resulted in a 300% increase in psychological distress for that parent (Roche et al., 2018).

This large of an increase in the psychological distress of undocumented parents is harmful for a multitude of reasons. As the field of health psychology has discovered, our emotional well-being has a direct link to our physical well-being and individuals who experience high levels of stress on a constant basis are at a higher risk for developing cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes, autoimmune disorders, as well as depression and anxiety (Mariotti, 2015). In addition the psychological distress that parents experience as a result of racial and legal discrimination has direct observed impacts in their children. In the same 2018 study mentioned before children and adolescents whose parents experienced high psychological distress, had poorer social functioning, low academic motivation, and mental health concerns (Roche et al., 2018). These concerns are all problematic for the way in which they prove that the effects of SB 1070 extend past just the legal ramifications, and have caused acute stress and harm on an already vulnerable population.

In conclusion, Arizona currently stands as the leader for some of our country's most restrictive anti-immigration policies. However the result of these policies on the undocumented latinx population living in Arizona is overwhelmingly negative, with proven effects on the

health, social, and psychological well-being of undocumented individuals. As other states such as Texas and Florida look to Arizona as an example of anti-immigration policies I worry for the future of undocumented immigrants living in these states, as anti-immigration policies create large problems for this already extremely vulnerable population.

California and Proposition 187:

The 1980 and 1990's in California was a time of tough economic loss and misfortune for the state. During this time California was experiencing its worst recession since the Great Depression as the state was experiencing a huge budget deficit and almost a million people had lost their jobs. During times of economic hardship politicians will often look for scapegoats, and this time California lawmakers blamed undocumented latinx immigrants for putting a strain on the state's economic system by using taxpayers dollars in order to utilize public resources (Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000).

As a result of these heightened tensions and economic misfortune California lawmakers proposed one of the most explicitly discriminatory policies towards undocumented immigrants, ever passed into law. Known as Proposition 187 or the "Save our State" bill, undocumented immigrants and other individuals who failed to pay state taxes would no longer be able to access state public resources. This bill was so restrictive to the point that it banned undocumented individuals from accessing public healthcare and education. What's worse, this bill also incentivized public school teachers and public healthcare workers to report those they suspected of being undocumented to law enforcement, further discriminating against undocumented individuals (1994: California's Proposition 187 - Research Guides at Library of Congress, n.d.).

Despite how bluntly discriminatory Proposition 187 was towards undocumented and latinx immigrants this bill was passed into California State law on November 9th, 1994, with a 63% majority vote (1994: California's Proposition 187 - Research Guides at Library of Congress, n.d.). Thankfully Proposition 187 was never able to be fully implemented as shortly after November 9th multiple civil rights organizations challenged the constitutionality of Proposition 187.

Ultimately Proposition 187 was never officially enacted in California due to the fact that a Federal court judge ruled that Proposition 187 was unconstitutional for its violation of the 14th Amendment, under which grants protective status to any individuals residing in the U.S. regardless of their citizenship status (1994: California's Proposition 187 - Research Guides at Library of Congress, n.d.).

Despite the fact that Proposition 187 was never officially enacted in California the damage had already been done for many undocumented immigrants. A study conducted on the effects of Proposition 187 on clinic access within an inter-city hospital in LA found a significant decrease in the number of new-patient walk-ins following the 1994 election in which Proposition 187 was on the ballot. But, when the researchers conducted a follow up with the clinic two-months later they found that baseline levels had returned to normal. The researchers concluded based on this sample that Proposition 187 had an immediate effect on undocumented immigrants access to public healthcare settings due to a fear of deportation, but once it became clear that Proposition 187 would not be implemented and there was no longer a threat undocumented individuals felt it was safer to once again use public healthcare facilities (Marx et al., 1996).

Although Proposition 187 was struck down by the Supreme Court before it could ever be fully implemented, the history and legacy of anti-immigration policy continues to live on. For

example a longitudinal study looking at the adverse mental and physical health effects of anti-immigration policy on latinx youth in California found an increase in anxiety, blood-pressure, and disturbed sleep problems for children with at least 1 immigrant parent following the 2016 election. The authors of this study suggested that such dramatic physical and mental health problems following the 2016 election places high cognitive stress on undocumented children and has life-long lasting effects for this already vulnerable subset of children (Eskenazi et al., 2019).

For children of undocumented parents who grew up witnessing an increased amount of fear and discrimination in California following Proposition 187, the effects of this have not gone unnoticed. What makes undocumented youth in California different is that they are unapologetic and unafraid to fight hard for a better immigration system. As the author Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales writes in her research article *Undocumented, unafraid and unapologetic: Re-articulatory practices and migrant youth “illegality”* undocumented youth living in America are faced with a unique set of challenges as they do not experience the same access to rights and freedom that children with citizenship do, but yet they view themselves as culturally American. The struggle for these youth then is to overcome the systemic barriers facing them, which many chose to do through becoming activists (Negrón-Gonzales, 2014).

There has been a sizable amount of research done in the past 20 years to understand why undocumented youth in California are so drawn to activism as adolescents and young adults. Identity development for undocumented children can be difficult as they may grow up feeling like they are “neither from here nor from there”. What this often looks like for undocumented youth is that they don’t feel completely at home in the country they were born in because they were raised in America, but at the same time they don’t feel accepted by mainstream American society (Schwartz et al., 2018).

Essentially what researchers have come to understand is that often what drives undocumented adolescents and young adults towards developing an activist identity is that it gives these predominantly underprivileged groups a sense of power and agency in a world in which they are used to having very little. In addition a strong sense of community is a key component that initially draws young adults in and motivates them to stay in these communities, where they feel understood and safe (DeAngelo et al., 2016).

Despite the harm and fear that Proposition 187 caused in undocumented individuals living in California, it's hard to ignore the progress that California has made since then to become more welcoming of immigrants. Today California is considered a "sanctuary state" for undocumented immigrants, which means it has protective policies in place that work to limit the State's collaboration with law enforcement and deportation agencies (State Map on Immigration Enforcement ILRC, 2023).

In addition in the past several years California has made efforts to combat issues of racial profiling within the detention process, most notably with the passing of the 2017 Transparent Review of Unjust Transfers and Holds Act (TRUTH). With the passing of this law California hopes to reduce the number of undocumented immigrants being reported to border patrol officials by law enforcement officers, by requiring law enforcement agencies to provide information and due process protections to immigrants who are detained (California Laws Protecting Immigrants' Civil Rights - Office of the Attorney General, 2017).

The legal and political actions that California has taken in the past 20 years to protect immigrant rights provides an interesting case study for what the future of immigration policy might look like in the United States. California has gone through a lot of change in the past 20 years and it's interesting to see how the state has gone from blaming undocumented immigrants

to protecting them. Perhaps other states that tend to be more conservative and have more restrictive policies for undocumented immigrants, such as Arizona and Texas, will change to become more accepting of these populations in the coming years.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, after reviewing the current research on the psychological effects of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 and California Proposition 187, there seems to be a clear difference in the way undocumented individuals feel free to express themselves in more liberal states such as California, versus in more conservative states such as Arizona. Whereas undocumented individuals who grow up in states with less restrictive immigration policy feel safe enough to ask for more protection from their state government, individuals who grow up in states with more restrictive anti-immigration policies experience greater amounts of fear, stigma, and discrimination within their daily lives. In this way the differences in immigration policies between states creates differences in the psycho-social outcomes of undocumented individuals.

In order to address the problem of different states creating different psycho-social environments and outcomes for undocumented individuals, it is my recommendation that the Federal Government step up and create a more substantial Federal immigration reform that works to keep state government's accountable to the undocumented population in their state. In addition I believe that the Federal Government also needs to focus on creating an easier pathway for undocumented individuals to attain legal U.S. citizenship, and to stop blaming these individuals for not being able to navigate a foreign legal system that has many complexities to it.

The difference in the experience of undocumented individuals living in states with restrictive anti-immigration policies versus states with less restrictive immigration policy is the

result of the lack of our Federal Government to create a more conclusive and sustainable reform around immigration policy. State governments have responded to our federal government's lack of immigration reform by taking the enforcement of undocumented individuals under their own jurisdiction. However, this state level response has proved harmful for undocumented individuals as conservative states such as Arizona are more likely to push for anti-immigration policies that pose the threat of prolonged psychological harm within undocumented individuals residing in that state. It is my firm belief that no individual, whether a child or an adult, should be subjected to the emotional and psychological harm that comes from a fear of constant deportation.

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