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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Sam Kedem

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
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Walden University
2015

Abstract

Associative Factors of Acculturative Stress in Latino Immigrants

by

Sam Kedem

MS, Barry University, 1999

BS, Florida State University, 1992

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Psychology

Walden University

March 2015

Abstract

For the past 200 years, Latinos have comprised the largest, consistent category of immigrants in the United States. This influx has created a need for culturally competent psychological treatment of a population that suffers from acculturative stress, defined as the stress a minority member experiences while trying to adjust to the culture of the majority. Researchers have studied Latino immigrants' enduring trials as they adjust to life in the United States. Nevertheless, there is limited research on the quantification of factors contributing to acculturative stress. Based on the conceptual framework of bidimensional acculturation and Latina/o critical race theory, predictors of acculturative stress among Latino immigrants ($N = 172$) were examined in this quantitative cross-sectional study. Data were collected using a convenience sample from several public areas located in Miami, Florida. Forced entry regression analysis weighed factors such as: documentation status, experiencing prejudice, gender, income, the number of family members present, confidence in English, age, and number of years in the United States. The results demonstrated only experienced prejudice weighed significantly in the regression model ($\beta = .43$, $p < .05$), and was therefore correlated with acculturative stress scores. The results of this study may help to increase mental health professionals' awareness of how experiences of discrimination can impact the acculturative stress of their immigrant clients. To improve service to this community, mental health professionals and their institutions can take steps to counteract the biases associated with the acculturative stress of Latino immigrants, thereby establishing themselves as an ally to this population.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Latino immigrants, like many other immigrants, suffer from stress when trying to adjust to living in a country where the culture of the majority is different from their own. It is difficult to pinpoint which factors contribute most to the problems of adjusting. The topic of this study is the acculturative stress of Latino immigrants in the United States of America. I measured their acculturative stress and determined which factors seem to associate to their stress levels to determine whether Latino immigrants are stressed more by factors such as negative encounters with people from the United States of America, preimmigration factors such as where they come from, or postimmigration factors such as income or language. The study's findings can assist Latino immigrants to focus on ways to cope with the factors that are affecting them the most, therefore alleviating acculturative stress. I discovered the more potent causes of acculturative stress, quantified them, and ranked them in this study.

Background of the Study

There is a wealth of literature on the Latino-American immigrant in the United States (Berry, 1997; Comas-Diaz, 2001; Ochoa, 2001; Quezada & Belgrave, 1997; Rumbaut, 2003; Williams & Berry, 1991). There have been many books and articles, some written in personal, poetic prose and some documenting through scientific observation, the various struggles of Latinos upon arrival.

Other researchers have addressed the economic impact of documented as well as undocumented immigrants on the cost of health care, the change in law enforcement, and

the impact on regional economies and various industries in terms of growth and labor (Allen, Kuhns, & Stuntz, 1999; Binder, Geis, & Bruce, 1988; De la Garza & DeSipio, 1998; Dingeman & Rumbaut, 2006; Hagan, Rodriguez, & Castro, 2011; Haverluk & Trautman, 2008; Maldonado, 2009; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001; Rumbaut, 2004). Researchers, politicians, and commentators have also written many articles about Latino immigrants with a political agenda aimed at reinforcing borders to deter immigration or, the contrast, aimed at welcoming immigrants and giving them equal rights as citizens (Campbell, 2011; DeSipio, 2008; Fong, 2008; Gonzalez, 2011; Padilla et al., 1991; Perez, 2011; Perez Huber, Malagon, & Solorzano, 2009; Radoff, 2006). These articles usually are inspired by state or federal legislation being proposed as a bill or that has already been passed.

A third focus of the literature on Latino immigrants involves their health. Many researchers have written about difficulties of health care access for at-risk populations. These researchers calculate the occurrence rates of stress-related illnesses and psychological symptoms. Whenever a significantly higher rate of an illness or symptom occurs in the Latino immigrant sample compared to the Latino American or White American prevalence rates, the authors underline a cause for concern and concentrated efforts (Alderete, Vega, Kolody, & Alguilar-Gaxiola, 2000; Beiser et al., 1988; Dona & Berry, 1994; Escobar, Nervi, & Gara, 2000; Gomez, Miranda, & Polanco, 2011; Hovey & Magana, 2002; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Quezada & Belgrave, 1997; Tillman & Weiss, 2009). These are the three main areas I will be focusing on in the literature review in Chapter 2.

Exactly why Latino immigrants endure acculturative stress is something that researchers have studied through qualitative methods of analysis such as ethnographic narratives, focus groups, or open-questioned interviews. However, there has been little research to demonstrate exactly how much the various factors (i.e., language, education, and age) impact the Latino immigrants' level of stress. With this study, I provide guidance for mental health workers who primarily work with this minority. I added to the literature in two ways. One way was the use of quantitative measures and the second was the comparison of the experiences of documented versus undocumented Latino immigrants. Through this study, I explored why Latino immigrants suffer from acculturative stress and what steps the mental health community can take to address the issue.

Problem Statement

The amount of acculturative stress that Latino immigrants endure is the result of a host of factors suggested by a history of research using various methods. As detailed in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, researchers have demonstrated that income, English mastery level, number of years in the United States, having family present, country of origin, gender, age, documentation status, and prejudiced interactions all serve to increase the amount of acculturative stress experienced by the Latino immigrant. The purpose of this research was to discover which factors are prominent in contributing to the experience of stress when Latino immigrants are adjusting to life in the United States.

Strigoi (2007), drawing on Hobbes, argued that through social contract theory or unified patriotism, what affects one American affects all Americans. As I demonstrate

through the literature review, immigration has been a hot-button topic historically, whenever the United States has suffered economic hardship whilst in a recession or a depression. During these times, immigrants have been used as a scapegoat for society's social support spending, health care crises, and surge in crime rate. The 2008 economic recession has been the most recent source of similar prejudice. Latino immigrants, as the target of this nationwide surge in resentment, are more likely to suffer from psychological as well as physical ailments, even though they may not find their way to treatment due to a host of extrinsic as well as intrinsic barriers. It would benefit the mental health practitioner working with this population to learn the primary causes of acculturative stress, as well as ancillary causes, and which factors seem to have little impact on the new American in the United States.

There has been some debate among researchers about whether or not acculturation to life in the United States minimizes stress and the accompanying psychological symptoms or whether acculturation exacerbates stress. Some researchers argued that moving to another country and transitioning from one's native culture to another are a large source of stress, and they have labeled it *acculturative stress* (APA, 2000; Aderete et al., 2000; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000). On the other hand, other researchers have argued that it is the American way of life itself that is stressful, not the transition into it (Escobar et al., 2000; Tillman & Weiss, 2009). Therefore, the more a Latino immigrant amalgamates, the more likely he or she is to suffer psychological and physical symptoms of stress. Latino immigrants were healthier than their second and

third generation counterparts (Clark & Berkowitz King, 2008). This has been referred to as the *American paradox* or the *immigrant advantage*.

Once again, most studies on acculturative stress have been qualitative in nature. Some questions remain because few researchers have quantified the various factors attributed to acculturative stress in the Latin-American immigrant. Fewer still have attempted to place a weight on the variables based on their correlation with acculturative stress scores. Finally, there are no studies comparing the acculturative stressors of the Latino immigrant with that of their undocumented counterpart. This study addressed all these gaps in the literature.

Purpose of the Study

This quantitative study served the purpose of comparing several factors that contribute to acculturative stress against one another to determine which factors rank as more severe in contributing to the stress of a Latino immigrant in the United States. The dependent variable was a total score for acculturative stress. The independent variables were an experienced prejudice score, confidence in English, monthly income, the number of years the participant has lived in the United States, the number of family members present in the United States, gender, age, and whether or not he or she is documented.

Nature of the Study

I used a quantitative, correlational, cross-sectional survey design to gather and analyze the data. Once I collected the data, I used a forced entry regression analysis to estimate the contributive value of nine independent variables in how they predict the total score of an acculturative stress test. I explain this process more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

The dependent variable was the amount of acculturative stress the participants experience as measured by the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory–Immigrant Version (AHSI-I; Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, Walker, & Fisher, 2006). One of the independent variables was the total score of the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006), which measured experienced prejudice and its impact on the participants. I administered a one-page demographic questionnaire to collect data for the eight remaining independent variables. Participants in this study were 18 years and older and reflected the first generation Latino Americans and the 1.5 generation, which are immigrants arriving as young children (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

I examined various predictive variables for acculturative stress. In prior research, each of these variables has been shown to be associated with the acculturation of Latino immigrants. However, these variables had not been compared with each other and quantitatively measured for their contribution to acculturative stress. I answered the research question: Does experiencing discrimination and other sociocultural variables (income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) correlate with levels of acculturative stress?

The hypothesis for this study was: All seven sociocultural factors (income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) and experiencing discrimination will statistically correlate with levels of acculturative stress. I tested this hypothesis using a multiple regression analysis.

Theoretical Background

Berry (1997) defined acculturation as the process of a minority group or individual adjusting to the psychology of a larger group, dominant in numbers and power. This definition encompasses many types of acculturation, including: assimilation, delayed acculturation, reactive acculturation, and creative acculturation. Reactive acculturation is when members of the minority culture are resistant to the influences of the majority culture. In contrast creative acculturation, or when the immigrant adopts aspects of both the minority and majority culture (also called biculturalism), was predicted by Berry to be the path of least resistance and thereby minimizing acculturative stress.

Berry (1997) postulated a bidimensional, rather than unidimensional, process of acculturation. In a unidimensional theory, the immigrant follows along a continuum where his or her native culture gradually gives way to the adoption of the new host culture or majority culture. In the bidimensional acculturation theory, maintaining one's original culture is considered a separate dimension from amalgamating to the new culture, in this case that of the United States of America. Through this theory, Berry suggested that immigrants who cling to their culture of origin while adopting their new homeland's culture will adjust with less acculturative stress. With the bidimensional acculturation theory, there are four possible outcomes resulting from the acculturation process: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001). If a Latino immigrant emphasizes the importance of maintaining one's cultural heritage while at the same time minimizing the importance of integrating into the

new, majority culture, then the immigrant falls into the category of separation (Dona & Berry, 1994). Immigrants in this category are more prone to acculturative stress than immigrants in any of the other categories of acculturation like integration, assimilation, and marginalization.

This study included as theoretical frameworks the concepts of: acculturation, acculturative stress, and Latina/o critical race theory (Pérez Huber, 2010). The concept of acculturation theorizes that every immigrant or minority member must adapt to living in a culture where he or she is the minority. Therefore, he or she must become accustomed to living among a society and culture different from the one he or she is used to.

Scholars have traced discussions of theoretical conceptualizations of *acculturative stress* back to its roots in the 1960s, and the term can be defined as the concept that every person trying to accommodate to and live among the culture of the majority will endure a certain level stress, coupled with the stress of losing one's original culture and place of origin. Smart and Smart (1995) did not attribute the term acculturative stress to a particular theorist because the concept has been studied under other names: culture stress, culture shock, fatigue, role shock, and language shock. Using this example, immigrants from Latin American countries (the subject of this study) endure acculturative stress as they settle into the United States of America, where the majority of people are White Americans.

Finally, Latina/o critical race theory is very pertinent to this research. Through the theory, Pérez-Huber (2010) suggested the more minority statuses a person embodies in his or her identity, the more likely the person would suffer from acculturative stress. For

example, being not only Latina but gay, a woman, poor, and Black would theoretically invite a host of factors compounding acculturative stress. For that reason, I predicted that experiences of discrimination predict acculturative stress as well as other factors more closely associated with acculturative stress, like age, mastery of English, salary, number of years in the United States, and others.

Definition of Terms

Acculturative stress: Stress behaviors, anxiety, depression, alienation, increased psychosomatic symptoms, or identity confusion as a result of the process of acculturation (Williams & Berry, 1991).

America or *American*: In this study, denotes someone or something from the United States of America. In fact, I will use *America* interchangeably with the United States and the United States of America.

Immigrants: People arriving from another country with the purpose of re-establishing their life in the new country. As of 2010 there are approximately 41 million Latino people in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010). Five million live in south Florida, and 1,825,000 people in Miami-Dade County are Latino, which constitutes 65% of its residents (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010). The southern California corridor, from San Diego to Los Angeles, contains 16.4% of the immigrants in the United States, while the New York City and adjacent New Jersey areas have another 16% (Rumbaut, 2004). The city where I conducted this study has 5% of the nation’s immigrants and the highest percentage of immigrants with three quarters of the city being foreign born or the children of foreign born (Rumbaut, 2004).

Hispanic: There is much debate as to which term to use when referring to people from Spanish speaking countries. Both *Latino* and *Hispanic* imply imperialism and both can be deemed offensive. One implies the Hispanic is the subject of the Spanish empire, while the Latino implies a subject of the Roman empire. Although the term Hispanic was adopted as a category by the 1970 United States Bureau of the Census, its origin is Latin and its first recorded use was in 1584 (Flexner & Hauk, 1993). Comas-Diaz (2001) described the term Hispanic as "inaccurate, incorrect, and often offensive as a collective name for all Spanish speakers or Latinos" (p. 116). The opinion that the Hispanic label is insulting is given to the European origin of the term, classifying the individual as a person, or from a country, once conquered by Spain. The census uses the term Hispanic to described American individuals of Spanish-speaking, Latin American descent; however, it is generally not used in Latin America itself (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010).

Latino: On the other hand, Comas-Diaz (2001) prefers the term *Latino* because it refers to people from Latin America, it is gender specific, and it includes the people from Portuguese nations as well. Morardi and Risco (2006) cited Davila as the guide for their preference for the use of *Latino*, which they say emphasizes a shared Latin culture, versus *Hispanic*, an English term applied by the U.S. government. The problem with term *Latino* is that it was first used in 1946 and is of American origin (Flexner & Hauk, 1993), making it a term created by the U.S. to be placed on Latin Americans. Haverluk and Trautman (2008) explained that *Latino* has its origin in the United States, circa 1940, while the term *Hispanic*, while being an English term, is actually Latin in origin, coming

from the Latin *Hispania,* meaning "Iberia.". The other problem, pointed out in conversation with Alvarez in 2012, a Cuban physician from Borinquen Medical Center who has practiced in Spain, China, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa, is that the term Latino is used to delineate people from Latin American countries. Thus, the term Latino does not include Spain and Spanish descendants in other European countries. Nor does Latino include people from the Spanish-speaking towns in Guinea, Sudan, Western Sahara, Morocco, and Angola. Latin America also excludes the Spanish-speaking islands of the Philippines, Guam, Easter Island, and many other islands of the Spanish East Indies. Alvarez stated the best term to describe people of Spanish-speaking origin worldwide is *Hispanos*, a term I have not found to be used in the English literature so far. After considering the terms Hispanic and Latino carefully, I decided to use the term *Latino* to refer to people from these groups and descendants from these groups. It would never be appropriate to refer to everyone from Spanish-speaking countries and their descendants as Latino, as if they were one monolithic group. However, in order to simplify the description of the participants in this study and the literature on the subject, I will use the term *Latino* occasionally interchanged with the term *Hispanic*.

Perceived discrimination: Experiencing the behavioral manifestation of a negative attitude, judgment, or unfair treatment towards oneself or a member of one's cultural group (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This definition indicates that the perception of discrimination is subject to the interpretation of the participant and is not objective. Objective terms are terms that can be defined across the board by an objective source.

Since perceived discrimination depends on how each and every individual immigrant perceives an interaction, the term cannot be considered to be objective.

Undocumented: Along with *documented*, I use this term to differentiate between Latino participants who entered the United States with immigration documents versus those who entered the country without immigration documents and continue to live in the United States without applying for any type of immigration status. Undocumented immigrants neither hold citizenship, a green card, a Social Security number, nor a temporary visa of any kind. Gonzales (2011) noted a third category can be constructed for immigrants under Temporary Protected Status or "liminal legality." However, I screened out immigrants with such status for the purpose of this research.

White or *White American*: I use this term in this study as it is in the 2010 U.S. Census. These are people whose origins are Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. Non-Black Latinos have been considered White ever since Roosevelt declared that the government treat them as such in 1940 (Kincannon, Lee, Prewitt, Connely, Melendez, & Yaki, 2006). However, I did not include Latinos in the category of White or White Americans. As with the term *Latino*, it is not fair or accurate to describe so many diverse ethnicities (Irish, Italian, Slavic, Arab, Scandinavian, etc.) under one umbrella term, *White*. However, to reflect the limitations of the literature and for the sake of simplicity, I will continue to define White people as non-Latinos with origins in Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

Assumptions

I made four main assumptions in this study. First, I assumed that survey respondents were truthful about their eligibility to participate in this study and had adequate language and cognitive skills to complete the surveys. Second, I assumed that the participants provided sincere and honest answers to the self-reported questions. Third, I assumed that the instruments chosen to measure acculturative stress and perceived discrimination are reliable measures of the constructs. Finally, I assumed that I successfully recruited a representative sample for generalizability of findings.

Limitations

Klonoff and Landrine (1999) developed the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) to measure the impact of racism on participants. Landrine et al. (2006) adapted it successfully to measure discrimination experienced by any minority group and relabeled it the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED). This means the GED can effectively be used to measure discrimination experienced by Latinos. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that a version translated into Spanish holds the same validity or reliability. Rivera (2009) used a translated version for master's thesis research, but could not be reached for input. To address this limitation, I translated the GED into Spanish and had it translated back to English by more than one interpreter whose primary language is Spanish to ensure accuracy.

Falling under the category of external validity, there may have been some difficulties in reaching the target population if local police agencies have been stricter about enforcing laws against undocumented immigrants. This enforcement increases

suspicion towards all unfamiliar American outsiders, including myself. DeLuca, McEwan, and Keim (2010) warned that when studying undocumented immigrants, it is difficult to balance the well-being of the participants with the integrity of the research. They chose to overcome this obstacle by interviewing undocumented immigrants in a Mexican shelter for postdeported immigrants.

I conducted this research in Miami where the majority of its citizens are Latino. Scores on discrimination were expected to be lower or nonsignificant in relation to acculturative stress scores. Therefore the scores on discrimination and the study overall may not be generalizable to the Latino immigrants across the United States, except those in a community with a Latino majority.

Significance of the Study

Psychological treatment, like medical treatment, should be delivered to anyone who needs it, without discrimination. The literature has demonstrated that some populations may be more likely to suffer from symptoms associated with stress than others. Populations who are impoverished experience more distress, as do American minorities. Latino immigrants can belong to both these demographics. Therefore, the research is designed to assist mental health professional in understanding the causes of distress among Latino immigrants. Although all immigrants suffer from acculturative stress to some degree upon arriving in the United States, the impact of such stress on Latino immigrants is particularly significant because they represent the majority of

American immigrants. Therefore, they are most likely to be encountered in a clinical setting.

A Latino immigrant may complain of an *ataque de nervios*, indicated by sweats, waves of unwarranted fear, stomach pains, hyperventilation, insomnia, skin rash, irritability, and panic. These could be the physical and psychological manifestations of stress. This is even more apparent when examining the increased rates of agoraphobia, social phobia, simple phobias, and anxiety disorders among Latino migrant workers compared to that of the national average (Alderete, Vega, Kolody, & Aguilara-Gaxiola, 2000; APA, 2000).

The results of my study will help the clinician in anticipating what aspects of the immigrant's life are causing the most stress. A cultural barrier, language barrier, a lack of familiarity with psychological services, and a fear of being reported to the government—all possibly contribute to the Latino immigrant patient's not being forthcoming in describing all the elements in life contributing to an illness.

I hope this study, in some small way, creates social change by encouraging the mental health community to recognize a group often referred to as the shadow population. Through the study, I aimed to draw attention to the undocumented immigrant as still a part of the American population, needing assistance with personal struggles and psychological well-being. Furthermore, I aimed to demonstrate the impact of discrimination by quantifying exactly how much the attitude of the White majority of the United States impacts the acculturative experience of the Latino immigrant.

Summary and Transition

I have introduced the concepts of acculturative stress and discrimination, along with a plan on how I studied them in relation to the Latino immigrant. In Chapter 3, I will review in detail the exact methodology of the research. But next in Chapter 2, I examine the history of the Latino immigrant in the United States. This scientific review focuses on the various factors that have had a psychological influence on the acculturation process, particularly the influence of the attitude of the majority culture.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I will review the various factors found in the literature impacting the psychological experience of Latino immigrants to the United States of America. These include societal factors such as laws passed to restrict immigration, nativism, and immigrant experiences in public schools and colleges. I review factors intrinsic to the immigrant that affect acculturation, like age, language skills, expectations, income, and country of origin. I explain bidimensional acculturation theory and its four possible acculturation results. I discuss the various types of prejudice from those in the dominant, host culture as well as prejudices of the immigrant and methods of combatting prejudice. Finally, I review issues particular to the psychology of the undocumented Latino immigrant, segueing into a statement of the purpose of the current study.

Literature Search Strategy

Databases that I used as resources included: PsyLit, PsycArticles, SocIndex, American Search Primer, Military & Government Collections, Research Primer: Social Sciences, Academic Search Complete, International Security and Counter-terrorism Reference Center, and Political Science Complete. Sometimes, I used a federated search in Walden University's Thoreau search interface. Further resources I gathered were at the Florida International University Green Library, the University of Miami Law Library, and the Coral Gables Public Library. I used the following terms, in isolation and in combination, to find academic articles in this literature review: *minority opinions, cultural perspectives, cross cultural perspectives* and *America, acculturation* and *Hispanics* and *White, Hispanics/Latinos* and *American History, acculturative stress, out-*

group, immigrants, reverse racism, anti-immigration legislation, anti-immigration law. I explored the databases Medline, ProQuest Health and Medical Complete, and ProQuest Health Management for articles using the terms *immigrants* matched with *healthcare, emergency room,* and *crisis/crises.* I searched the databases Lexis Nexis Academic, ProQuest Criminal Justice, and Legal Trac using the terms *immigration* and *crime*. Most of the database searches involved a preset limit to research in the last 20 years, or since 1995. I did not seek older materials unless their importance was stressed in more recent literature. Additionally, upon recommendations from my dissertation chair and the literature, I searched the following authors: Ponterotto, Rumbaut, Utsey, Vega, Mackie, Smith, Dovidio, and Berry.

A Historical Background on Immigration and Discrimination

Early in the 20th century, Washington (1911) travelled through many European countries studying the minority immigrants in those countries. He wrote:

> Several times in my efforts to find out something about these so called 'inferior people,' I made inquiries about them among their more successful neighbours. In almost every case, no matter what race it happened to be which I referred, I received the same answer. I was told they were lazy and would not work; that they had no initiative; that they were immoral and not fitted to govern themselves. At the same time, I found them doing nearly all the really hard, disagreeable, and ill-paid labour that was being done. Usually I found, also, that with fewer

> opportunities than the people around them, they were making progress. (p. 57)

Immigration has been a source of debate in the United States of America since the Naturalization Act of 1790, which opened up naturalization for all free White persons. This was the first law of many to follow, restricting newcomers to the United States. In 1798 the Alien and Sedition Acts authorized the president to deport any foreigner deemed dangerous (Hagan et al., 2011). In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was titled so that it did not hide its goal of targeting Chinese immigrants. All of Asia was considered a barred zone again in 1917; a zone where no immigrants from the area were permitted into the United States, while in 1906 English fluency became a requirement for naturalization (Hagan et al., 2011). Legislation like this was passed to limit the influx of immigrants from European nations and Asia. They were based on the theory that immigration was the cause of increasing urban crime rates.

The possible assumption implied by the American public's endorsement of these laws was that a failure to acculturate to the American way of life was the cause of acculturative stress, frustration, and the emergence of a counterculture in the immigrant-criminal. While these laws were passed to reduce the crime rate, studies by investigative committees like the Industrial Commission, the Immigration Commission, and the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commision) were created to support, but would conclusively contradict the assumption immigrants were the main source of crime (Dingeman & Rumbaut, 2006). In fact, the crime rate was no higher than it was before the immigration waves from 1899–1911,

1929–1931, and from 1994 till 2005 (Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007). Citizens born in the United States were more likely to commit a crime than immigrants (Rumbaut, 2007). Of 36 metropolitan cities studied by Kpsowa, Adams, and Tsunokai (2010), more citizens were more likely to be arrested for property crimes than undocumented immigrants, whom they referred to as *noncitizens*. Citizens and noncitizens committed and were arrested for violent crimes equally, even though citizens were more likely to be arrested for weapons-related offenses. Citizens were five times more likely to test positive for drugs upon arrest than noncitizens, and citizens were arrested more often for drug-related offenses. The only crime that noncitizens were much more likely to commit was forgery and counterfeiting. This was typically the altering, copying, or imitation of valid documents in order to work and remain in the United States (Kpsowa et al., 2010). Yet public suspicion of immigrants would surface time and again in American history, in the guise of immigration control and deterring crime.

S.B. 1070

For example, if a law entitled the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, one might conclude it was drawn to actually assist law enforcement officers or protect neighborhoods. In fact, this is the title of Arizona's State Bill 1070, passed in 2010. Its purpose is to give state and local law enforcement the authority to detain anyone they are suspicious of being unlawfully present in the United States, based on their appearance (Campbell, 2011). S.B. 1070 neither assists law enforcement nor protects neighborhoods. Once again, there was no evidence linking undocumented immigrants to crime in Arizona, prior to the passing of this bill. Proponents of the bill

argued that the state was reinforcing what was already illegal by federal law. However S.B. 1070 made activities that were considered civil violations (at the federal level) criminal, as well as activities that were not a violation of anything such as the immigrant entering a motor vehicle, failure to carry immigration papers, hiring undocumented labor, soliciting work or working when undocumented, or giving an undocumented immigrant a ride to work (Chacón, 2012; Theodore, 2012). Soon Alabama followed suit with their House Bill 56. Immediately afterward, the Arizona governor signed an amendment to the bill (H.B. 2162) to curb the racial profiling taking place (Theodore, 2012). Nevertheless S.B. 1070 passed and is considered the toughest immigration law in the country, even denounced by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS, 2010). S.B. 1070 could be considered a preemptive attack on the expansion of criminal enterprise, yet for many young Mexicans the move north is a rite of passage (Falicov, 1998). This law reflected a growing movement to delegate the enforcement of immigration law from federal agencies to local law enforcement (Sklansky, 2012). While this law was popular enough to pass in Arizona, local law enforcement officers feared it would make their job more dangerous because it would increase prejudice from Latinos as well as from the officers (Epstein, 2012). In fact, the Major Cities Chiefs Association opposed the bill and other cross-deputization policies in 2006 (Epstein, 2012). This shift is not just a change in who enforces the law, but the nature of the law: To be undocumented is to be illegal, referred to as *crimmigration*, which I will discuss later.

Sometimes immigration laws in the United States reflected the country's needs as well as the country's fears. For example, as the United States of America entered World

War II, manufacturing increased to support the war effort and for the first time, women entered the workforce en masse, shifting from homemaker positions to factory jobs. Concurrently, the Bracero Program invited over 5 million farmhands and railroad workers from south of the border to assist in the augmentation of wartime production (Ochoa, 2001). Then after the war, Operation Wetback resulted in the deportation of over 1 million Mexican migrants (Perez, 2011). Despite the Civil Rights Movement, the 1965 Immigration Act instituted more stringent immigration criteria based on the immigrant's skills, established profession, or having relatives who were already American citizens (Hagan et al., 2011).

Historically, the theory that acculturative stress resulted from the immigrant's failure to create an avenue of success in their new country; the theory initially did not describe immigrants but rather criminals who could not utilize traditional avenues of success. This was Merton's theory of criminology, not of acculturative stress (Binder et al., 1988). The theory was applied to immigrants in consideration of their language and cultural barriers to finding work legally. Perez, Jennings, and Gover (2008) made a similar comparison when they theorized that the general strain theory of crime might be applied to immigrants suffering from the strain of acculturation; therefore acculturative stress would predict juvenile delinquency. Factors of acculturative strain include: being an immigrant, English proficiency, a cultural generation gap, and perceived discrimination. Yet these factors did not conclusively predict juvenile delinquency, especially in areas of a high Latino concentration (37% Hispanic in a city of over 450,000). Once again, while theories of criminology might incorporate acculturative

stress to account for crimes committed by immigrants, the research demonstrated the contrary: those born in the United States of America were more likely to engage in delinquent behavior than immigrants (Perez et al., 2008; Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007). Mexican-American teens who were born in the United States were 80% more likely to be incarcerated than teenage Mexican immigrants (Vigdor, 2008).

Researchers have given little attention to the ways the in-group/majority can augment or reduce the immigrant's stressful experience. The stress one experiences can be determined by how he or she processes and copes with a situation, but stress can also be determined by hostility in the environment. Acculturative stress works in the same fashion as regular, every day stress. Hispanics immigrants were subject to the same immigration laws, whether the laws became more welcoming or more restrictive. Hispanics were subject to Jim Crow in the Southwest (Rumbaut, 2008) with separate signs delineating "White," "Black," and "Brown." Restaurants had signs in their window stating, "No chili served here" a warning to Mexican Americans before the era of Civil Rights. In the Southwest, Mexican women were only allowed to shop in stores on the Anglo side of town during early hours, on Saturdays. They could only eat at the counter or carry out food from restaurants (Glenn, 2010). During the Great Depression, over 400,000 Mexican migrants were removed (Ochoa, 2001). Conflicts and riots continued to take place from the turn of the 19th century into the 1950s when sailors from the U.S. Navy, stationed in southern California, would engage in physical altercations with local Mexican Americans (Rumbaut, 2008).

The 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

In 1970, 20% of immigrants were Latino, but by the year 2000, 52% of immigrants were Latino (Hall & Farkas, 2008). As the Latino population continued to rise in the 1970s and 1980s, three trends began to develop, particularly with Central American migration: more female Hispanic immigrants were entering the United States, typical sojourners (commuters who traveled north to the United States strictly to work) were not returning to their native country with the American money they earned that year, and finally a larger percentage of Mexicans were describing the United Stated as their primary country of residence (Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001). The 1970s and 1980s were an era of leniency, producing legislation that offered asylum status to Asian refugees of the Vietnam War. The laws also granted amnesty to 3 million undocumented immigrants while sanctioning their employers (Hagan et al., 2011). However, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) resulted in a series of blockades at the U.S.-Mexican border, increased the use of advanced technology and border patrol agents to prevent unlawful entry (Flores-Yeffal & Aysa-Lastra, 2011). It also barred employers from hiring undocumented, while the Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendments made it a felony to marry to evade these new laws (Sklansky, 2012). This began a trend for more restrictive immigration laws to be passed.

By 1990, no county in much of the southeastern United States had a Latino population of at least 5% (Haverluk & Trautman, 2008). In the 1990s, stricter immigration laws resurfaced. For example, in 1994, California law denied undocumented immigrants access to social and health care services as Proposition 187 was passed. The

governor supported the bill despite the California Association of Hospitals and Health Systems and the Director of Infectious Diseases at the University of Southern California advising against it (Summer, 1995). The reason the governor gave was because it would save legal California citizens 84 million dollars. This reinforced the philosophy many citizens had, that caring for the undocumented immigrants directly undermines the ability to care for citizens. The federal government later ruled that Prop 187 was unconstitutional (Perez, 2011), and the governor declined to pursue Prop 187's legal defense in the federal courts (Chacón, 2012).

In 1996, two laws were passed emphasizing restrictions on immigrants: The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) widened the categories of crime punishable by deportation. These included: speeding, having a fake identification, and lying on a government application (Sklansky, 2012). The other law congress passed, the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act not only added more crimes to the list made punishable by deportation, but made the law retroactive. Any immigrant convicted of one of these crimes in the distant past, even if no sentence was served, can face detention and deportation (Welch, 2003). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) restricted legal immigrants from accessing federal welfare benefits (Clark & Berkowitz King, 2008). The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) restricted the appeals process and all but eliminated judicial review for undocumented immigrants (Hagan et al., 2011).

English-Only

If natives of a host country are suspicious of new settlers, then suspicion will give rise to prejudice. Prejudice can take place through discrimination in everyday interactions with the out-group/minority group or through legislation limiting the newcomer. If discrimination is exercised regularly, then acculturation is made that much more difficult (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2001; Morardi & Risco, 2006; Neville, Heppner, Ji, & Thye, 2004). A good example of ethnocentrism enacted through legislation, was the English-only movement. The English-only movement banned learning in another language in public schools (Padilla et al., 1991). It encouraged Hispanic immigrants' children to be fully immersed in English, banned public libraries from carrying books in other languages, and banned or limited commercial signs in other languages, all in the name of assimilation (Padilla et al., 1991). Arguments for the English-only movement included a faster language shift to English for non-English speakers, a more complete adoption of the American culture, increased academic aptitude, and improvements in the cognition of students. However, upon closer inspection of these arguments, none of them seem to be supported by carefully examined research (Padilla et al., 1991). In actuality, the English-only movement reflected an opinion that an immigrant's inability to learn English reflected a disrespectful unwillingness on their part (Schwartz et al., 2010). Many Americans and some researchers equate English mastery with acculturation; however, English was found to only explain 20% of the variability in behavioral acculturation (Unger, Ritt-Olson, Wagner, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2008).

Social Dominance Orientation and Nativism

More recently, most Americans have endorsed direct assistance of Hispanic immigrants but were less willing to endorse empowering immigrants (Danso, Sedlovskaya, & Suanda, 2007). Danso and colleagues (2007) believed that the American, White majority viewed the gains of Hispanic immigrants in employment, education, and housing as simultaneous losses for members of the majority group. They referred to this as social dominance orientation, the desire for one's social group to dominate all others. In social dominance orientation, resources are considered to be finite, and any slices of the pie going towards minority groups, represents smaller portions of the pie going towards the majority group.

This belief led to the passing of Proposition 187 in California, requiring medical patients to report their citizenship status. Proponents for Prop 187 argued it is not fair for senior citizens needing to pay more for prescription medication while undocumented immigrants received free prenatal care (Dwyer, 2004). Another example of the consumption of limited resources is in emergency room services, especially in New York City, Atlanta, and Raleigh, that incurr a high expense rate for treating undocumented immigrants who have no health insurance (Akincigil, Mayers, & Fulghum, 2011). Between the years 1980 and 2000, undocumented immigrants accounted for one third of the increase in uninsured Americans (Clark & Berkowitz King, 2008). Eleven percent of American children were uninsured while 21% of immigrant children and 36% of undocumented children were uninsured.

Two factors are ignored by using the social dominance orientation theory to examine the cost of undocumented immigrants' use of emergency rooms. Many such emergency room visits were preventable because they resulted from untreated conditions that deteriorated into something acute (Akincigil et al., 2011). Also, cities with the lowest emergency room use by undocumented immigrants like Los Angeles, Fresno, Dallas, and Chicago have a large undocumented immigrant population (Akincigil et al., 2011). Over 75% of a total sample of Nicaraguan, Haitian, Mexican, Salvadorian, and Guatemalan immigrants in the Miami and Las Vegas areas would not call a government agency or use a government service for illness, housing, work, a ride to the hospital, a job, questions about the laws or their rights, the need for food, a lack of running water, a fight with a neighbor, or to get trash removed (Norris-Terrell, 2002). However, the majority of Latino immigrants would call for government assistance, thereby using municipal resources, if they suffered a fire, a robbery, or if they were assaulted (Norris-Terrell, 2002).

Social dominance orientation is not necessarily subconscious. Unlike with racism, when people report prejudice towards Hispanics, the prejudice shows in their political views and involuntary actions. For example, Perez (2010) used implicit association tests measuring autonomic responses, like eye-blinking, to determine participants' implicit attitudes towards Latinos. The results indicated that implicit attitudes towards Latino immigrants matched that of their external attitudes toward Latino immigrants, and it matched their stand on policies against illegal immigration. This demonstrated that participants were aware of their biases towards immigrants and made little attempt to conceal it.

Segmented market theory contradicts social dominance orientation theory in a few ways. It argues that there will always be a labor market for immigrants and undocumented immigrants regardless of the economic condition of America (Hall & Farkas, 2008). This includes all labor that cannot be easily exported overseas in a global economy. Latino immigrants are younger than American laborers and have less education; therefore, they were most likely to be construction workers (11.1%), then restaurant workers, custodians (janitors and cleaners), and finally agricultural workers, all jobs in a segmented market (Hall & Farkas, 2008). Meanwhile American low-skill laborers were most likely to take on jobs in construction (13.2%) like immigrants, followed by truck driving, and then machine operating.

Aside from adopting a segmented market theory, another way to change people's social dominance orientation is to convince them that members of the outside group, like Hispanic immigrants, possess qualities very similar to that of the majority group (Danso et al., 2007; Ortiz & Jacinto, 1996; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). This is how the boundaries of one's current socially dominating group, like White Americans, can be extended to be more inclusive. Unfortunately, the more that White Americans endorsed pride in their group and pride in the United States of America, the more likely they were to express anti-immigration sentiment (Danso et al., 2007). When a White American views an immigrant as a threat to American values due to his or her foreign status, culture, and ideas, it is labeled *nativism*.

Nativism

Nativism not only manifested itself through the interaction and lack of interaction between Hispanic Americans and White Americans, it is implicit in legislation and national budget decisions, both historically and recently. For example, to deter illegal immigration, a 10 foot high steel fence (dubbed the tortilla curtain) between the United States and Mexico began construction in 1993, in San Diego and El Paso (Cornelius, 2005); Zodiac rafts patrolled the Pacific Ocean for immigrants trying to swim North; stadium lighting was installed to illuminate the border; a remote-controlled video surveillance system was installed; in-ground seismic and magnetic sensors were planted; unmanned aerial vehicle drones surveyed Arizona's border; and an IDENT database was created to identify apprehended illegal immigrants (Cornelius, 2005). This is because the wall was not a continuous barrier across the southern border of the United States, but strategically placed along government owned land, privately owned land, and commercial properties that might be easier for immigrants to traverse (Gilman, 2011). The wall was not constructed where open border regions were more naturally protected via climate and terrain, causing undocumented immigrants to primarily die of exposure to the elements (Gilman, 2011). The wall has caused 10 times more deaths to Mexican immigrants than the Berlin Wall throughout its 28 year existence (Cornelius, 2005). More migrants have died trying to enter the United States since 1995 than there were victims of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (Cornelius, 2005). Androff and Tavassoli (2012) cited the Government Accountability Office in estimating that, on average, someone died at least every day trying to cross the border, and 75% of these deaths were in Arizona's Sonora

Desert. Furthermore, humanitarian workers have been fined and sentenced to community service hours for leaving drinkable water along migrant trails, and arrested for transporting an immigrant to the hospital (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012).

This demonstrates how the perceived threat of criminals sneaking in from Central America can translate into the forging of steel and concrete. Three hundred and fifty thousand undocumented immigrants are processed for deportation every year (Hagan et al., 2011). Yet the number of undocumented immigrants coming from Mexico has not declined, 90% of those caught admitted they would try again, and their employment prospects have not diminished (Cornelius, 2005). As the obstacles to sneaking across the border have increased, immigrants accurately estimated the mounting risks and better prepared for them (DeLuca et al., 2010). Still, those who had never crossed the border before felt ill-prepared for the journey. They only took the risk due to a loss of stature in their community and shame for not being able to provide for their family. Economic motivation was the salient motivator for all participants interviewed about their crossing (DeLuca et al., 2010).

Terrorism and National Security

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and popular media declared Hispanic gangs were the largest and most violent in the country (Romano, 2005), fear, suspicion, and anti-immigration sentiment spread from focus on securing America's resources to a focus on securing America's safety. The terror management theory postulates that a greater awareness of one's own mortality motivates derogation towards an out-group (Bassett & Connelly, 2011). For example, participants with a greater fear of death were

more prejudiced against an undocumented immigrant from Mexico City than one from Vancouver, when all other conditions were equal in the vignette (Basset & Connelly, 2011). So the political climate after the 9/11 attacks led to the passing of the PATRIOT Act, which replaced the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), an American enforcement agency that could quickly apprehend, detain, and deport immigrants perceived to be a threat to national security, without judicial process. Capitalizing on the fear of immigrants, the PATRIOT Act allowed people to be incarcerated indefinitely and deported from the United States of America, on the basis of secret evidence. Secret evidence means neither the persons on trial nor their attorney are entitled to know the government's evidence against them, nor are they given an opportunity to refute the evidence (Welch, 2003). Referred to as *Operation Endgame*, the objective was to have all deportable immigrants out of the United States by 2012 (DHS, 2003). By 2011, only 33% of deported immigrants were removed for criminal violations. Of course, the most common "criminal violations" were with regards to their citizenship status and driving without a license (U.S. Government Accounting Office, 2009). By 2009, DHS operated or supervised over 300 facilities for this purpose, the largest detention system in the country, surpassing American prisons (Sklansky, 2012).

Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio was self-labeled "America's toughest sheriff" because he had arrested 51,000 Latino immigrants for being undocumented. He was accused of racial profiling when making these arrests because his law enforcement officers were allowed to pull people over "If they look like they came from another country"

(Goodwin, 2012). In the same interview, Sheriff Arpaio responded to criticisms by stating, “If they call me KKK, I think it’s an honor.” He has been a divisive character in the 2012 media, but he is only the personification of a deeper issue. The tent city he created for his immigrant detainees has been around 20 years, Arizona state law has supported his work since 2006, and he keeps getting re-elected for sheriff ever since 1993 (Goodwin, 2012). He has been a problem for Latino immigrants not because of who he is, but because the majority of voters for the state of Arizona has a philosophy he closely embodied. That is, regardless of an immigrant’s intentions, needs for family, honest labor, or hopes for the future, his or her very presence is illegal and a crime that must be enforced through the criminal justice system. The sheriff could be considered successful in achieving this goal. However, in 2006 and 2007, for two thirds of 6,000 serious emergencies in Maricopa County, patrols cars arrived late, and the arrest rate severely decreased even though criminal investigations had not (Theodore, 2012). This reflected how enforcing immigration interfered with felonious crime control.

Crimmigration

Sheriff Arpaio reflected a crimmigration policy, immigration enforcement at the local law enforcement level. Before 2001, criminals were not punishable by deportation, and undocumented immigrants were not punishable by incarceration (Sklansky, 2012). Skylansky argued that the shift to local law enforcement cooperating in crimmigration broke down barriers between federal and local authorities. The Immigration and Naturalization Service had a budget of $3.6 billion in 1998, and in 2008, the DHS had a budget of $15 billion (Chacón, 2012). Successful prosecution of undocumented

immigrants would rate crimmigration a success, from 9,000 prosecutions in 1997 to 90,000 prosecutions in 2009 (Sklansky, 2012). Once arrested, mass prosecution programs in cities like Tucson, Arizona and Del Rio, Texas see to it that groups of immigrants, up to 80 defendants, are arraigned together, have the same attorney, enter pleas together, and are sentenced together for an average of 30 days (Sklansky, 2012). While 81% of drug traffickers are incarcerated and 87% of those charged with violent crimes were incarcerated, being undocumented had a 95% incarceration rate for crimes which are misdemeanors (Chacón, 2012). At 393,000 in 2009, the number of deportations doubled since the year 2000 and was 10 times greater than the number of deportations in 1990. If deportation of undocumented immigrants is the goal, then crimmigration is working. Local law enforcement is more expeditious than the old INS.

However, Chacón (2012) expressed concern for the *overcriminalization* of undocumented immigrants. She explained overcriminalization as legislature defining too many activities as criminal or punishing a particular offense excessively. The overcriminalization of immigrants or *crimmigration* cannot simply be summed up as the product of scapegoating by the White majority of America. Hogan, Chiricos, and Gertz (2005) predicted that White males who viewed their financial situation as better last year, and going to be worse next year, were more likely advocate for the harsher punishment of criminals and blame immigrants. In fact, their angry White male hypothesis was only partially supported. White males were more likely to blame immigrants for their own declining economic situation; however, women and minorities were more likely to let

their declining income impact their belief in the harsher treatment of immigrants and criminals (Hogan et al., 2005).

Bypassing Reduced Immigration Legislation

Not all Latino immigrants fall victim to the constraints of harsher immigration legislation. Ever since Cuba's Batista regime had fallen prey to Fidel Castro's Communist revolution, Cuban immigrants have been welcomed to the United States as political refugees. The upper class and most educated of Cuban people lost the most during the Communist revolution as the government seized assets and redistributed wealth. Therefore, the migration of the early 1960s was an era with a wave of educated, anti-Communist, White professionals, and they were welcomed to the United States with financial support, educational achievement, and job training (Falicov, 1998). Cuban immigrants and their second-generation Americans have a lower high school drop out rate, a higher college graduation rate, and are less likely to work manual labor positions than other Latino immigrants and White (non-Hispanic) Americans (Rumbaut, 2004).

Cuban people are not the only Latino immigrants to sidestep the effects of immigration-reducing legislation. Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the United States of America. Therefore, citizens of the Caribbean island are considered Americans, facilitating a smoother acculturative transition (Falicov, 1998). For example, Puerto Rican immigrants are born with U.S. citizenship, have more frequently adopted English as their second language, they are more familiar with American customs, and (unlike Cubans and undocumented immigrants) can freely return to their country whenever they want (Falicov, 1998). A common debate among Puerto Rican citizens is whether or not to

become the 51st state of the United States of America or to become an independent nation. The perpetual state of limbo has left Puerto Rico a commonwealth ever since the Spanish-American War.

Discrimination in Education

Immigration legislation is but one arena where discrimination towards Hispanic Americans sometimes displays itself. Policy in schools and educational curricula are another arena that might be perceived as discriminatory towards Hispanics. One might argue that Hispanic immigrants had a most difficult time adapting to American culture as evidenced by low high school and low college graduation rates. Latinos were more likely to drop out of high school than White or Black American students (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). Even though Black Americans were half as likely to graduate college as their White American counterparts, Latinos with the same opportunities were still less likely to graduate than Black Americans (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). Hispanic immigrants were less likely to graduate from high school and college than almost every other immigration group of the top 10 groups entering the United States of America. Vietnamese, Filipino, Korean, Chinese, and Indian immigrants and their second generation Americans children had higher high school and college graduation rates (Rumbaut, 2004). Immigrants from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras not only had low college graduation rates, but were more likely to fall into a low socioeconomic status than immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Europe (Rumbaut, 2004).

One possible explanation for the low high school and college graduation rates is the immigrants from these Latino countries do not prioritize education. However,

researchers have not measured this belief in studies nor have they asked Latino immigrants to place a value on higher education or to describe their family's emphasis on academics. Another possible explanation for these low high school and college graduation rates for Hispanic Americans is Hispanic students' perceptions of schools as prejudiced institutions. Hispanic students might have believed the instructors were prejudiced, the curriculum taught was prejudiced, or the other students were prejudiced towards them. For example, Black American college students suffered stress related to being Black almost four times more than the weight of stress caused by interpersonal problems and almost five times the severity of the stress caused by the academic workload (Neville et al., 2004). Similarly, the research of Perez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008) demonstrated that not only did Hispanic Americans describe experiencing prejudice comparable to Black Americans in the study, but younger Hispanics were more likely to report being the target of discrimination than Black Americans.

Although some believe education is the path to enlightenment, the more educated the Hispanic participants were, the more likely they were to report experiencing discrimination (Perez et al., 2008). Similarly, Hispanic Americans with higher incomes were more likely to perceive discrimination (Perez et al., 2008). It is uncertain why Hispanic-Americans who were born here and "succeed" here perceive levels of discrimination and experience acculturative stress similar to undocumented Hispanic immigrants.

Low high school and low college graduation rates might imply that Hispanics have greater difficulty adjusting to life in the United States, or it may have reflected a

different set of priorities. Rumbaut and Komaie (2010) theorized Hispanic immigrants place a priority on caring for family, getting married, pooling resources, and having children. These priorities contribute to postponing or replacing goals involving higher education. Unfortunately this leaves little room for success as it might be defined by an individualistic society: status, career, personal achievement, and wealth. A sense of family obligation might not contribute to academic success, but has been correlated to better adjustment, increased self-esteem, and fewer behavioral problems in immigrant teenagers than teenagers native-born (van Geel & Vedder, 2011). Priorities of a more individualistic versus collective nature is how Rumbaut and Komaie (2010) theorized why Indians (first and second generation) were the most likely to graduate high school and college in the United States, while Mexicans were the least likely to graduate. Filipinos had the lowest poverty rate in the United States, while Dominicans had the highest poverty rate. These discrepancies might contribute to prejudices against Central American immigrants and prejudices favoring Asian immigrants. If educators did discriminate against Latino students, it could reflect a sense of frustration with the fact that one ethnic group is not academically responding to their lessons compared to another ethnic group. Perhaps Latinos felt more welcome and safer remaining insular, within their community and family, and did not feel that way entering institutions dominated by the majority group, like college or corporations. If this is the case, then the feeling of insecurity seemed to dissipate as the generations passed. For example, the second generation Mexican American tripled the college graduation rate of the first generation and cut the high school drop out rate by a third (Rumbaut, 2004).

Laws Limiting Immigrant Education

If the United States of America is considered the land of opportunity, the key to opportunity might be education. However, opportunity in the form of public education was not always offered to undocumented immigrants. Arizona, Alabama, and Texas citizens tried to pass laws barring undocumented immigrants from attending public schools, but the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Plyer v Doe* made it unconstitutional to deny an education (Abrego, 2011). Although the judge's ruling concluded education must not be made unreachable, some states could make it less accessible. Arizona's Proposition 300, passed in 2006, restricted undocumented immigrants from receiving any financial aid, participating in adult education classes, or from paying in-state tuition. As of 2010, only 11 states allow undocumented immigrants to pay in-state college tuition, and only North Carolina has the right to education in its bill of rights (Glenn, 2010).

The Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act) written by Republican senator Marco Rubio, is a tripartisan (also endorsed by the Tea Party) proposal which would have permitted minors to apply for temporary legal status and obtain permanent citizenship status for 2 years, after attending college or serving in the military. The DREAM Act would have been a breakthrough in securing education for undocumented immigrants. It was passed by the House of Representatives but not the Senate (Peters, 2012). While there is not much literature on the psychology of undocumented immigrants, the DREAM Act has inspired a wealth of literature on the plight of undocumented immigrant students, which I will review later. Reportedly, 8 out of 10 Americans still supported the DREAM Act (July, 31, 2012). Capitalizing on this

sentiment, President Obama during his re-election campaign issued an executive order, granting work permits to undocumented immigrants age 17 to 30 (if they have a GED or high school diploma). It has been cause for celebration for many undocumented immigrants who were only children upon arriving in the United States of America and theoretically did not make the choice to cross illegally.

Not only was there a movement to deprive undocumented immigrants their right to an education, but the very parameters defining who is undocumented may be broadened. A proposal has been brought forth by congress prohibiting birthright citizenship for children born in the United States to undocumented parents (H.R. 140; Congressional Research Service, 2013). This law would not only deny newborns their American citizenship status, but if passed, would require hospitals to check the citizenship status of the parents-to-be (Campbell, 2011). This is a direct contradiction to America's prior philosophy of *jus soli* guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment; all children born on American Soil are United States citizens (Allen et al., 1999). While the medical profession would argue the Hippocratic Oath, the ability to heal or delivery babies must not be administered discriminately; Dwyer (2004) argued that if medical professionals truly treated undocumented immigrants out of moral obligation, then they should not operate a private practice, transplant lists should be opened worldwide, and physicians should locate their offices and hospitals only in the neighborhoods where they are needed the most.

Broadening the scope of people who are considered illegal immigrants (by challenging birthright citizenship) created a wider variety of people fighting for the right

to learn in an American educational institution. The irony is education helped increase a Hispanic student's acculturation and perceived self-efficacy (Rivera, Chen, Flores, Blumberg, & Ponterotto, 2007) but at the same time is associated with making that student feel like a target of prejudice (Perez et al., 2008). A 2007 survey in a review by Lipsicaas & Makinen (2010) showed that a quarter of California Hispanic students were suffering from acculturative stress and severely depressed. The authors also concluded that nationwide, Hispanic students were more likely to report suicidal plans and make suicide attempts than White and Black (non Hispanic) students. Based on the literature they reviewed, the length of stay in the United States diminished the effects of acculturative stress. Anxiety and depression was lowered with the amount of time in the United States, but self-esteem became worse (Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2010). One possibility for such small effects was that being a Latino immigrant was not as detrimental to mental health as being a Latino. Teenage Latino Immigrants witnessed more acculturative strain, had lower self-efficacy, and felt they had less control; but U.S. born Latino teens suffered more from low self-esteem and family conflict, related to acculturative stress (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994, Smokowski et al., 2010). Overall the authors, through their literature review, prescribed two things in order to inhibit the impact of acculturative stress on Latino teenagers: familism, which is the cultural emphasis on family life, and enculturation, which is the adoption of and acculturation toward one's culture of origin or the culture of their family origin.

The Concept of Acculturation

For the purpose of this dissertation, acculturation is defined as the process of a minority group or individual adjusting to the psychology of a larger group, dominant in numbers and power (Berry, 1997). This definition encompasses many types of acculturation, which Berry described with some detail. These include: assimilation, delayed acculturation, reactive acculturation, and creative acculturation. Assimilation is when the minority culture (non-dominant group) adopts the majority culture (dominant group). The dynamic of assimilation is usually referred to as the melting pot because the end result is the minority being very similar to the majority culture, if not a part of the majority culture. Delayed acculturation is when the acculturation process takes a lifetime or across generations. Reactive acculturation is when members of the minority culture are resistant to the influences of the majority culture. Creative acculturation is when the old culture combines with the majority culture in order to create a new, separate subculture, with aspects of both the minority and majority.

Voluntary or Involuntary

Several factors contributed to the degree of acculturation a Hispanic immigrant experienced. One is related to voluntariness, whether or not the immigrant was willing to enter this country or was forced to, based on political or economic conditions in his or her native country. Mobility was another factor affecting acculturation: How easily can the immigrant return to his native country for a vacation and to receive support from his old family and friends? Machado-Casas (2009) referred to immigrants who can easily contact and visit their home country as transnationals.

Language

The ability to speak English was found to be an important ingredient in the acculturation process (Aycan & Berry, 1996). Hispanic families can witness a definite acculturation boundary in their own household, based on how well the family members have grasped the English language. For example, parents who do not speak English well may have limited job opportunities and may end up working harder and longer hours than they expected. This gives them little energy and fewer resources, to learn and practice English. The children, immigrating here at a young age or being born in the United States attend English-speaking schools where almost all teachers lecture in, and teach, English. They are often referred to as the second or 1.5 generation Americans (Rumbaut, 2004; Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). As such they might take on the role of ambassadors for their parents: reading bills and notices to them, going with them on errands to make sure they communicate effectively, and helping them fill out forms and applications when necessary. Bernal and Knight (1997) stated Latino children are not yet aware of their Latino identity until they are capable of understanding five things: The child must identify him- or herself as Latino. The child must have knowledge of Latino customs, values, or styles. He or she must have a preference for being Latino. The child must have ethnic constancy, he must be aware that their Latino identity is permanent. Finally, the child must engage in ethnic role behaviors. These behaviors usually develop as children get older and help them understand that they are part of an ethnic group.

The *abuela (grandmother)* or *abuelo (grandfather)* remains in the household, a permanent fixture. They fulfill the role of a living, breathing monument to the original

culture of the motherland. They bring with them idioms and slang from the old country, tales about old neighborhoods, relatives, and familiar faces. They cook in the tradition of their national origin and they keep the family rooted in its pre-acculturation history. They are least likely to learn the language of their adopted country, other than on a superficial level (Rumbaut, 2004).

The Latino parent now is the intermediary and has a difficult internal struggle. As they move towards the dominant culture, they may feel as though they are abandoning the culture of their parents. Before migrating, the parents were viewed as bold leaders of their family, making the decision and driving the move to the United States. When the acculturation process begins, the 1.5 generation adapts more quickly to the American way of life. As they do so, they may begin to view their parents as old-fashioned, controlling, and even burdensome. Immigrant parents might require their children to read documents, translate for them, and work to supplement family income. Resentment towards the parents build as growing children bring American philosophies and customs into a home recreated from their nation of origin. Falicov (1998) described the delicate balance the mental health professional must maintain as a “social intermediary.” The counselor must help the parents recognize a new set of values their children have adopted while at the same time helping the children recall the mores of the native culture that made their parents what they are. This is an example of why acculturative stress is not always an internal struggle of the Latino immigrant, but a dynamic affecting family cohesion.

Age

The age of the immigrant had an impact on the mentality of the immigrant regarding his or her civil rights (Goodwin, 2012). Undocumented immigrants who arrived here at the age of 16 or younger, often referred to as the 1.5 generation, felt more entitled to the rights of a United States citizen, were more willing to reveal their undocumented status, and were more likely to advocate for those rights (Abrego, 2011). On the contrary, older immigrants were more stigmatized by their undocumented status because they had to use false documents to access the work force or opened themselves up to exploitation as a day laborer: possibly working without guaranteed wages, breaks, safety training, or health benefits. Older immigrants also had clearer memories about wrestling with the difficult decision to move to the United States, and the obstacles they had to overcome in order to arrive (Abrego, 2011). To the contrast, some younger undocumented immigrants were not even aware of their status until a family member revealed the dilemma, as they prepared to apply for college.

Immigrant Reaction

Sciarra and Ponterotto (1991) described two possible responses to acculturation that may result in discrimination by the majority group. One type of reaction was retaliation against the dominant culture, which can take the form of arguments, passiveaggression, or political activity. The other type of reaction was marginalization, where the immigrant removed him or herself from contact with the dominant culture. In America, this option could be very limiting, both economically and in opportunities. For a reaction of marginalization, let us use an example of an immigrant from Guatemala

who refuses to learn English, to interact with White Americans, and tries to avoid government institutions. This Guatemalan immigrant will only want to live in Hispanic neighborhoods set up intentionally or unintentionally, to recreate the country of origin, while at the same time insulating its inhabitants from acculturation. He will only want to work alongside people with whom he can communicate. A refusal to apply for residency or citizenship, will maintain his undocumented status and further limit his employment opportunities. Finally, as his children are born here and raised in an English education system, he not only marginalizes himself from the greater American majority, but from his children as well, who have become a part of this majority. This is reflected in the fact that each passing generation of Hispanic Americans felt more adamant about closing the border and stopping illegal immigration (DeSipio, 2008), despite their ancestry.

Prior Exposure to the United States of America

Prior exposure to life in America and the majority culture may assist the immigrant's acculturation process (Binder et al., 2009). Did the Hispanic immigrant listen to American radio, watch American television programs, or listen to a genre of music associated with the majority culture before immigrating? Had he or she heard stories from friends in the United States or news accounts that can color the immigrant's anticipation of his or her own future immigration experience? For example, expecting a positive acculturation process created a *consensual* relationship between the immigrant and host citizen, where the immigrant perceived a very low level of threat from his new environment (Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008). On the other hand, expecting the United States to be fraught with hardships led to a *conflictual* relationship

between immigrant and host, while anticipating hostility led to a *problematic* relationship between the two. For example, some Hispanic people anticipate difficulties in making a good first impression with people from the White majority. Either they feel they do not possess skills to make that first impression, or they fear they will not be received well despite their best efforts. Plant and Devine (2003) referred to this as social anxiety. Although it did not necessarily reflect a prejudice against the majority culture, the result could be that of marginalization, which was removal from and avoidance of that host culture, as well as hostility towards it. Negy, Schwartz, and Reig-Ferrer (2009), on the other hand, found the expectations of a Latino immigrant did not predict a consensual versus conflictual relationship with members of the host culture. Contrary to the work of Rohmann, Piontkowski, and van Randenborgh (2008), expecting hardships did lessen the acculturative stress in reaction to experiences of discrimination, suggesting that low expectations of the United States might buffer acculturative stress.

Prior Interaction

In actuality, if the Hispanic immigrant interacts more with members of the White majority culture, his or her social anxiety would likely decrease. For White Americans as well, the quality of a previous contact with a minority member was the best predictor of the outcome they expected from a future encounter with a minority member (Plant & Devine, 2003). Furthermore, increased anxiety in an intergroup interaction led to increased interpersonal distance, reduced eye contact, and greater speech errors: this could be a big problem if language barriers already exist. In summary, negative initial

encounters with someone different, served to impede future encounters with someone different.

Income

Another factor that affected acculturation, is the economics of immigration, also known as economic adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996). The greater the income and education, the more likely the immigrant could afford resources that might lower the impact of acculturative stress: long distance phone calls to family, flights home, arranging to have family move to the United States, or a private English tutor (Negy et al., 2009). In other words, was the immigration to the United States rewarding financially, in comparison to the economic opportunities of the immigrant's country of origin? While many Americans view immigrants as a threat to job opportunities, immigrants actually threaten the low-skill labor force because they went from occupying 12% of the low-skill labor market to 29% in 1994 (Hall & Farkas, 2008). Vigdor (2008) calculated economic assimilation using an index calculating the ability of a cultural group to enter the labor force, attain a formal education, their home ownership patterns, their income average, and their occupation ranking. This created a figure easier to use for comparative economic studies.

Intolerance

A factor mentioned earlier is the legal tolerance of the United States towards its Hispanic immigrants. Do U.S. laws serve to welcome and support the immigrant or ostracize them and criminalize them? The Legal Arizona Workers' Act (LAWA) was an example of both economic and legal factors affecting a Hispanic immigrant's experience.

The act, prohibited any businesses from hiring undocumented persons, under penalty of revocation of their business license (Campbell, 2011). It is known as the "business death penalty" for any business looking to give undocumented immigrants a chance to work. The law sent two messages: undocumented immigrants should not have economic opportunity, and any attempt to provide this opportunity will be punished. This could be one of the reasons why Mexican immigrants more easily accomplished cultural assimilation as opposed to economic assimilation (Vigdor, 2008). The opportunity to work in America is slowly being removed through legal sanctions like LAWA. The goal was to discourage businesses from providing economic opportunities to undocumented immigrants, while encouraging immigrants to migrate to the United States through legally sanctioned channels. Unfortunately, becoming a legal citizen could take several years due to difficulties obtaining Visas, Green Cards, and overcoming quotas per country. Arizona citizens who refuse to partake in businesses that employ undocumented immigrants can go online to a website, to see which companies are registered with E-Verify, thereby assuring that company's employees are documented through the Department of Homeland Security. Unlike Mexican immigrants, immigrants from Cuba, Vietnam, and the Philippines assimilated economically more so than culturally (Vigdor, 2008).

Nationality

Country of origin can play a large factor in acculturation. This is referred to as the "push" in the push pull theory of immigration (Lyberaki, Trianda, Fyllidou, Petronoti, & Gropas, 2008). The push factors are factors that influence a migration from one's country

of origin, like a depressed economy, civil unrest, or limited educational opportunities. For example, Cuban Americans reported experiencing less discrimination than immigrants and citizens from any other Latin American country (Perez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008). This could be because they were considered refugees from a communist country and, therefore, were automatically granted legal status. This granted them access to student loans, Pell Grants, and the G.I. Bill, for tuition. The results were Cubans had a lower drop-out rate than other Hispanic Americans from the ten countries with the highest number of emigrants to the U.S.A., a higher college graduation rate, and a lower percentage were employed as laborers (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). It should be noted that just because immigrants from a certain country were able to make more money in the United States, does not mean they were more easily acculturated. Legal Mexican American immigrants still had a lower education and occupation status more closely comparable to undocumented immigrants than those who were born citizens (Rodriguez & DeWolfe, 1990). So many factors play a part in the acculturation process, that it is difficult to place weight on various factors in terms of importance. For example, Vigdor (2008) noted that immigrants coming from an industrialized country do not assimilate any better than those from an underdeveloped country. Similarly, immigrants living in Houston had the lowest assimilation index among American cities, presumably because of its proximity to the border of Mexico. However, immigrants living in San Diego had the highest assimilation index, and they are also located close to the Mexican border (Vigdor, 2008).

Bidimensional Acculturation Theory

Berry (1997) postulated a bidimensional, rather than unidimensional, process of acculturation. In a unidimensional theory, the immigrant follows along a continuum where his or her native culture gradually gives way to the adoption of the new host culture or majority culture. In a bidimensional acculturation theory, maintaining one's original culture is considered a separate dimension from amalgamating to the new culture, that of the United States of America. With the bidimensional acculturation theory there are four possible outcomes, resulting from the acculturation process: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Flannery et al., 2001). Berry's bidimensional acculturation model can better be described by two questions (Dona & Berry, 1994). Is it considered of value to maintain relationships with new groups? Group members who fell into the Integration and Assimilation category responded "yes". Is it considered of value to maintain one's old cultural identity and characteristics? Group members who fell in the Integration and Separation category responded "yes".

Outcomes of the Acculturation Process: Assimilation

Assimilation is where the original culture is lost. Complete adoption of the new American culture may require time and take place in the second generation American (the children of the immigrant), or the third generation American. For example, it was common for second generation West Indians to stop identifying themselves as such and third generation Cubans often stopped identifying themselves as such (Rumbaut, 2004). Japanese, Canadian, British, and German immigrants were most likely to marry someone

born in the United States, contributing to a process of complete assimilation (Rumbaut, 2004).

Integration

Integration was described as where the host (American) culture and its many aspects, are accepted on the cultural terms of the immigrant. Immigrants in the Integration category are known as *bicultural.* Bicultural immigrants could simultaneously maintain contact with both the minority and majority culture (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001).

Separation

The separation pattern of acculturation involved the Hispanic immigrant separating himself from the majority group and retreating back into the minority culture, the culture of origin, even though he or she still lives in the United States. He may have decorated his home with reminders of his parent culture and associated with only people who share his culture, or similar cultures. While the separatist found himself in a new country, he resisted the impact of culture shock by avoiding elements of the new country and replaced them with aspects of his original country.

Marginalization

Finally, there is marginalization. This was the immigrant who refused acculturation into the dominant culture, at the same time rejected the comfort of the culture from his or her country of origin. He or she marginalized people from the new American culture, which he may not entirely understand, as well as ex-patriots from his mother country. Immigrants who fell into the Marginalization Category were known as

segregationists. The problem for the person who marginalizes, the segregationist, was that society encourages interdependence and acceptance based on what one group member has in common with other members of the group. No man is an island and not just the United States, but societies in general, rewarded group members for their similarities, their acceptance of one another, and the build-up of interdependence (Worchel, 2005). Any immigrant or native group member who deviated is alienated by the majority, deemed pathological, and could be considered a threat to the majority group. This leaves few opportunities for the segregationist to succeed.

The segregationists also constituted the acculturation group that created their own new culture, separate from that of the host-culture which is White America, and that of their native country as well. Romeny (2009) referred to this as ethnogenesis. For example, being Chicano was more than just being Mexican and American, while being Italian American has grown to mean something more than being Italian or American. For this reason, Flannery, Reise, and Yu (2001) recommended a unidirectional acculturation model for analyzing only first generation immigrants. After the first generation, acculturation becomes more complex warranting a bidirectional, or even tri-directional model. They believed ethnogenesis warrants a tridirectional model.

The Preferred Acculturation Pattern

Recall that there are four possible acculturation patterns/outcomes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997). Of all the possible acculturation patterns an immigrant can adopt, it is the assimilation pattern that most fully demonstrated the power of the majority group in influencing conformity. If a Hispanic

immigrant is living among predominantly White Americans, his or her values may further separate him from the majority, causing his opinions to deviate from the majority. The immigrant then has two options: to stick to his values or to adopt the values of the majority group, in this case, that of White America. To stick to his values may feel natural because it offers little dissonance between what he believes and what he expresses or how he behaves. One is reacting based on the belief system with which one was raised. This could result in an opinion that will not be voiced because to do so would stir animosity and alienation from the majority group.

On the other hand, conformity was found to take place when one adopts the values of the new host country, the majority (Ortiz & Jacinto, 1996). Once this occurred, the immigrant was encouraged to voice this majority opinion, he was therefore more likely to be popular with the majority group. He was also more likely to receive social validation, and experience less acculturative stress. Ortiz and Jacinto (1996) referred to this as *convergent thinking*. The consequence for convergent thinking is it encouraged the values of one's own native culture to be shelved, the next time his or her values run into contradiction with that of the majority group. Ortiz and Jacinto found that even accurate minority opinions can change when conforming to the inaccurate opinions of the majority group, if convergent thinking has occurred.

Of all possible acculturation patterns to adopt, integration, also known as biculturation, was most highly recommended for several reasons (Brummett, Wade, Ponterotto, Thombs, & Lewis, 2007). Integration was the ability for the Hispanic immigrant to maintain the native culture with which he or she was raised while adopting

the culture of the American society they now live in. Examples of biculturalism might include immigrants who speak English outside the home, but speak Spanish inside the home, read in English but think in Spanish (Falicov, 1998). Bicultural immigrants might shake hands with their American friends, but hug or give a peck on the cheek when greeting their Latino friends. Bicultured individuals were most likely to have attitudes and beliefs that helped them cope with situations inducing acculturative stress (Brummett et al., 2007, Dona & Berry, 1994). They also experienced less somatic symptoms of stress than the other three acculturation categories (Dona & Berry, 1994). Bicultural individuals had healthier interpersonal skills, were more social, and less depressed. They also tended to respond in a more politically correct fashion, to questions regarding race and ethnicity. A meta-analysis concluded while 53% of acculturation studies preferred biculturation as the most sought after result, 34% associated bicultural acculturation as something negative (Rudmin, 2003). Portes and Rivas (2011) in reviewing acculturation patterns offered a grim, "pattern does not matter" philosophy. As they described Alba and Nee's theory of the new melting pot, assimilation is inevitable, even if it takes 2 or 3 generations. Furthermore, the mainstream is constantly changing as different immigrants from different cultures assimilate.

The Least Preferred Acculturation Pattern

Marginalization was the immigrant's refusal to accept aspects of the new, majority culture. At the same time, he or she no longer maintained the cultural practices of his mother country. This resulted in a self-imposed isolation from of all levels of support during the acculturation process and this is why marginalization was regarded as

the least preferred method of acculturation. Fifty percent of the studies reviewed by Rudmin (2003) summarized the marginal pattern as unfavorable. Only ten percent concluded marginalization as favorable because somehow those immigrants who dismissed both cultures were able to maintain their own identity in a changing situation, they were able to dismiss social obligation, and their children performed above average in the school system (Rudmin, 2003).

Some debate continued to exist about the validity of the last category – marginalization. Recall that immigrants who fell into this category were unwilling to adopt, or are forced out by the majority culture which is White Americans in this case. However, these immigrants rejected their native culture as well. Dona and Berry (1994) were not able to find any immigrants who fit this category, in their sample of 101 refugees. Some argued as to whether or not the category exists (Schwartz et al., 2010). In fact, many studies reviewed by Schwartz et al. (2010) left the cell empty when they could not find immigrants who fell in the marginalization category. An even harsher critic of the bidimensional model, was Rudmin (2003) whose extensive literature review found seven earlier versions of this fourfold acculturation outcome model, the first dating as far back as 1928. He accused Berry (1997) of, essentially, reinventing the wheel with his bidimensional model.

Rudmin explained how participants might answer items that endorsed two or three types of acculturation categories, thereby challenging the construct validity of the bidimensional model. The four types of acculturation outcomes of the study do not intercorrelate. Rudmin cited his 1996 work which demonstrated Korean immigrants who

have settled in Canada correlated very high on the cultural integration scale with Koreans who want to go to Canada, as well as Koreans who did not want to visit Canada, and Norwegians who only speculated on what Koreans might be experiencing upon their settlement into Canada (Rudmin, 2003). The other three categories: assimilation, segregation, and marginalization showed no correlation with acculturative stress. This begs the question: How can one style of acculturation be better than another, if three categories of amalgamating immigrants suffered equal amounts of acculturative stress? Rudmin (2003) even suggested the blame of poor acculturation might be placed on the cultural tendency of a minority member to react to stress with psychosomatic symptoms. Furthermore, he went so far as to imply that those who migrate to the United States may have had difficulty adjusting their lives to the demands of their own, home country as well.

It is for this reason that Portes and Rivas (2011) reviewed a pessimistic, never going to assimilate, theory of acculturation known as the structuralist perspective. In it, the immigrant, and his second or third generation descendent, will assimilate, but never more than the White majority will allow. So the best Latinos can do, will involve moving into a segmented community with limited opportunities for career advancement.

Prejudice and Acculturative Stress

For minority group members, the conflict between their own cultural norms and that of the majority culture, becomes more an internal conflict, rather than a social one. When minority members shelve their cultural values in replacement of the more popular values of the majority culture, a form of internalized prejudice takes place. Putting one's

cultural values on the back-burner may create some resentment in the immigrant mind. Not only might this affect one's feelings about the majority culture at hand, but it could impact the Hispanic immigrant's opinion of the majority culture in the future. Our attitudes toward a target group, impacted our behavior around that target group (Lord, Mackie, & Lepper, 1984).

For example, a Hispanic immigrant has an initial interaction with a White majority member of the community; this could result in apprehension on the part of the immigrant. It could be frustration from a language barrier, or any other factor that colors the interaction. This initial interaction may, in turn, affect the immigrant's behavior towards all other majority members in the future. There is evidence that once an initial interaction impacts one's judgment, it affected how quickly the judgment was made again in the future (Stewart, Smith, Doan, & Gingrich, 1998). For example, if a White American was frustrated with a Hispanic immigrant's limited Spanish and judged him or her based on that; the White American was more likely to judge a Hispanic immigrant faster, the next time he encountered one, even faster if the person judging was female (Stewart et al., 1998). This is referred to as *individual racism*, *institutional racism* if he was in a position of power, and *collective racism* if a group of similar thinking individuals organized against the immigrant (Utsey & Ponterrotto, 1996). Because of that initial frustrating interaction with a Hispanic immigrant, the next Hispanic immigrant will be judged faster than a European immigrant with a similar language barrier, or a local with a communication problem (Stewart et al., 1998).

In White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian participants, men experienced more discrimination in their lifetime than women (Landrine et al., 2006). This was surprising because Latina/o critical race theory states women should be experiencing an intersection of racism, sexism, classism, and nativism which subjects them to more scrutiny than minority men (Pérez Huber, 2010). Across these cultural groups studied, those with a bachelor's degree or higher reported more discrimination than those with a high school degree or less (Landrine et al., 2006). Those who had lower incomes reported more discrimination as well (Landrine et al., 2006). One might reason that the more educated a minority group member is, the more familiar he is with the culture, customs, and language, of the majority group. One possible explanation for this pattern of discrimination is: the more Hispanics demonstrated a high "Anglo orientation", or willingness to adopt the White American culture, the more likely they were to perceive discrimination and therefore be prone to psychological distress (Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012). Morardi and Risco (2006) emphasized the importance of gaining a sense of personal control over one's life, rather than actual acculturation. Personal control may not be correlated with how much one has adopted a White American culture that constitutes the majority.

Acculturative stress, such as that brought on by poor English skills, was associated with levels of depression twice as high as those of immigrants who experienced no acculturative stress (Morardi & Risco, 2006). Income might have had an even larger impact on Hispanic immigrants because they were in a new country. They might not be aware of any job opportunities because a language barrier could interfere

with their application process, and (especially if they are undocumented) their opportunities in the United States could be severely limited. Miranda and Matheny (2000) found a preference for Spanish, as well as family cohesion, to be factors correlated with an increase in acculturative stress. However, acculturative stress was negatively correlated with these factors in Latino teenagers (Gil et al., 2004; Smokowski et al., 2010). It stands to reason Spanish speaking more negatively impacts adults in causing acculturative stress than teens, because it interferes with securing a job. This makes language a double edged sword, because while a preference for Spanish increases acculturative stress, it maintains a strong connection with ones country of origin and cultural values (Machado-Casas, 2009). To emphasize the importance of language, a qualitative study of trilingual, undocumented, Central-American Indians held language essential to identity, "Carlos expressed his connection by stating if he lost his language, it would be akin to killing him." (Machado-Casas, 2009, p.90).

Covert Types of Prejudice

Utsey, Ponterotto, and Porter (2008) explained that while overt racism has dramatically decreased since the 1950's, modern racism has increased. They described several types of prejudice that can be expressed towards a Hispanic-American just as easily as towards a Black-American. *Laissez faire racism* referred to a resistance towards any efforts at creating equality between Whites and minorities. Equality is expected to be achieved as if it were the by-product of a natural homeostasis. *Ambivalent racists* might appreciate the cooking or flavor of a Hispanic culture, but would not want a Hispanic person to marry into their family. *Color blind racists* were described as people who

refuse to see any difference between cultures and minimize the differences they do see. Consequently, they might blame the individual Hispanic immigrant for being unable to economically succeed in the United States and do not recognize any benefits being White contributed to where or what they are today. The attempt to minimize cultural differences had fallen out of favor as means of reducing prejudice. Berry (2000) a vanguard in cultural psychology did acknowledge that some aspects of culture have what he called a high level of reality. They have explicit examples that are observable: artifacts, customs, and technology. Other aspects of culture have a low reality. They are broad, open to interpretation and implication, yet these cultural differences are defended at conferences (Berry, 2000). He warned these cultural differences might be synthetic and their importance exaggerated. In all these forms of modern racism the Hispanic American, no matter how acculturated he or she is, may never detect these forms of prejudice or feel that he was the target.

If acculturation did not reduce experiences of prejudice, then no level of amalgamation with the majority culture would alleviate acculturative stress. Finch, Colody, & Vega (2000) supported this notion when they explained not only did Hispanic people report experiencing discrimination, those educated in America were more likely to experience discrimination. Similarly, they found Latino people who have spent a greater portion of their lives in the United States were more likely to report experiencing discrimination and therefore depression. This demonstrated that mastery of the English language which comes with time and number of years living in the United States, was not a buffer from perceptions of discrimination (Finch et al., 2000). The authors maintained

that perceived discrimination and depression were not statistically correlated with their participants' acculturative stress. Therefore, even becoming a part of the predominant White American culture will not safeguard someone from sadness as a result of being targeted for prejudice. The experience of discrimination is correlated with acculturative stress throughout the family, acculturative stress experienced in social interactions, and suicidal attempts in Latinos (Gomez et al., 2011).

The particular brand of discrimination more particular to the Hispanic immigrant was nativism. Recall that when a White American views an immigrant as a threat to American values due to his or her foreign status, culture, and ideas, it can be labeled *Nativism*. Fong (2008) explained that during times of national social stability, nativism was minimized. However, during times of national crisis such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks or the 2008 economic recession that had impacted the United States, nativism escalated as a form of "cultural protectionism" to sustain the majority culture, in this case, White America (Fong, 2008, p. 83). Understandably, when one envisions protecting America, it is usually from foreign, conflicting interests. While Hispanic Americans have a lot to offer in terms of educating White America on cross cultural concepts and tolerance, the question remains: How much is the in-group willing to learn about the out-group if the need is presented by the out-group? In other words, Hispanic Americans demanding a need to feel accepted are less likely to get results than White Americans encouraging the same need for one another to be more accepting. For example, when a Black man accused a White man of being prejudiced, the Black man was perceived by the White man as being weak and overreacting (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). However, when a White

man accused another White man of a racist transgression, he was more likely to reconsider his supposed offense (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). These research results can be interpreted to mean that White people can learn from Hispanics about reducing their prejudice towards Hispanic people, however they are more likely to learn and change when their beliefs are challenged by a fellow White person. Similarly, Latino immigrants might be more likely to acculturate when encouraged to do so by their Hispanic American counterparts. Whereas being encouraged to acculturate by White Americans might be perceived as oppressive or domineering.

It is important to note that while nativism towards Hispanic immigrants was predominantly from White Americans and Black Americans; it could stem from other Latinos as well. Slightly less than 50% of Hispanics believed that current levels of legal immigration should be decreased (de la Garza & DeSipio, 1998), even though they, or their family were immigrants as well. The majority of Hispanic participants who felt this way included Cuban and Puerto Rican Americans, older Latinos, and acculturated Hispanic immigrants (DeSipio, 2008).

Even mental health professionals are not immune to exercising covert discrimination against clients who are Latino immigrants. In family therapy, the mental health professional might view the parental philosophy that a teenage girl must be closely watched and protected, as anachronistic and a double standard. The therapist is subtly implying that successful mental health is contingent upon an acculturation process that involves discarding the values of the old country. Innocently, the professional wants what is best for the client and his family, but he or she might be using microaggression to

imply that one cultural viewpoint is superior. A White American psychologist could be viewed with prejudice by the client as representing a cog in a machine hostile towards Latino immigrants and a Latino psychologist might even be viewed as a defector from Latino culture (Falicov, 1998).

The Mental Health Effects of Discrimination

Depending on the type of prejudice experienced and how they appraise the assault, Latino Americans have a number of ways they can cope with the effects of prejudice. When the target of prejudice evaluates the situation: Does he or she perceive a harm or loss taking place at the hands of the prejudiced individual? Was the transaction absent mindedly biased and perceived as benign or irrelevant? Finally, was a challenge drawn? Was the target of prejudice dared to contest his or her unfair treatment? How the target perceived the prejudice would determine the reaction to the prejudice (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). This reaction could range from withdrawal and depression to hostility and physical aggression. Utsey and his colleagues (2000) found that seeking out social support from others who had experienced discrimination was often the only viable and healthy coping mechanism for dealing with prejudice. Avoidance of the issue negatively affected self-esteem and life satisfaction.

The end result of discrimination, poverty, and stress manifested themselves with the prevalence of mental health symptoms. Nowhere was this more apparent than in a 2000 migrant worker study wherein almost 5% of women suffered from a major depressive episode (similar to the 5–9% national rate), another 7.5% suffered from agoraphobia (vs. 1–2% with overall panic disorder; Alderete et al., 2000; APA, 2000).

Five percent of both male and female migrant workers suffered from social phobia, as opposed to 2% of the nation who warrant the diagnosis. Six percent of both male and female migrant workers were diagnosed with a simple phobia and 12.3% of migrant workers had a general anxiety disorder, four times that of the national average. The prevalence study results sharply contrasted with the mental health disorder rates from the rest of the United States (APA, 2000). Acculturative stress predicted anxiety and depression in immigrants as well as factors that correlated highly with acculturative stress like: language difficulties, financial difficulties, and feelings of isolation and discrimination (Hovey & Magana, 2002). It is for these reasons that mental health professionals treating the Latino immigrant, viewed acculturation as a sign of successful treatment outcome. They viewed themselves as the "social intermediary" charged with the role of facilitating the immigrant's transition to a new culture, thereby alleviating mental health symptoms associated with acculturative stress (Falicov, 1998). The problem is, if acculturation is not the goal of the client, even though it may alleviate acculturative stress and psychological symptoms, then the therapist will be at odds with the client and lose him. Besides, a more acculturated Latino immigrant is more likely to access psychological treatment, but that does not mean he or she is more likely to be a more insightful patient, nor is he more likely to benefit from therapy, due to his acculturation (Echeverry, 1997).

Whether or not to acculturate was not the only decision interfering with mental health treatment for Latino immigrants. Echeverry (1997) reviewed the most common obstacles Latinos face. Immigrants feared that the mental health worker will ask about

their immigration status, particularly if the agency is federally funded. Clients may not be proficient in English enough to discuss intimate issues, while the agency may not have enough Spanish-speaking professionals. Back in their country of origin, they may have only visited a padre, *compadre*, homeopath, palm reader, or *botanica* for a personal problem. Mental health agencies should be located in the barrios of the clients they intend to serve, but the unsympathetic therapists may believe, “If the clients want treatment, they should find a way to get here.” They should keep in mind that if the agency location was too far, the Latino immigrants might not have had the car, valid driver’s license, transportation fare, or time to visit the therapist during business hours. For this reason, many agencies would benefit their community if they were open late or on Saturdays.

Echeverry’s (1997) list was not exhaustive, but it did highlight the key issues preventing Latino immigrants from seeking mental health treatment as they suffer from acculturative stress. It also listed many of the obstacles to mental health treatment that many lower socio-economic status Americans face as well. It is important to remember that Latino immigrants were likely to have more in common with poor Americans than with higher SES Latinos (Quezada & Belgrave, 1997). It is for that reason that Quezada and Belgrave (1997) offered more culturally relevant advice for health and mental health professionals treating Latino immigrants than Echeverry. They recommend the clinician focus more on building trust with the client and that he incorporate the family, the community, and God(s) into treatment (Quezada & Belgrave, 1997).

Discrimination led to the deterioration of one’s self-esteem as well as to a sense of loss over one’s personal control (Moradi & Risco, 2006) and diminished satisfaction with

life (Utsey et al., 2000). A lack of perceived self control over one's environmental resources increased acculturative stress and the potential to cope with that stress using unhealthy behaviors. For example, Hispanic students were more likely to feel they were being accused of stealing, cheating, not working hard enough, and breaking the law, than Asian college students (Hwang & Goto, 2008). Perceived discrimination accounted for approximately 10% of the variance across state and trait anxiety experienced by both Asian and Hispanic students (Hwang & Goto, 2008). Using unhealthy behaviors to cope with the anxiety or depression that stems from feeling like outsiders, could explain why the 12.2% of the male migrant workers were alcohol dependent (Alderete et al., 2000).

Internalizing discrimination is one of the unhealthy ways of coping, it involves incorporating the prejudice belief as valid. Padilla (2004) described how common it is for Latino families to proudly describe their children and grandchildren as *guero*, to refrain from using Spanish while in a professional setting, or how they attack and criticize other Latinos striving for leadership roles. Another example of unhealthy behaviors involved the Black Caribbean immigrants who internalized racism. They were more likely to have abdominal fat than Black Caribbean immigrants who did not internalize racism (Tull et al., 1999, in Cokley, 2002). Internalized prejudice was also related to poor marital satisfaction in husbands (Buunk et al., 1991). These losses contributed to an increase in acculturative stress. In a meta-analysis of 493 studies on perceived discrimination, 69% were found to relate experiencing discrimination to poor mental health and an increased probability of clinical mental illness (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Furthermore, the study's results demonstrated that Hispanic people suffered from the mental health effects

of discrimination; equal to the suffering of Black, Asian, and Native American ethnic groups. Contrary to popular belief, a minority member identifying more with his or her culture or roots, did not insulate him from being discriminated against, nor protect that minority member from poor mental health (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Only 18% of the studies in Pascoe and Smart Richman's meta-analysis concluded an immigrant identifying with their culture of origin helped their mental health, 71% of the research implied no significant effects, and 12% concluded identifying with one's minority culture was associated with the participants suffering more from mental health symptoms. More optimistically, the impact of discrimination seemed to deteriorate over time because recent and chronic discrimination created more adverse mental health symptoms in a person than similar prejudiced events occurring further back in one's life history (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).

As if to support the notion that embracing the majority culture does not provide support against prejudice; Tillman and Weiss (2009) suggested that Hispanic people born in the United States may experience more discrimination and therefore, experience more acculturative stress than Hispanic immigrants. This was sometimes referred to, in the literature, as "the immigrant advantage" or sarcastically, the "Americanization of mental health". Contrary to the migrant worker prevalency study, Tillman and Weiss (2009) found young, Hispanic women, born in another country, to be less depressed and more easily make the transition into adulthood. Mexican American women had more social support than their second generation counterparts and suffered less psychological distress (Rodriguez & DeWolfe, 1990). Mexican Americans born in the United States were more

likely to suffer from: major depression, dysthymia, a phobia, alcohol abuse and dependence, infant mortality, low birth-weight, drug abuse and dependence, to be suicidal, to suffer from PTSD, to suffer from any affective or anxiety disorder, and to be diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder, than their Mexico born peers (Escobar, Nervi, & Gora, 2000). The only thing Mexican born people had higher rates of were somatization symptoms alone and preterm births, but higher levels of physical functioning (Escobar et al., 2000). Two theories are possible, to explain this improved mental health in immigrants. One theory was the Hispanic women who immigrated to the United States of America were more likely to seek safety and reassurance in the comfort of their culture or amongst immigrants of a similar culture. The other theory suggested that Hispanic immigrants did not interact very much with White American citizens due to a culture and language barrier. Therefore, discrimination and stress from interactions with the majority group, rarely had an opportunity to occur. Tillman and Weiss (2009) did not discover in their work, the immigrant advantage in Hispanic males who have immigrated to the United States. They theorized that Hispanic men were less supervised and less enmeshed in the protection and support of their culture. Hispanic men worked more hours than Hispanic women and they were more likely than women, to feel isolated, socially marginalized, and separated from their family (Hiott et al., 2006).

Contact Theory

Discrimination by the White majority towards the immigrant (or from the immigrant towards the majority) can be ameliorated through several recommendations made by Ponterotto (1991). According to the contact theory, increasing contact between

White Americans and Hispanic immigrants can serve to reduce discrimination providing that the contact was non-threatening and the interaction was for the purpose of a common goal. He warned that the quality of contact can be contaminated by the unequal status between the immigrant members and the majority group members. Ponterotto (1991) recommended that high school students learn about tolerance and the Civil Rights Movement in their schools, that parents receive training on raising children with positive attitudes towards others, and groups should be held on high school and college campuses, sharing their experiences of prejudice and discrimination. Unfortunately, he warned it may be that the majority benefits more from intergroup contact than the minority group. Minority groups like the Hispanic immigrant did not benefit from interaction as described by the contact theory; as much as the majority group members (Binder et al., 2009).

Providing that the White American, majority member viewed his or her interaction with a Hispanic immigrant as typical, rather than atypical, of the entire minority group, then he would generalize this positive interaction towards interactions with other minority group members (Binder et al., 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). On the other hand, if the White American viewed his or her positive interaction with an immigrant as atypical, the contact theory is not supported and he would not reduce his prejudice. Similarly, Hispanic immigrants, even if they have a pleasant interaction or a friend who is a member of the White majority, may fail to generalize the positive characteristics of the friend to all White people; if they viewed their friend to be an atypical member of their majority group.

Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) more specifically described the affective aspect of prejudice as being most likely to change after a relationship develops with a majority group member through contact. The cognitive aspect of prejudice was more resilient to the contact effect. They defined the cognitive aspects of prejudice as involving perceptions, judgments, and beliefs about a target group. Affective aspects of prejudice involve the way members of the target group make one feel (Tropp & Pettgrew, 2005). If the Hispanic immigrants' first experience with White Americans is via the Department of Homeland Security, exploitative immigration attorneys, the Department of Children and Families, unscrupulous labor managers, Border Patrol, or local law enforcement; the result is a negative contact encounter that would generalize to the way the majority culture will be perceived (Williams & Berry, 1991). This could develop into a future lifestyle of self-imposed alienation, rather than inclusion. Immigrants who perceived their newfound home as a land of opportunity have better mental health than those who perceived their new land as a source of changes and challenges.

According to the contact theory, after interaction between minority and majority group members, acculturative stress might be reduced with future interactions with White Americans, however the prejudice towards White American people could remain the same. Improving one's depression and low self-esteem by reinforcing one's ethnic pride led to increased resentment and prejudice against the White majority (Cokley, 2002) and it led to increased suffering as a result of discrimination (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). The 1988 Canadian Task Force concluded that discrimination against immigrants (as well as reverse discrimination towards the White majority) might be better addressed

on a community and national level (Beiser et al., 1988). The task force prescribed: Premigration orientation might be developed in countries of origin or upon arrival. Pass laws enabling family and friends of the immigrant to follow suit and immigrate north, thereby widening the immigrant's circle of support. Improve funding for agencies that assist in settling immigrants. Develop school curricula that promote tolerance. Educate the public on the benefits of immigration to a society and its economy. Improve access to English courses. Finally, create public advertisements describing the difficulties plaguing immigrants and the effects of prejudice from both sides.

Undocumented Latino Immigrants

Most of the research on undocumented immigrants addressed issues of politics and policy. For example, in 1982 the Supreme Court ruled that undocumented children had a right to education in public schools offering prekindergarten till high school graduation, in the *Plyer v. Doe* case. However, after graduation, most undocumented students suffered from an unknown future due to an inability to both attend college and legally work in the United States. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was a federal legislation proposed to Congress, which offers undocumented immigrants, under 35 years of age and who have been in the U.S. for five years or more, conditional permanent residency (Radoff, 2011). The conditions were, the undocumented student can attend college for 2 years, or serve in the military, in exchange for legal permanent residency. But Radoff (2011) asserted that just because the right to education is granted on a moral principle as in *Plyer v. Doe*, does not mean undocumented immigrants were legally included, since little can be done with their

education. She argued that any laws excluding people in America from being equal to American citizens, is still a deprivation of human rights. Attending public school is the exercising of rights, which is not the same as possessing rights. Thus the "undocumented" label is a "disabling status". On the other hand, the law argues that those who enter the country illegally are criminals, therefore criminals are not offered the same rights as American citizens. Even when they are offered services, there is no guarantee the immigrant will know about changes in the law that they can take advantages of. For example, in 2001, California passed Assembly Bill 540 (AB 540) allowing undocumented college students to pay instate tuition, providing they can prove they graduated from a California high school and swear they will apply for permanent residency when eligible (Perez Huber et al., 2009). Although Latinos made up 78% of California's undocumented immigrants, more Asian immigrants applied for AB 540 than Latinos, in the University of California system (Perez Huber et al., 2009).

For the undocumented immigrants who did not pursue their education in America, social capital was an important factor in the acculturation process. Social capital refers to who the immigrant knows, upon arriving in America; the number of and strength of their social ties, laying the foundation for a social network (Fores-Yeffal & Aysa-Lastra, 2011). It was concluded that family ties are more beneficial to Mexican immigrants from urban areas while *paizanos*, immigrants from the same town or area, were more beneficial to Mexican immigrants from rural areas. Paizanos were a greater part of the social capital of Mexican immigrants, even though they only met paizanos upon chance encounters upon their arrival to the United States (Fores-Yeffal & Aysa-Lastra, 2011).

Jobs Available

Undocumented immigrants are limited in work opportunities upon arriving in the United States. The four industries where undocumented immigrants could thrive in the U.S. are: agriculture, processing plants for meats such as beef, pork, and poultry, domestic service and hospitality, and small construction work (Haverluk & Trautmat, 2008). Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) were among the first to work with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS, then it was the Immigration and Naturalization Service, INS), and the first to receive immunity. As long as their employers were enrolled, DHS would permit the employment of undocumented immigrants. IBP went so far as to advertise their job offers on Mexican radio. Their advertisements promised consistent wages, healthcare, and job security. In 1980, 70% of meat packing jobs were unionized, the wave of undocumented immigrants hired in conjunction with DHS, broke those unions, greatly reducing the price of meats and increasing the corporate profit margin (Haverluk & Trautman, 2008). With an injury and illness rate of 36%, undocumented immigrants were the population that showed enough desperation to make themselves vulnerable at a low cost (Cooper, 1997). Latinos made up 25% of the IBP labor force, but less than 5% of the workers' compensation claims (Cooper, 1997). Over ten years ago undocumented immigrants accounted for 25% of the poultry workers and 53% of crop laborers (Department of Labor, 2002). A conversation with Jim Walker from the Division of Labor Force Statistics revealed that there is no way for the government to know if these percentages are accurate today, nor percentages of undocumented immigrants in the

construction, agriculture, and meatpacking industry, based on the information they gathered from companies.

With limited job opportunities, undocumented immigrants from all cultures become desperate for a source of income, making them vulnerable to exploitation. In 2007, Immokalee, Florida, tomato pickers earned 40 cents per 32 pound bucket they filled up (Conde, 2007). After each laborer filled 2 tons worth of tomatoes, he or she earned $50 for the day and averaged $8000 per year. Besides abusing them physically, Latino field supervisors would keep the laborers in indentured servitude by charging exorbitantly for food, transportation, and sundry needs that accumulated in interest Conde, 2007). Although the labor of undocumented immigrants can be exploited, hazardous, and taxing; efforts were successful to create ethical standards for Florida tomato laborers, thanks to the Fair Food Standards Council (Unknown, 2012). The council is made up of tomato growers, workers, and corporate buyers (Taco Bell, McDonald’s, Subway, Whole Foods, etc.) to assure social responsibility as well as corporate accountability (Unknown, 2012).

Mental Health

Sullivan and Rehm (2005) described a scarcity in literature when they found and reviewed a total of 14 articles on the health and mental health of undocumented immigrants in the United States, dating back to 1981. Their study culminated the acculturative stress to certain themes: the trauma of a dangerous border crossing, limited financial and health resources, and restricted mobility. These are the risks involved in driving or returning to their native country to visit. Sullivan and Rehm (2005) summed up

the psychological effects of being an undocumented immigrant with four acculturative reactions. Undocumented immigrants suffered from a sense of isolation, a depression from loneliness. They suffered from low self esteem, guilt, and self blame because they knew they were perceived as taking jobs from U.S. citizens and exploiting public assistance programs. They felt vulnerable and exploitable. Finally, they suffered from chronic fear and exhibited fear based behaviors.

Because of their unstable and limited work options, undocumented immigrants suffered from more acculturative stress than their documented peers. Arbona and Olvera (2009) discovered that family oriented acculturative stress was a discriminating factor as much as occupational aspects of acculturative stress. In fact, the fear of deportation accounted for 21% of the variance in acculturative stress scores between documented and undocumented Latino workers, indicating that the undocumented suffer from higher levels of acculturative stress. They were more likely to live alone, lack proficiency in English, and endorse more traditional gender roles (Arbona et al., 2010). These factors collaborated to produce higher extrafamilial stress scores when compared with documented immigrants. On the other hand intrafamilial stress scores comprised of family stress, parental stress, and marital stress, failed to distinguish legal status (Arbona et al., 2010).

There was scarce research on the psychology of undocumented immigrant laborers, however there was some research on the psychology of undocumented students and how the discovery of their illegal status impacted their future and self-esteem. Gonzales (2011), in his qualitative study, described the students as confused, angry,

frustrated, and in despair. They were quick to blame their teachers and parents for their dilemma. Some of his participants described having the next ten years of their lives planned out, until they discovered their undocumented status. What followed was a period of embarrassment and a change of self image. They were too embarrassed to tell their friends, and felt as if time froze since they were no longer able to advance towards their career goals through a college education. After all, how can America consider itself a meritocracy if a certain class of Americans has to pay double or triple the tuition rate (Jefferies, 2008)? It is possible that the lack of postgraduation expectations leads to the 40% of undocumented teenagers in the United States who did not graduate from high school (Gonzales, 2011).

Summary

This chapter provided a detailed literature review of the topics relevant to this study. It reviewed the various factors that impact the psychological experience of Latino immigrants who moved to the United States including some intrinsic factors such as age, language skills, income, country of origin, and expectation for migration. The influence that the laws passed to restrict immigration and the immigrants' experiences in public schools and colleges was also examined. The bidimensional acculturation theory and its four possible acculturation results provided a theoretical framework for this project. The concept of prejudice and the various types of prejudice from those in the host culture as well as prejudices of the immigrant were discussed.

The literature review indicated that several factors related to acculturative stress, including: the age of the immigrant, economic and political conditions leading up to the

emigration, English skills and familiarity with American culture, supportive networks already in the United States, ability to find work and income level, ability to return home, documentation status, and education level were studied. There was a gap in the literature regarding the experience of acculturative stress, due to factors outside of the immigrant. The acculturation process is made more difficult and stressful by the Hispanic person's experience of discrimination by White Americans who make up the majority. Acculturative stress was never quantitatively studied as it relates to the perception of discrimination, documentation status, and other predictive factors for comparison. In fact the experience of acculturative stress may more closely reflect the attitude of the new host country, rather than that of the immigrant or minority group member. The purpose of this study was to answer the question: Does experiencing discrimination and other socio-cultural variables (income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) correlate with levels of acculturative stress? The next chapter explains the research design and methods that was used to answer this research question.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

Latino immigrants are exposed to a number of factors upon settling in the United States. These factors contribute to their vulnerability towards acculturative stress and consequential psychological symptoms (Alderete et al., 2000; Echeverry, 1997; Hovey & Magana, 2002; Quelada & Belgrave, 1997; Utsey et al., 2000). I explored the impact experiencing discrimination has on acculturative stress in Latino immigrants, relative to other stress-inducing factors. I compared the strength of experiencing discrimination against other independent variables the literature has determined as augmenting acculturative stress in immigrants. This chapter includes descriptions of the methodology and procedures used to collect, analyze, and interpret the research findings. It contains descriptions of the research design, setting and sample, instruments, data collection procedures, analysis, and ethical procedures considered to protect the participants' rights in this project.

Method

Research Design, Questions, and Hypotheses

The purpose was to gain better understanding of predictors of acculturative stress among Latino immigrants in the United States. To address this purpose, I explored how experiencing discrimination and other key sociodemographic variables such as income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence relate to acculturative stress. I used a quantitative, cross-

sectional survey design in this project. My study attempted to answer one research question.

Research Question

Does experiencing discrimination and other sociocultural variables (income, number of years in the United States, age, immigration status, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) correlate with levels of acculturative stress?

Hypothesis

All seven sociocultural factors (income, number of years in the United States, age, immigration status, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) and experiencing discrimination will statistically significantly correlate with levels of acculturative stress. I tested this hypothesis using forced entry multiple regression analysis.

Setting and Sample

Five million Latinos live in the twin cities of Miami and Fort Lauderdale, 2,825,000 of them live in Greater Miami, constituting 65% to 70% of its citizens (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010; U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010). The twin cities have 5% of the nation's immigrants and the highest percentage of immigrants with three quarters of the city being foreign born or the children of foreign-born individuals (Rumbaut, 2004). While the city where this study took place is ranked seventh in the United States in terms of number of Latino citizens, it stands alone as the largest city with a Hispanic majority (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010). I sampled a portion of the population representing Latino immigrants. The participants required were at least 160 Latino immigrants. There were

no parameters set based on their neighborhood, income, or number of years in the United States. That way the sample was expected to access all kinds of Latino immigrants, from all walks of life, and at different stages in the acculturation process.

I used G*Power 3.1.5 to determine the number of participants for this study. I set the parameters to calculate the number of participants (*n*) at: a medium effect size (f_x) of .15, an error probability (α) of .05, and a power of .95. The number of participants recommended was 160. I used a forced entry regression model to analyze the raw data collected from the participants, using IBM SPSS Statistics 21 for Windows. While I predicted all independent variables to have some effect in determining AHSI-I scores, my goal in this study was to determine which variable has the greatest correlation.

Participants

I interviewed a convenience sample of Latino immigrants throughout various communities of Miami, Florida. As discussed in Chapter 2, convenience sample techniques are appropriate in cross-cultural research when there are few accurate or accessible lists of the total population (Aycan & Berry, 1996), as is the case with Latino undocumented immigrants. Adult participants ranged from 18 years old to 80 years old who were first generation immigrants, born in a Central, South American, or Caribbean country. I set a maximum age for participation in this study. Data collection followed the research guidelines of the American Psychological Association (APA, 2002). I obtained approval to conduct this study from the Walden University Institutional Review Board (approval number 07-30-14-0087502 and expiration date July 29, 2015).

Of the 177 participants, there were 100 men (56.5%) and 73 women (41.2%). For four participants, the gender was missing or both genders were written. These packets were eliminated from the analysis since gender was one of the predictive variables. The majority of the sample was from Cuba (58.2%). The rest of the sample was fairly distributed among a number of nations. The largest share of the non-Cuban immigrants were only, and 14 (7.9%) of those participants came from the Dominican Republic and 14 (7.9%) from Honduras. The majority of the packets preferred by the participants were in Spanish. Twenty-one (11.9%) English packets were distributed. While the study hoped to equally represent undocumented immigrants, only 25 participated, representing 14.1% of the total sample. The number of family members the participants had in the United States ranged from 0 to 61, with the average being 4. The average age of participants was 42 years old (SD = 14.39). They ranged from living less than a year in the United States of America to 60 years, with the average immigrant living in the United States for 14.49 years (SD = 12.49). The mode income of the sample (22.6%) fell in the second category, earning a monthly income between $750 and $1000 per month. Additionally, one more package was eliminated as it was identified as an outlier. Checking for extreme scores was one of the initial data screening processes conducted. Outliers are defined as those with standardized residual values in excess of 3.29 (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2013).

Table 1 details the national origins of the immigrants as well as the other demographic factors measured for the total of 172 participants in this study.

Inclusion Criteria

Latino immigrants were given a paper and pencil survey for this study. *Latino immigrants* means that they were all born in Spanish speaking countries. Immigrants from the 1.5 generation, who left for the United States before the age of seven, were also included.

Exclusion Criteria

Potential participants from Puerto Rico were not included in the study. Although the argument can be made that Puerto Ricans suffer from acculturative stress much like other Latinos arriving in the United States, there is some debate as to whether they can be considered *immigrants* since Puerto Rico is already a commonwealth of the United States and shares much of U.S. laws and customs. Although the requirements for the study were made clear, some Latinos who were born in the United States participated in the study. Although they may have lived abroad, their packets were removed from the analysis to avoid confusion. Some packets were missing an excessive number of responses in General Ethnic Discrimination Scale. These packets were also removed from the analysis. As mentioned in the participant's section, I removed four packets for participants' failure to specify gender and a fifth packet for being identified as an outlier.

Table 1

Demographics of Participants (n = 172)

Characteristics	n	%
Gender		
Men	73	42.4
Women	99	57.6

(*table continues*)

Characteristics	*n*	%
Income		
0-500	45	26.2
500-750	27	15.7
750-1000	39	22.7
1000-1500	26	15.1
1500-2000	17	9.9
2000-2500	10	5.8
2500-3000	4	2.3
3000 or more	4	2.3
Immigration Status		
Documented	147	85.5
Undocumented	25	14.5
Nation of Origin		
Bolivia	1	.6
Colombia	6	3.5
Cuba	100	58.1
Dominican Republic	14	8.1
Ecuador	5	2.9
Guatemala	3	1.7
Honduras	14	8.1
Mexico	4	2.3
Nicaragua	12	7.0
Paraguay	1	.6
Peru	5	2.9
El Salvador	5	2.9
Venezuela	2	1.2
Comfort with English*		
0	14	8.1
1	14	8.1
2	17	9.9
3	25	14.5
4	14	8.1
5	22	12.8
6	22	12.8
7	13	7.6
8	13	7.6
9	8	4.7
10	10	5.8

Note. *0 = Not a word and 10 = perfect English.

Data Collection and Analysis

Procedure

I recruited potential participants in public places such as parks, community centers, outside barber shops, outside adult education centers, and locations where immigrants congregate. Most of the locations where I approached Latino immigrant participants were in public places. I entered private businesses for solicitation only upon invitation of the business manager on site. Those willing to participate were compensated with five dollars. Convenience sample techniques are appropriate in cross cultural research when there are few accurate or accessible lists of the total population (Aycan & Berry, 1996), as is the case with Latino undocumented immigrants.

I approached prospective participants in Spanish. I excused myself and introduced myself as a psychology student studying the experiences of Latino immigrants. I explained that it should take no more than 15 minutes of their time, require no personal information, and pay five dollars. They were compensated with $5 cash, regardless of whether or not they completed the tests.

I informed those interested that their participation would remain anonymous in order to respect the privacy of their information. In order to qualify, those who were interested were asked if they consider themselves Hispanic/Latino and originally from a Spanish-speaking country. Participants were instructed they can withdraw from participation at any time without penalty. The request for verbal consent explained the study in more detail, could be read in both Spanish and English (Appendices G and H),

and was approved by the Walden University Institutional Review Board (approval number 07-30-14-0087502).

Once the participant consented, the packets were immediately given and consisted of two tests and a demographic form (Appendices A and B). The participant was offered a clipboard and invited to move away from the people in his or her company. The tests included the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED) and the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory - Immigrant (AHSI-I). They were asked not to speak or share answers until after all packets were completed.

Instruments were available in both Spanish and English, depending on what the participant preferred. Every immigrant was offered the opportunity to have the instruments read by the researcher, item by item, and for some this was more convenient. The demographic sheet, AHSI-I, and GED were presented in packets with the same identification number across each instrument within the packet. I excluded incomplete packets. Completed packets were filed away in a locked file cabinet, located in a locked room.

Protection of Participants

Since some of the participants were undocumented immigrants, I took special consideration to make sure names would not be needed. All packets were numbered so each demographic questionnaire was matched with an AHSI-I and a GED. Participants were made aware of both the purpose and the option of withdrawing. Verbal agreement to participate constituted consent because a signed consent form would have threatened the anonymity of the participant. Dr. Antonio Flores is on the Homeland Security

Academic Advisory Council for the Department of Homeland Security. He recommended to me, via telephone and e-mail correspondence, few special considerations need to be made when researching undocumented immigrants as long as anonymity of the participants could be assured and secured, much as with participants with citizenship status. Walden University's Institutional Review Board also approved of the anonymous verbal consent procedure, further ensuring the anonymity process by requiring participants to seal their packets in an envelope before submitting them. This helped to alleviate participant fears of termination of employment, detainment, or deportation indirectly related to participation in this study. The researcher stepped away while the participant completed the packet. All risks to the participants were identified and minimized. Additionally, the study followed the ethical guidelines for research set forth by the American Psychological Association (2002) and Walden University's Institutional Review Board assured the research procedure would securing the rights of the participants.

Instrumentation and Materials

Demographic Questionnaire

I created a demographic sheet to ask for a country of origin, gender, number of years in the United States, number of family members present in the USA, age, monthly income, and confidence in English mastery, and an item asked participants to identify as "documented" or "undocumented". This sheet was not designed based on any demographic sheets in prior research. This first page had a pre-assigned participant number on the front (see Appendices A and B).

Experienced Prejudice

The General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED; Landrine et al., 2006; see Appendix E) is an 18-item Likert-type inventory originally designed to measure the extent to which Black Americans have experienced racism. The wording was modified from the Schedule of Racist Events developed in 1996 by Landrine and Klonoff. They changed the stem of each item from "Because you are Black…" to "because of your race/ethnic group," It was normed in 2006 on 1,569 White, Latino, Black, Asian, and 6.1% other minorities. Fifty-five point three percent of their sample population was graduate and undergraduate students at San Diego State University, while 44.7% were community adults. The authors report the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED) and its predecessor the SRE, has been used to predict smoking, depression, health concerns, and general stress among minorities. I obtained permission to use the instrument from Dr. Hope Landrine, who was contacted via e-mail at Eastern Carolina University (see Appendix H). Rivera (2009) utilized the GED to study Hispanic Americans in the Southwestern United States. The wording was modified to measure the same factors specific to Hispanic Americans. This was done through translation into Spanish and back translation by Rivera (2009). This technique was duplicated by Dr. Verdinelli and myself.

Participants who took the GED responded by reporting the frequency of a prejudiced occurrence in the last year, in their lifetime, and the perceived stressfulness of the event. For each item's time frame the participant circled the frequency on a Likert-type scale, from 1 (Never) to 6 (Almost All The Time). They also circled their appraisal

of how stressful the event was, on a Likert-type scale, from 1 (Not at all stressful) to 6 (Extremely stressful). These constitute the three subscales: Recent Discrimination, Lifetime Discrimination, and Appraised Discrimination. The various items assessed discrimination in areas such as work, public places, and school. Internal reliability for the subscales resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of .93 for Recent Discrimination, a Cronbach's alpha of .94 for Lifetime Discrimination, and a Cronbach's alpha of .94 for Appraised Discrimination (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006). In the present study, internal reliability for the subscales resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of .93 (N= 172) for Recent Discrimination, a Cronbach's alpha of .94 (N= 172) for Lifetime Discrimination, and a Cronbach's alpha of .93 (N= 172) for Appraised Discrimination. These estimates were similar to that of the authors of the GED. Confirmatory factor analysis conducted by Landrine et al. (2006) showed the GED scales measured Recent Discrimination equally well for White, Black, Latino, and Asian participants. All factors loadings for the GED scales were strong for all groups at p <.05. Factor loadings ranged .80 to .99 across populations. While internal reliability and factor analysis results were strong for all three scales, not all were used in this study. Because the GED does not deliver a total score, the Appraised Discrimination Scale score was selected for this study because it measured the severity of the impact prior discrimination had on the participant. This was judged to be the most important variable for the scope of this study.

Acculturative Stress

The Hispanic Stress Inventory (HSI) (Cervantes, Padilla, & de Snyder, 1991, see Appendices C and D) was developed to measure stress that Hispanic people experience

living in the United States. There are versions for both the immigrant and nonimmigrant participant. The items for the immigrant version were normed on 305 immigrants in California. While they were all Latino, only 15.4% were not from Central America. The authors reported fair to good test retest reliability, scores were between .61 and .86 for the subscales. In 2006, a shorter, 17-item version was created for the immigrant version of the HSI (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2006). Respondents were instructed to review each item and indicate whether they particular stressor occurred within the preceding three months. If participants responded affirmatively to an item, then they were asked to assess the degree of stressfulness of that incident on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 = *not at all stressful* to 5 = *extremely stressful*.

This abbreviated version was developed using 143 Latino immigrants from the St. Louis area. The authors of the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory – Immigrant Version (AHSI-I) had condensed the same five subscales of the HSI: immigration stress, occupational/economic stress, marital stress, family/culture stress, and parental stress. The AHSI-I only had the Intrafamilial Stress subscale (from the original's Immigration and Occupational/Economic Stress Subscales) and the Extrafamilial Stress Subscale (from the original's Parental, Marital, and Family/Culture Stress Subscales). Internal consistencies ranged from .68 to .83 across all subscales. Convergent validity was supported with moderately positive relations through self-report measures of anxiety, depression, and anger mood levels. In the study presented here, internal reliability for the total AHSI-I resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of .86 (N= 172). I obtained permission to use

the AHSI-I from Dr. Cavazos-Rehg at Washington University Saint Louis under the condition that it would be used for educational purposes (see appendix I).

Analysis of Data

To test the hypothesis, that socio-cultural factors (income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence), and experiencing discrimination are significant predictors of changes in acculturative stress, a multiple regression analysis was performed.

The dependent variable, acculturative stress, was measured with the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory for Immigrants (AHSI-I), a continuous variable. For the predictive values for the AHSI-I scores, both continuous and discrete values were included. The continuous variable was the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED), the continuous interval variables were included the categories of monthly income, number of years in the United States, age, number of family present, and confidence in English mastery. Finally, nominal variables included the binary variables like gender and documentation status. Each independent variable resulted in a regression coefficient, placing a weight on the independent variable as a correlate. A multiple regression analysis can only evaluate a continuous variable or a bivariate (Field, 2009). Therefore, the binary variables in this study were dummy coded. During this process, each variable category was represented by a 1 or 2. The baseline group was usually assigned the 1. In this study, I coded female participants as 1 and documented immigrants as 1. This left the male participants and undocumented immigrants being coded as a 2. A regression model

determined which independent variable coefficient had the largest value in predicting the AHSI-I score.

Ethical Considerations and Human Rights Protection

Approval for this study was received from the Institutional Review Board of Walden University (approval number 07-30-14-0087502 and expiration date July 29, 2015). There were no anticipated risks to the study participants. The informed consent form included information about the survey, information about the author of this dissertation, and contact information of the author and the review board (Appendices E and F). It was clearly stated that the participant has the option to accept or reject participation. Assurance of confidentiality and anonymity was given to the participants in the introduction of the study before they decided to participate. The researcher stepped away while the participant completed the packet. Upon completion, he or she sealed the packet in an envelope. The demographic data collected did not ask for participant names; thus, participants remained anonymous. The surveys are kept in a locked file cabinet and all electronic data is stored on a password protected personal computer. The paper copy of the surveys were not opened and removed from their envelope until at least 40 packets were received at a time. All total scores of both the GED and the AHSI-I were kept in a Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) electronic file. All participants were given a verbal consent form with contact information. It also offered a resource for low-cost or free counseling at Borinquen Behavioral Health, should personal issues arise while completing the surveys. The results of the research should be completed by the end of 2014 and participants were offered a copy of the results if they showed interest.

Summary

Chapter 3 explained how the study was designed to quantify various factors associated with acculturative stress, including perceived discrimination. Participants were Latino documented and undocumented immigrants recruited from public places. Measures were taken to ensure the anonymity of all participants. The raw data was analyzed using a multiple regression analysis. I hoped to quantify and highlight some factors that contributed to acculturative stress in Latino immigrants. The factors that emerged from the data, as strong correlates of acculturative stress, are reviewed in the results section, Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the results regarding the relationships and predictive character of the socio-demographic factors and the experience of prejudice measured by the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED) on acculturative stress of Latino immigrants, as measured by the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory – Immigrant Version. The sociodemographic factors included gender, documentation status, income, number of years in the USA, English mastery, age, and the number of family members in the USA. I first describe the research tools, their application, and the steps for collecting and recording the data. Second, I present an analysis of the hypothesis. Finally, I include tables to depict results in a clearer fashion.

Research Tools

I went out into the field to administer paper and pencil packets individually, in either Spanish or English. Each packet included a demographic sheet with the seven sociodemographic factors on it. It also included the GED, which measured the amount of prejudice the participant experienced in the past year, in his or her lifetime, and the amount of stress the prejudice had caused. Finally, each packet had the Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory – Immigrant Version (AHSI-I). This was used as a dependent variable to measure the amount of acculturative stress the participant has been experiencing. Psychometric properties were reviewed in the Instrumentation and Materials section of Chapter 3.

Data Analyses

As discussed in Chapter 3, G*Power 3.1.5 was used to determine the number of participants for this study. To calculate the number of participants (*n*), the parameters were set as follows: a medium effect size (f_x) of .15, an error probability (α) of .05, and a power of .95. The number of participants that was recommended was 160. One hundred and ninety-four packets were collected, but not all of them could be incorporated into this study. For example, 12 packets were missing, amounting to an entire page of responses from either the GED or the AHSI-I. On three packets, the country of origin was listed as Puerto Rico. On two packets, the United States of America was listed as the country of origin. Four packets were removed because the gender was not specified, and it was not possible to replace that value. A final packet was removed after it was recognized as an outlier. Ineligible packets represented 11.34% of all surveys collected. In the end, 172 participants completed eligible packets used in this study.

There are several assumptions made about the data when conducting a multiple regression analysis (Field, 2009). I performed a preliminary investigation of the data to confirm the assumptions were met. To check the assumptions of normality and linearity, a visual inspection of the normal P-P plot for the analysis revealed that the points lie on a relatively straight diagonal line running from the bottom left to the top right of the plot. This indicated that the assumptions of normality and linearity were not violated. Homoscedasticity is the assumption that the variance of the residuals about dependent variable scores should be similar for all predicted scores. A visual inspection of the

scatterplot indicated the residuals were scattered around the zero line, providing a relatively even distribution. The scatterplot confirmed this assumption was met.

I had to ensure the data also met further assumptions before the regression analysis could take place (Field, 2009). For instance, all variables had to be continuous, interval, or nominal variables falling into two categories. For this reason, I did not enter nation of origin into the model. None of the predictors had a variance of zero, a confirmation that the assumption for homoscedasticity was met. Additionally, there were no perfect linear relationships between the independent variables. Table 2 shows the highest collinearity between independent variables occurred between age and the number of years in the USA (r = .56, p <.01). The residuals in the model had to be random, so the variables that are distributed had to have a mean of zero or close to it (Field, 2009). The results for residual statistics in this study showed the average standard predicted value to be .007 and the standard residual value to be .001, both approximating zero for the AHSI-I. I used the Durbin-Watson test to test the assumption of independent errors. Values approximating 2 demonstrate the residuals are uncorrelated and the errors are independent, the Durbin-Watson in my sample was 1.88.

Given that multiple regression is very sensitive to outliers that represent high or very low scores, a screening in SPSS was conducted. I identified one case with a standardized residual score value in excess of 3.29 and it was subsequently eliminated (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Participant number 164 was identified as an outlier, with an AHSI-I score over 3 standard deviations above the sample mean. Participant number 164 did not deviate significantly from the mean regarding the other independent variables.

Yet as an outlier, the regression model was analyzed without this case. No outliers were identified based on their GED scores. My next step was to evaluate the factors for multicolinearity.

Multicollinearity exists when the independent variables are highly correlated. A correlation of .7 or more usually indicates that this assumption has been violated (Pallant, 2010). Table 2 reports the intercorrelations for predictors of acculturative stress. It indicated the highest collinearity between independent variables occurred between age and the number of years in the USA (r = .56, p <.01). This demonstrated that the variables were sufficiently independent of one another.

Table 2

Multiple Correlations for Predictors of Acculturative Stress

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender	1	-.12	-.05	-.03	.04	-.03	.00	.12	.02
2. Immigration status	-	1	$.25^{**}$	.11	$.17^{*}$	.10	.09	$-.15^{*}$	.02
3. Income	-	-	1	$.23^{**}$	$.18^{**}$	$.13^{*}$	.08	$-.21^{**}$	$-.17^{*}$
4. Years in the USA	-	-	-	1	$.21^{**}$	$.56^{**}$	.11	-.10	-.07
5. English skills	-	-	-	-	1	$-.16^{*}$	-.05	-.04	$-.19^{**}$
6. Age	-	-	-	-	-	1	-.04	$-.14^{*}$	.03
7. Family in USA	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-.01	.06
8. GED – Stress	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	$.42^{**}$
9. AHSI-I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Note. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01, R^2 = .23, $F(8, 172)$ = 6.28.

I used IBM SPSS Statistics 21 for Windows to conduct a forced entry regression model to analyze the raw data collected from the participants. While all independent

variables were predicted to have some effect in determining AHSI-I scores, my goal was to determine which variable had the greatest correlation. The results of my hypothesis is as follows.

Hypothesis: Predictors of Acculturative Stress

The hypothesis of this study was that all seven sociocultural factors (income, number of years in the United States, age, documentation, confidence in English mastery, gender, and family presence) and experiencing discrimination will statistically significantly predict levels of acculturative stress. To test this hypothesis I conducted a forced entry multiple regression analysis to examine the relationship between several independent variables and the dependent variable of the AHSI-I score.

As shown in Table 3, there were only two variables out of the seven in the regression model that correlated with scores on acculturative stress, at a significance level of less than .05. These included the participants' self-rating of his or her English skills ($\beta = -.16$, $p < .05$) and the GED scale representing stress from experienced discrimination ($\beta = .43$, $p < .05$). I gathered from the results that Latino immigrants who are more stressed from experiencing discrimination are more likely to suffer from acculturative stress. While Latino immigrants who have not experienced discrimination were less likely to suffer from acculturative stress. Being an undocumented immigrant was associated with acculturative stress, but not at a statistically significant level ($\beta = .122$, $p > .05$). Table 3 presents the results of the forced entry multiple regression analysis.

Table 3

Multiple Linear Regression for Predictors of Acculturative Stress

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*β*	*t*	*p*	95.0% CI
Gender	-.45	1.93	-.02	-.23	.82	[-.43, 3.3]
Immigration status	4.82	2.86	.12	1.68	.09	[-10.3, .88]
Income	-.53	.46	-.09	-1.15	.25	[-1.43, .38]
Years in the USA	-.04	.10	-.04	-.44	.66	[-.24, .15]
English skills	-.75	.37	-.16*	-2.02	.05	[-1.42, .06]
Age	.08	.09	.08	.91	.37	[-.09, .25]
Family in USA	.08	.11	.05	.75	.45	[-.11, .31]
GED – Stress	.31	.05	.43**	5.98	.00	[.21, .41]

Note. $*p < 0.05$. $**p < 0.01$, $R^2 = .23$, $F(8, 172) = 6.28$, $p < 0.001$.

The casewise diagnostics I ran detected five cases with an AHSI-I score 2 standard deviations away from the mean. Overall, the regression model predicted 23.4% of the variance in acculturative stress scores ($R^2 = .23$). In combination, the seven predictors explained a statistically significant proportion of the variance in acculturative stress scores.

I conducted an independent samples *t* test to determine if there was a significant difference between documented and undocumented immigrants in their experiences of discrimination. This offered the opportunity to examine the differences between those with documentation status and those without documentation on experiences of discrimination. Although undocumented immigrants reported higher levels of discrimination throughout their lifetime ($M = 48.88$, $SE = 3.55$) than did documented

immigrants (M = 39.43, SE = 1.47), this difference was not statistically significant ($t(175) = 2.42, p > .05$).

Summary

In Chapter 4, I reported the study results about the predictive nature of sociocultural demographic factors (gender, age, number of years in the USA, number of family members in the USA, English skills, income, and documentation status) and experiencing discrimination in relation to acculturative stress among immigrants from Latino countries. I described the research tools and presented an analysis of the significant findings from the multiple regression results.

Using the study results, I demonstrated the regression model's modest ability to predict the variance of acculturative stress among Latino immigrants. These results showed that the best associated factors of acculturative stress from within the model were the amount of stress experienced from discrimination and English skills, albeit English had a small effect. Immigration status and income were only slightly related in this sample, as were English skills and number of years in the USA. I also found only a slight correlation between income and experiencing discrimination. I did not discover undocumented Latino immigrants to be statistically significant from their documented counterparts regarding scores on discrimination experienced. However, undocumented immigrants were underrepresented in this study. What the results of this study means for every day practice and how it can be used to enhance connection with the Latino immigrant population I further explored in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

My purpose for this study was to gain a better understanding of what factors interfered the most with the comfortable acculturation process of Latinos into American society. This knowledge would assist the clinician's ability to treat stress-related mental health disorders in Latino immigrants. I designed the study to determine whether the sociocultural factors of gender, age, number of years in the USA, number of family members in the USA, English skills, income, documentation status, and the experience of discrimination predicted the acculturative stress of Latino immigrants. I also sought to determine which of the predictive variables played a more prominent role in the regression model, thereby possessing a greater weight in predictive validity.

In this chapter, I will summarize and discuss the results, comparing them to the results of previous studies on Latino immigrants. I will describe the independent variables that correlated with and failed to correlate with acculturative stress. I will review the shortcomings of the study and where misinterpretations of the results can take place. In this chapter, I explain how the results can be used to affect social change and methods for implementing that change. Finally, I recommend ways to improve or enhance future studies of a similar nature.

Interpretation of Findings

The scientific literature has so far demonstrated that Latino immigrants suffer a host of stressful acculturation experiences that later contribute to developing mental health problems (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Berry, 1997; Lipsicas & Makinen, 2010;

Lyberaki, Trianda, Fyllidou, Petronoti, & Gropas, 2008; Perez, Jennings, & Gover, 2008; Ponterotto, 1991; Rodriguez & DeWolfe, 1990; Rudmin, 2003; Smart & Smart, 1995; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). There have been much qualitative data in the form of interviews and personal narratives on the experiences of Latino immigrants (Brummett et al., 2007; Buunk et al., 1991; Comas-Diaz, 2001; De la Ganza & Desipio, 1998; Desipio, 2008; Epstein, 2012; Goodwin, 2012; Perez, 2011; Pérez Huber, 2010; Rivera et al., 1991). There have been some studies using aggregate quantitative data on Latino immigrants in terms of education (Hagan et al., 2011; Rumbaut, 2004), income (Cornelius, 2005; Dwyer, 2004; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001), and crime (Chacón, 2012; Diaz Jr., 2011; Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007; Welch, 2011). However, few quantitative studies have examined the relationship between several simultaneous factors on the immigrant's acculturative stress (Arbona & Olvera, 2009; Arbona et al., 2010; Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). Only one study quantitatively analyzed the impact of discrimination on acculturative stress, including undocumented immigrants (Arbona et al., 2010). Thus, my study was designed to address a gap in the literature. It is the first to use a comparative analysis between the impact of experienced discrimination and several other sociocultural factors in accounting for acculturative stress in Latino immigrants.

Factors of Acculturative Stress

The purpose of my dissertation was to create a descriptive model of acculturative stress using several factors associated with stress. These included a measure of the stress experienced from discrimination and the sociocultural factors of gender, the age of the immigrant, the number of years in the United States, comfort with the English language,

the number of family members in the United States present for support, income, and documentation status. I found the forced entry multiple regression analysis demonstrated that English skills had a small effect on acculturative stress that was not significant. These results did not strongly support literature that has shown learning English is correlated with a smoother transition into American culture for Latino immigrants, particularly students (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Benal & Knight, 1997; Rumbaut 2004). The results of the multiple regression analysis also demonstrated that experiencing discrimination is associated with acculturative stress. This part of the model was consistent with the prior research revealing the impact of prejudice on the lives of Latinos and Latino immigrants (Hwang & Goto, 2006; Morardi & Risco, 2006; Padilla, 2004; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Utsey et al., 2000). The results also supported the Latino/a critical race theory postulating that racial identity impacts one's experiences of stress (Pérez Huber, 2010).

Unfortunately, many of the variables factored into the regression model did not lend significant weight towards the ability of the regression model to predict acculturative stress. For example, the gender of the Latino has been shown to be correlated with feelings of being marginalized and isolated from society (Hiott et al., 2006); however I did not find gender to be correlated with acculturative stress. This study did find the age of the participant was associated with how many years they have lived in the United States of America. However, despite literature suggesting older Latino immigrants have a more difficult experience adjusting to life in the United States of America (Abrego, 2011; Goodwin, 2012), I did not find age to be significant in predicting acculturative stress.

While several researchers have stressed the importance of economic adaptation and economic assimilation in the acculturation process of immigrants (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Hall & Farkas, 2008; Vigdor, 2008), I did not find the income of the Latino immigrant to be related to his or her acculturative stress.

The literature has also described undocumented immigrants as more likely to suffer from acculturative stress than documented immigrants because undocumented immigrants are more likely to labor in jobs with difficult and more hazardous work conditions, be deprived of options for transportation, earn lower wages, and fear deportation (Alderete, Vega, Kolody, Alguilar-Gaxiola, 2000; Arbona & Olvera, 2009; Arbona et al., 2010; Conde, 2007; Cooper, 1997; Maldonado, 2009; Sullivan & Rehm, 2005; Tillman & Weiss, 2009; Torres et al., 2012). However, I did not find undocumented immigrants suffer from acculturative stress at a significant level higher than their documented counterparts. This finding might be inaccurate due to an underrepresentation of undocumented immigrants in the sample. While it would appear the number of years living in the United States of America would diminish the amount of acculturative stress a Latino immigrant experiences, this study did not find a correlation between the two. Similarly, the number of family members present in the United States might be viewed as a source of support and encouragement; a buffer to acculturative stress. Yet I found these two factors unrelated as well.

Limitations

Several limitations impede the generalizability of this study and interfere with the interpretation of the results. First, I conducted this study in a minority-majority city,

which means a minority group in the United States was the majority group in this city. Sixty-five percent of the city where I collected this sample is Latino (Kincannon, et al., 2010). Therefore, the experiences of prejudice that the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED) was designed to measure may not represent Latinos living in communities where the majority of its citizens are White Americans. Furthermore, the majority of the sample (58.2%) was immigrants from Cuba. Because Cubans are arriving in a city where they are the majority of the Hispanic population and they are entitled to American citizenship under the status of political refugee, the experience of Cubans and the majority of my sample might not accurately reflect the immigration experience of Latinos across the United States. While 12 other Latino countries were represented in this sample, they were small in number.

Implications for Social Change

When treating members of underprivileged communities in a mobilization unit, a neighborhood clinic, a hospital, or as part of an outreach effort, eventually mental health professionals might encounter Latino immigrants, particularly those working in the Southwestern United States. Latinos are the largest minority in the United States, and 37% percent of them are immigrants (Barreto, Manzano, & Segura, 2012). While assisting the Latino immigrant, the psychologist might presume that his or her anxiety/depression is caused by a predisposition inherited by family members who suffer similarly, a traumatic childhood filled with strife and parental indifference, and/or a host of difficulties that accompany an immigrant from any country acculturating to the United

States of America. While these theories may play a part in the poor mental health of the Latino immigrant client, in this study, I introduced other factors for consideration.

When trying to reduce the acculturative stress of the Latino immigrant to make his or her adjustment to the American way of life more fluid, the mental health professional will be evaluating several factors in the patient's life. The prescribed treatment plan for acculturative stress may incorporate enrolling in English classes, finding a nearby labor pool or another kind of job without stringent hiring guidelines, or connecting with a support network of *paizanos*, people from the same region of his or her native country. The evaluator may also jump to the conclusion that the psychological distress will subside after a few more years of living in the USA, with a referral to a good immigration lawyer, or with enrollment in a new insurance program. With the results of this study I demonstrated that these solutions only superficially address the acculturative stress of the Latino immigrant.

In fact, the largest factor contributing to the feelings of acculturative stress in Hispanic immigrants is the way they are treated by the majority culture. This has both positive and negative implications for social change. There is a positive interpretation from the results of this study. To improve the mental health of immigrants, no sweeping reconstructionist laws need to be passed to increase employment, wages, or the eligibility criteria for documentation status. The deeper understanding extracted from the results of this study is that the way the majority group treats Latino immigrants is the largest source of stress. Changing the attitude of mental health professionals into one of welcoming warmth and acceptance might be cheaper policy-wise but more difficult to do on a

fundamental level. For example, The National Standards for Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services (CLAS) in Health Care was developed in 2001 to require any agency treating clients with Medicaid or Medicare (or receiving any federal funds) to follow at least four of its nine standards (Office of Minority Health, 2001). These are clear cut efforts to increase the multicultural competency of an agency, but it does little to affect the belief system of those in the field of mental health. White Americans have many positive beliefs regarding Latino stereotypes, including being hard-working, religious, and family-oriented (Barreto et al., 2012), 32% believe that over half of Latinos are undocumented, 51% believe they are "welfare recipients," 50% view them as less educated, and 44% think they refuse to learn English (Barreto et al., 2012). Whether the stereotypes are positive or negative and whether they are rooted in fact or myth, efforts should be made to remind the mental health practitioner that the emotional problems of his or her new client might not reflect those stereotypes but those who hold them. In order to initiate social change, administrators of social service agencies need to ensure their mental health professionals undergo trainings that make them aware of their perceptions, both good and bad, of Latino immigrants. The purpose of the trainings should not necessarily be to education professionals on the plight of Latino immigrants, nor should it be propaganda designed to change anyone's beliefs about a group. The trainings instead need to present the facts about Latino immigrants with the goal of making mental health providers more aware of their opinions, either positive or negative. While the entire nation could benefit from this kind of training, it is really only necessary for practitioners who have Latino immigrants representing a substantial percentage of

their caseload in order to affect social change. I provide more specific recommendations to achieve this in the following section.

Recommendations for Action

Thanks to the APA criteria and all six of the regional accrediting associations in the United States, most master's degrees and doctorate programs in psychology require a course designed exclusively to increase the students' cross-cultural competency. This curriculum includes mental health issues particular to the Hispanic population in the United States. Therefore, the question remains about what the attitudes of mental health professionals are towards the Latino community, and if they can be altered.

Small booster trainings can be delivered to the staff of mental health clinics and social service agencies, asking them to rate their opinions of Latino immigrants so that they are more aware of their beliefs. The Bienvenido Program is one of such programs, designed to train mental health agencies on cultural competency specifically with Latino immigrants. They recommend inserting "health promoters" in literacy centers, churches, restaurants, community based organizations, factories, and soccer fields on a regular basis until they are a familiar face in the immigrant community (Perez, 2011). However, trainings should not be strictly about plans of outreach; they should encompass the statistics explaining the relatively low percentage of Latino immigrants that actually receive disability, government assistance, commit crimes, and abuse substances. Trainers can invite the participant to gain insight into the participant's own beliefs: examine the immigrant perspective from the participant's own immigrant ancestors' perspective in order to personalize the experience. Participants should list the reasons they believe

Latino immigrants come to the United States and analyze the context of their last interaction with Latino immigrants. Most importantly, the trainings could describe the findings of this study and others like it because despite many economic and cultural disadvantages, prejudice is possibly their largest source of acculturative stress. These trainings can be tailored for other companies that don't work in mental health, willing to take the time to broaden the perspectives of their employees. These trainings would not eradicate prejudice but serve to build a deeper level of understanding in the participant.

On the side of the Latino immigrant, some things could be practiced to help build resilience against discrimination and perceived acts of discrimination. For example, contact theory contends that increased interaction between Latino immigrants and White Americans would reduce prejudices on both sides (Ponterotto, 1991). Local community centers or adult education centers in Hispanic neighborhoods could host an "English Only" night, where some White Americans would volunteer to visit and converse with Latino immigrants in a more relaxed atmosphere, about some pre-determined topic. This could serve to reduce anxiety and discomfort Latino immigrants might feel when interacting with White Americans, especially those with reservations about their English skills (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

On a broader, national level, the advertising council can support commercials that interview Latinos sharing why they came to the United States or describe some of the immigrants' values that are held in common with all people born and raised in the United States of America. Festivals of tradition or street fairs should be held in Latino neighborhoods, where families from the rest of the city or town can come and enjoy

something different. However, it is possible that the problem of the social dominance theory might resurface. It might not be fair to ask the government to fund a change in the beliefs of its citizens, even if it is to reduce discrimination. Many people worry about their own economic situation or the hardships that have entered their community. They don't have the energy to worry about the difficulties immigrants have in adjusting.

It is beyond the scope of this study to recommend methods of reducing discrimination in a society. Even when a minority cannot be visually differentiated from the majority group, historically prejudice has always existed. Chapa and Acosta (2010) recommended reducing prejudice in health and mental health workers by creating policies to increase the number of Latinos in the health workforce. This included student loan forgiveness programs for bilingual clinicians who work with Latino immigrants, thereby giving back to the community. Of course, an increased Latino healthcare workforce would improve the delivery of mental health treatment, but it would do little to reduce the acculturative stress experienced by an immigrant due to a biased society. While this study has demonstrated the impact of discrimination, societal changes are too lofty for this dissertation. The recommendations made here are to improve the delivery of mental health services to the Latino immigrant community, while reducing any stigma inherent in the delivery.

Recommendations for Further Study

The fact that the GED in this study was the only continuous variable in the regression model may have contributed to its prominence as a predictive factor of acculturative stress in comparison to the other six independent variables. To eliminate

this possibility, I recommend that future studies constructing a regression model should incorporate more than one continuous independent variable. For example, the score on an elementary English test might replace a self-rating. Similarly, an exact dollar amount for a monthly income might replace the groups of income ranges I used in this study.

I recommend future studies employ a matching groups sample so that cross-cultural comparisons can be made. This may shed light on whether the findings on contributors of acculturative stress are unique to Latino immigrants or similar to Haitian immigrants or immigrants from the former Soviet Union. A matching group sample also would have assured a fair representation of undocumented Latino immigrants in my sample. A subject for further exploration is the dynamic of discrimination experienced by Latino immigrants. In this study, I found discrimination to weigh the most in correlation to acculturative stress, but discrimination from whom remains unanswered. It would be presumptuous to conclude discrimination experienced by Latino immigrants was the product of prejudice from the White (non-Latino) American majority.

Concluding Statement

In this quantitative, cross-sectional study I examined the factors associated with acculturative stress among Latino immigrants. I also explored the relative strengths of gender, documentation status, income, number of years living in the United States, family members present, English skills, age, and stress from discrimination in comparison to one another and examined their colinearity. The findings of my study contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the psychology of immigration. These findings also

provide further insight into the study of acculturation, particularly of Hispanic immigrants.

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Appendix A: Demograficas

Por favor, contesta las preguntas, lo major que pueda: Numero __________

1.¿Circulo tu ingresso typicál cada MES:

0 - $100	$100 - $250
$250 - $500	$500 - $750
$750 - $1000	$1000 - $1500
$1500 - $2000	$2000 - $2500
$2500 - $3000	$3000 o mas

2. ¿Cuantos anos tienes en los Estados Unidos de America? ________

3. Circula el numero que describes tu abilidád para hablar Ingles.

Ninguna Ingles palabra					Typicál					Perfecta
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4. ¿De que pais es tu? ______________________________

5. ¿Cuantos anos tienes? ______

6. ¿Cuantos familia tienes aqui? _____

7. ¿Documentado o Indocumentado?

8. ¿Hombre o Mujer?

Appendix B: Demographics

Please answer the questions as best you can: Number __________

1.Circle your average MONTHLY salary:

0 - $100	$100 - $250
$250 - $500	$500 - $750
$750 - $1000	$1000 - $1500
$1500 - $2000	$2000 - $2500
$2500 - $3000	$3000 or more

2. How many years have you been in the United States of America? ________

3. Circle the number that best describes your ability to speak English.

Not a word of English					Average					Perfect
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4. What country are you from? ______________________________

5. How old are you? ______

6. How many family members do you have here? ______

7. Documented or Undocumented

8. Man or Woman

Appendix C: Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory–Immigrant Version (Spanish Version)

Por favor marque con un círculo en su hoja de respuestas si las siguientes situaciones le han ocurrido a usted en los últimos 3 meses. Si le ocurrieron, indique que tan preocupado o tenso la situación lo ha hecho sentir. Si la situación mencionada no le ha ocurrido, marque "no" en su hoja de respuestas y prosiga a la siguiente pregunta. Recuerde, no hay buena o mala respuesta. Por favor trate de ser honesto(a) con sus respuestas.

Ejemplo #1: Me ha sido difícil encontrar cuidado medico.

No preocupado/tenso	Un poco preocupado/tenso	Moderadamente preocupado/tenso	Muy preocupado/tenso	Extremadamente preocupado/tenso
1	2	3	4	5

Esto le ha ocurrido en los últimos 3 meses?

Si [√] No [ ] 1 (2) 3 4 5

Ejemplo #2: He sido criticado(a) por mi trabajo.

No preocupado/tenso	Un poco preocupado/tenso	Moderadamente preocupado/tenso	Muy preocupado/tenso	Extremadamente preocupado/tenso
1	2	3	4	5

Esto le ha ocurrido en los últimos 3 meses?

Si [√] No [ ] 1 2 3 (4) 5

----

1. Por no saber suficiente inglés ha sido difícil para mi socializar con otros.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

2. Mi esposo(a) y yo hemos tenido desacuerdos acerca de como criar a nuestros hijos.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

3. Debido a mi mal inglés, la gente me ha tratado mal

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

4. Mis hijos(as) no han respetado mi autoridad en la forma que deberían.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

5. Debido a que soy latino(a) se ha esperado que trabaje más duro.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

6. Mis ingresos no han sido suficientes para mantener a mi familia o a mí mismo/a.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

7. He sentido que las ideas de mis hijos(as) acerca de la sexualidad son demasiado liberales.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

8. Ha habido violencia física entre miembros de mi familia.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

9. Debido a que soy latino(a) he tenido dificultad para encontrar el tipo de trabajo que quiero.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

10. Mis hijos(as) han hablado acerca de irse de la casa.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

11. Mis hijos(as) han recibido malas calificaciones en la escuela.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

12. He tenido que ser cuidadoso(a) con la calidad de mi trabajo para que otros no piensen que soy un(a) perezoso(a).

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

13. Debido a que soy latino(a), ha sido difícil obtener ascensos o aumentos de salario.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

14. He tenido pleitos serios con miembros di mi familia.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

15. Me he visto forzado(a) a aceptar trabajos con salarios bajos.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

16. Ha habido pleitos entre miembros de mi familia.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

17. Me he sentido presionado(a) para aprender inglés.

Si [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

Appendix D: Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory–Immigrant Version (English Version)

Please circle on your answer sheet whether the following situations have occurred to you during the last 3 months. Then if it did occur to you, indicate how worried or tense the situation made you feel. If the situation did not happen to you, check "no" on your answer sheet and skip to the next question. Remember there is no right or wrong answer so try and be as honest as you can.

Example 1: It has been difficult for me to find medical care.

Not at all worried/tense	**A little worried/tense**	**Moderately worried/tense**	**Very worried/tense**	**Extremely worried/tense**
1	2	3	4	5

Has this occurred to you in the past 3 months?

Yes [✓] No [ ] 1 (2) 3 4 5

Example 2: I have been criticized about my work.

Not at all worried/tense	**A little worried/tense**	**Moderately worried/tense**	**Very worried/tense**	**Extremely worried/tense**
1	2	3	4	5

Has this occurred to you in the past 3 months?

Yes [✓] No [ ] 1 2 3 (4) 5

----

1. Because I do not know enough English, it has been difficult for me to interact with others.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

2. My spouse and I have disagreed on how to bring up our children.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

3. Because of my poor English people have treated me badly.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

4. My children have not respected my authority the way they should.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

5. Because I am Latino I have been expected to work harder.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

6. My income has not been sufficient to support my family or myself.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

7. I have felt that my children's ideas about sexuality are too liberal.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

8. There has been physical violence among members of my family.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

9. Because I am Latino I have had difficulty finding the type of work I want.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

10. My children have talked about leaving home.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

11. My children have received bad school reports (or bad grades).

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

12. I have had to watch the quality of my work so others do not think I am lazy.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

13. Because I am Latino it has been hard to get promotions or salary raises.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

14. I had serious arguments with family members.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

15. I have been forced to accept low paying jobs.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

16. There have been conflicts among members of my family.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

17. I have felt pressured to learn English.

Yes [ ] No [ ] 1 2 3 4 5

Appendix E: General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (Spanish Version)

SCHEDULE OF RACIST EVENTS by Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, and Roesch
Number________________

1. ¿Cuán a menudo **maestros y profesores** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. ¿Cuán a menudo **empleadores, jefes y supervisores** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. ¿Cuán a menudo **compañeros de trabajo, compañeros estudiantes y colegas** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. ¿Cuán a menudo **gente en trabajos en el área de servicio (empleados en las tiendas, meseros, cajeros en el banco, cantineros y otros)** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. ¿Cuán a menudo **gente desconocida/extraños** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. ¿Cuán a menudo **gente en el área de servicio social y salud (doctores, enfermeros, psiquiatras, dentistas, trabajadores de casos, consejeros escolares, terapistas, trabajadores sociales y otros)** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. ¿Cuán a menudo **vecinos** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. ¿Cuán a menudo **instituciones (escuelas, universidades, oficinas de abogados, la policía, las cortes, el Departamento de Servicios Sociales, la Oficina de Desempleo y otros)** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. ¿Cuán a menudo **personas que pensaste que eran tus amigos** te trataron injustamente debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. ¿Cuán a menudo has sido **acusado o han sospechado de que hacías algo equivocado (como robar, engañar, no hacer tu parte del trabajo, o quebrar la ley)** debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. ¿Cuán a menudo **han malentendido tus intenciones y motivos** debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. ¿Cuán a menudo **quisiste reprender con hostilidad a alguien por ser racista contigo pero no dijiste nada?**

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. ¿Cuán a menudo has estado **realmente enojado sobre algo racista que te hicieron?**

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

14. ¿Cuán a menudo has sido **forzado a tomar medidas drásticas (tales como presentar una queja, presentar una demanda legal, dejar tu trabajo, mudarte, u otras acciones)** para intervenir en alguna cosa racista que te hicieron?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

15. ¿Cuán a menudo te han **llamado por un nombre racista?**

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

16. ¿Cuán a menudo te has **metido en una discusión o una pelea sobre algo racista que te hicieron a ti o a algún otro miembro de tu raza o grupo étnico?**

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

17. ¿Cuán a menudo se han **burlado, señalado, empujado, aventado, golpeado, o amenazado con herirte** debido a tu raza o grupo étnico?

	Nunca	De vez en cuando	A veces	Mucho	La Mayoría de las veces	Casi Siempre
¿Cuán a menudo en el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Cuán a menudo durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Para nada estresante					Extremadamente estresante
¿Cuán estresante ha sido esto para ti?	1	2	3	4	5	6

18. ¿Cuán ***diferente*** sería tu vida ahora si **NO TE HUBIERAN** tratado de una manera racista e injusta?

	La misma que es ahora	Un poco diferente	Diferente en algunas maneras	Diferente en muchas maneras	Diferente en muchísimas maneras	Total-mente diferente
¿Durante el año pasado?	1	2	3	4	5	6
¿Durante tu vida entera?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix F: General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (English Version)

GENERAL ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION SCALE by Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, and Roesch
Number____

1. How often were you treated unfairly by teachers and professors because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. How often were you treated unfairly by employer, bosses, and supervisors because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. How often were you treated unfairly by your coworkers, fellow students, and colleagues because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. How often were you treated unfairly by people in service jobs (store clerks, waiters, bartenders, bank tellers and others) because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. How often were you treated unfairly by strangers because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. How often were you treated unfairly by people in helping jobs (by doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers, and others) because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. How often were you treated unfairly by neighbors because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. How often were you treated unfairly by institutions (schools, universities, law firms, the police, the courts, the Department of Social Services, the Office of Unemployment, and others) because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. How often were you treated unfairly by people that you thought were your friends because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How often have you been accused or suspected you of doing something wrong (such as stealing, cheating, not doing your share of the work, or breaking the law) because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. How often have people misunderstood your intentions and motives because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. How often did you want to tell someone off for being racist towards you but didn't say anything?

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. How often have you been really angry about something racist that was done to you?

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

14. How often have you been forced to take drastic steps (such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, or other actions)?

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

15. How often have you been called a racist name?

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

16. How often have you gotten into an argument or fight about something racist that was done to you or done to another member of your race/ethnic group?

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

17. How often have you been made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit or threatened with harm because of your race/ethnic group.

	Never	Once in a While	Some-times	A Lot	Most of the Time	Almost All of the Time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

18. How different would your life be now if you HAD NOT BEEN treated in a racist and unfair way?

	The same as it is now	A Little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
In the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
In your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix G: Request for Verbal Consent (Spanish Version)

Perdoneme. Me llamo Sam y quiero invitarlo a participar en un estudio sobre las experiencias y estresores de los inmigrantes Latinos en Los Estados Unidos. Soy estudiante de la Universidad de Walden y estoy haciendo este studio como parte de mi doctorado. Si eres Latino/a de otro país y estas interesante en participar, necesito solo quince minutos de su tiempo. Este estudio es completamente anónimo para su protección, así es que no necesito su nombre o información de contacto. Le pido que me de su opinión en estos formularios, solo debe hacer un circulo indicando su opinion. Le daré cinco dólares como compensación por completer estos formularios (show the packet). Su participación es voluntaria, no tienes que participar, puedes rechazar participar, y Ud. puede dejar de completar el formulario si así lo prefiere. Si es más rápido, puedo leer cada pregunta en voz alta.

Si tiene alguna pregunta antes de comenzar puede hacerla ahora o si Ud. tiene preguntas después de terminar, me puede llamar a mi celular 646-942-1531 o puedes mandarme un e-mail a sam.kedem@waldenu.edu. Si quieres hablar en privado sobre tus derechos al participar en este estudio, puedes llamar a la Dra. Leilani Endicott, ella es una representante de la Universidad de Walden. Acá esta la información de contacto de la Dra. Endicott (612-312-1210). Si quieres participar voy a dejarte una copia con esta información para que sepas tus derechos como participante. Para proteción de su privacidad, no le pedire su firma. Completar este formulario me indicara que aprueba participar en este estudio. Si quieres asistencia de salud mental despues del estudio, puedes contactar Borinquen Behavioral Health a 305-576-1599 para un consejero que puede atenderlo a un bajo costo.

El numero de aprobación de Walden University para realizer este studio es __________ y vence __________ .

¿Está interesado/a?

Appendix H: Request for Verbal Consent (English Version)

Pardon me. My name is Sam and I want to invite you to participate in a study on the experiences and stressors of Latino immigrants in the United States. I am a student at Walden University and I am conducting this study as part of my doctorate. If you are Latino/a and from another country, it would only take about 15 minutes of your time. This study is completely anonymous for your protection, so I won't be needing your name or contact information anywhere. You would circle your opinion on these forms. I'll give you five dollars for completing these forms (show the packet). Your participation is voluntary, you do not need to participate, you can decline participation, and you can stop completing these forms at any moment if you want. If it is faster, I can read each item aloud.

If you have any questions before beginning you can ask it now or if you have further questions after finishing the task, you can reach me on my cell phone at 646-942-1531or you can send me an email at sam.kedem@waldenu.edu. If you want to talk privately about your rights as a participant, you can call Dr. Leilani Endicott. She is the Walden University representative who can discuss this with you. Her phone number is 612-312-1210. If you want to participate, keep this information so that you will be aware of your rights as a participant. To protect your privacy, your signature will not be required. Completion of the survey will indicate your approval. Should you feel the need for mental health assistance after this study, you may contact Borinquen Behavioral Health at 305-576-1599 for low-cost counseling. Walden University's approval number for this study is ___________ and it expires ____________. Would you be interested?

Appendix I: Permission to use the GED

Hello Sam,

I'm not quite sure what you're requesting. **You have my permission to use the SRE scale and/or the GED scale**. For permission to use a translated version of either scale, you'll need to contact the people who did the translations. Thanks.

Hope Landrine, Ph.D.
Director, *Center for Health Disparities*
Professor of Public Health, Brody School of Medicine
Professor of Psychology, East Carolina University
1800 W. 5th Street, Medical Pavilion Suite 6
Greenville, NC 27858
Phone: (252) 744-5535
Fax: (252) 744-2634
Email: **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**

From: Kedem, Sam [SKedem@borinquenhealth.org]
Sent: Tuesday, May 28, 2013 12:13 PM
To: Landrine, Hope
Subject: SRE
Dear Dr. Landrine,

My name is Sam and I was interested in using your Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) as one of the independent variables for my dissertation at Walden University. I read your work on the GEDS which involved some changing in the stem of the questions and reducing numbers in the Likert Scale. This seems to be the updated version of the instrument I would like to use.

Technically what I need is a translated version of your scale by Rivera, but your permission is required before I can continue. Please let me know what material or information you need from me to further my request, or if I need to contact Dr. Klonoff. Thank you for your consideration.

- Sam 646-942-1531

Appendix J: Permission to Use AHSI-I

Here you go – best of luck with your research!

Patricia A. Cavazos-Rehg, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor

Department of Psychiatry

Washington University School of Medicine

Campus Box 8134

660 South Euclid

St. Louis, MO 63110

Phone number: (314) 362-2152

Fax: (314) 362-4247

From: Sam Kedem [mailto:sam.kedem@waldenu.edu]
Sent: Wednesday, July 31, 2013 9:12 AM
To: Cavazos-Rehg, Patricia
Subject: Abbreviated HSI

Dear Dr. Cavazos-Rehg,

I am a student working on my dissertation at Walden University. My plan is to study undocumented Latino immigrants in Miami Florida. I am ready to submit my research proposal, however the Hispanic Stress Inventory, consisting of 73 items may be considered too long by our Institutional Review Board.

I would love to translate your abbreviated version and present this as an alternative to the board. The problem is I can not obtain the article on how you and your colleagues constructed it. Can you please send me the 2006 article from the Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences. Of course I am willing to pay a fee or answer any questions you may have. My number/text is 646-942-1531. I can be reached at this e-mail or at skedem@borinquenhealth.org.

Thank you for helping me with my studies. - Sam

Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory--Immigrant Version PsycTESTS Citation: Cavazos-Rehg, P. A., Zayas, L. H., Walker, M. S., & Fisher, E. B. (2006). Abbreviated Hispanic Stress Inventory--Immigrant Version [Database record]. Retrieved from PsycTESTS. doi: 10.1037/t15321-000

Test Shown: Full Test Format: Participants indicate whether the particular stressor has occurred within the preceding 3 months. If the participant responds affirmatively to an item, then he or she is instructed to rate the degree of stressfulness of that incident on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 = not at all stressful to 5 = extremely stressful.

Source: Cavazos-Rehg, Patricia A., Zayas, Luis H., Walker, Mark S., & Fisher, Edwin B. (2006). Evaluating an Abbreviated Version of the Hispanic Stress Inventory for Immigrants. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 28(4), 498-515. doi: 10.1177/0739986306291740, © 2006 by SAGE Publications. Reproduced by Permission of SAGE Publications.

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